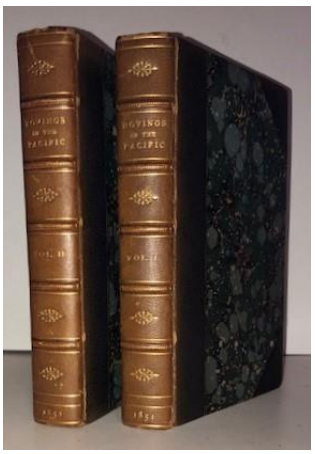
Remote in Southern Seas. Early New Zealand Books, 1850-1855

The author's days have been passed in its downright rough realities

[Lucett] *Rovings in the Pacific. 1851.*

Edward Lucett is probably more famous for his claim that the great American novelist Herman Melville assaulted him in Tahiti, than for his lively book. He is in Tahiti, and '*two or three evenings subsequently to our return, in taking a stroll in the cool, shady walk at the back of the settlement, I stopped at an open native house to light a cigar. Suddenly the house was surrounded by men, and two or three of them entered, and commenced jostling me*.' There ensued a fracas and the claim from Lucett is that Melville was involved, being among mutineers on the whaler *Lucy Ann*. This has led to an extensive industry amongst the Melville literary scholars, verifying, disputing and just commentating. Either way Melville settles into Lucett's brain, and a couple of pages on he launches into a now famous attack on him, acknowledging his writing skill, but questioning the veracity of the author of Typee and Oomo. '*By his own showing Herman Melville has been a most reckless loafer, caring not a pin what enterprises were ruined so long as he could indulge the gratification of his own propensities.*' And '*His sketches are amusing, and skilfully drawn, but bear as much relation to truth as a farthing does in value to a sovereign*.'[1]



While he is about it, Lucett takes aim at Commodore Charles Wilkes, leader of the famous United States Exploring Expedition of 1838-1842. Wilkes wrote the multi-volume narrative of the expedition[2], but it tests Lucett's credulity: '..*one is led shrewdly to suspect that Commodore Wilkes is as much indebted to his library as to his travels for the result of the reflections he has committed to paper*.'[3] Given that Lucett's own journal-based narrative contains much direct speech, a question or two on his own reliability might be in order, though Lucett is not pretending that his narrative is anything more than the robust, entertaining, and still highly informative account that it is.

Edward Lucett (1815-1853) was born in England and sailed to Australia on a convict ship in 1837, travelled on to New Zealand, eventually settling in Tahiti and establishing a business with a George Collie. In the 1840s they tried establishing a coconut plantation for copra[4], arms smuggling during the Tahitian rebellion[5], and pursued a life of trading across the Pacific, as far East as Chile and north as Hawaii. He died at just 38, of pulmonary disease, presumably tuberculosis, in Papeete in 1853, leaving a widow and two young daughters.[6]

At some stage around 1850, Lucett travelled back to London, where his *Rovings* was published in 1851. He notes in his Preface that it was written during '*the monotony of a protracted voyage*' from notes extending back over several years.

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[1] **[Lucett, E.]** Rovings in the Pacific, from 1837 to 1849; with a glance at California. By a Merchant long resident in Tahiti. in 2 volumes, London, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans. 1851. Vol.2., pp. 286-296.

[2] **Wilkes, C.** Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition. During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842. Vol. 1–5. Philadelphia, Lea and Blanchard, 1845.

[3] **[Lucett, E.]** op. cit. pp. 297-300.

[4] **Flude, A**., Honourable King. Anton Flude, 2014. p. 11.

[5] **Newbury, C.,** Resistance and Collaboration in French Polynesia: The Tahitian War: 1844-7. Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 82, pp. 5-27, 1973.

[6] Hawaiian National Bibliography, Hawai'i, University of Hawai'i Press, 2001. vol 1 pp. 297-300.

[Lucett, E.] *Rovings in the Pacific, from 1837 to 1849; with a glance at California. By a Merchant long resident in Tahiti. in 2 volumes, London, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans. 1851. v.1 xii, 351 pp, coloured plate; v.2 xi, 371 pp, coloured frontispiece and 2 coloured plates. Bagnall 3189, Hocken (Lacatt) 161.*

My copy is rebound in half morocco, marbled boards, and in very good condition. It is not all that common, and it seems to fall in between the New Zealand and Pacific categories.

There is a dedication to '*Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Bart., whose varied works have yielded large stores of intellectual enjoyment to a rover in his wanderings o'er the deep...*'. Bulwer Lytton at this time was out of politics, spending the years 1841-1852 travelling and writing. It is the novelist rather than the politician that is the object of Lucett's dedication, although Bulwer Lytton after returning to the House in 1852, then being raised to the peerage, served as Colonial Secretary in 1858 in Lord Derby's administration.

The Harbour of Papeeti. Taken from the hill at the back of the town. Lucett, 1851, Vol. 1, frontispiece.

There are four very fine chromolithographs of scenes in Tahiti, frontispieces in each volume and two other pates in volume 2. Two are drawn by W Wiles and the other two by 'E.L.'. The lithographer is M & N Hanhart[7]. Wiles and E.L. are currently not identified.

Lucett covers 3 visits to New Zealand, and the first is in February 1840: '*My worldly wealth having not much increased after a sojourn of upwards of two years and a half in New South Wales, I determined on proceeding to New Zealand, to try the unexplored resources of a new country,...*'[8] He lands at Kororarika [sic] after spending about 3 days sailing around the outer islands not knowing exactly where they were. He is not impressed once there, either with

[7] M & N Hanhart were prominent London lithographers of the mid-19th Century, specialising in chromolithographs.

[8] **[Lucett, E.]** op cit. Vol. 1, p. 63.

the place or the people. *'Such a rush has been made to New Zealand, that the place is crowded with Europeans; and when I first landed, I heard some of the idlers about the beach saying one to the other "here come more victims"*.'[9] Lucett records exploring the Bay of Islands region, then sails south to East Cape. He meets Māori, travels overland to Wharakaihika (Wharekahika or Hick's Bay) and returns to the Bay of Islands. A second voyage south takes him to the Thames district and the Waikato, described in his usual lively, sardonic fashion, meeting Māori, sleeping in a taboo place, and after returning north, ships for Sydney '*not over delighted with what I had seen of the "Granary of the Southern Hemisphere"*.'[10]

Lucett makes a second voyage on December 26, 1840, his Chapter VI headed with a '*Refrain from a New Zealander's boat-song:*

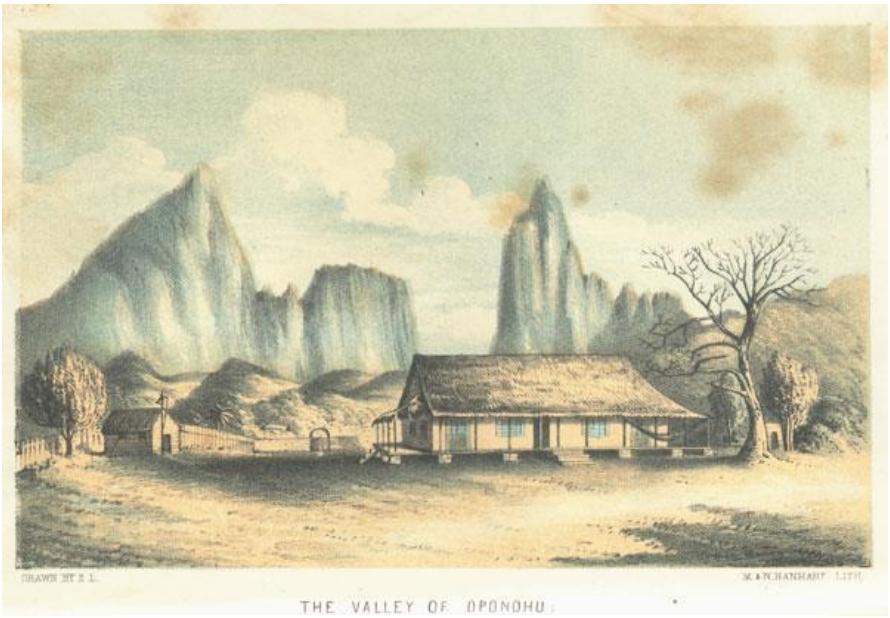
A- - - way!
Away, away, the white man's here.
The morn shines bright, the stream runs clear;
Row, brothers, row! cheer, brothers, cheer!
Te - - - na!'

This time he sails down the west coast of the North Island, past Mt Egmont, Cook's Strait, and Port Nicholson where he visits the Hutt, then back north to Auckland and the Bay of Islands. He records the changing punishment for adultery, previously the offender standing naked at 30 paces to have spears thrown at him, but now it's all meetings and conciliation, and he scoffs at the self-deluded comments of settlers in Wellington '*Its laughable, though pitiable, to see the readiness with which the residents try and cheat themselves into the belief the Port Nicholson is a paradise;*...'[11] He goes on to give a view on the New Zealand Company and its shady dealings, then visits Auckland, likes its commercial development and walks across the isthmus to the Manukau, where he meets up with the redoubtable Lady Franklin from Hobart travelling with Governor Hobson ('*in feeble health'*) '*Her Ladyship having unfortunately sprained her ancle in a former exploratory expedition, had been carried on a couch by a party of New Zealanders; and I do not know a place in New Zealand where the country would have afforded a similar means of gratifying her thirst for novelty and adventure.....Lady Franklin is the wife of the Governor of Hobart Town, and has acquired much notoriety from her masculine spirit of travel and adventure*.'[12]

Lucett returned to Sydney, but then in 1846, recorded in Volume 2, after much travelling and trading across the pacific, in Tahiti in particular and across Valparaiso, he is in Sydney again, sailing for Tahiti and sights the Three Kings on July 29. He passes on and eventually returns from Tahiti, on November 25th '*Having entered into a speculation to proceed to New Zealand for a cargo of timber, today we set sail on the barque Janet of 400 tons. My wife accompanies me...*'[13] On December 29 he reaches Kororareka to find it being rebuilt after having been recently destroyed in the local conflicts. He travels overland to the Hokianga, closely observing he countryside, and commenting on the recent wars and how they could have been better pursued. Eventually he has a load of spars and on February 5th departs and is back in Tahiti on March 22. In the final chapters of the book, he gives his account of buying a boat to sail to China to trade, then across via Manila to the Californian Coast, San Francisco, Sacramento, and the gold rush, then back to Tahiti: "*Huzza for Otaheiti*".

[9] Ibid. p. 66.
[10] Ibid. p. 123.
[11] Ibid. p. 140.
[12] Ibid. pp. 146-147. We have come across Lady Franklin in Wade's book, as dedicatee, published when he moved to Hobart.
[13] Ibid. Vol 2., p 172.

This is a neglected, great read, with its appealing elements of fancy in the direct speech and anecdotes. And it provides another example of the position of New Zealand in the wider geography of the Pacific. Lucett follows in the steps of Peter Dillon and other trading pioneers who lived and worked across the stretch of the Pacific, going back to the start of the century, capitalising on the great voyages of the Polynesians, and of Cook and the French explorers.



The Valley of Oponohu. Lucett, 18561. Vol. 1.

The author estimates highly the value of the Southern Districts of New Zealand to colonists

***Shortland, E**. The Southern Districts of New Zealand. 1851.*
***Shortland, E**. Traditions and superstitions of the New Zealanders. 1854.*
***Shortland, E**. A short sketch of the Maori races. 1865.*
***Shortland, E.** Maori religion and mythology. 1882.*

Edward Shortland, undated photograph, Hocken collection, University of Otago. c 1860s.

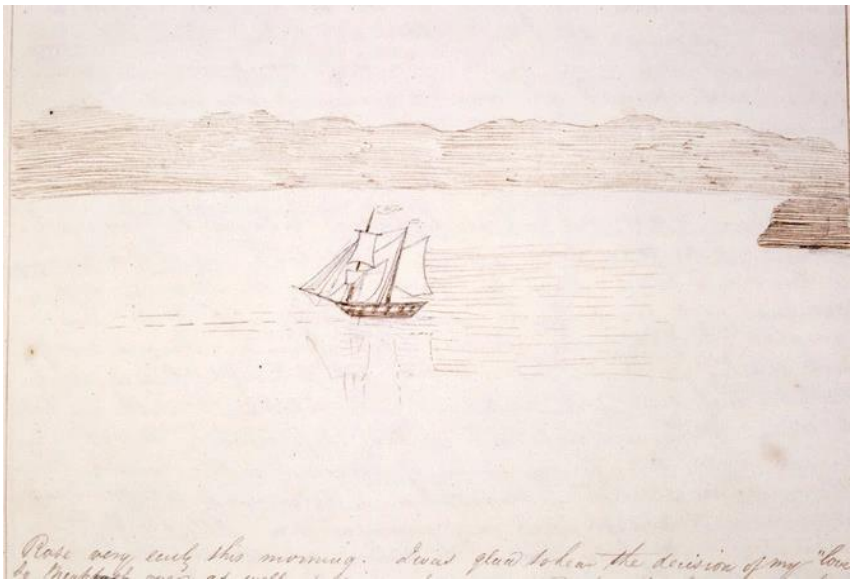
Edward Shortland was nowhere near as disliked as his brother Willoughby, Colonial Secretary, acting Governor after Hobson's death, and target for the New Zealand Company and its associates for his support of Hobson's policy on pre-Treaty land sales, in conflict because of his disapproving view of the settlers in the Wairau affair, and perceived incompetence and pomposity. Edward (1812-1893) was one of three brothers born near Plymouth into a naval family. His elder brother was Willoughby and he had a younger brother Peter who` pursued a career in surveying and exploration in North America. He undertook medical training, was invited to New Zealand by Willoughby and arrived in 1841, where he was quickly appointed Private Secretary to Governor Hobson in June of that year.

Shortland was notably involved in a couple of duelling incidences, inevitably involving land purchase policy where he was a supporter of Hobson's controls on Māori land sales, though no blood was shed, though it suggests no lack of passion amongst the settlers with the land issues of the day. He also travelled through the Waikato with the Governor, and in 1842, the Thames District with George Clarke, Protector of the Aborigines. The following year he was appointed police magistrate and sub-protector of aborigines, thus starting his life-long empathy with Māori, becoming one of the first to seriously pursue ethnological interests.[14]

In August 1843, Shortland accompanied Col. E. L. Godfrey[15] on a tour of the South Island as interpreter and to help investigate land claims from both the French, and local settlers. On the way he visited Te Rauparaha at Otaki, gathering information on the recent Wairau affair, and his meetings with Southern Māori chiefs meant he was one of the first to assemble some sort of understanding of South Island Māori tribe structures, land claims and history. From October through to February 1844, he made a number of overland expeditions, as far south as Foveaux Strait, conducting a census and gathering the information which became the most detailed and informed view of Southern Māori history, and cultural, social and political structures. He met up with Bishop Selwyn in January at Waihao, and returned to Auckland via Wellington on February 19. Over the next two years, he reluctantly took up the position of sub-protector of Aborigines in Wellington, and then as

[14] Scholefield, J., op. cit. vol. 2, pp. 298-299; Atholl Anderson. 'Shortland, Edward', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990, updated December, 2013. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1s11/shortland-edward (accessed 9 January 2023)
[15] Col. Edward Lee Godfrey was appointed Land Claims Commissioner to the Colonial Secretary by Governor Gibbs in 1840.

interpreter to Col. Henry Despard[16], commander of the forces arraigned against Hone Heke and Kawiti in the norther wars. At their conclusion in January 1846, he returned to England[17].



Sketch, of the government brig, Victoria, in Auckland Harbour. by William Bambridge, taken from his diary, p 287 for July 1845. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22668022. This was the ship Shortland sailed in on his voyage south.

His journals and notes through his time in the south formed the basis of his first book, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand*, which was published in 1851 after he spent some time travelling on the Continent and had returned to a medical practice in Plymouth, Devon.

Shortland, E. *The Southern Districts of New Zealand; a journal, with passing notices of the customs of the aborigines. London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans. MDCCCLI (1851) xiv, 315 pp. frontispiece folding map, 7 plates, including 6 of maps, 2 folding, 4 folding tables, 32 p adverts. Bagnall 5162, Hocken 163.*

My copy is with the original green cloth boards, bought in 2000 from an Auckland dealer no longer operating. It is in very good condition, exceptionally clean inside, with the rather delicately drawn maps in pristine order. Although published in London, it was printed in Plymouth, as was his later 'Traditions and Superstitions', home city of Shortland.

The single engraving is of two profile portraits of the related, allied chiefs Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata, Shortland having met Te Rauparaha on his voyage south in the *Victoria*. The wood engravings by Llewelyn Jewitt are from drawings by Kenneth Leith

[16] Henry Despard (1783-1859) arrived in June 1843 to command the British forces on the Northern War, countering Hone Heke's uprising. He failed disastrously to take Ohaeawai Pa, but then claimed victory at Ruapekapeka, although it was clear that the Maori defenders had undertaken a strategic retreat from the defences.

[17] **Atholl Anderson**. 'Shortland, Edward', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990, updated December, 2013. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1s11/shortland-edward (accessed 9 January 2023)

Sutherland R.N., Jewitt's name being included in the engravings. Little is known about Sutherland, but Jewitt (1816-1886) was an English engraver, illustrator and naturalist, with links to Plymouth where he was librarian of the Plymouth Public Library and member of the Plymouth Institution from 1849 to 1853, completing the Plymouth connections of Shortland in publishing his two books. An interesting comparison of images of Te Rauparaha and other prominent chiefs, including this one by Sutherland, was published in 1905[18].

Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata, Shortland, 1851, p. 4.

There are 6 maps. The fold-out frontispiece map is of the Southern Districts, from Bank's Peninsular south, including Stewart Island, and some of the lakes such as Wanaka, Whakatipu and Te Anau, not in their accurate positions. The map is based on the Admiralty Chart of 1838, with Shortland's additions, and Bank's Peninsular is from Commodore Bérard's Chart[19]. There is also a profile at the bottom of the map of the Bank's Peninsular Mountains. The other maps are of the East Coast of Stewart Island, Waikouaiti Bay, north of Dunedin, and of the lakes in the interior of the Middle Island including Canaka (Wanaka), Hawera and Whakatipua (Whakatipu), all drawn by Shortland. There are also 4 fold-out genealogical tables of Māori tribes and ancestry. As Shortland says: '*With the New Zealander, genealogical questions are inseparable from investigations of claims to land.*'[20]

The book is a comprehensive account of Shortland's southern travels, quite unique amongst the contemporary accounts of New Zealand, and carrying his view of the South as ideal for settlement[21]. On his voyage south, Shortland stayed with the French officer Commodore Bérard, who was reportedly very accommodating, and helped arrange their journey further south to Otago and Southland[22]. He stopped at Waikouaiti, hence the map, to investigate land claims by whalers and hearing from Māori, and starting his extensive study and gathering of information on tribal genealogies that he was convinced were essential to the land issues. He spent the next two months walking south, to Foveaux Strait, through Southland and Coastal Otago, talking with the chief Te Huruhuru at the Waitaki river and obtaining maps of the inland lake district. He met with Selwyn, gathered extensive information on Māori genealogies, myths, language and domestic culture, including food gathering and preparation from fern root, cabbage tree sugar, mutton birds, making canoes,

[18] **Downes, T.W.,** Some historic Maori personages. Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand, vol. 38, Article XIX, pp. 120-127, 1905.

[19] Commodore A. Bérard was commander of *Le Rhin* and head of the French station at Akaroa, arriving there in January, 1843. He had previously visited northern New Zealand with Duperrey in 1824. Bérard was the officer in charge when Willoughby Shortland, Acting Governor enforced the British claim to New Zealand and the British flag was raised at Akaraoa, ending any French endeavours at colonisation.

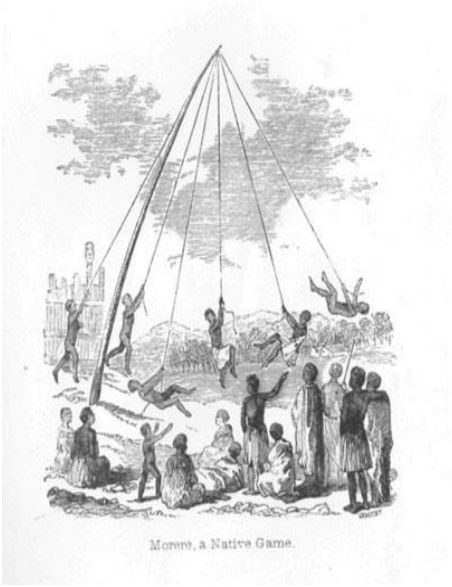
[20] **Shortland, E.** The Southern Districts of New Zealand; a journal, with passing notices of the customs of the aborigines. London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans. MDCCCLI. p. 92.

[21] **Moon, P.** op. cit. pp. 201-208.

[22] **Atholl Anderson** op. cit.

carving greenstone, and structure of houses and villages, and arrived back at Akaroa on the 31st of January, and on to Auckland later in February, with the book ending with his arrival first at Port Nicholson.

Shortland included in his appendices, a genealogical table, a report to Symonds on land claims, which shows his sensibilities both to Māori land and the expectations, and the misinformation and confusion with New Zealand Company and settler purchases. There is an appendix on Maori religion and morality, which both form an extensive part of his observations earlier in the book, there including much on cannibalism, slavery and the importance of pedigree, and which extends later into his second book, and a short appendix in te reo: '*Ko te mea, I kai-kino ai te tangata Maori',* one on statistics of whaling stations, and a copy of a letter to Commodore Bérard. There is also one on Cook's method for making '*spruce beer'* taken from the account of his second voyage. He provides a vocabulary of the 'Kaitahu' dialect, comparing this southern version of the language with the more well known and studied northern tongue.



Morere, a Native game. Shortland Traditions and Superstitions, 1856, 2 ed., frontispiece

Shortland was still living in Plymouth when he also published *Traditions and superstitions in 1854.*

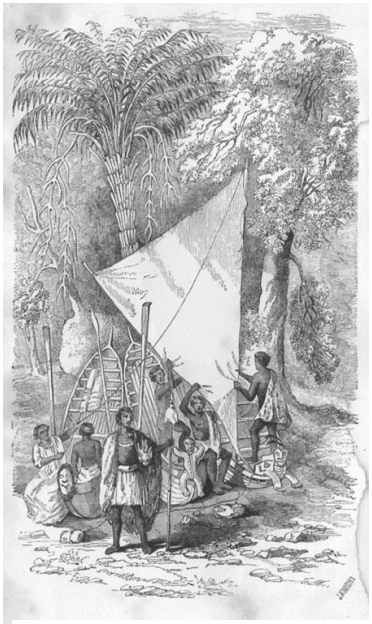
Shortland, E. *Traditions and superstitions of the New Zealanders; with illustrations of their manners and customs. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1854 xii, 300 pp, 24 p adverts, 2 folding genealogical tables. Bagnall 5163, Hocken 178.*

My copy has the original red embossed boards. There is a handwritten inscription by the author on the short title page: '*D Rough Esq, from his sincere friend, The Author*.' David Rough wrote his own, now very rare, account of his travels in the North Island, published in 1852, and described below (next entry). So this copy of Shortland's book was that belonging to David Rough himself.

There are no illustrations, though Shortland includes two fold-out genealogical tables, and an appendix on language, letters on land issues, and a vocabulary of words used in the book that are not in William's dictionary. There is also an appendix on the '*vegetable caterpillar*', the larval stage of a moth, the caterpillar casing destruction to kumara and found also on leaves of other species such a rata. The interest in it, apart from its destructive effects on a food source is that it gets attacked by a fungus which grows within it, putting up a fruiting body above ground which can be mistaken for a thin, small plant, and was used by Māori for food. The moth referred to is likely to be either *Aoraia dinodes* or *Dumbletonius characterifer,* and the fungus the indigenous

Ophiocordyceps robertsii.[23] Shortland uses the word '*pepe*' which in te reo means baby, and was likely used here as the young or immature form of an organism.

Shortland says in his Preface: '*But little is generally known of the superstitious practices of the New Zealanders. The missionaries, who from their knowledge of the language, alone had it in their power for many years to converse freely with the native race, seem to have avoided all enquiries on such subjects. They came to teach a religion and not to learn the principles of superstitions which however valuable in reference to matters of ethnological interest, they regarded as having for their author the great enemy of mankind*.' So it was the secular approaches of Dieffenbach, and in 1855, Shortland, Grey and Taylor (see below) that led the way to a more objective European understanding of Māori. The book has chapters on the Polynesian origins and genealogy, superstitions, 'tapu' makutu' (witchcraft), education, waiata, haka and oratory, including several songs, medicines and health, social structure, and of course, the land, how it was passed down and owned, the constant source of problems for settlers with their willful or mistaken understandings of what land and land ownership meant to Māori.



Maori, with canoes and sail. Shortland, Traditions and Superstitions, 1856, 2 ed., opp. Title page.

There was a second edition in 1856 which included two illustrations, one also used by Grey in his book *Polynesian Mythology* of 1855. Shortland references the two other books strong in ethnology published in the same year. In his preface to this edition, Shortland says: '*Since the publication of the first edition of "The Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders," two works have appeared, more or less on the same subject; one written by Sir George Grey, late Governor-in-Chief of New Zealand, the other, quite recently, by the Rev. Richard Taylor.*

When it is borne in mind that the matter contained in each of these works must have been collected independently, at different times, and in different parts of New Zealand, one cannot but be struck with the agreement in the historical traditions thus obtained from various sources. What more convincing proof can there be that the New Zealanders have preserved from remote ages oral records of their history, by committing them to memory, and so transmitting them, from generation to generation, down to the present time; and that these oral records contain the germs of truth?

In this edition a more complete account of the tribal divisions of the New Zealanders is given. The first and third chapters have been partly rewritten; and some additional matter introduced, which has been obtained in reply to inquiries made through friends who have for many years been resident in New Zealand, and who, from their knowledge of the Maori language, are competent to extract information from the most trustworthy sources.'

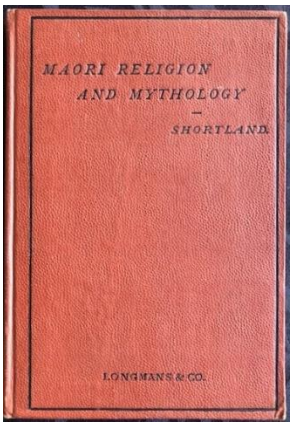
Shortland stayed in England, practising medicine, publishing his books, and incidentally, it is reported that he asked the Earl of Mount Edgecumbe to send deer to New Zealand, which was done[24]. The Petre family (q.v.) was another early source of deer. In 1862, he returned, serving as Secretary for Native Affairs under George Grey from 1863 to 1865, went back to England, then returned again, to Auckland where he practised medicine

[23] Science Learning Hub – Pokapū Akoranga Pūtaiao. (2014). *Vegetable caterpillar*. Retrieved from www.sciencelearn.org.nz/resources/1435-vegetable-caterpillar. Accessed 15 January 2023

[24] **Atholl Anderson** op. cit.

in 1869, and again in 1880. While overseeing Māori affairs, he contributed to a set of essays for the 1865 New Zealand Exhibition, a world fair held in Dunedin from January to May of that year. Shortland's essay on the origins of Māori was published by the New Zealand Institute[25]. Later, while practicing in Parnell, Auckland, he published is last work on Māori religion and mythology.

Shortland, E. *Maori religion and mythology. Illustrated by translations of traditions, Karakia etc., to which are added notes on Maori tenure of land. Longmans Green & Co. 1882. ix, [2 contents, errata], pp 112 [12 adverts]. Small 8vo. Bagnall 5160, Hocken 343*.



My copy is near fine, in the original brown cloth, black titles, gilt spine title. Published by Longmans in London, but on the verso of the half title it gives printed by William Atkin, High St. Auckland. The printer given at the end of the advertisements, however, is Spottiswoode, London.

The book is based on manuscripts collected and translated by Shortland over many years. The chapters cover Religion and mythology, religious rites, Māori origins, and then two on Māori land tenure and claims, still a source of contention 30 years on from Shortland's first writings on the issues. The book is dedicated to the late Sir William Martin, with whom in the early 1870s, he developed a plan for handling land transfers based on surveyor reports and commissioner, rather than through the native and courts, a plan not adopted. There was one other short (pp. 55) book published at the same time, on how to learn Māori.[26]

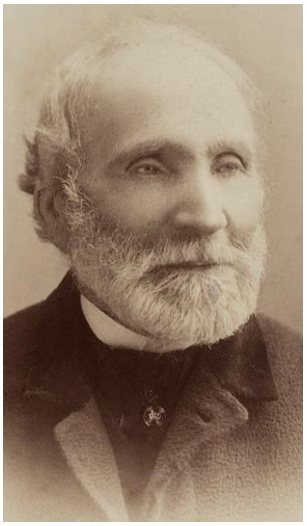
Shortland finally returned to England in 1889, returning to his childhood and family base in Plymouth. He died there in 1893, regarded as the leading expert on Māori anthropology, apparently able to work closely in partnership with Māori, something not always being the case for ethnographic approaches at the time.

[25] **Shortland, E.** A short sketch of the Maori races. Trans NZ Inst. 1865, pp. 330-338. Bagnall 5161, Hocken 236. Off-print from the Transactions. No covers. See Hocken for description of the complete set of essays for the NZ exhibition of 1865.

[26] **Shortland, E.,** How to learn Maori. A short treatise on the structure and idiom of the language. Auckland, Upton & Co., 1883. Bagnall5159, Hocken 349.

According to my promise, I will now endeavour to give you some account of a journey.

Rough, D., *Narrative of a journey through part of the north of New Zealand. 1852.*



David Rough played a central part in the foundation of Auckland, but that is not what his book is about. Rough (1815-1899) was born in Dundee and went to sea from an early age. He is recorded in India in 1837, when only 22, then sailing via the Philippines to Australia and New Zealand.[27] He was present at the signing of the Treaty, and accompanied Governor Hobson (whose family governess, Emily Short, he married) in the cutter *Ranger* in 1840 to Auckland in seeking out the site of the proposed capital.[28] His role was to take soundings and investigate the harbour, and while Hobson ion the upper harbour being disappointed, Rough landed at St Mary's Bay and was much more enthusiastic at the prospects.[29] He reportedly raised the first flag in the settlement.[500] Under Fitzroy in 1844, he was superintendent of works, and travelled to the Rotorua and Waikato regions in the North Island, the subject of his short account. This had previously been published in the *New Zealander* in London in 1851.

Rough, D. *Narrative of a journey through part of the north of New Zealand. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. [1852] 40 pp, frontispiece plate, map and plate, 12mo. Bagnall 4931, Hocken 167.*

This is a very rare book, seldom seen on the market or in collections. I bought it at auction in 2022, entering a small bidding war which ended in it being at the high end of the range in terms of dollars per page. It is in the original green cloth with a gilt title. The high price is, like Bidwill and Wade, due to its rarity rather than to any great intrinsic value. On the rear end papers are hand-written notes which look like railway times and platforms for somewhere in Britain, possibly Birmingham (Moat Lane) and Wales. So the book was put to some use.

The book had no preface or introduction and launches straight in, opening in the form of a letter '*My Dear - - According to my promise I will now endeavour to give you some account of a journey which I lately made through the most interesting part of New Zealand...*' Perhaps he is addressing his wife. He says that '*In the description I formerly gave you of the visit to various settlements on the coasts of this colony, I requested your attention to the map of these Islands, and if you will again refer to it you will find that nearly in the centre of the Northern Island there is the great lake called the "Taupo" from which the river "Waikato" issues*...'. This suggests that the book may be a continuation of an earlier letter. The map he refers to is printed opposite page 1, closely cropped to fit onto the 12 mo dimensions, and is heavily labelled with coastal features including the Manukau labelled as Port Symonds.

[27] See his death notice in The Press, Volume LVI, Issue 10869, 10 June 1899, p. 8.
[28] **Scholefield, J.,** op. cit. Vol 2., p259-260.
[29] **Stone, R. C. J**., From Tamaki-Makau-Rau to Auckland**.** Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2002.

There is also a frontispiece plate, noted as associated with page 29, where there is a description of the struggles of his party through dense bush in the lower Waikato region, after viewing Mt Tongariro (as many called Mt Ngauruhoe at the time). The plate is an engraving of dense bush, with large, feathery tree ferns, with the wood-engraver Josiah Whimper's[30] name on it. In the 1840s and 50s, Whimper produced fine engravings for sale by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the publisher of Rough's book. His engravings are also found in Selwyn's *Annals of the Diocese of New Zealand* of 1847. A second plate shows a whare with two Māori figures in the front porch. A very large waterfall is depicted, plunging down through rocks and bush behind it.

Whare and waterfall, Rough, 1852, p. 18. Unknown artist.

Rough sets out in August 1849, sailing to Tauranga, meeting missionaries there, the Rev P C Davies, then walking south to Maketu and the Rev Chapman. His party (he has an unnamed companion) then walked inland to the Rotorua lakes district and on to Taupo. He is hosted by Māori on the way, and paddled into the lake by the chief Pohipi, also known as Busby. He sees Ngauruhoe across the lake and notes that the shorelines are devoid of trees. On his way back north, he stays at the village of Arowhena, probably Arohena, near the Waikato river, west of what is now Tokoroa. They travel on down the Waikato and eventually cross the Manukau region overland to Auckland for their return. Nothing much happens, but in all it provides a picture of a well-populated inland area in the triangle of Tauranga, Taupo and Auckland, with missionaries and the occasional settler living with Māori, undisturbed, and unknowing of what is to come.

Rough was some 15 years in Auckland, becoming a captain in the militia and there are various records of Rough's activities in the Auckland area in his Harbour master role. For instance, in 1842, he visited Great Barrier to look at the copper ore recently found there, and then north to Mahurangi where there has been reports, unfounded, of coal. He accompanied Grey in visiting the South Island in 1848 and eventually settled there, where he was appointed Head of Customs in 1856, eventually holding the post of Deputy-Superintendent of the region. In 1875 he returned to England and died there. He made gifts to the Auckland Museum in 1893[501], included a collection of watercolours, by Merrett and others.

Sometimes there is a side interest in evidence of who knew whom, let alone who liked whom, and Edward Shortland gave Rough a copy of his *Traditions and Superstitions of New Zealanders*, 1854. It is Rough's copy that I have and is described in the piece above on Shortland.

[30] Josiah Whimper (1813-1903) was an engraver and illustrator working in London at the time, known for his engravings of animals, landscapes and natural wonders.

A trial should have been made to rule this people without the display of military force.

***Mundy, G.C**. Our antipodes: or, residence and rambles in the Australasian colonies. 1852.*

Godfrey Charles Mundy c.1850. Artist Alfred, Count D'Orsay. http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw04573/Godfrey-Charles-Mundy

Godfrey Charles Mundy was better known in Australia than New Zealand, which he only visited for 3 months from December 1847 to February 1848. But this short time was enough for him to leave an energetic account of his travels, and some sketches, including one in the book, but others in library and museum collections, that give authentic images of Auckland and elsewhere in the late 1840s. He showed an early penchant for publishing his accounts of travels and service, and sketching, publishing an account of his time in India in 1832.[31]

Munday (1804-1860) was through and through a British Army man, starting his career in 1821, serving in India and Canada, and then in 1846 was appointed Deputy Adjutant General of the Australian military forces, arriving in Sydney in June of that year. He was a cousin of Governor Fitzroy and travelled with him, particularly in New South Wales[32], but also travelling further, in Victoria and Van Diemen's Land and then New Zealand, both in the north and the Wellington region, some of the time with Governor George Grey. Mundy returned to England in 1851, where he published his three volume account of his time in Australia and New Zealand,

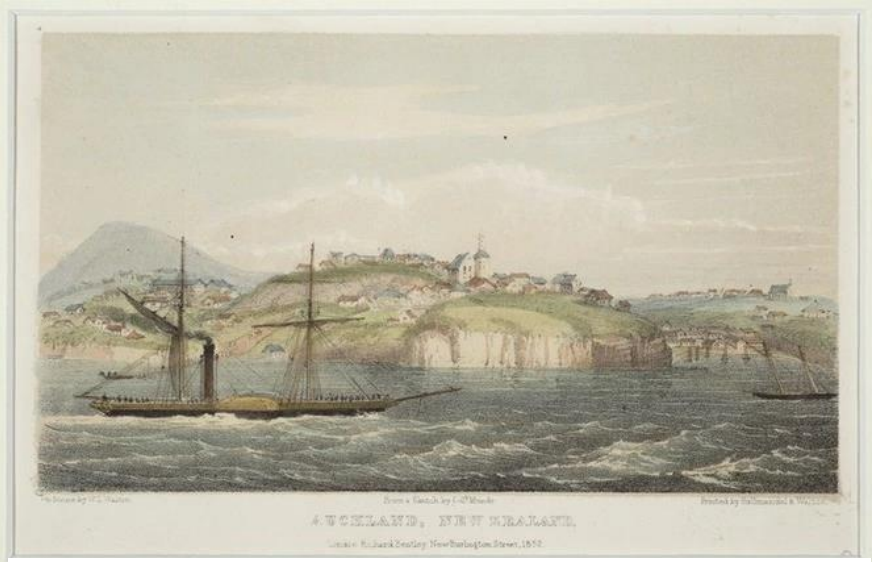
***Mundy, G.C**. Our antipodes: or, residence and rambles in the Australasian colonies. With a glimpse of the goldfields. In three volumes. London: Richard Bentley. MDCCCLII [1852] v.1 xii, [17]-410, frontispiece, 4 plates; v.2 viii, [9]-405, frontispiece, 1 plate; v.3 viii, [9]-431, frontispiece, 4 plates. Bagnall 3670, Hocken 166.*

My copy is rebound in contemporary 19th C half calf, with marbled boards and end papers. It is almost a fine copy. It was bought from an Adelaide dealer in 2001, about which I have no memory.

The book was popular, with four editions published through to 1857, the last two as one volume, and the Australian parts translated into German and Swedish.[33] It has a dedication, to Mundy's mother, something not common at the time, when dedications were more directed at men of influence and patronage, and no preface; he likes the direct

[31] **Mundy, G.C.** Pen and Pencil Sketches being the Journal of A Tour in India
Captain Mundy. London, John Murray, 1832. 2 vols.
[32] Ken Macnab and Russel Ward, 'Mundy, Godfrey Charles (1804–1860)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mundy-godfrey-charles-2490/text3351, published first in hardcopy 1967, accessed online 21 January 2023.
[33] **Wevers, L**., op. cit. pp. 115-123

approach. There are 15 plates, lithographs etched on stone by W. L. Walton[34], from very accomplished sketches by Mundy himself, and Walton gets a footnote of thanks in the Preface, again something rarely seen. Walton worked with the printer Charles Hullmandel on these plates, as with other publications of the time. There is only one of New Zealand, that of Auckland in Vol. II, where the account of the New Zealand visit is found. Most are landscape scenes, except for one of gold miners '*Rocking the Cradle*' as the frontispiece in Vol. III, a kangaroo hunt in Vol I, with outstretched horses racing down to the kill, like an exotic English fox hunt, and an unsettling frontispiece in Vol I of mounted police and 'Blacks' fighting, spears against guns.



Auckland, New Zealand. Mundy, 1852, Vol. II, p.72. Hand-painted lithograph from a sketch by Munday, c. 1850. Alexander Turnbull Library /records/29948105

The Auckland harbour plate shows Parnell in the centre with St Paul's Church, and to the right the Britomart Barracks. The steamship would have been one of the earliest in New Zealand, and is likely to have been the HMS Inflexible, a steam sloop that served in the last year of the wars in New Zealand of 1845-1847. This was the steam sloop that Munday sailed to New Zealand in from Sydney.[35]

Mundy's account of his visits takes up most of volume II. '*I had long determined to take up the first favourable opportunity of visiting New Zealand – its chief settlements, military posts, and battle-fields, and of making such notes as may be useful at the head-quarters of the Australian command in case of further warfare*.'[36] He spent the time on the Tasman swatting up '*A capacious cabin being allotted to me, and thus having privacy at my command, I determined to devote a few hours every day to learning something about the country I was about to visit*.'[37] The first of the New Zealand chapters is thus on the country's recent history, its government, and looming large, the conflicts with Māori, which he naturally views with the eyes of the

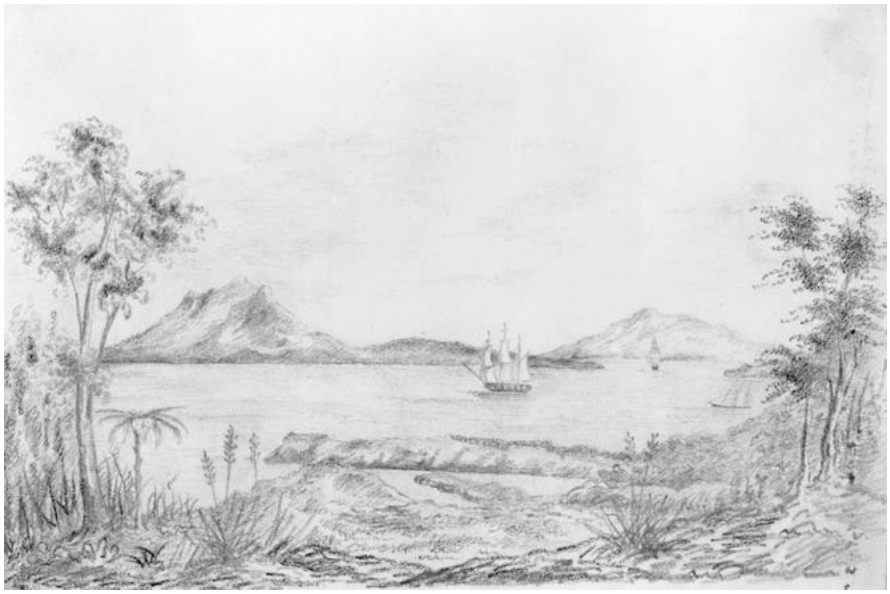
[34] William Louis Walton (1807-1879) was one of the most notable and earliest of lithographers working in London in the mid-19th C, often, as here, with the printer Charles Hullmandel.

[35] The first steamship in New Zealand was HMS Driver, which looked very much like that depicted, except that she had left to return to England in 1847, becoming the first steamship to circumnavigate the globe. The first steamship built in New Zealand was the PS Governor Wynyard launched in 1851.

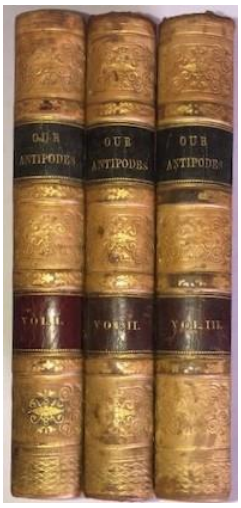
[36] **Mundy, G.C**. Our antipodes: or, residence and rambles in the Australasian colonies. With a glimpse of the goldfields. London: Richard Bentley. MDCCCLII [1852] p. 48.

[37] Ibid. p. 49.

military. '..*I must confess a regret, that up to this day, the Maoris have never yet received what I verily believe would have been of infinite service to their particular complaint, - namely, a good sound thrashing! Such as one as has been frequently and salutarily administered by British blue jackets and red, upon troublesome people in well nigh every other quarter of the globe*.' And then to end off, '..*I venture...to lament that I was denied the satisfaction of hearing the war-yell of the Maori and the battle cheer of the British in martial mission, and seeing the fire-lock and bayonet fairly crossed in open field with the double-barrel and tomahawk; and I hope there is nothing unpardonably truculent in the sentiment!*[38]. And there in my copy in the margin in pencil, a sensitive reader has added '*Bad taste'* and after the truculence, '*Oh! Oh!*'



Middle entrance, Auckland Harbour, December 11, 1847. A pencil drawing by Mundy, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/23100030



Mundy arrived in Auckland on December 11th, and describes the land and harbour very much as sketched, here with HMS Calliope and HMS Dido, which he notes they '*almost rubbed sides with*'. He was not much taken with it. *'I have not much to say in praise of Auckland as a town. Ninety-nine out of a hundred of the houses are built of wood and are of unsubstantial appearance*.' [39] He, as all visitors, is taken with Māori, describing their appearance, and military man to the fore, '*There are at this moment upwards of 1000 Maoris employed on the roads in the northern and southern district by the Government. From among these fine fellows who, working under English overseers, have become habituated to English discipline, might be selected excellent materials for a native regiment*.'[40] He meets and stays with Grey, and visits Selwyn at St Johns. He rides to Oněūnga (Onehunga) to see the pensioner settlement there, and to Howick where the same has been proposed. Over the next chapters, Mundy explores Auckland, writes much on Māori and their customs, and the campaign against Kawiti in the north He sailed south to

[38] Ibid. pp. 68-69.
[39] Ibid. p. 75.
[40] Ibid. p.76-77.

Wellington and the Whanganui regions, inevitably writes on the land claims and New Zealand Company's colonisation plans, and returns to Auckland on the ubiquitous Government brig *Victoria*, arriving on 12 February. He leaves for Sydney from the Bay of Islands on the 21st, arriving on March 6, 1848.

The first and third volumes cover his travels in Australia, including visiting the gold fields. His New Zealand visit is vividly recorded, and despite the gung-ho wish to see them put in their place by the British army, there is a growing appreciation of Māori, particularly the wisdom of the elders and their developing relationship and understanding of what was happening around them as the settlers and the British administration took over. It's a lively, engaging book, full of humour, but never moving far from the rather privileged view of its time in it's military-driven, old Etonian observations[41]. Mundy never ventured into the Southern Hemisphere again, but served in the War Office during the Crimean War, and then was appointed Governor of Jersey in 1857 with the rank of Major-General. How his experiences helped in this unchallenging role is unknown. It has the appearance of a sinecure for a fairly unexceptional officer. He died in London in 1860, leaving behind his wife Louisa and son.

[41] **Wevers, L.,** op. cit.

A scene from fairyland

***Adams, C.W**. A spring in the Canterbury Settlement. 1853*

Did Charles Warren Adams voyage to New Zealand as an 18-year-old, travel around for a 10 weeks, write his book and publish it at the age of 20, returning to England to become a lawyer, a leading anti-vivisectionist and writer of the first detective novel in Victorian England? Or were there two men of that name? The lawyer and writer was born in 1833 and died in 1903. The information available doesn't let us know. Adams says in his preface or '*Advertisement*' that '*A long sea voyage and a bracing climate having been recommended to me by my medical attendant, it was thought by my friends that these objects could not be more united more completely than by a voyage to New Zealand;'* This doesn't sound like a 20-year-old, and neither does the writing overall have the feel of a very young man. He says that he embarked in June 1851 on the new Canterbury Association ship '*Canterbury*' under Captain Edwards along with around 140 immigrants, and the passenger list does have a J Adams, age 22 in the Chief cabin, destined for Wellington. This would have Adams born about 1828 as has been suggested elsewhere. Apart from the luxury of a long sea voyage to retore his health there is other evidence that Adams was a man of means, His '*Advertisement*' in the book is signed off from Wood Lodge, Shooters Hill. This was a well-known hill just south of London near Woolwich, famed for highway men in the past, and mentioned by both Byron and Dickens in their writings. There some fine homes built there over the 18th and 19th centuries, and Wood Lodge was one, though it was demolished around 1930, and currently is the site of Oxleas Wood.

Wood Lodge, Shooters Hill, Kent where Adams lived in the 1850s.

Whoever Adams was, his book was published in 1853.

***Adams, C.W**. A spring in the Canterbury Settlement, by C. Warren Adams, Esq. with engravings. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1853. vii,[1], 96 pp, frontispiece, 4 folding plates, adverts. 8vo. Bagnall 41, Hocken 169.*

My copy is a near fine one is in early half calf, marbled boards. The original described by Bagnall was issued in blue cloth. Bagnall also only g vies 3 folding plates, whereas there are 4 (as with Hocken).

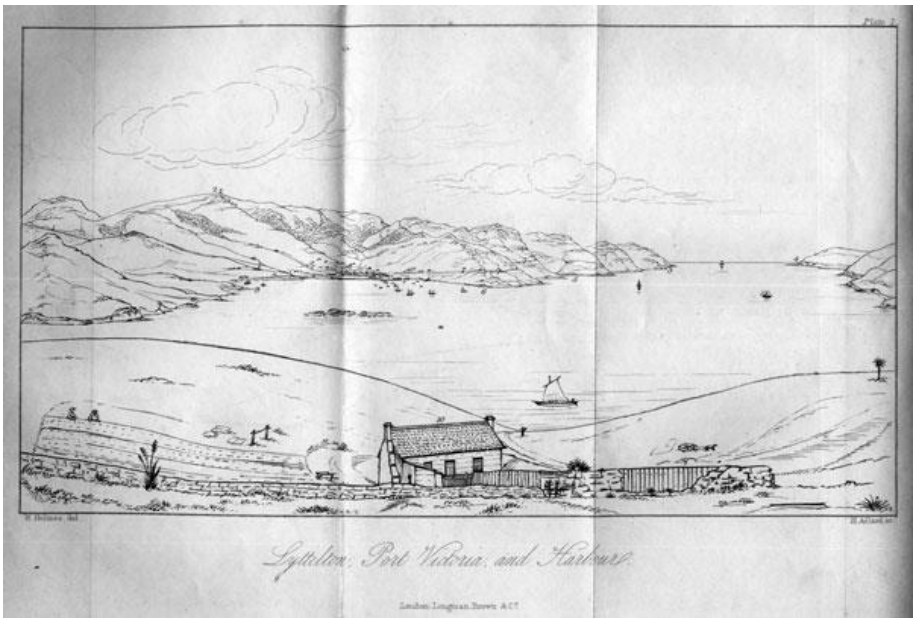
There is an '*Advertisement*' as a preface from Adams. He also appends an Addendum of the balance sheets of the Ecclesiastical Fund[42], including a copy of the balance sheet of the Canterbury Association for November 1851 to December 1852. He finds it all unsatisfactory: '*It is impossible to doubt, that the public will require, and that the highly honourable men who have patronised this Association will insist upon the production, by its managers, of a full*

[42] The Ecclesiastical and Education fund was set up to receive some of the proceeds from land sales that could be used for furthering the establishment of the church and education in Canterbury. It appears not to have been greatly safeguarded from other uses.

and detailed account of the mode in which every shilling of this sacred fund has been expended...'[43], suggesting that the fund had strayed from its original purposes. He had obtained the data from the Canterbury Association's office at the Adelphi. What we don't know is why he had this interest, not being a settler or landowner?

The book has a frontispiece and 4 fold-out plates. The frontispiece is '*Mr Keale's Warri, Port Levy*' and the fold-outs: '*Lyttleton and Port Victoria Harbour*', *Lyttleton from the Sumner Road*, '*The Town of Lyttleton'*, and '*The Canterbury Plains, from the Heathcote Ferry'*. The Keale of the frontispiece was a hospitable settler '*We were received by Mr Keale, the owner of the little reed-built hut, or "warri" with that warm hospitality which is amongst the most amiable characteristics of these colonies. It is true that he only had potatoes to offer us, the fare on which he had for some time himself subsisted; but in our famished condition, we held them to be luxuries, and took advantage of the temporary absence of our host to devour them before they were half cooked*.'[44] The fine line ink drawings are by William Holmes (1825-1885) who arrived in Canterbury on the '*Castle Eden'* in February 1851 to take up a position as schoolmaster of the Collegiate grammar School in Lyttleton. He had particular talents in music and art and his sketches were displayed for private viewing in Lyttleton at the Steadfast Coffee Room on Norwich Quay, in December 1851. If you wanted a copy, you applied to A.W.C. (Adams), and it seems likely that Adams had the sketches printed for Holmes in return for permission to use them in his book. They were also issued separately, and as well as those reproduced in Adams' book, others were engraved and printed in London for distribution[45]. Holmes moved to Wellington in 1852 and had a career in teaching for some 30 years.

William Holmes. https://winsomegriffin.com/Guilford/CanterburyViews.htm



Lyttleton, Port Victoria and Harbour. Artist W Holmes. In Adams, 1853.

[43] **Adams, C.W**. A spring in the Canterbury Settlement, by C. Warren Adams, Esq. with engravings. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1853. Addendum

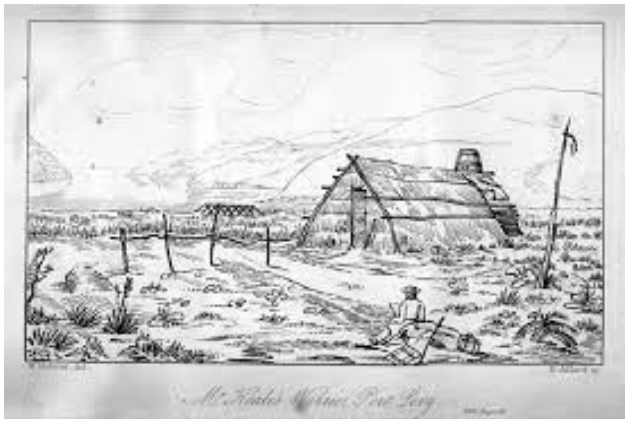
[44] Ibid. pp. 46-47.

[45] **Ellis, E.M & D.G.** op. cit. pp. 133-135; Platts, U., op. cit. p. 130.

The drawings have keys, and there you can see the Godley's house, the immigration barracks, the Mitre and Canterbury hotels, and other buildings and features of Lyttleton in the three Lyttleton plates. The Canterbury drawing shows the Heathcote river looping round, the nascent Christchurch, and farther off Oxford and Harewood forest, and 100 miles distant with the sun setting behind, the Southern Alps.

Adams starts with the bustle of embarkation, carpenters finishing cabins, lumpers or haulers loading chests and furniture, distracted passengers in all three classes, anxious, weeping wives and mothers quitting their old homes; it is a cinematic picture. And then the 4 months of languor, well for the cabin passengers at least, the lotus-eaters referred to in the Fraser's Magazine review (see below). They produced a weekly newspaper called the 'Sea Pie' which only lasted 4 weeks, put on theatricals, and played an '*ancient Egyptian game, which we named Sesostris. It was played by two persons, on a board placed between them, having twelve small hollows, six on each side. Six tamarind stones were placed in eacb of these holes. The first player, taking up the contents of one of the holes, dropped them one by one into the others, and, taking up the contents of the hole into which the last stone fell, he proceeded as before, and continued the process until the last stone fell into an empty hole*....' It is a long explanation that is best read in the book. '*Monotonous and unintellectual as this game undoubtedly is, it helped us while away many a weary hour*.'[46]

It was October before they sighted New Zealand, and rounded Bank's peninsular and sailed along it Northern Shore to Port Lyttleton or Port Cooper[47] as it was originally named. '...*the country we were now passing seemed like a scene from fairyland* [48].' Adams lands and over the next 10 weeks spends his time in Lyttleton and Christchurch, describing the plains, Bank's Peninsular, sheep farms, and with a chapter on Māori. He spends some weeks at Mr Caverhill's Station at Motonau[49], across the Waipara River. He returns as far as Rangiora, crosses the river by ferry at Kaiapoi and visits a Pa. He has a curious, though respectful view and the book includes a short chapter on the Māori. In all it is a modest account, though lively, and he has no axe to grind, no worries about land purchase and Governments, and gives an authentic account to put alongside Charlotte Godley's letters from the same time.



Mr Keate's Warri, Port Levy. Artist W Holmes. In Adams, 1853, frontispiece.

[46] **Adams**, op cit. 9-10.

[47] What is now Lyttleton was originally known as Whakaraupō, then named Port Cooper in 1827 by Capt. William Wiseman, a local flax trader, after one of the owners of Cooper and Levy, a Sydney trading company. Lyttleton was officially proclaimed a port in 1849.

[48] **Adams**, op.. cit. p.14.

[49] John Caverhill (1821-1897) was an early (Pre-Adamite, i.e. before the first four ships) settler in the region, developing Motunau and near-by runs in the early 1850s, in what was even then recognised as some of the fines sheep country in the land.

Adams' book was sufficiently noticed to be reviewed in Fraser's Magazine in 1853[50]. '*And here we may remark that narrative, as well as several others we have already noticed, impresses us very strongly with the profound dulness of a long voyage. Mr. Adams, indeed, describes life on board ship as a "lounging, dreamy, lotus - eating sort of existence;" but in spite of the beauty of tropical sunsets and all other novelties, he fails to persuade us that the life thus portrayed is not really one of prodigious dulness*.' The review provides no real observations other than a summary of Adams' narrative. It is included in a longer review on travel writing and immediately after is a review of William Erskine's journal of a cruise in the Western Pacific.[51]

Adams left New Zealand on 6th January, 1842, on the same ship, the '*Canterbury*' that he arrived on, heading for Port Phillip and then home to England, his health restored.

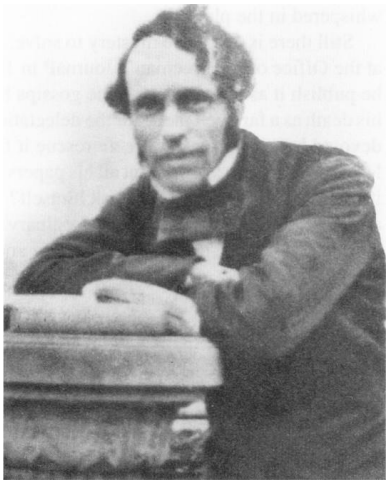
[50] Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country, September 1853. London, John Parker & Son, Vol XLVIII pp. 257-259.

[51] **Erskine, J.E**. **Capt. R.N**. Journal of a cruise among the islands of the Western Pacific, includiung the Feejees and others inhabited by the Polynesian Negro Races, in her Majesty's Ship Havannah. London. John Murray, 1853.

A curious problem in the history of the human race is now being solved in the islands of New Zealand

[Swainson, W] *Auckland and its neighbourhood. 1852.*
[Swainson, W.] *Auckland, the capital of New Zealand. 1853.*
Swainson, W*. New Zealand. 1856.*
Swainson W. *New Zealand and its colonisation. 1859.*
Swainson, W*. New Zealand and the war. 1862.*

Apart from moments of excitement, and perhaps terror, the voyage out in the 1840s and 50s was one of languor and boredom. Well, at least for the cabin passengers, because we have not heard much from the folks in steerage. Jerningham Wakefield amused himself hypnotising Charles Heaphy, and along with Dieffenbach, Heaphy and Col William Wakefield, he set up debates and discussions. Charles Warren Adams helped run a newspaper, though it only lasted 4 weeks, presumably for the lack of news, and whiled away the time playing a strange Egyptian game with stones in holes in a length of wood. Charlotte and John Godley, with Jerningham Wakefield again (on his second voyage), had theatricals, and wholesome lectures. Alexander Marjoribanks, as with Charles Adams, ate and drank his way across, feasting like a king, while his captain apparently failed to supply the steerage passengers with their full rations. And then aboard the New Zealand Company barque *Tyne*, William Swainson, the new Attorney General, William Martin, the newly appointed Chief Justice, and Thomas Outhwaite, to become registrar of the Supreme Court, sat down and over the four idle months drafted out legislation that would be used for the first administration of the new colony.[52]



William Swainson, photographed in England in 1856. Detail from a larger family photograph. Stacpoole, 2007, p. 74.

William Swainson (1809-1884) was born in Lancaster, trained in law, and was called to the Bar in 1838. It is not too clear how he came to be appointed Attorney General for New Zealand in such a short time, though he was well acquainted with both William Martin and the future Bishop, George Selwyn, and was possibly a member of the New Zealand Association, writing a short pamphlet on the climate of New Zealand[53], noticed in the *New Zealand Journal* in 1840[54]. The *Tyne* with Swainson aboard arrived at Port Nicolson in August 1841. He's entertained by Jerningham Wakefield, and then sails north for Thames and then Auckland, where the capital and government was being established under Hobson. Between December 1841 and March 1842, the results of the voyage were the enactment of some 29 pieces of legislation on establishing law courts, municipalities and land transfer laws.[55]

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[52] **Stacpoole, J**., Sailing to Bohemia. A Life of the Honourable William Swainson. Auckland, Puriri Press, 2007. pp. 14-15.
[53] **Swainson, W**., Observations on the climate of New Zealand . London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1840. Bagnall 5433, Hocken 90.
[54] Ibid., pp. 12-13.
[55] Graeme Reid. 'Swainson, William', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1s29/swainson-william (accessed 10 February 2023

It was some ten years before Swainson published his first piece on Auckland. Over those years, Swainson remained as Attorney General, resigning only in 1856, and worked closely with George Grey and William Martin on legislation, particularly the New Zealand Constitution Act of 1852. He was strong on Māori rights over land claims, putting him off-side with settlers and other landowners. He was appointed to the Legislative Council in 1853, becoming Speaker in 1854, and it was here that his views on Māori, particularly his claim that the lands of those who didn't sign the Treaty were not British Territory, upset not only the locals, but the Colonial Secretary, Lord Stanley in London. Over this time as well, he established himself in Auckland, purchasing land in Parnell at Judges Bay, and linking closely with the Martins, the Selwyns and others in the more ecclesiastical parts of the new colony and its capital, the cultured, confirmed bachelor (he never married) and good-natured friend.

At a farewell dinner for George Grey on 26 December 1853, Swainson was number 13 on the toast list, placed, probably rather warmly by this time, between the toast to '*The Superintendents and Members of the Provincial Councils of the other provinces*' at number 12, and followed at number 14 by a toast to '*The prosperity of Agricultural Interests in New Zealand*'. The toast was specifically to '*The author of Auckland and its Neighbourhood*'. By this time the interests of the dinners may well have waned, and more toasts came, to trade and commerce of Auckland, Mrs Wynyard and the Auckland ladies (rather late in the piece), the Press, and lastly the Mercantile Marine.[56] With the toasts you sang a song, and Swainson got '*Flow on thou shining river*'[57]. Stacpoole says that the actual title of the book referred to was '*Auckland, the capital of New Zealand, and the country adjacent*', Swainson's larger 1853 book, but he is likely wrong. They would be referring correctly to Swainson's first pamphlet published locally in 1852.

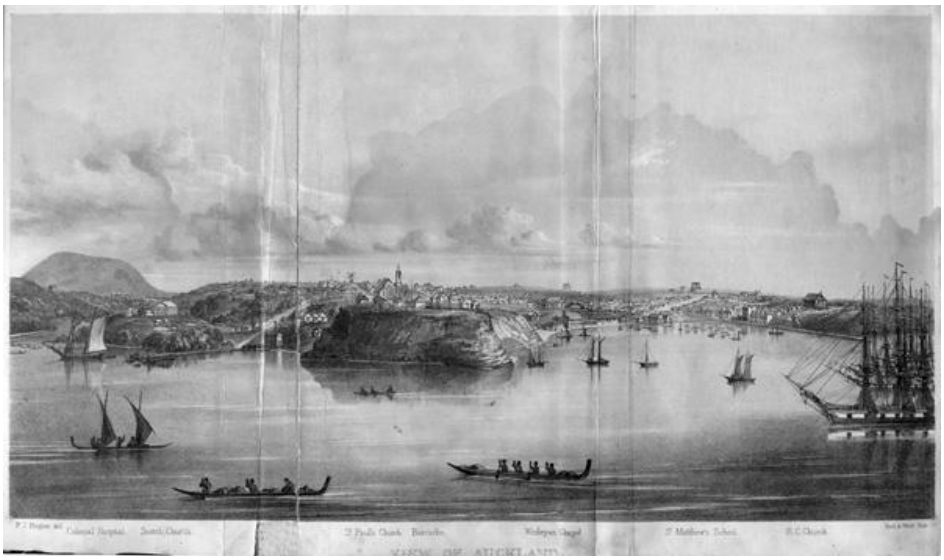
[Swainson, W] *Auckland and its neighbourhood. Auckland: Williamson and Wilson, "New Zealander" Office. MDCCCLII [1852]. 51 pp, cover titles, folding table. Bagnall 5427, Hocken 169.*

My copy is in the original printed covers, which are foxed and loosely enclosed in green cloth boards, but the internal pages are very clean. The book is quite rare, whereas his other works are reasonably available, though often missing the maps and fold-outs. It was bought at auction in 2018

The title page has no author's name, as with the enlarged London publication in 1853. The folding table at the back contains data from the Census of New Ulster, November 1851, taken from the Government Gazette, plus a table on agricultural returns from New Ulster, November 1851. The pamphlet was published by Williamson and Wilson, Auckland publishers of the leading newspaper '*The New Zealander*'.[58] Swainson launches straight in, with no Preface or Introduction, Chapter I describing the physical features of Auckland and why it was chosen to be the capital. In Chapter II he describes the town and suburbs and

[56] **Stacpoole, J**., op. cit. pp. 58-59.
[57] A poem by Thomas Moore set to music by various composers and arrangers over the years.
[58] John Williamson started and printed the paper in June 1845, and he later partnered with W C Wilson. The partnership ended in 1863, and the paper closed in 1866. Charles Terry was one of its early editors. The Cyclopedia of New Zealand [Auckland Provincial District], Auckland Newspaper Press, pp. 267-271. 1902

puts things into perspective: '*With a revenue at the Port of Auckland alone equal to that of the whole of the New Zealand Company's settlements, and with about 500 vessels of various sizes, and nearly two thousand canoes yearly entering the port*, ...' it is clear that Auckland has advantages found nowhere else in the country.[59] He talks extensively of climate, social and domestic life '*In many respects, Auckland resembles an English watering-place.....as in a watering-place, there is little or no formal or state visiting; but there is much social intercourse amongst friends, easy, familiar, and without restraint*.'[60] He ends on the past, present and future, and shows, as so many of the time do, the ambiguities of relationships with Māori. He had close friendships and respect, yet can only see a civilisation where a barbarous, indigenous people are turned into modern Europeans: '..*it shall be given to the founders of this colony to be also the instruments of preserving a barbarous native race, and in raising them in the scale of civilisation to a level with ourselves*...'[61]



View of Auckland. Colonial Hospital, Scotch Church, St. Paul's Church, Barracks, Wesleyan Chapel, R.C. Church. Swainson, 1853, frontispiece fold-out.

The pamphlet was extended into a book put out by Smith, Elder in London the following year.

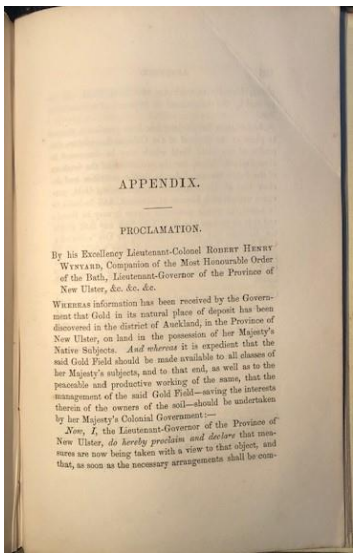
[Swainson, W.] *Auckland, the capital of New Zealand, and the country adjacent: including some account of the gold discovery in New Zealand. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 65, Cornhill. Auckland: J. Williamson. 1853. xii, 163 pp, 16 p adverts, folding frontispiece, folding map. Bagnall 5428, Hocken 173.*

My copy is in the original green embossed boards, complete with fold-out plate of Auckland, and the map, both of which are often missing. I originally bought a copy in 1988 without a map, then a complete, very nice one at auction in 2018. There is a signature on the front inside cover of Percy J H White, dated 20/6/20.[62]

[59] **[Swainson, W.]** Auckland and its neighbourhood. Auckland: Williamson and Wilson, "New Zealander" Office. MDCCCLII [1852]. p. 19.
[60] Ibid. pp. 33-34.
[61] Ibid. p. 51.
[62] Percy James White (1874-1942) was a prominent New Plymouth businessman and JP.

The fold-out engraving of Auckland is by P J Hogan, the sapper who arrived in 1849 and was later a surveyor under Heaphy. He published four views of Auckland, one being printed in Hursthouse's *New Zealand, or Zealandia, the Britain of the South*, in 1857. This is quite a different view from those four, the aspect being directed from the North Shore or the harbour itself, directly opposite Parnell, with Maungawhau (Mt Eden) in the distant far left. The hand-coloured map is very fine. The cartographer is not given. It is colour-coded with the Borough of Auckland pink, towns and villages red and surveyed lands yellow, and the Coromandel gold field, which is an addition to the text not in the original 1852 pamphlet. The book was published jointly by Smith, Elder & Co in London, and J Williamson in Auckland.

Swainson provides a Preface where he says that compared to other settlements, such as Wellington, Nelson and Canterbury, '*Auckland, comparatively unknown, has, meanwhile, been growing in the shade*.' Yet '*nearly one third of the European population in New Zealand are settled within sight of Auckland*'. And he ends his preface with the slightly mysterious words '*But the concluding chapter will at least suffice to show that a curious problem in the history of the human race is now being solved in the islands of New Zealand*.'



APPENDIX.

PROCLAMATION.

By his Excellency Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Henry Wynyard, Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of New Ulster, &c. &c. &c.

Whereas information has been received by the Government that Gold in its natural place of deposit has been discovered in the district of Auckland, in the Province of New Ulster, on land in the possession of her Majesty's Native Subjects. *And whereas* it is expedient that the said Gold Field should be made available to all classes of her Majesty's subjects, and to that end, as well as to the peaceable and productive working of the same, that the management of the said Gold Field—saving the interests therein of the owners of the soil—should be undertaken by her Majesty's Colonial Government:—

Now, I, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of New Ulster, *do hereby proclaim and declare* that measures are now being taken with a view to that object, and that, as soon as the necessary arrangements shall be com-

The book is mostly a reprint of the 1852 pamphlet. However he has an initial chapter on Hobson and his administration, sympathetically drawn, and a judicious view of the New Zealand company in its faults and successes, and does point out that the Company '*simultaneously colonised it [New Zealand] at various points with some of the finest settlers who ever left the parent state*.' [63] This is an often overlooked success from one of Edward Gibbon Wakefield's principles of colonisation. There are two other new chapters, one on the goldfields and the other on '*Bush Travelling in New Zealand*', with an appendix which includes a proclamation by the Lt Governor Robert Wynyard of the discovery of gold in the Thames district, and subsequent regulations and information.

But what of the '*curious problem*'? It is that of how a native race might be brought into Government '*we should probably best discharge the responsibility we have undertaken in their favour, by carefully and gradually admitting them to participation in the exercise of political power; retaining to the Crown, in the mean time, such a degree of influence in the colonial legislature as would enable the executive to initiate and advocate such measure as may be required for promoting their advancement in the social scale*...'. And he looks forward to historians looking back, marvelling that '*a little band of Englishmen, strong only in their weakness, were sent forth by the parent state to found a colony...and to govern and control, not only their own countrymen, but barbarous, well-armed, warlike native people*...' How successful this might have been, '*will then be a matter of curious history*.'[64]

In 1855, Swainson returned to England. He had long planned the journey. Caroline Abraham, a member of the Parnell ecclesiastical society recommended him to a friend in

[63] ***[*Swainson, W.]*** Auckland, the capital of New Zealand, and the country adjacent: including some account of the gold discovery in New Zealand. London: Smith, Elder & Co., Auckland: J. Williamson. 1853. p. 8.
[64] Ibid., pp. 149-151.

England *'pray do not be thrown back by a dry and reserved manner'*[65], but his intention to return to England was not well known. He resigned from the Wynyard administration as it ended, Wynyard being replaced by Gore Browne in September 1855. He left Auckland in March, called in at the Cape and visited his old friend George Grey, and was with his family in Lancaster soon after. During the year he spent in England, he gave a series of lectures, very much based on his Auckland books, and given at a number of places which seem to have no particular pattern, perhaps residences of his friends[66]. They lectures were published by Smith, Elder later in 1856.

Swainson, W. *New Zealand. The substance of lectures on the colonisation of New Zealand, delivered at Lancaster, Plymouth, Bristol, Hereford, Kirkby Lonsdale, Richmond, and The Charter House, London. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 65 Cornhill. 1856. 64 pp, 16 p adverts. Bagnall 5432, Hocken 185.*

My copy is in the original dark green embossed cloth boards. It was bought from Bethunes in 2008 and is a very good copy. It has about 16 pages of advertisements, showing how active Smith, Elder was at the time, particularly with works on the East.

This slight book follows the pattern of his Auckland books, with chapters, or lectures, on the history of New Zealand colonisation, including the Treaty, the New Zealand Constitution, Māori, climate, and on the present and future of the colony.

By November 1856, Swainson was back in Auckland, with his friends such as the Martins and Selwyns, and over the next years occupied himself a little with politics and a lot with matters of the church and society. He published is book on colonisation in 1859.

Swainson in his seventies. Stracpoole, 2007, p. 162.

Swainson W. *New Zealand and its colonisation. With a map. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 65, Cornhill. 1859. viii, 416 pp, folding map, 24 p adverts. Bagnall 5430 Hocken 198.*

My copy is in the original blue decorated cloth, bought at auction in 2005. The signature of a previous owner, R M Burdon is on the front end paper. Burdon (1896-1965) who emigrated to New Zealand as a child, was a military man, sheep farmer and historian.

The book has a large fold-out Admiralty map of the two main islands, with settlements coloured in red. Other than that, the book has much from the earlier works, but expanded with more chapters on Māori: '*Collision with the Natives*', '*Native Insurrection'*, '*The Native Difficulty',* indicative of the growing resistance from Māori to the ever-increasing encroachment of settlers and military reaction of the Government. His 'curious problem' of the earlier works is still there: '*Is it possible that two distinct portions of the human race, in the*

[65] **Stacpoole, J.,** op. cit. p. 72.
[66] **Stacpoole, J**., op. cit. pp. 75-76.

opposite conditions of civilisation and barbarism, can be brought into immediate contact without the destruction of the uncivilised race? or, in rendering the colonisation of a barbarous country possible, is the Christian Missionary but the pioneer of the destruction of the heathen people? is a problem still waiting its solution in New Zealand.'[67] There is also more on political progress and on the Church. In all it gives an up-to-date, relatively objective picture of the late 1850s New Zealand for the emigrant and the curious.

Swainson's colonisation book gives an adequate signal for what his next might be, with an increasing focus on the Māori and Government conflicts. He had by this time come to a very sympathetic view of Māori land claims and injustices, and along with his good friend Sir William Martin, was spurred into writing his views on the Taranaki wars, where his other old friend, now once again Governor, George Grey was implicated.

***Swainson, W**. New Zealand and the war. London: Smith, Elder and Co. M.DCCC.LXII [1862]. vii, 199 pp, 16 p adverts.. Bagnall 5431, Hocken 221.*

My copy has the original green cloth boards and was bought from Bethunes in 1991. It has some innocuous library stamps.

The book covers the state of the colony and then particularly the background to the Māori issues, around land and sovereignty. '*Before the Taranaki insurrection, New Zealand was in a state of profound peace*.'[68] And he is in no doubt where injustices lie: '*In return for their cession of their sovereignty, we have undertaken to impart to them the rights and privileges of British subjects. Yet we have given them no voice in the Government of the country, while we tax them for its support.*'[69] He continues to lay out the inequality and there is an obvious path to the conflicts, both dealt with here for Taranaki, and the Waikato war which began in June 1863, the year after this publication. He covers the campaign and its consequences, gives full voice to Sir William Martin's pamphlet on the '*Taranaki Question*' which so clearly showed how unlawful the campaign was, and finally makes clear his own support for these views: '*The more the subject is considered, the more remarkable appears to have been the blindness of the authorities in plunging the Colony into war. Unless the character of the New Zealanders has been entirely misrepresented, it would not have been consistent with the maintenance of his position for a Māori Chief to submit without resistance to be driven with his people from the land they were occupying, and to see their claims openly disregarded.*'[70]

Swainson continued as a member of the Legislative Council until 1867, and was heavily involved with the Anglican Diocese in Auckland, becoming its Chancellor in 1866. He felt the departure of Sir William and Lady Martin in 1874. Grey came back to be a controversial Premier and he and Swainson soon came to be seen as the last of the early Auckland settlers. Swainson's last years saw him enjoying this reputation. He died in December 1884, and at the funeral were the remnants of old Auckland: George Grey, Archdeacon Maunsell, Edward Shortland, Samuel Kinder, Frederick Whitaker.

[67] **Swainson W**. New Zealand and its colonisation. With a map. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1859. pp. vii-viii.
[68] **Swainson, W.** New Zealand and the war. London: Smith, Elder and Co. M.DCCC.LXII [1862]. p. 46.
[69] Ibid., pp. 48-49.
[70] Ibid., p. 181.

The sweet simplicity, the magnanimous eccentricity, of his national and individual character

***Cholmondeley, T**. Ultima Thule. 1854*

Somehow the early accounts of Canterbury have a different flavour from those of the North. There seems a greater preparedness, the transported Anglicanism, the settled society at Port Lyttleton, the prospect of sheep farming with holdings opening up on the plains and north up the coast. Whalers appear, and the French. There is a slight air of romance, and after all, 'Ultima Thule' is that furthest away island or land in both the fantasies and realities of the Romans and Greeks, and in the mediaeval world. The north seems embedded in the concept, although perhaps that is because the Mediterranean world tended to look north, West and East, rather than south.

So you can see why Thomas Cholmondeley (1831-1864) might chose 'Ultima Thule' as his title, the South Island surely being amongst the furthest away from England. Cholmondeley was born into an aristocratic family with a long lineage and a bewildering collection of titles, and with an early relationship with New Zealand. His uncle, the 3rd Marquess of Cholmondeley, was a member of the Canterbury Association, joining in March, 1848. If his later letters to his close friend Henry Thoreau in America are evidence (see below), he was educated at Oxford and well read, described in immigrant accounts as a book lover[71]. Cholmondeley, aged 19, sailed on the emigrant ship *Charlotte Jane* in 1850, one of the first four Canterbury ships, along with his cousin Charles, aged 27[72]. He appears in the letters of Charlotte Godley, welcoming the settlers in the first four ships:

The Charlotte Jane. http://canterburypilgrims.nz/the-summer-ships/charlotte-jane/

'and Mr. T. Cholmondeley, of whom I have not yet seen much. He is not well, and will not come out; he is quite a gentleman, though, in every sense and only come out to settle a young cousin, I believe, but no one knows much about him. I suspect he lived rather delicately at home, for his work here has quite knocked him up. He set to work, with his men, to carry timber and build his own house; and the sun, which has been very strong (the thermometer at 93° one day and two others at 92° in shade and with a breeze) caught his hands, and brought on inflammation, and they were swelled up like a bad case of gout, and then the doctor lanced them inside and he has suffered very much from them. He is cousin to the Delamere Cholmondeleys, and has a brother as much like Pitt, he says, as Mr. Henry Cholmondeley is. He seems very nice and gentlemanlike, fond of books, speaks slowly and softly, looks delicate, and is in most respects very unlike one's ideas of a Colonist. At last he did come to tea with us yesterday, and the hands are very much better; he can feed himself with one again now and shake hands gently.

I tell you so much about him because you may meet someone who knows him. He and his cousin, and their servants, are established with all the other Charlotte Jane young men on the hill across the road, opposite to our house. They have tents and huts, of various descriptions, and are beginning to form quite a small village of their own.'[73]

Thomas and Charles both buying land at Port Levy on the Banks Peninsular, suggesting that Thomas had intentions of staying. However he left after inheriting family

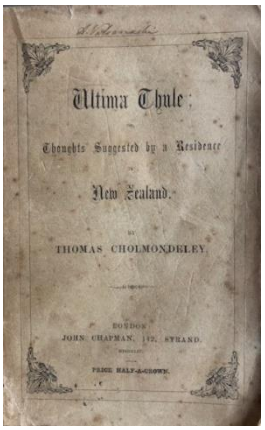
[71] https://www.peelingbackhistory.co.nz/the-cholmondeleys-family/ Accessed 13 February 2023

[72] http://canterburypilgrims.nz/charlotte-jane-passenger-list/n Accessed 13 February 2023

[73] **Godley, C**. op . cit. pp. 158.159

land in England. Charles stayed, progenitor of an extensive Canterbury lineage. There is no information on Thomas's activities until 1854, when his account of New Zealand and Canterbury was published in London, and in the same year he turned up in America.

***Cholmondeley, T**. Ultima Thule; or, thoughts suggested by a residence in New Zealand. London: John Chapman. MDCCCLIV [1854]. iv, 34 pp, 36 p adverts. Bagnall 1082, Hocken 176.*


Ultima Thule:
Thoughts Suggested by a Residence
New Zealand.
THOMAS CHOLMONDELEY

My copy is in the original brown illustrated paper covers. The back cover is loose. It is a thick work, not too uncommon. It was bought from an English dealer way back in 1992.

There is no preface, but Cholmondeley launches straight in. '*A new country ought to produce new thoughts. Not only does it commence a new chapter in the book of the world, but it actually gives a new form and a new connection to the life and dealings of before-existing nations*.'[74] He shows his education, providing quotes in Greek and citing Virgil. There are chapters on the English colonists, and much on immigration, the man of labour, the loss on leaving one's country, and then the usual information on agriculture, exports, finances, Māori, the Church and Government, society and ending with thoughts on New Zealand's history. It s a substantial work, and Cholmondeley must have accessed information from existing books, particularly given his short stay and subsequent travels, but doesn't tell us. There is a great deal of philosophising, and the prospective immigrant would have tired quickly, before gathering useful information. It's not clear who the book is for,

In October of the same year as his book was published, the philosopher and writer Henry Thoreau, living in Concord, Massachusetts, wrote in a letter: '*A young Englishman, Mr. Cholmondeley, is just now waiting for me to take a walk with him*.'[75] Cholmondeley had turned up in Concord with letters of introduction to Ralph Waldo Emerson, and met Thoreau, of whom he had never heard, at dinner with Emerson. There developed a 6 year intimate friendship that only ended with Thoreau's death in 1862. Many of their letters exist, and show an easy correspondence, discussing books and news and the progress of their lives[560]. In December of the same year, Cholmondeley left Boston to travel to the Crimea to witness the war; we don't know whether in some official capacity or as a curious observer. He wrote to Thoreau from Rome in December 1856, describing his experiences. In February 1857 he was back in England looking for a place in Kent or Sussex to settle down, to '*gather a little moss*'. He exchanges books with Thoreau, the

Henry Thoreau (1817-1862). In the absence of an image of Thomas Cholmondeley, here is Thoreau not long before his death.

[74] ***Cholmondeley, T**. Ultima Thule; or, thoughts suggested by a residence in New Zealand. London: John Chapman. MDCCCLIV [1854]. p. 1.*

[75] Sanborn, F.B., Thoreau and his English friend Thomas Cholmondeley. The Atlantic, December, 1893. https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1893/12/thoreau-and-his-english-friend-thomas-cholmondeley/633453/ Accessed 13 February 2023.

latter sending him the first edition of Walt Whitman's '*Leaves of Grass'*. And then the next year, he is back in the Americas, in Montreal and then visiting Concord again on his way to the West Indies. He married, but then died in Florence in 1864. At some stage he also changed his surname to Owen, because of the estate that he had inherited in Shropshire. There is also some discrepancy with his dates. If he was 19 in 1850, then he would have been born in 1831, but if he was 40 when he died, then the birth date would have been 1824. Perhaps it doesn't matter.

Something of the character of the man comes through in the final lines of the account of his relationship with Thoreau: '*The letters here printed will throw some light on the nature and pursuits of this one English intimate friend of Thoreau. Those who knew Thomas Cholmondeley could not easily forget him ; those who had only a common acquaintance with him would perhaps wonder how any one should remember him. So rare were his gifts, and so well did his ordinary manner conceal them, that few suspected him for the ideal Englishman that he was, or perceived under the humorous mask he wore the sweet simplicity, the magnanimous eccentricity, of his national and individual character*.'[560]

A very dirty, ill-built, wooden town

Malone, R E. *Three Year's Cruise in the Australasian Colonies. 1854.*

We know very little of Robert Edmond Malone. Royal Navy records give his birth as 30 March, 1819, and his first appointment as paymaster on 2 April 1839[76], when he would have been only 20 years old. He presumably held this appointment through to 1845-47, when he was paymaster on the HMS *Stromboli*. This was a Royal Navy steamship which served on the Irish Station and Particular Service from 1843 until 1847, the time of Malone's service. He continued to live in Ireland where Malone is an old family name, presumably on leave from the Navy, until 1849 when there is a further record of a Royal Navy appointment as paymaster and purser[77] on 11 July.[562] Malone says he was much affected by the miseries of the Great Famine in Ireland, and in the Western, Shetland and Orkney Islands, encouraging him to emigrate. He says that conditions didn't allow him to do this however, but he was able to take up a position on the HMS *Fantome*, this presumably being the above 1849 appointment.

HMS Fantome, 1839. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. After serving in antislavery patrols, she was active in Australasian waters in the 1850s-60s.

According to his Preface, he had spent nearly two years in America, noting that this enabled him to make some comparisons with the Antipodean colonies. This has to have been before 1854, so must have been prior to 1845 during his first paymaster appointment, or from 1847 to 1849, although this is when he said he was living in Ireland.

The *Fantome* with Malone sailed for Australia and New Zealand from Plymouth in March 1851, with HMS *Calliope*, to take up service in the Australia station, arriving in Sydney on the 25th November via Hobart. On the 10th March 1852, the *Fantome* is recorded in New Zealand, and a year later, a boat from the ship was upset in the Cook's Strait, with the ship's surgeon and five men drowned.[78] This event is also recorded by Malone[79], confirming that he was serving on this ship during his time in New Zealand.

Malone eventually left Auckland, after 3 years of travel, to return to England in August 1853, sailing in the HMS *Serpent* via Valparaiso, and the Falkland Islands, reaching Spithead on 10 January, 1854. There in London he published his book, giving his address in the Preface as Gloucester St, Gloucester Gate, dated May 1854.

Malone, R E. *Three Year's Cruise in the Australasian Colonies. London, Richard Bentley. 1854. pp. vii, 304. Bagnall 333, Hocken 177.*

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[76] https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/D7613327 Accessed 2 March 2023.

[77] The title of Purser and Paymaster was originally that of a warrant officer, then converted to commissioned officer from 1843. The role involved managing supply, pay, and the general business of the ship.

[78] https://www.pdavis.nl/ShowShip.php?id=1432 Accessed 2 March 2023.

[79] **Malone, R E.**, Three Year's Cruise in the Australasian Colonies. London, Richard Bentley. 1854.p. 99.

My copy has the original green embossed cloth boards. I recently bought another copy from AD, half calf and marbled boards, by mistake, my cataloguing failing me. Well, I never checked, and so returned it and ended up buying a little 12mo 18th C copy of Dante's Divine Comedy in its place.

There are no illustrations and only a short preface. The book is derived from Malone's journals, plus a wealth of information and statistics on gold in Australia, and the climate, soil, important and exports and agriculture of both South and Western Australia, and lastly, pages on regulations and facts and requirements for the emigrants. But it is the travels, backwards and forwards from Malone's diary that holds the most interest.

He arrived in Auckland on August 10, 1851: '*Our impressions on first arrival here were very gloomy; everything appeared wild and sombre*'[80], though he was assured by those they were relieving that it wasn't as bad as it appeared. They unloaded some deer destined for New Plymouth, and one escaped, after safely coming all that way, then they moved to anchor at Waiheke, finding a small hut used by '*the good, apostle-like Bishop of New Zealand, Dr Selwyn*' for his services. They sailed north to the Bay of Islands on November 7,and Malone provides a good description of the north, now ten years beyond the Treaty, with the focus of colonisation and emigration having shifted south to Auckland, and the Wellington region. After 20 days tramping around the area, meeting Pomare's daughter and recording stories and his views on Kororareka and the Bay, the north doesn't seem to have progressed much, they sailed for Port Nicholson. Immediately after arrival, however, they were directed back to Hobart, which he greatly preferred.

Malone was in Hobart on the *Fantome* through to the end of April. They held a ball, '*The tastes of the people of Hobarton are peculiarly naval, and ball (very dignified) we gave on board was a great event here*.'[81] There were some 150 guests, they were piped to supper at midnight, and none went home til 6 am, when the crew, by particular request, sang the guests off the ship. They sailed on April 30 and eight days later anchored at Sarah's Bosom[82] in the Auckland Islands. Malone provides a chapter on the Auckland Islands, Maori, whaling and the weather and is back in Hobart on August 11.

'Baie de Sarah's Bosom (Îles Auckland)'. Plate No. 174 from Jules-Sébastien-César Dumont d'Urville, Voyage au Pôle Sud et dans l'Océanie, sur les corvettes l'Astrolabe et la Zélée, exécuté par ordre du roi pendant les années 1837–1838–1839–1840 (Paris: Gide, 1846)

After spending time in Tasmania and Victoria, Malone is back in New Zealand in the Wellington region, on September 8. It is here, at Porirua, that the six crew and surgeon on the ship's boat were drowned. The ship with Malone visits Nelson and Taranaki, and a sign of the times, had the mission from Governor Grey of trying to persuade two members of the Legislative Council to go to Wellington and do their duty. The members, Cutfield[83] and

[80] Ibid. p.11.
[81] Ibid., pp. 55-56.
[82] The inlet Sarah's Bosom was named by Captain Bristow in 1807 after his ship *Sarah*, when he took possession of the islands for the British Crown.
[83] George Cutfield was a naval architect living in Taranaki, appointed to the Council in 1851.

Cautley[84], were recalcitrant and the mission failed. Taranaki, Nelson and Wellington, all come off much better than Auckland, though there is a primness about Malone: '*We cannot say much of Wellington society, our experience of it not being overwhelming. From what little we saw, I should say it was rather free and easy, decidedly not so good as in the other New Zealand settlements. There were many bachelor parties, and they were very convivial, the usual consequence of the want of proper tone in the married society. I had some reason to expect civility from both Governors; but none of us had the slightest notice taken of our calls*.'[85] Perhaps Charlotte Godley, in Wellington and Lyttleton at the time, and with a sharp eye for place in society, might have helped him.

After spending more than a year in New Zealand, Malone sailed back to Sydney, arriving in February, 1853, then back again to Auckland in March, and returning to Sydney, arriving there on May 20, not at all impressed by his ship. For some reason he is not on a Navy vessel, perhaps paid off and heading home, but he misses his naval conditions (and he was a supply manager after all) '*the colonial brig 'Moa' was so full of passengers I had (being last) to sleep on the deck of the cabin. The owners of this vessel are coining money. Although there was no bedding or towels supplied, and everything was coarse and dirty, they did get five meals a day 'rich pork (just killed on board), bad potatoes and stinking butter, with wines and beer ad libitum*.'[86] Malone now writes chapters on gold and the goldfields, and his slightly exhausting trans-Tasman voyaging ends with him touching down in Auckland on the 7th of August on his way home round the Horn.

The book is a good read, full of anecdotes, and carrying much factual information and statistics as available in the literature of the day. There is a further record of Malone being appointed, yet again, paymaster in the Royal Navy on 19 April, 1857, at the age of 38, and then he moves like a ghost into the mists of history.

[84] William Cautley was resident in Nelson and Waimea, establishing sheep stations and appointed to the Council in 1851.
[85] Ibid., p. 115.
[86] Ibid., pp. 122-123.

A comprehensive view of the moral degradation and social wretchedness of the settlers and natives

Strachan, A. (Rev.) *Remarkable incidents in the life of the Rev. Samuel Leigh. 1855*

We needn't linger too long on the author of the life of Samuel Leigh. The Rev Alexander Strachan was born in Perth, Scotland, in 1793. His obituarist[87] says that '*Though free from immorality, and regular in his attendance upon public worship, he was, at this time, a stranger to renewing grace*', but becoming convinced of sin, and presumably then becoming a friend of renewing grace, took up the Wesleyan ministry in 1815. He was Minister at the Windsor Methodist Church, and wrote a number of religious tracts such as '*The doctrine of entire sanctification explained and enforced*', and '*The Mosaic Narrative*', advertised at the back of his book on Leigh. He died in 1865. Twelve years before, he published Leigh's biography.

Strachan, A. (Rev.) *Remarkable incidents in the life of the Rev. Samuel Leigh, missionary to the settlers and savages of Australia and New Zealand: with a succinct history of the origin and progress of the missions in those colonies. London: James Nichols, 46, Hoxton-Square. MDCCLV (1855) iv, 418 pp, frontispiece portrait, 2 pages of adverts of work by Strachan. 2nd edition (1 ed 1853). Bagnall 5382, Hocken 181.*

My copy has the original brown embossed cloth boards. I bought it from AD way back in 1989. I guess few bother with it these days.

Samuel Leigh. From Strachan, 1855, frontispiece

The frontispiece portrait was from a painting done in 1821 by J Jackson[88]. Strachan dedicates the book to the Secretaries and Committee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. He doesn't hold back on his instructions in his dedication. It is his objective to point out the wretchedness of the settlers and natives and note the means that had been provided to elevate and civilise them; to provide information that allows an assessment of the privations and dangers experienced by their missionaries; and to show that having put down cannibalism, infanticide and polygamy, their duty now was to extend themselves into '*the interior of those colonies, and by a simultaneous and vigorously-sustained effort, establish amongst the savages that roam in these "dark places of the earth" the means of grace and opportunities of salvation*.' You can hear the thunder of the sermon, all from a man who never stepped outside of his country.

He does however, have some credentials. He says in his Introduction that he was standing beside Leigh who was speaking on the Australian mission, when the latter had a stroke (congestion of the brain). Leigh subsequently agreed for Strachan to write his book about him and the Wesleyan missions, using his journals, and the results of discussion with him over the remaining year of Leigh's life.

[87] https://www.mymethodisthistory.org.uk/chapels/scotland-2/dunbar_methodist_church/dunbar_methodist_church-3/strachan_alexander_1793_-_1865 Accessed 3 March 2023.

[88] John Jackson (1778-1831), a prominent portraitist and printmaker.

Samuel Leigh (1785-1852) was Australia's first Wesleyan missionary, arriving in 1815, befriending Samuel Marsden, and first visiting New Zealand with Marsden in 1819. He returned to England, married, and then was back in the Bay of Islands in 1822, establishing the Wesleydale mission at Kaeo the following year. His health broke down and he left the mission station in August 1823, it remaining in the hands of the more resilient John Hobbs and Nathaniel Turner. Leigh continued to serve in Sydney until 1831 when his wife died and he returned to England, He married again, retired in 1845, and died in 1852.[89] Thus his New Zealand stay was short, and only notable for the establishment of Methodism in New Zealand.

Leigh's journals and notes must have been extensive since his time in New Zealand is described in great detail with direct reporting, direct speech, and resourcing from contemporary accounts. These were lively times and Leigh was in the heat of the conflicts and engagements between missionaries and Māori, taking a role of mediation, not always peacefully: '*the furious savage seized him by the collar and threw him down the hill. He rolled over several times before he could regain his footing., and rose up much shaken, and covered with mud*.'[90] He worked closely with Marsden, both believing that the denominations could work together in common cause, as indeed they did through to the 1840s, when doctrinal differences became too rigid. The Wesleyans come out well, generally, little tainted by the land purchase scandals of the CMS missionaries, nor the imperative of being recognised as the official church, with everything that that entails in establishing an ecclesiastical apparatus. Strachan includes much on the state of New Zealand, Māori, the missions, Auckland, and the New Zealand Company and the settlements in the Wellington region, and similarly with the missionary enterprise in Australia. It is not so valuable as a contemporary view of the colony in the mid-1850s as providing an often lively, and always morally sober, perspective of the rougher times of the 1820s in the north. Leigh gets his due, and more. There is also a double-columned, very detailed, index, which is a little unusual for the time, but greatly useful, and here you can see some of Strachan's sources.

[89] W. A. Chambers. 'Leigh, Samuel', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1l6/leigh-samuel (accessed 4 March 2023)
[90] **Strachan, A. (Rev.)** Remarkable incidents in the life of the Rev. Samuel Leigh, missionary to the settlers and savages of Australia and New Zealand: with a succinct history of the origin and progress of the missions in those colonies. London: James Nichols,. MDCCLV (1855). p. 153.

What a wonderful page in the history of modern times is the record of New Zealand!

***Tucker, Miss**. The Southern Cross and Southern Crown. 1855*

While we are discussing the writings of evangelicals remaining safely at home in London, there is another book published in the same year by a Miss Sarah Tucker, a prolific writer on overseas missions. Sarah Tucker (died c 1859), was the eldest of three sisters of the Rev John Tucker, a missionary in South India from 1833 until 1847, and subsequently secretary of the CMS and vicar of West Hendred in Berkshire from 1852 until his death in 1873. She was disabled and confined to her room, presumably eventually living with her brother since she gives West Hendred as her address in the Preface. While her Brother was in India, she followed his mission, raising money to establish schools for young girls in the Tirunelveli District of Tamil Nadu, Southern India,[91] where there is still a Sarah Tucker College.

Miss Tucker wrote a number of books on the missions in India, West Africa, Hudson Bay, and New Zealand, sometimes under the nom-de-plume ALOE (A Lady of England).

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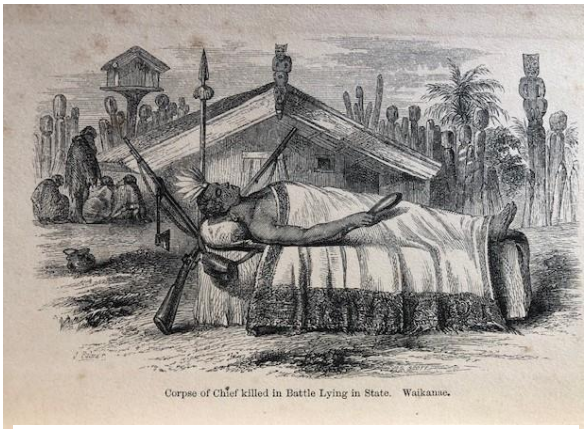
***Tucker, Miss**. The Southern Cross and Southern Crown; or, The Gospel in New Zealand. London: James Nisbet and Co.. 1855. vii, 263 pp, frontispiece, 5 plates, folding map. Bagnall 5646, Hocken 182.*

My copy has the original green embossed cloth boards. It was bought from a dealer in Sydney in 1992. On the front end paper there is an inscription dated May 1855, addressed to a *'Mrs Blake, with the kind wished of her sincere well wisher, EW...'*



Corpse of Chief Killed in Battle Lying in State. Tucker, 1855, frontispiece

This is a much more interesting book than some from the pens of English-based writers. It was clearly popular, going through some 27 editions between 1855 and 1866. There are six plates, four signed J Palmer, another T Bolton (a London wood-engraver and printmaker), and the other Butterworth and Heath, a London firm of wood-engravers. In her Preface, Tucker thanks the British Museum for permission to use some of George Grey's sketches. Tucker's frontispiece (*Corpse of Chief killed in battle lying in State. Waikanae)* and *War Canoe*, are both also in Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*, although in Tucker's book, the backgrounds are more elaborated. Whether they are by Grey himself is unclear, and Grey's book provides no further evidence. The British Museum has lithographs from other artists presented by Grey[92], and it is not clear if they hold any of Grey's own sketches. Ellis does not cite Grey's *Polynesian Mythology* at all. The plate of a Native Family

[91] **Geethanjaki, K.,** Education in Tirunelveli region – a historical study. Paripax – Indian Journal of Research, 7, pp. 53-54, 2018.

[92] **Ellis, DG & EM**., op. cit. pp. 144-145.

(p.32) has the look of Augustus Earle about it, though the artist hasn't been identified. The map is of the North Island, showing Missionary Stations and is likely from the CMS.

Sarah Tucker recoils a little in her Preface, writing of '*the necessity she has been under of recording details of so revolting a character, though she has touched upon them as lightly and as briefly as she could*.' She deals with early New Zealand history and geography, Marsden and the first settlers and missionaries, the southern stations, conflicts, and then the arrival of

Native Family, and Okinemutu – Rotorua Lake. Tucker, 1855, pp 32; 190

Selwyn in 1852, and the statistics of the missions up to 1854. She deals with the Treaty but seems to have no perspective of its importance or fundamental tenets. What amounts to a history of New Zealand in the first 50 years is very much that of the missions and missionaries, though no less of value because of that. By 1855, there was a large written resource to draw upon, and Tucker cites Henry, William and Marianne Williams, August Earle and others, and she clearly had access to CMS archives.

New Zealand always had considerable popularity with the British reader. Māori were fascinating, and the missionary enterprise, particularly that of the Pacific and India, was popular and popularly read as the Victorian era got into its stride. Perhaps Sarah Tucker made some good money from the many editions of her work, and then it would surely have gone to her girls schools in Tamil Nadu.

For more than eight years I devoted a great part of my available time to these pursuits

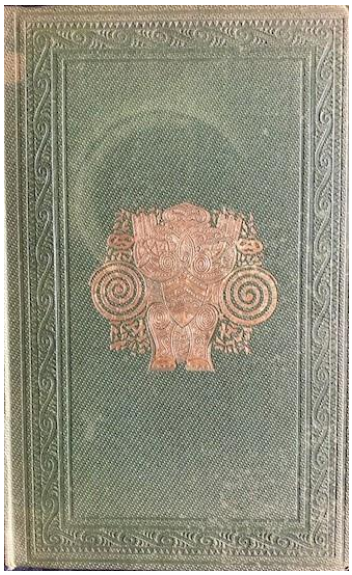
Grey G *Polynesian mythology, and ancient traditional history of the New Zealand race. 1855.*

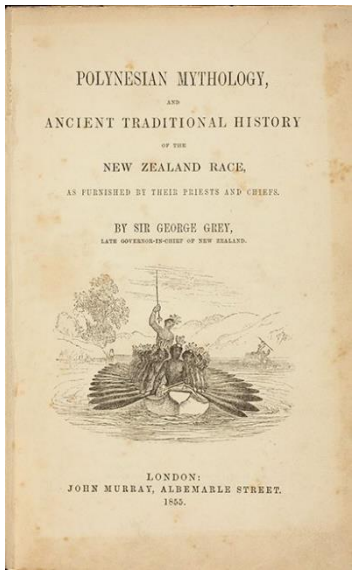
George Grey (1812-1898) was a great collector. In his time he assembled two libraries, collected a large amount of Māori material including artefacts and manuscripts, translated Māori myths, poetry, songs and narratives and history, and wrote about Māori customs and manners, myths and legends. His life has been frequently recounted and analysed, and his place in New Zealand history is well-known. Bagnall has more than 30 entries for Grey's publications, including translations, commentaries, addresses, etc.. So let's focus only on the collection of myths and stories that he published in 1855.

In 1855, he was Governor of the Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa, having previously been Governor General of New Zealand from 1845. He served in this South African position from 1854 until recalled to London in 1861, in between times returning to London in 1859 only to be reappointed for a second term. It was while at the Cape that he had his book on Polynesian mythology and history published in London.

Grey G *Polynesian mythology, and ancient traditional history of the New Zealand race, as furnished by their priests and chiefs. London; John Murray, Albermarle Street. 1855. xiii, [2] 333 pp, frontispiece, extra illustr title page, 13 plates, music, [2] p adverts. Bagnall 2348, Hocken 180.*

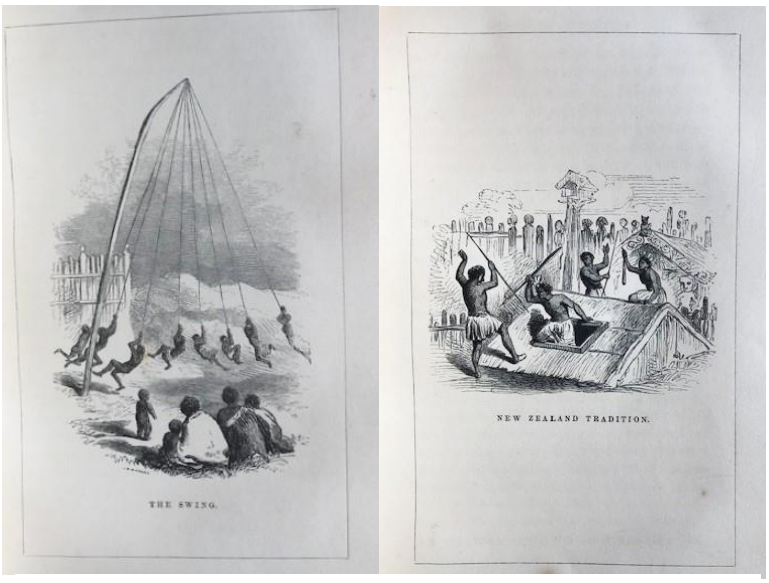
My copy is the first edition with the original green embossed boards. It is relatively common and I bought this one at auction in 2020, my cataloguing system having failed to note that I already had a copy, though in modern cloth.





It is notable that this is one of the first New Zealand books to have a gilt embossed illustrated front cover (complete with coffee cup mark). Contemporary books on China a or India commonly had illustrated covers, but this was less common until now for books on New Zealand.

The book has a frontispiece of a fancily illustrated half title page, complete with Mt Egmont, war canoe, cabbage trees and Pa. The vignette of the war canoe on the title page is the same as used in Sara Tucker's book. There are 13 other plates, some more lightly sketched than others, and the artist(s) are not given, nor in Ellis. '*The Swing*' is the same as the engraving published in Edward Shortland's 2 edition of *Traditions and Superstitions*, published in 1856.



The Swing; New Zealand Tradition. Grey, 1855, pp. 72; 171

In his Preface, Grey says '*I soon perceived that I could neither successfully govern, nor hope to conciliate, a numerous and turbulent people, with whose manners, language, customs, religion and modes of thought I was quite unacquainted. .....Although furnished with some very able interpreters, ...I soon found that even with their aid, I could still only very imperfectly perform my duties*.' And so he found it necessary to become personally acquainted with the language, customs, manners and prejudices. This is not unusual amongst those finding themselves in administrative positions. But he went further. '*To my surprise, however, I found that these chiefs, either in their speeches to me, or in their letters, frequently quoted, in explanation of their views and intentions, fragments of ancient poems or proverbs, or make allusions that rested on an ancient system of mythology*.' Accordingly he sets out to collect the legends and histories. His insight into Māori thinking, however, is tempered by an ambiguous view of the value of this oral tradition. '*I believe that the ignorance that has prevailed regarding the mythological systems of barbarous or semi-barbarous races has too generously led to them being considered far grander and more reasonable than they really were. But the puerility of these traditions....by no means diminishes their importance as regards their influence on the human race*.'

Grey provides accounts of some 23 myths or legends, reaching back to some that precede the great migration and discovery of New Zealand, and then those of Māori in New Zealand, such as the story of Hinemoa. It is in these that Grey doesn't differentiate among history and myths and stories, confirming how difficult it can be for those outside a culture, particularly that with an oral and sculptural tradition, to penetrate and understand the admixture of historical events with spiritual and mythological narratives. He ends with an Appendix on songs, including some transcriptions.

Grey, in this book, along with his contemporary, the Rev Richard Taylor, prefigures the multi-volume publication from 1887 to 1889 of John White on the ancient history of the Māori, and the work of ethnographers such as Elsdon Best, S Percy Smith and Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Buck) in the early 20th century.

It is a duty each one owes to contribute his mite to the general fund of information

***Taylor, R. Rev**., A leaf from the natural history of New Zealand. 1848*
***Taylor, R. Rev.,** Te Ika A maui, or New Zealand and its inhabitants. 1855.*
***Taylor, R, Rev.,** The past and present of New Zealand. 1868*

The Rev. Richard Taylor was well enough known and regarded to have occasioned two recent biographies[93], a research paper or two, and frequently appears in other early accounts. He came early, and although he made two return trips to England, he stayed, which was one thing in his favour, along with a regional impact that drew the attention of travellers and writers. Taylor (1805-1873) was a Cambridge man who became a missionary with the CMS in 1835, sailing in the *Prince Regent* the following year to Australia, with his controversial fellow missionary William Yate. He stayed in New South Wales for 3 years, becoming embroiled in the accusations against Yate for homosexuality, but landed in the Bay of Islands eventually in 1839, taking over the Waimate North Mission school from Octavius Hadfield, although he apparently didn't enjoy that.[94]

Rev Richard Taylor c1860-1873. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22607779

Taylor was present at the signing of the Treaty and in 1843, Bishop Selwyn sent him off to take over the mission at Whanganui, which was to remain his region of activity and influence for the rest of his life. He also seemed to be one of the few people who didn't get on with Selwyn, which might have prevented him from being offered more senior positions in the newly established church in New Zealand. Through to 1855, Taylor was one of the most active of the New Zealand missionaries, travelling widely through the greater Whanganui region, building churches and holding something of a record for baptisms. He was continually active in mediating among Māori in regional conflicts, a good friend of George Grey and Donald McLean, and accompanying Selwyn on ihs visits, recorded by Selwyn in his own books.

Taylor was also something of a naturalist and ethnographer, collecting moa bones for Richard Owen on London, plant specimens for Joseph Hooker at Kew, and writing on natural history and linguistics, the latter not his strong point. This led to his first book on New Zealand, published in New Zealand in 1848.

***Taylor, R. Rev**., A leaf from the natural history of New Zealand; or, a vocabulary of its different productions, &c. &c., with their native names. Wellington, Robert Stokes; Auckland, J Williamson. 1848. pp xix, 102. Bagnall 5484, Hocken 141.*

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[93] **Mead, A. D**. Richard Taylor: Missionary Tramper. Wellington, A. H. & A. W. Reed. 1966;
Owens, J. M. R. The Mediator: A Life of Richard Taylor 1805–1873. Wellington, Victoria University Press. 2004.
[94] **J. M. R. Owens.** 'Taylor, Richard', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t22/taylor-richard (accessed 7 March 2023)

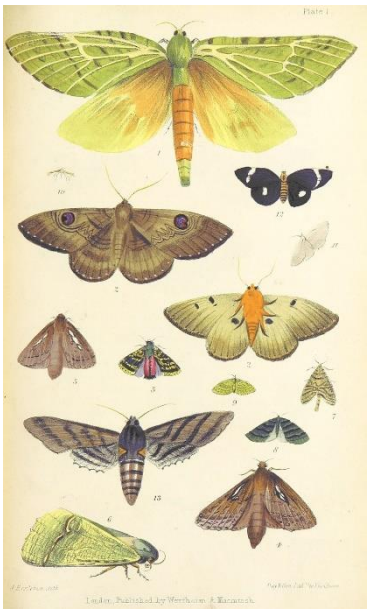
The book, relatively rare, in printed paper covers, is largely comprised of a dictionary of Māori words for natural history, anatomy, customs and religion. It was criticised by Colenso (something not hard to achieve) for inaccuracies, and an 1870 revised edition is supposed to have been corrected and revised by, '*three gentleman well acquainted with the native history of New Zealand*'. In his preface of 1848, Taylor seems to know his deficiencies: *'that however defective his vocabulary may be found, it will still furnish matter which others may turn to better account, and will prove not altogether uninteresting to the settler, for whose use it is chiefly intended.'*

In 1855, Taylor returned to England for a year. He took with him, especially chosen, Hoani Wiremu Hipango, a young, high-birth Christian. They travelled around England together and had an audience with Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, which apparently was conducted mostly by Taylor, with Hoani pretty much a spectator. They returned to Whanganui later in 1856. It was while in England that Taylor published *Te Ika a Maui*.

From left, Rev Basil Taylor (son), Rev Richard Taylor, Hoani Wiremu Te Hipango, taken in 1855 in England. Sarjeant Gallery Te Whare O Rehua, Whanganui.

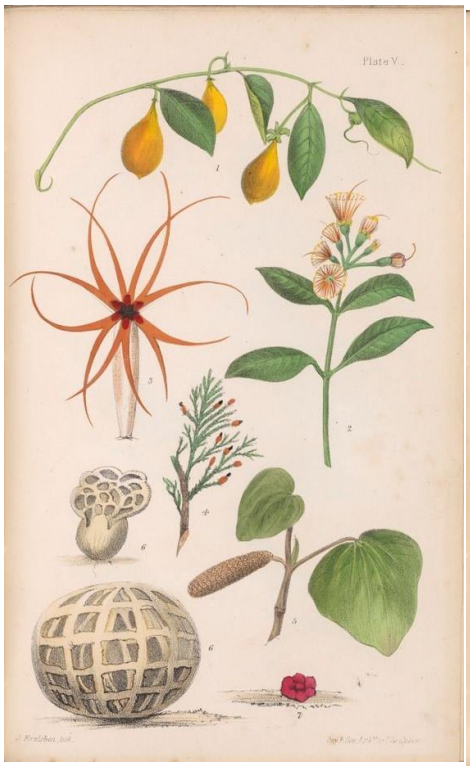
Taylor, R. Rev. *Te Ika A Maui, or New Zealand and its inhabitants, illustrating the origin, manners, customs, mythology, religion, rites, songs, proverbs, fables, and language of the natives. Together with the geology, natural history, productions, and climate of the country; its state as regards Christianity; sketches of the principal chiefs, and their present position; with a map and numerous illustrations. London, Wertheim and MacIntosh, MDCCCLV [1855]. pp. xiv, 490, [6] adverts. Index. Frontispiece and 9 other plates. One a B&W engraving and 8 hand-coloured, folding map. Bagnall 5481, Hocken 182*

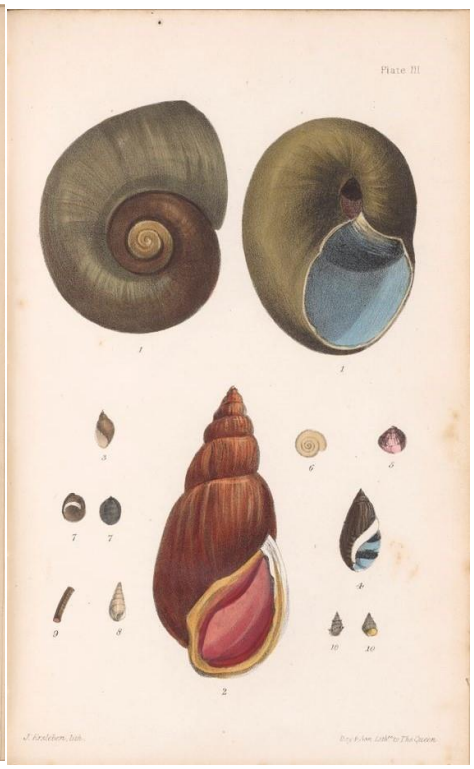
My copy is as described by Bagnall with original green embossed cloth and all the 8 plant and animal plates at the back hand-coloured, apparently not always the case. It is inscribed by Taylor '*Dr Ward with the authors kind regards, Mar. 31 1856*', and has the book plate of William Packe, dated 1878. It was bought from a now defunct NZ dealer in 1995.



William Packe (1840?-1882), of the book plate, was an artist and Canterbury runholder who came out to New Zealand in 1867 and returned to England around 1875, remaining there until he died, comparatively young, a few years later. The identity of the Dr Ward of the inscription is unclear. There are a number of Wards in New Zealand colonial history, perhaps the most likely being Robert Ward, a Methodist missionary contemporary with Taylor, who worked in the Wellington, Auckland and New Plymouth regions, although there is no evidence of the 'Dr' nomination. Taylor dedicates the book to the Earl of Chichester, who was President of the Church Missionary Society at the time; this would have been the 3rd Earl, Henry Pelham (1804-1886).

The book is notable for two particular things. One is that it is the first book to have a Māori title, Te Ika a Maui, the name of the North Island, although this title didn't make it to the spine, which is '*New Zealand and its Inhabitants'*. The second is for the eight beautiful hand-coloured plates of birds, shells, plants and reptiles, which was a first in books on New Zealand, and a little overlooked these days. Taylor was prodigious sketcher, with the Turnbull Library holding hundreds of his drawings. The illustrations in the book, of which there are more than 60, are engravings from Taylor's own sketches. The two plates, of '*The town of Whanganui*' and '*The Geysers of Orakokorako*' were engraved according to Ellis[95], by 'Johnston', possibly from the firm of W & A K Johnston, although they were principally map-makers. The coloured plates, with the specimens presumably drawn by Taylor and not mentioned in Ellis, are engraved by the Dutch lithographer Johann (James) Christoph Erxleben (1830-1890), who worked originally in Leiden then in London, and had a speciality in scientific illustrations and engravings. That Taylor is the artist of the specimens in these plates is supported by paintings of butterflies by Taylor held in the Auckland Museum[96]. The large, rather elaborate map has no cartographer or engraver named.





In his Preface, Taylor quickly raises an issue that is so relevant today, and explains his title. '*The name of New Zealand has succeeded it [Te Ika a Maui]; and it seems a pity that so noble an appendage of the British Crown, which has been gained, not by the power of our arms, but by the voluntary consent of its inhabitants, solely through the influence of the Gospel, should still retain so unmeaning a name, which was not even given by the first discoverer*.' But then instead of suggesting the original te reo option, muses on possible alternatives such as Austral-Britain or Australbion. We've had a lucky escape. He then worries that '*the Manners, Customs,*

[95] **EM & DG Ellis**, op. cit. p. 146.

[96] https://www.aucklandmuseum.com/collections-research/collections/record/am_library-paintinganddrawings-3867" accessed 10 March 2023

Traditions and Religion of a primitive race' are headed for oblivion and hence his book, to preserve what is known.

Taylor's wide interests in ethnography, natural history, and history are reflected in the extensive text. There are some 15 chapters on Maori – mythology, religion, customs, songs, origins, then chapters on New Zealand history, Samuel Marsden, the Church, prominent Chiefs, geology and climate, natural history and botany, ending, as so many did, with a short 6 pages on hints for emigrants. There is an emphasis, which follows the Wakefield argument, on emigration helping to solve the problems of living in the wretched conditions of mid-19th century Britain '*The subject of Emigration is one of the greatest interest to thousands in this over-populous country. Archimedes only required standing-room to move the world; but there is now none for numbers at home. To obtain one, the first object is to move off to lands which furnish space for exertion, and it is to the colonies that attention is naturally directed*.'[97] He includes some unusual appendices. The first is a list customs which resemble those in the Scripture as common to Israel, or heathen tribes around them, and Māori, giving text references. The intent here is to back up Taylor's contention that Māori were one of the lost tribes of Israel. The second is a list of Māori words common to those used in Polynesian islands such as Samoa, Tahiti, Hawaii, Tonga etc. Then there are appendices on earthquakes, climate, Māori tribes and genealogy.

Taylor was greatly respected by Māori, and this chair, shown with other Māori artefacts, was carved and presented to him by Putiki Māori. Photograph by Willam Harding, Whanganui, c. 1844. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23140545

There is also an account by Taylor of the presentation of Hoani Wiremu Hipango to the Queen and Prince Albert. This is worth reading. Taylor pretty much takes over, and at the end of twenty minutes, as Hipango starts to talk, the Queen bows slightly and leaves. Taylor and Hipango, and their conductor Sir William Molesworth stay and talk, and Hipango then asks if she was the Queen - it wasn't clear to him. It seems that this extraordinary cultural exchange was mostly one way.

Taylor appears frequently in accounts of New Zealand natural history, as, for example by Buller, receiving cuckoo eggs from Taylor and recounting Taylor's collection of moa bones, that eventually found their way to Owen in England.[98] Taylor took his science seriously, providing taxonomic details, particularly of the flora. He is a little disappointed in the wildlife '*The Natural History of the islands, compared with that of other countries, appears very defective; excepting a rat, which is almost exterminated by the imported one, there are only reports of a kind of beaver, of whose existence we are not yet quite certain, although, every probably, it does exist in the Middle Island*.'[99] He gives a footnote on sightings of this beaver, and there is a

[97] **Taylor, R. Rev.** Te Ika A Maui, or New Zealand and its inhabitants, ...with a map and numerous illustrations. London, Wertheim and MacIntosh, MDCCCLV [1855]. p. 458.
[98] **Buller, W.L**., A History of the Birds of New Zealand. London, 1888.
[99] **Taylor, R. Rev**., op. cit. p.394.

creature, the waitoreke, in Māori folklore, which percolated through early literature, variously described as an otter, seal or muskrat.[100]

He described the only endemic parasitic plant in New Zealand, taking specimens to Joseph Hooker on his 1865 trip back to England, the species being named *Dactylanthus taylori* after him. Colenso and Hocken knock Taylor for inaccuracies, and Bagnall agrees but defends him on the basis of the value of his journals, which would have been used as source material, and which Bagnall says were '*imperfectly transcribed by A D Mead*' in his book on Taylor[101]. There was a second edition of *Te Ika a Maui* published in 1870 (Bagnall 5481), considerably expanded, with two coloured lithographs in addition to the natural history plates, with more on Māori ethnology, geology and natural history.

Taylor returned to Whanganui and over the next ten years worked hard at his mission, and, not always successfully, trying to help keep the peace between the increasingly disturbed tribes, and settlers and the colonial administration as it moved on the land. He handed over the mission to his son the Rev Basil Taylor in 1860, and returned to England for a further visit in 1867-1871. This time he took Hori Kingi Hipango, Hoani's son, in the hope that he would train for the ministry.

It's time for a personal note here. In 1970-1972, I carried out postdoctoral research at the British Agricultural Research Council Letcombe Laboratory at the little village of Letcombe Regis, just outside Wantage in Berkshire, in the northern edge of the Berkshire Downs. My wife was pursuing her doctorate at Oxford just up the road. The laboratory was housed in a lovely old Queen Anne mansion, with the 15th C parish church of St Andrews just at the gate. One day , wandering in the churchyard, under the old yew trees, I came across a grave with an obelisk stating there here was buried George King Hipango, a Maori chief from Wanganui, died June 23, 1871, aged 19. I later found that this was the young man whom Taylor had brought to England, and he died of tuberculosis about 4 years after his arrival, apparently at the Letcombe Regis vicarage as part of his training.

[100] **McLintock, A. H.; Bagnall, A. G**., "Animals, Mythical". An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, edited by A. H. McLintock. Ministry for Culture and Heritage / Te Manatū Taonga. 1966.
[101] **Mead, A D**. op. cit.

It was while in England that Taylor published his second book, in conjunction with the Whanganui printer and bookbinder Henry Jones(1822-1906), of H I Jones & Son.

Taylor, R, Rev. *The past and present of New Zealand; with its prospects for the future. London: William MacIntosh; and Henry Ireson Jones, Wanganui, New Zealand. 1868 viii, 331 pp, frontispiece illustration, 7 plates. Bagnall 5488, Hocken 257.*

My copy has the original maroon embossed cloth boards and as bought from AD in 1993. It is relatively common.

The book has a frontispiece and 7 plates of wood engravings. The frontispiece was done by J Johnston and three others are signed by the prominent London engraver George Measom (later knighted for his philanthropy). They are all presumably from Taylor's own sketches. There are other small illustrations throughout the book.

The book has the feel more of a compilation than a coherent text. There are six chapters on the missions and the Church, a couple on the King movement, two on government, geography and colonisation, one on a mix of history and stories, a lecture given at the Odd Fellows Hall in Whanganui at the time of his leaving for England, on the past, present and future, then a chapter on acclimatisation, which is all about introduction of beneficial, and not so beneficial, animals: '*The Institute of Acclimatisation Societies is of great public utility, for however laudable the efforts of individuals may be, yet they must of necessity be contracted in their results when compared with the combined action of numbers*...' There is no inkling of danger. With more care taken, '*it is probable that the hares, partridges, sparrows and other birds sent out, would have been more likely to have reached their destination*.' And also: '*From the late lamented Prince Consort, and also from Lord Petre, the colony received valuable presents of red and fallow deer*.'[102] The book ends with statistics and a repeat of the earlier chapter on Hints for Emigrants.

Caroline Taylor, photographed in the 1870s. Whanganui Regional Museum Collection ref: 1802.3441

Taylor returned to Whanganui in November 1871, and died a couple of years later. Along with Taylor over the years was his wife, Caroline (1803-1884). The couple already had four children when they left England in 1836 another was born in Australia, a daughter at Waimate, and twins who didn't survive, in Whanganui in 1843. She helped run the mission and the family, all allowing Taylor to spend his time on his travels, collecting and recording, and working with Māori. She left diaries of both her time in New Zealand, and of her return visit to England in 1867-1871. The women generally get poor exposure in early accounts. But through the decades, there were remarkable women such as Sarah Selwyn, Marianne Williams, Caroline Abraham, Caroline Taylor, Lady Martin, Charlotte Godley, and others, who deserve their time in the sun.

[102] Ibid., pp. 293-295.