Remote in Southern Seas. Early New Zealand Books, 1856-1860

To endeavour to give, in a small compass, such information that I have thought most valuable for persons who may have looked toward New Zealand

***Fitton, E.B**. New Zealand: its present condition, prospects and resources. 1856.*

The three elder sons of the eminent geologist, William Fitton FRS, President of the Geological Society (1827-1829), were all affected by the urge to emigrate, the first John and his wife only getting as far as the Indian Ocean before they were drowned in the wreck of the *Richard Dart*, enroute to New Zealand in 1849. The second, Henry, sailed to Sydney in 1852, and in between times, the third, Edward Brown Fitton, not put off, sailed for Lyttleton in the Chiefs cabin on the *Canterbury,* arriving in October, 1851. This information is from a card entry in the Canterbury Museum[1], although the only Fittons on the passenger list were a family in steerage, Charles and Elizabeth, both 39 and their two young sons. Charles Adams of the '*Canterbury Spring'* was on the same ship.

William Fitton, Edward Brown Fitton's father in 1860. In the absence of any images of Edward, perhaps this gives an inkling of what he was like.

Edward's father, William, married Maria James, an heiress, in 1820, moved to London and gave up medicine, devoting the rest of his life to geology. Edward Brown was born in London in 1824, and over the next 10 years William and Maria had two more sons and three daughters.[2] Edward had means. He applied for 100 acres with the Canterbury Assoc., giving Upper Harley St as his London address, possibly that of his father. He selected 50 acres on the south bank of the Heathcote and 50 acres on the Wairarapa Stream, and over the next years was a prominent landowner, playing a part in local affairs, including in a cricket match on Hagley Park (where test matches are still played today) on April 30, 1852, in a side picked by John Godley and W G Brittan. He was gazetted a magistrate for Canterbury in 1853[589].

In 1855, Fitton was back in England, and his book on New Zealand published the following year.

***Fitton, E.B**. New Zealand: its present condition, prospects and resources; being a description of the country and general mode of life among New Zealand colonists, for the information of intending emigrants. London: Edward Stanford, 6 Charing Cross. 1856. vi, 358 pp, folding map, adverts. Bagnall 1938, Hocken 183.*

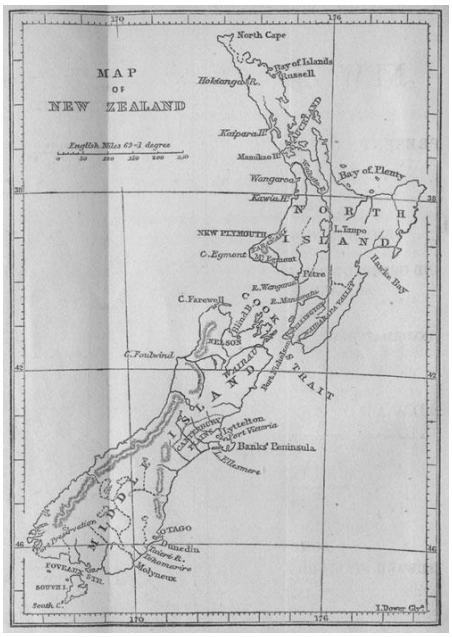
[1] https://collection.canterburymuseum.com/objects/711000/macdonald-dictionary-record-edward-brown-fitton#&gid=1&pid=1 Accessed 15 March 2023.

[2] https://web.archive.org/web/20210123232854/https://www.irishancestors.ie/william-henry-fitton-1780-1861/ accessed 15 March 2023.

My copy is in the original brown embossed cloth boards, in very good condition, clean inside. I originally bought a poor copy in 1995 when I was young and eager, and not too picky, but then upgraded from AD in 2018.

Fitton mentions in the Advertisement (preface) that the work was based on '*a lecture on New Zealand, occupying about an hour in the reading*.' It would have been a long hour. This is dated 1855, and he says that there has been some time elapsed in bringing the book to print. This all suggests that Fitton was back in England in 1854 and the lecture given in England, as made fairly clear in different parts of the text, and in whom the work is addressing, prospective emigrants. The map is a small fold-out Arrowsmith map of the North, Middle and Stewart Islands.

The book has early chapters on New Zealand history, a general description of the country, and the settlements. He then covers in separate chapters, Wellington, Otago, Nelson, New Plymouth and Canterbury, as the five principal settlements, and Auckland, obviously more lowly rated, gets tucked into the preceding chapter on settlements generally. Then there are chapters on farming, the land, domestic life and the voyage out, what you should bring and prepare for. He includes data and statistics, gives comparisons with Australia and Canada, and quotes copiously from other writings, such as those of John Godley, and the *Lyttleton Times* (for which his publisher Edward Stanford, is the agent in London). Stanford published a number of immigrant guides at this time, with books on Canada and Australia among the advertisements. The arrangement with Fitton was likely directed at adding to the catalogue



Map of New Zealand. Fitton, 1856. Frontispiece.

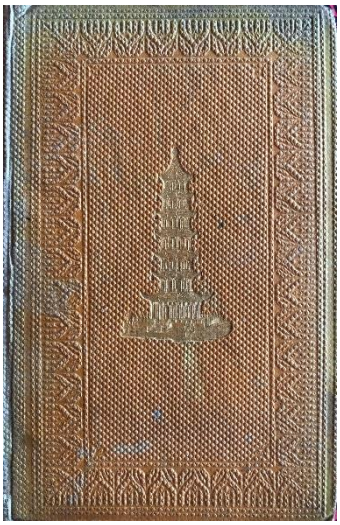
Fitton's book was addressed from St Ewe, which is a small village a few miles from St Austell, although there's no notice of him in the Parish records. Other than that, we have no information thus far on what happened to him subsequently or when he died. In 1856 when the book was published, he would only have been 32 years old, so there was plenty of living left. His father died in 1861, his brother Henry ended up living in Canada, and his aunts were notable for their writings on botany. There was natural science in the bloodstream.

Nothing could possibly be more foreign to my previous tastes and habits than the character of an emigrant

D'Ewes, J. *China, Australia and the Pacific Islands, in the years 1855-56. 1857.*

John D'Ewes (c1820-1862) gets a place because, although he only visited New Zealand for a couple of months in 1855-56, he also visited China, was charismatic, corrupt, an embezzler, abandoned his wife and family, and committed suicide. There was some moral flaw in D'Ewes that had its sad outcome in the German town of Homberg in 1862.

D'Ewes was born into a prominent Warwickshire family at Wellsbourne, and in 1852 at the age of about 32, sailed to Australia. In one account he married a pregnant 14 year-old girl a year later[591], but in his book he says that he sailed from England with his wife. the same year he was appointed police magistrate at Ballarat in the Victorian goldfields. He didn't last the very long. Having borrowed money from hotel licensees, the license in his gift, he then sat on the bench during the murder trial of one of the licensees, and was subsequently dismissed after. Such judicial conflicts and corruption were a part of background to the rebellion by miners against the British administration, culminating in the battle of the Eureka Stockade, with much loss of life, on 3 December 1854. By this time D'Ewes and family had departed to Sydney.[3] At the end of the following year, he sailed for England, visiting Auckland in December to January 1855-1856, then on to China, and Java before sailing on home. He spent some three years in England, and in this time published his travel account.

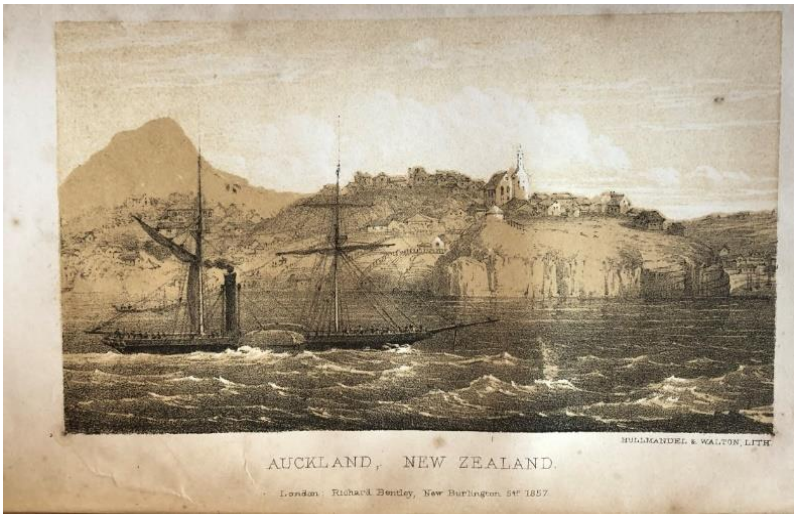


D'Ewes, J. *China, Australia and the Pacific Islands, in the years 1855-56. London: Richard Bentley. 1857. 340 pp, frontispiece, plate. Bagnall 1593, Hocken 188.*

My copy has the original yellow embossed cloth boards. The gilt illustration of a pagoda on the front cover is very typical of books on China of the time, gilt illustrations being less common on New Zealand literature. The heavily textured cloth is also unusual. There are incorrect dates on the title page (which should be 1853-56.)

There are two plates. The frontispiece is a two-toned version of the same plate of Auckland harbour based on a sketch by Godfrey Charles Mundy in his book '*Our antipodes: or, residence and rambles in the Australasian colonies. 1852'.* Both Mundy's and D'Ewes' books were published by Richard Bentley, and you can see Bentley reaching for a lithograph on his shelf to provide an appropriate illustration, even though the book is headlined by China and Australia, and the New Zealand part of the book is not the major component. The other plate, by an unknown artist, is of a scene in the Navigators' Islands (Samoa), showing a European and an Island man in the grounds of a meeting house, flag flying.

[3] http://www.eurekapedia.org/John_D%27Ewes; https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/D'Ewes-89 ; Victoria Public Record office.



Auckland, New Zealand. From the earlier sketch by Godfrey Charles Mundy. D'Ewes, 1857, frontispiece.

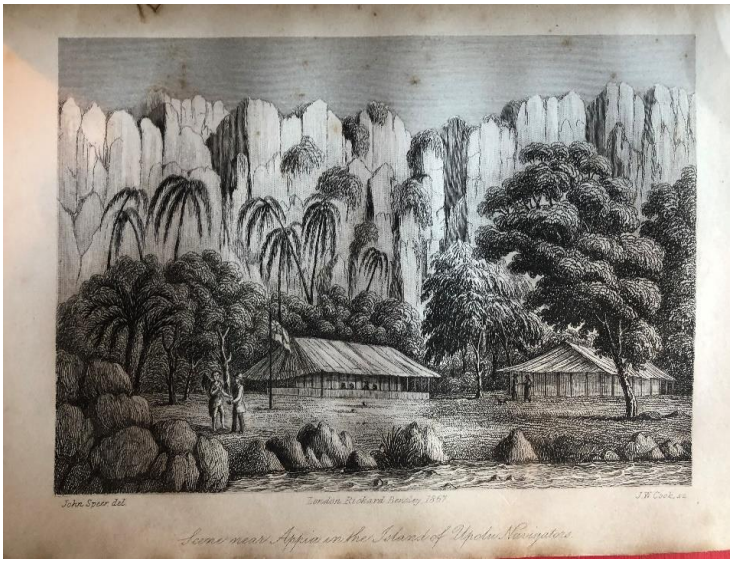
The opening pages of the book reveal D'Ewes as the *bon vivant*, well-educated, dropping Latin words and tags across the pages, moneyed, amusing, perhaps prefiguring the later fraudster, rather disdainful of the common folk, and lyrical about gold and the surge to populate Australia. The year 1852 was '*when the* auri sacra fames[4] *not only beckoned the hardy miners to this inexhaustible El Dorado, but when crowds of all nations – artists and artizans, lawyers and labourers, and even poets and philosophers – were flocking to the land of promise. In anticipation of this vastly increasing population, argosies of porter, pickles, and comestibles of every description were floating towards the same goal, and cargoes of blooming maidens...formed a charming foreground to the picture*.' His circumstances urge him to join the crowd. '*It was at this period I discovered that, owing to a lengthened course of London and Parisian life.....my physical and financial thermometer was fast approximating to zero, and that a total congealment of the mercury was impending; in fact, that difficulties and dyspepsia rendered a regeneration of both purse and person essential to the continuance of my career; and though nothing could possibly be more foreign to my previous tastes and habits than the character of an emigrant, still I saw no better chance before me than to form one of the adventurous band....*'

D'Ewes, whose character we are now getting a good feel for, disdains the emigrant's ship. '*I had an insurmountable dislike to a large and crowded vessel. With plenty of space I am a total cosmopolite, but have a great objection to the* profanum vulgas *at close quarters, with the endless quarrels, disputes, and disgusting details of every-day life....'.* And so, with his wife in complete agreement, he sought out a 120 ton schooner bound for Port Philip *'commanded and partly owned by a rough little Yorkshire skipper, who appeared to have all the attributes of a good sailor, with sufficient good nature and good feeling to make the presence of a lady moderate, if not subdue, any barbarous propensities he might possess.*' He assembled a comfortable cabin on the ship, and with his wife moderating the savage behaviours of the Yorkshire captain, they sailed for Australia.

In July 1853, '*By dint of a little local interest of Mr Latrobe, the Governor'*, D'Ewes was offered a position as interim Police Magistrate at Ballarat. This turned into a permanent appointment six months later, and D'Ewes gives a detailed account of his time and travels in Ballarat, and the nature of crime and society. He also relates the circumstances around his

[4] The accursed hunger for gold, from Virgil's Aeneid, Book 3.

eventual dismissal, appearing a little bit as a scapegoat in the middle of the rebellion of the miners against the administration, but making no mention of any conflict of interest in his role on the bench. He left, embittered, towards the end of the year, having no desire to remain in the colony any longer, and the feeling was possibly mutual.



Scene near Appia in the Island of Upolu Navigators. D'Ewes, 1857, p.162.

Over the next year he travelled from Sydney to the Navigator and Friendly Islands (Samoa and Tonga) and back. He decided there was no future for him in Australia, and hoping that interests of his back in England might result in an appointment in New Zealand, boarded the steamboat the *William Denny*[5] in December 1855, and arrived in Auckland ten days later, to be disappointed, as was the case with so many at the time. He describes the town, Māori, the climate, agriculture and potential trade, nothing especially novel, and repeated in many other accounts of the time. He travelled inland, noting the soil and forest, and quotes earlier accounts of the region. In January, 1856, the '*melancholy news reached me of the death of a friend, from whose interest I expected much, and which destroyed all my hopes of an appointment in this country*.'[6] He didn't hang about and decided to return to England, taking the opportunity offered by a ship sailing with ballast to Shanghai, then to take on a cargo of silks and tea for England, and departed on the 6th February, 1856.

The final 100 or so pages in the book are on China. He was impressed with Shanghai '*Nothing can be more imposing, particularly to a person lately arrived from the Australian colonies, than the first appearance of this settlement*[7].' He describes Shanghai, the Chinese, customs and manners, trade, products, and on p. 249 is a charming little engraving of a Chinese dinner party and on p.255 a drawing of a buffalo ploughing land under irrigation. He travels inland by boat, with wife and child, to the lake Tai-Hou (Taihu) and the fine city of Sou-cheou

[5] The '*William Denny*' was owned by the Auckland Steam Navigation Company, to run between Sydney and Auckland, Wellington and Nelson, able to complete that in 4 weeks, and contracted for mail, general cargo and passengers. She was broken up after grounding at North Cape in a gale in March 1857.

[6] **D'Ewes, J.** China, Australia and the Pacific Islands, in the years 1855-56. London: Richard Bentley. 1857. p.233.

[7] Ibid. p. 240.

(Suzhou). On p. 271 is an engraving of a Buddhist Temple[8]. He says that '*John Chinaman is not a very moral being...*' without a blush, but then D'Ewes' main moral failings and the Canadian postal system are still in the future. By June his ship had completed loading tea and silk, to the value of £200,000, and by the end of the month they were enroute for Java. The penultimate chapter covers their visit there, and the final one the voyage home, calling in at St Helena. D'Ewes landed at Portsmouth on November 23, 1856.

The book is very engaging. D'Ewes is a fine writer, mixing observation and published information. He is well-read, quoting, along with Virgil, Brees and unnamed writers on New Zealand, and L'Abbe Huc[9] and Robert Fortune[10] on China. This was a guy you would like to meet, though you might want to protect your finances.

We next see D'Ewes in Victoria, British Columbia, Canada, in 1859, where he was appointed Postmaster of Vancouver Island. It was a one-man post, under negligent Government control. Over the next two years, with gold discovery in the interior, business in the postal service was booming, and in December 1861, he took leave of absence, which was a polite term for absconding to England, abandoning his wife and two children. It seems he took with him most of the takings of the post office leaving $1.15 in the money box. It was all to no avail. In 1862, D'Ewes was in Homberg in Germany, probably Bad Homberg in Hesse near the Taurus mountains, and a notable spa and casino, rather than the Homberg of the Saarland. On March 14, 1862, the German Government informed the Canadians that D'Ewes had shot himself, having lost all his money.[11]

[8] All three little engravings bear George Measom's signature as lithographer. Measom was last seen in the Rev Richard Taylor's book on New Zealand. The dinner party and temple engravings also bear the signature of Capt. Forbes, a London draftsman and engraver active in London mid-19th C.

[9] Likely to have been: Huc E R, Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China, in the years 1844-5-6. Translated from the French by W. Hazlitt. London: Office of the National Illustrated Library [1852]. Huc's later book on China was not published until 1878.

[10] The English plant collector, Robert Fortune, who took (most say stole) tea plants from China to India, amongst other plants collected, wrote 5 books on his travels in China, and three were published, in 1847, 1852 and 1853, before D'Ewes book.

[11] http://www.vicstamps.com/displays/victoria_post_office/dewes.htm

I have taken no pains to render my book amusing

Paul, R.B., *Some account of the Canterbury Settlement, New Zealand. 1854.*
Paul, R. B. *Letters from Canterbury, New Zealand. 1857.*
Paul, R.B., *New Zealand as it was and as it is. 1861.*

Most settlers, visitors and missionaries, came out to New Zealand as comparatively young men, driven by adventure, tossed out of middle class families to make a living, or fired up by the church's mission, but what induced the Rev Robert Paul to sail out in the first four ships to Canterbury in 1851, at the age of 52? It wasn't a bishopric, like Selwyn, and he was a well-established clergyman and scholar, having published books on Aristotle and Sophocles, and a history of Germany[12]. Robert Bateman Paul (1798-1877) was born in Cornwall, educated in Oxford, made a Fellow of Exeter College, ordained in 1824, and served in a number of parishes up until 1850. In the middle of this period, he travelled to Russia, June to August, 1836, and published an account of his journey.[13]

Robert Bateman Paul, second Vicar of Wellington, 1855-1857. Wellington Cathedral of St Paul.

In September of 1850, he sailed in one of the four first ships to the new colony of Canterbury, with an appointment as commissary to Bishop Selwyn, who had been in New Zealand some eight years and would be establishing the church in the new southern settlement.

In his four years in New Zealand, Paul acted for the Bishop until new bishoprics were formed, and played a major role in establishing Christ's College in Christchurch. In 1853 he was appointed archdeacon of Waimea and moved to live in Nelson, and was instrumental in appointing the first Bishop of Nelson[14], after which he left to return to England in 1860. During his time in Nelson, he also held a post as the second vicar of St Paul's Wellington, from 1855 to 1857. During his time in New Zealand, he published two books on the development of the Canterbury Settlement, the first not much more than a pamphlet, published two years in to his term.

Paul, R.B., *Some account of the Canterbury Settlement, New Zealand. London, Rivingtons, 1854. iv, [5]-51 pp,. Bagnall 3398.*

Paul's 1854 pamphlet, published in stiffened cloth covers, is very factual, Paul taking pains not to take sides in any of the on-going arguments between settlers and the Canterbury Association and Government. He is quite open about the issues: *'Why I think the under taking very far indeed from being a total failure, I will explain by and by. Mean while, however, I cannot help acknowledging that it has not been so successful as its projectors anticipated.'*[15] There

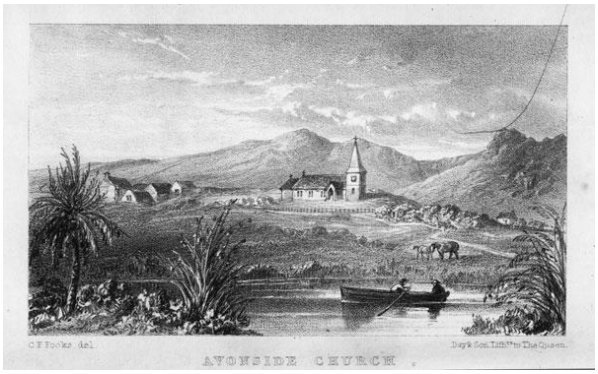
[12] **Scholefield, J**., op cit. vol 2. pp. 155-156.
[13] **Paul, R. B.,** A Journal of a Tour to Moscow in the Summer of 1836. London, Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1836.
[14] Rev Edmund Hobhouse, bishop from 1859, being consecrated in England, until 1866.
[15] **Paul, R.B.,** Some account of the Canterbury Settlement, New Zealand. London, Rivingtons, 1854. p. 6.

is much on the church and its finances, and then he takes up the rest of his text with a description of the colony, the features of Canterbury and its prospects, keen to put the record straight: *And here I cannot help lamenting the great amount of mischief which, I am afraid, has been done by the hasty and ill-considered statements of persons, who, after a residence of a few months (in some instances of only a few weeks or days) in the colony, have considered themselves qualified boldly and unhesitatingly to pronounce judgment on the Canterbury scheme and its results*.[16] He attaches Appendices of speeches and texts from others, particularly on statistics and shipping and emigration information. In all it is a particularly clear view of current life and prospects, keeping true to his claim for an unbiassed picture of the new colony.

The 1857 book is very much an expanded , up-dated version of the earlier work.

Paul, R. B. *Letters from Canterbury, New Zealand. With a map of the Province, and a considerable part of Nelson, showing the purchased land, reserves, sheep and cattle runs, Mr. Weld's overland route from Nelson to Canterbury, &c. &c. By Edward Jollie, C.E. London; Rivingtons, Waterloo Place. 1857. viii, 160 pp, folding map, folding table, 8 p adverts. Bagnall 4496, Hocken 190.*

I don't have a copy of the 1854 work, which is very uncommon. Conversely the larger 1857 book is not rare. Mine is in the original red embossed cloth, in good nick, with the frontispiece, folding table and folding map pf Canterbury Province, bought at auction in 2005.



Avonside Church, Canterbury. Paul, 1857. Frontispiece. Artist C E Fooks.

The book has a frontispiece lithograph of the Avonside, from a sketch by Charles Edward Fooks (not C.F. Fook as printed). It is a gentle pastoral scene, which would put at ease any prospective emigrant. Fooks (1829-1907) was a surveyor who sailed to Canterbury in the *Steadfast* in 1851. He was a nephew of W G Brittan, often mentioned by early Canterbury writers[17]. He designed the first Avonside church, and spent his life as a surveyor and engineer in the Canterbury region.[18] The lithograph was engraved by Day & Son, prominent London printers.

The map is by Edward Jolie, interesting for its identification of sheep and cattle runs, and Weld's overland route from Nelson to Canterbury.[19] There is an inset of the environs of Christchurch and Bank's Peninsular. The book also is dedicated to George Grey, clearly a friend, and there is a quotation from Edward Gibbon Wakefield from the *Art of Colonisation* on the verso of the title page.

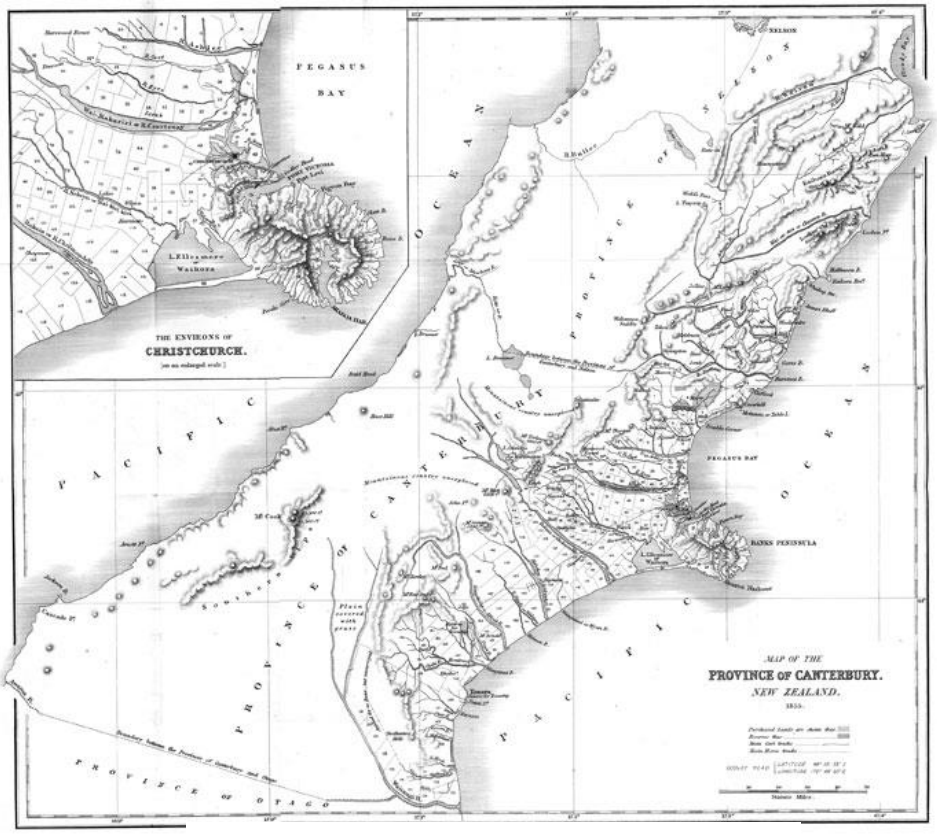
[16] Ibid., p. 12

[17] William Guise Brittan (1809-1876) was the first Crown Commissioner of Lands in Canterbury, arriving in 1850.

[18] https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22465231

[19] Frederick Weld, with his cousin Charles Clifford, established sheep stations in North Canterbury and Marlborough, pioneering an inland route. He is mentioned frequently in Charlotte Godley's letters. He became involved in politics, eventually as Prime Minister for about 10 months in 1864-1865. He left New Zealand in 1867 and continued a career in colonial government in Australia and the Straits Settlements.

The book has an Introduction which briefly traces New Zealand's history and then six letters as chapters covering something on the nature of colonial society and the colonist,



Map of the Province of Canterbury. Paul, 1857.

the climate, geography and principal features of Canterbury, using published material such as that by William Fox and others. There is much on sheep and cattle, agriculture and the Church, with six appendices on statistics, the 1854 census, a narrative of Weld's overland journey from Nelson to Christchurch, a sermon, an appeal for money for Christ's College which Paul was active in establishing, and a list of run owners. It's all useful, and quite objective information from an accomplished writer, in fact from someone who it seems couldn't stop writing. In 1861 he was back in England, Rector of Stamford in Lincolnshire, lecturing the local labourers, agricultural workers and tradesmen on the prospects of a worthy and prosperous life in New Zealand.[20] He wrote this lecture up as a pamphlet.

Paul, R.B., *New Zealand as it was and as it is. London, Edward Stanford, 1861. 2p.l., 63 pp, paper covers. Bagnall 4497, Hocken 213.*

The book contains a coloured map dated 1861 with marine distances of places between London and Canterbury, and a comparison of land area between the British Isles and New Zealand. In his preface, he distinguishes himself from other writers on emigration and New Zealand of the time: '*My object in writing the following pages was to give intending settlers, especially those of the working-class, such information about New Zealand as might perhaps*

[20] https://www.rct.uk/collection/1084788/new-zealand-as-it-was-and-as-it-is-by-robert-bateman-paul Accessed 23 March 2023.

be of service to them in settling their plans for the future. This, as far as the matter is concerned, has repeatedly been done, and well done, by former writers; but I cannot call to mind any who have condescended to do what I now attempt - I mean, to tell a homely tale about New Zealand in homely words, for the use of unlettered men. This is the only excuse I can think of for having added one more to the multitude of works on New Zealand.' The proceeds of his 'homely tale' are to go to the '*Fund for the relief of the Taranaki sufferers'*, and it is clear that these are the British settlers, not the displaced Māori with their *'treasonable proceedings at Taranaki'*.

Paul gives a potted history of the colony, and writes much on Māori and the 'civilizing' effects of the missionaries and colonisation. He writes a lot about the healthy labourer, their '*rosy*' children and what they might expect to earn, have to eat, and how they might live, all well-meant and patronising from a cloistered clergyman. He speaks a lot about Māori, their manners and customs, and notes their decline, puzzling over the reason: '*from what cause it is not so easy to determine: certainly not from any ill-treatment or injustice on the part of the colonists.'*[21] The book is a window into the views of those promoting emigration, the colony has moved on from the more pioneering days, and despite the Māori conflicts, presents a glowing picture of hope and prosperity for those who might wish to escape the contrasting conditions of the English rural workers and craftsmen.

Paul retired in 1872, the same year he published a 2-volume novel under the penname of James Hamley Tregenna, '*The autobiography of a Cornish Rector'*. He died in 1877. Other than this, we know little more about him. He married in 1827, and had two daughters[22], and presumably his wife was with him during his time in New Zealand. He surprisingly does not appear in Charlotte Godley's Canterbury letters, where she welcomed the first ships, knew everyone who was worth knowing, and many who were not, and was, with her husband John, heavily involved with the church and clergy as they appeared in the new settlement. Paul tells us nothing about himself in his books.

[21] **Paul, R.B.,** New Zealand as it was and as it is. London, Edward Stanford, 1861. p. 26
[22] **Scholefield, J**. op. cit.

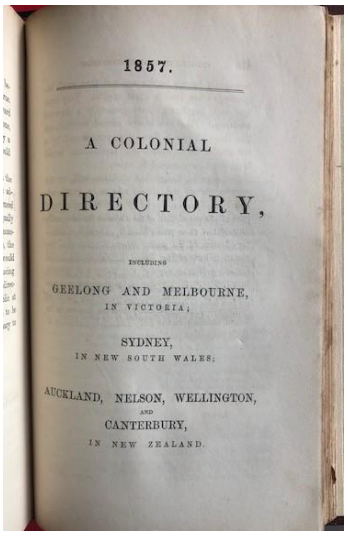
To the germs of national greatness – to Great Britain's first class merchants

[Puseley, D.] *The rise and progress of Australia,Tasmania, and New Zealand. 1857.*

A man who writes a book entitled '*Commercial before Military Glory*' has made it clear that business and trade are his priorities for the imperial century. Daniel Puseley (1814-1882) was born in Devonshire and worked in the hosiery and silk trade in London. He married in 1844, and closed his business sometime in the 1840s to devote himself to a literary career. He needed strength of purpose. In his preface he says that he was disappointed with the reception of his first attempts at poetry, '*The fate of some early poetical works failed to inspire the writer with any very elevated opinion of his own imaginative powers.*', and so he turned to prose. His first book, *Harry Mustifer,* a novella of morals published in 1847, sold only 12 copies in its first year.[23] He wrote only one other book, '*The Saturday Early Closing Movement. By a Warehouseman',* before sailing to New Zealand and Australia in 1854, the journey taken for health reasons. His visit was only for about 6 months and on his return he published his Colonial Directory.

[Puseley, D.]*The rise and progress of Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand. In which will be found a colonial directory; increase and habits of population; tables of revenue and expenditure: commercial growth and present position of each dependency; intellectual, social and moral condition of the people, &c., gathered from authentic sources, official documents, and personal observation in each of the colonies, cities, and provinces enumerated. By an Englishman. London: Saunders & Otley. 1857 xvi, 496 pp, adverts, tables. Bagnall 4734, Hocken 190*.

My copy is re-bound in modern dark red cloth boards, and is the fifth thousand of the first edition. It was a popular work going through 5 editions over the next two years, the 4th edition being the first to have his name on the title page.. It was bought from a South Australian shop in 1991.


1857.

A COLONIAL

DIRECTORY,

INCLUDING

GEELONG AND MELBOURNE,
IN VICTORIA;

SYDNEY,
IN NEW SOUTH WALES;

AUCKLAND, NELSON, WELLINGTON,
AND
CANTERBURY,
IN NEW ZEALAND.

The first couple of hundred pages are about Australia, and he doesn't like it, New Zealand glowing in contrast. '*If in a social point of view we reluctantly pronounce Australia to be the most objectionable of all British dependencies, and the inhabitants, as a body, to be the most depraved, immoral and reckless of any and every European country with which we are acquainted, we may possibly be accused of prejudice when we declare New Zealand to be the finest colony in the world, and the majority of its people to be equal in respectability, intelligence, temperance, and honesty, to those in a similar scale of society in any part of Europe*.' And in case you think there is prejudice: '*..we write neither for party, nor party purposes, and being entirely independent of and uninfluenced by either, our simple motto is – truth*.'[24] He provides a general account of the country, then chapters on the settlements, with facts and figures, tables, and much of the text quotation from other

[23] **Dingley, R.,** Puseley, Daniel (1814-1882). Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004.

[24] **[Puseley, D.]** The rise and progress of Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand. In which will be found ..... gathered from authentic sources, official documents, and personal observation in each of the colonies, cities, and provinces enumerated. By an Englishman. London, Saunders & Otley, 1857. pp. 232-233.

writers such as George Earp. Auckland he sees as having an uncertain future, with the current argument around the future seat of Government, and its also dangerous: '*Of sharks there may be found an extraordinary quantity....on two occasions we have been near a bathing spot at a period when human life was sacrificed by the sea vipers* [Puseley's elaborate phrase for sharks].'[25]

New Plymouth is viewed with great favour '*Society in New Plymouth is much superior to that in Auckland....*',[26] . Nelson is 'the *most charming spot in a charming country'*[27], and he follows with Wellington, Christchurch and Otago, and a concluding chapter. Here he finishes with great flourish, exhorting young emigrants to work hard and honesty, again warning of the bad characters, vice and immorality, and then in case we missed the message, there is a final footnote: '*The above remarks are only partially applicable to New Zealand, as there is probably less crime in that colony by two thirds, than either in Australia or Tasmania*.'[28]

There follows chapters on import duties, ships and shipping and insurance companies, and then the 80 pages of the Colonial Directory which is a directory of trade, a very useful register for the historian, as are the many pages of advertisements of all things domestic, agricultural and literary. It is probably the most comprehensive account of the colonies to date, very factual and full of data, and amidst the baroque language, some forthright views.

Puseley returned to Australia in 1857, and then back in England, wrote poems and plays, social commentaries, history, and novels, some under the pen name 'Frank Foster'. He lectured widely, was active in philanthropy, but his health declined, and he died in London in 1882, leaving four sons spread around the world.[29]

[25] Ibid., p. 278.
[26] Ibid., p. 282.
[27] Ibid., p. 291.
[28] Ibid., p. 373.
[29] **Boase, G. C.,** Puseley, Daniel, Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900, Volume 47.

Giggeregoo

Shaw, J. A *Tramp to the Diggings. 1852.*
Shaw, J. *A gallop to the Antipodes. 1858.*

The approaches of authors to their accounts can be rather laconic; they roamed, wandered, rambled, and even, as in the title of a book on China of the same period, wrote '*Desultory notes....*'[30], as though it was all they could do to get out of bed in the morning. Dr John Shaw however, after tramping and rambling with his first two books, and happy to have a '*chat*' about his travels in his third, bursts into life with his '*Gallop*'.

We don't know much about Shaw, but he was a doctor, had money, and was a keen traveller, with enough reputation in the natural sciences to be a fellow of the Geological, Linnean and Edinburgh Botanical societies. In the early 1850, he was determined to establish a sheep farm in New Zealand, and though unmarried, had four nephews at hand. He sailed out to New Zealand in 1850 with one of these nephews, Frederick Trolove (1831-1880) and bought land in Marlborough, establishing a 42,000 acre station in the upper Awatere Valley. Shaw returned to England with his half share in his pocket and Frederick stayed behind to run the establishment. Apparently Frederick found things a bit lonely and eventually swapped the land for another property a little further south, on the Clarence River, where he was joined by a brother Edwin the following year.[31] Shaw, back in England, published his '*Tramp*', where he records his first visit to both Australia and New Zealand.

Shaw, J. A *Tramp to the Diggings: Being Notes of a Ramble in Australia and New Zealand in 1852. Published by Richard Bentley, London, 1852. pp [1-2 (blank)] [1-5] vii (i.e. vi) (1)-317 [1] [1 (advertisement)] [1 (blank)] pages. Bagnall 5146, Hocken 168.*

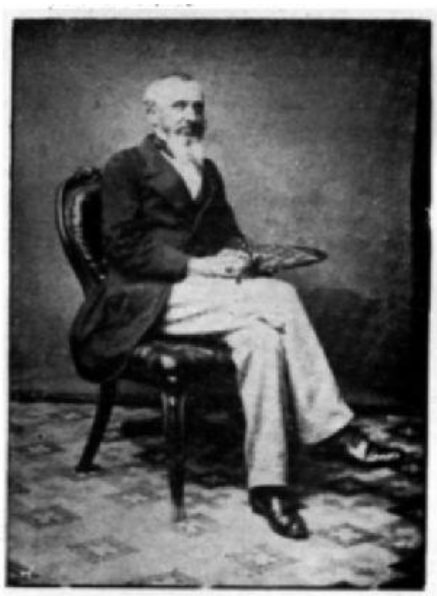
My copy is in the original blind-stamped red cloth boards with gilt lettering and decoration on spine, and red coated endpapers. Provenance: Carl R. Staubel, with pencil owner's name "C R Staubel" on the front endpaper. Staubel was a noted New Zealand book collector.

Shaw landed in Sydney on October 1, 1851, and eventually departed for England in March 1852. The first 100 or more pages of the book are given over to core information on Australia and New Zealand, on the aborigines of both countries, and particularly on New South Wales politics. This includes a lengthy record of a political speech given by William Charles Wentworth[32], complete with a record of the audience (*ironical cheers)* and (*hear, hear*) interspersed. And then on p. 135, he '*will now introduce the reader to Dr Lang, the next great political man of the colony*.' Lang[33] had written extensively on colonisation in New Zealand and Australia, was welcomed by the New Zealand Company, and was serially controversial. Shaw, keen to meet him, saw through him as well: '*In the pulpit Dr lang is not above mediocrity; and it struck me, while I was listening to him, that if he were no greater in political*

[30] **Meadows, T, T.,** Desultory notes on the government and people of China and on the Chinese language, illustrated with a sketch of the province of Kwang-Tung showing its division into departments and districts. London., W H Allen, 1847.
[31] https://www.theprow.org.nz/people/frederick-trolove/ accessed 24 March 2023.
[32] Wentworth (1790-1872) was at this time assisting in establishing a constitution for New South Wales which would have made it self-governing. He had an appalling record on aborigines, and in the 1830s attempted to buy some 8 million hectares of New Zealand land, about a third of the land mass, a fraudulent action prevented by Governor Gipps.
[33] See the article on Lang in this series on Early New Zealand Books.

haranguing, that he must have earned his laurels very easily, and even without deserving them.'[34] He likes his writing, however.

Shaw provides a description of Sydney and his visits to the goldfields and Wollongong, then ends the book with accounts of Auckland, Wellington, Nelson and Canterbury. There is a wrong prediction '*that there is little likelihood of any more war between the natives and settlers*'[35], but then the view from Auckland was always going to differ from that further south at this time. He meets everyone worth meeting, including Selwyn and Grey *'I delivered a letter to Sir George Grey who honoured me with an invitation to dine, the very day I left Auckland. He is certainly not popular here; while the bishop is seen to be a favourite with them; and, in a great degree, from the fact of the bishop probably not being too fond of the Governor*.'[36] It's a book that gives a picture of the time, and more than most, a view of the theatre of colonial politics.



THE LATE DR. SHAW.

Dr John Shaw, photographed some time probably in the 1870s. https://forebears.io/new-zealand/canterbury-region/kaikoura.

In between his two trips to the antipodes, Dr Shaw wasn't idle. True to the quotation that was on the title page of most of his books '*If life's a voyage, then let us travel*', he took himself to the Americas and wrote about them in 1856.[37] And then collected his thoughts in a further book on travel, which picks up threads from the different countries he visited, including New Zealand.[38] It is here that we find that he was also a composer, listing this accomplishment on the title page, among his society fellowships. '*By Dr. John Shaw, Fellow of the Geological and Linnæan Societies of London, and the Botanical of Edinburgh. Author of " Rambles in the United States , Canada , and the West Indies"; "A Tramp to the Diggings"; and several Pieces of Music for the Flute, &c.'.*

In 1857, he makes his second voyage to Australia and New Zealand.

***Shaw, J.** A gallop to the Antipodes, returning overland through India. London, J.F.Hope, 16, Great Marlborough Street,1858. iv, 392 pp. Bagnall 5145, Hocken 192.*

My copy is in marbled, half red calf boards, with some library stamps. Many people don't mind that, though I don't like them unless they have some history. For example, I have a set of Trollope's *Australia and New Zealand* that comes from the Gibraltar Garrison Library, which has a nice imperial feel about it.

Times have changed. Shaw spends several of his first pages discussing how he had to chose a ship out. It is now the age of steamers, and he notes that in 1850 he spent 150 days

[34] **Shaw, J. A** Tramp to the Diggings: Being Notes of a Ramble in Australia and New Zealand in 1852. Richard Bentley, London, 1852. pp. 136-137.
[35] Ibid., p. 288.
[36] Ibid., p. 290.
[37] **Shaw, J.,** Rambles in the United States , Canada , and the West Indies. London, J.F. Hope, 1856.
[38] **Shaw, J.,** Travel and Recollections of Travel with a chat upon various subjects. London, Saunders and Otley, 1857.

sailing out, but only 72 days on this voyage by steamer in 1857. He departed from Plymouth on the *Undaunted*[39], but not without drama. After he had climbed aboard to occupy his cabin, he was informed that he would not be allowed to sail. The Government's rules disallowed him his passage, since the ship was carrying 260 single women emigrants, 50 married couples and 18 single men. One piece of advice was for him to sign the ship's 'articles', which would make him an employer of the ship owner and at the mercy of the captain, as a landlord's daughter informed him '*Why, if you sign the ship's articles, you will be completely in their power and you must not be at all surprised if you are ordered to do the dirty work of an under steward, or that of a cuddy waiter*.'[40] The problem was solved with the appearance the next day of the Emigration Commissioners from London, whom he manged to convince of his rectitude, pointing out that he had written a little work in favour of emigration, and given advice to emigrants. He sailed, happy with the prospect of a leisurely voyage without having to wait on the Captain and his crew, nor offend the females.

He visits Melbourne and the gold diggings, comparing them with what he saw in his first trip, and then on to New Zealand, Marlborough and Nelson and then Whanganui and Wellington. There is a slight puzzle in Shaw's visit to Marlborough. He travelled from Cloudy Bay to the Flaxbourne Station (established by Frederick Weld and Charles Clifford), and then on to '*Giggeregoo Station'*, the property of a '*Mr Trolon*' and is partner. From there he returned to Nelson.[41] Shaw still had part ownership of the Woodbank station with his nephew Frederick Trolove, and there was continuing correspondence and differences between them, Shaw insisting on maintaining his agreed share of the wool clip, and Trolove insisting that if he provided that, then the station would not be viable. The partnership between Trolove and Shaw broke up in the 1860s, Trolove retaining Woodbank and Shaw splitting off a property called 'The Shades', although the argument persisted through to the 1870s.[42] However, in the book, Shaw makes no mention of Trolove and Woodbank specifically. Is Giggeregoo, clearly a made-up name for a place in New Zealand, and Mr Trolon, Woodbank and Trolove respectively? There are records of Shaw visiting, by foot, being a noted walker[43]. For reasons of his own, he is being coy about identifying the station or his nephew.

Woodbank Homestead, Frederick Trolove's Woodbank Station, Kaikoura. Late 19th C. https://forebears.io/new-zealand/canterbury-region/kaikoura

Shaw returns to Nelson and visits the gold diggings at Collingwood, then sails by steamer to Wellington and Whanganui. There is a chapter on the aborigines, and even at

[39] The *Undaunted* was owned by the Australian Screw Steam Clipper Company, and was advanced in design to allow great air flow between decks. Daily Southern Cross, Vol xiv, Issue 1067, 18 September 1857, p. 2.
[40] **Shaw, J.** A gallop to the Antipodes, returning overland through India. London, J.F.Hope, 16, Great Marlborough Street,1858. pp. 6-10.
[41] Ibid., pp. 163-164.
[42] https://www.theprow.org.nz/people/frederick-trolove/ Accessed 25 March 2023.
[43] The Cyclopedia of New Zealand [Nelson, Marlborough & Westland Provincial Districts]. Christchurch, Cyclopedia Company Limited, 1906, p 457.

this stage of the century, feels the need to say that '*the aborigines of New Zealand may be classed amongst the most intelligent, sagacious, and sharp-witted savages that ever existed at any age or time*.'[44]. He rues their decline from disease. In a chapter on the settlers, he quickly picks up the great levelling force of the settler in breaking through class distinctions: '*A lady to whom I was introduced in New Zealand, who was born in the country, said to me "Well sir, I congratulate you on having arrived in a country where you will enjoy true liberty." The liberty that she alluded to was the freedom from the social tyranny of the old country*...'[45]. There is more on politics, natural history and literature, and on November 3, 1857, he leaves Wellington for Sydney.

Shaw returned to England via India, then sailed from Calcutta to the Red Sea, railway to Cairo, and on home. By this time, steam and rail were becoming the natural means of travel, safer and quicker, and heralding the expansion of global travel found in the second half of the 19th century. Shaw died in England around 1884, his nephew Frederick Trolove dying before him in 1881.[627]

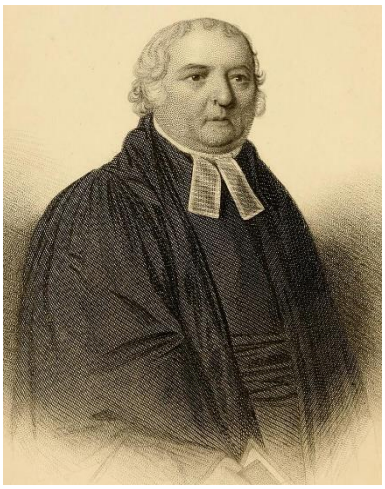
[44] **Shaw, J.** A gallop to the Antipodes, returning overland through India. London, J.F.Hope, 16, Great Marlborough Street,1858. p. 192.
[45] Ibid., p. 201.

The facts and incidents, as well as the moral grandeur

Marsden, J.B. *Memoirs of the life and labours of the Rev. Samuel Marsden. 1858*

Samuel Marsden, for all his place and influence in early New Zealand history, published nothing on New Zealand; there is no entry in Bagnall. There has however, been no shortage of commentary on him, both during his life and after his death in 1838. Marsden made numerous visits to New Zealand, the first in December 1814 on the brig *Active*, the ship bought from his own pocket, and the last and seventh, the rather triumphal visit from February 1837 until his departure in June of that year on the *Rattlesnake*. His return to Sydney took in Thames and Cloudy Bay. By this time he was tired and unwell, the grand old man, even carried on a litter through the bush when visiting Waimate. He died the following year.

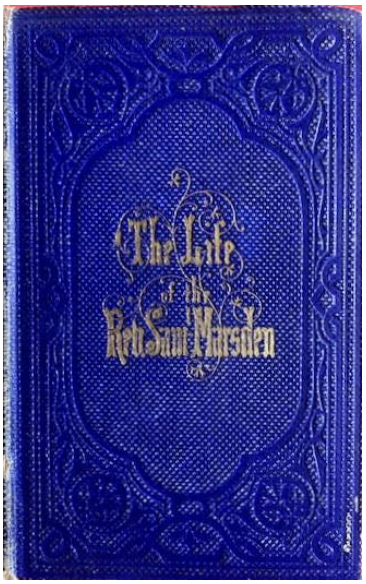
So lets just concentrate on this particular book, written some 20 years after his death.



Samuel Marsden. Marsden 1838, frontispiece. Portrait dated 1838.

Marsden, J.B. *Memoirs of the life and labours of the Rev. Samuel Marsden, of Paramatta, Senior Chaplain of New South Wales; and of his early connexion with the missions to New Zealand and Tahiti. London: The Religious Tract Society. [1858]. viii, 326 pp, frontispiece plate of Marsden, Bagnall 3375, Hocken 189.*

My copy is in the original blue cloth boards with gilt cover title. This is the first edition, first issue as described by Bagnall, with an ownership inscription. Bought from Smiths in 1990.

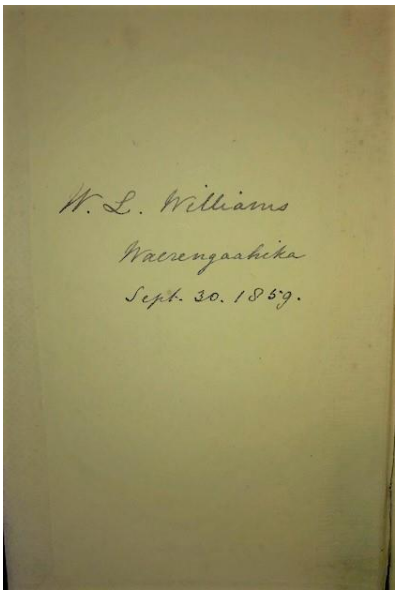


There is an inscription in this copy: *'W L Williams Waerengaahika, Sept 30, 1859*'. In other words, this is the copy of the missionary William Williams, in his hands a year after its publication. At this time, Williams had moved his mission station inland from Manutuke to Waerengaahika, presently about 12 km north of Gisborne city. Here he established his Māori school. Two years later he was consecrated Bishop of Waiapu, and it became the headquarters of his Diocese. He later transferred to Napier in 1865.[46] Included in the book are a couple of loose leaves in original hand-writing of the time, giving a list of Marsden's visits to New Zealand.

The author of the book, calling himself the editor, was John Buxton Marsden (1803-1870), not a relation of his subject. He was a clergyman ordained in 1827, and author of a number of works on church history, editor from 1859 to 1869 of the *Christian Observer*. He says in his preface that because of his name, and the mistaken perception that he was related, which clearly vexed him, he had been repeatedly

[46] **Frances Porter**. 'Williams, William', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand.

urged to write the life, and then the Religious Tract Society, with a bundle of Marsden's papers, eventually persuaded him. He also had a manuscript from John Liddiard Nicholas, who was still alive (he died in 1868) and knew Marsden well in Paramatta, accompanying him on his 1814 visit to the Bay of Islands and writing his own account (though named J.S. Nicholas in this Introduction).



There are two engravings, apart from the portrait frontispiece. One is of a '*Distant view of Sydney*' and the other '*Paramatta Church*'. The artists are unknown, but the Sydney engraving has the name Robinson on it, likely to be the prominent London engraver John Henry Robinson (1796-1871).

The book covers his early life very briefly, it seems little was known at the time, though Marsden seemed to have been thrust into missionary life unexpectedly. He was still studying at Cambridge when offered a New South Wales chaplaincy, and was duly commissioned in January 1798. We then follow his voyage out and early days in the colony up to when he returned to England in 1807. There he pleaded with the Church Missionary Society for missionaries for New Zealand, and come 1814, with Thomas Kendall as a teacher, William Hall as carpenter and John King a ropemaker, all lay (unordained) missionaries preparing the way, and the mission took off.

Marsden continues with chapters on the missionary's life and service in New South Wales and New Zealand. We would not expect a critical work, and indeed this is more than a titch hagiographical. But the author quotes frequently from Marsden's letters and papers, and these provide great value. He displays the accusations and what was almost a campaign against Marsden, including accusations of torture, and Marsden comes across almost in the form of a martyr. The truth, as always, lies somewhere in the middle.

After Marsden's death is recorded, there is a chapter on his character and life and labours, and two appendices, one on subsequent '*Progress of the Gospel and of Civilisation in New Zealand..*' and the other on '*The State and Prospects of the Protestant Mission in Tahiti, under the French Protectorate*.' Tahiti had also been under Marsden's care, and the establishment to the French Protectorate and the accompanying activities of the '*Romish*' mission are given the usual Francophobic treatment. The book ends with six pages of advertisements for publications of the Religious Tract Society[47], in its heyday, including biographies, and educational and theological works.

[47] Founded in 1799 and interdenominational, though excluding Roman Catholics and Unitarians, the Society continued to publish through to 1935 when it merged with Christian Literature societies, and eventually became the United Society for Christian Literature, still active today.

Oh! Mark the gallant *Osprey*, careering o'er the sea

[Moon H] *An account of the wreck of HM Sloop "Osprey;". 1858.*

Shipwrecks were not uncommon in the early 19th century, and the New Zealand coastline was hazardous. The literature records lots of them, but rarely provides a detailed contemporary account, as though this was an occupational hazard for those voyaging and travelling in the southern seas. There was the wreck of the *Harriet* on the Taranaki coast in 1834, which became a *cause célèbre* for those objecting to the excessive British response, Theophilus Heale wrecked his ship, the *Aurora*, in the Kaipara Harbour in 1840, and later there was the worst New Zealand maritime disaster of the age with the wreck of *HMS Orpheus* on the Manukau bar in 1863, with 189 drowned, and much written about in recent times. But the wreck of the *Osprey* was the subject of a contemporary book in its own right, written less than twenty years after the event, by Henry Moon, the steward on board.

It seems that there was a 'true' Hokianga and a 'false' Hokianga, the latter the Herekino river outlet, some 30 km north of the entrance to the Hokianga Harbour, and sometimes marked as the False Hokianga on early maritime charts. There is a similarity in the sand dunes of northern headlands of the two and on 11 March, 1846, in misty conditions, Commander Patten sailed his ship onto a sand bar just beyond the northern head of the Herekino river outlet, and the ship, a new 12-gun brig of war built at Plymouth in 1844, was wrecked. No lives were lost.[48]

One of the crew, the steward Henry Moon, an excessively religious fellow, kept a diary and notebook about the wreck and its aftermath, and this was edited by one Edward Colls Stacey, and published in 1858.

[Moon H] *An account of the wreck of HM Sloop "Osprey;" with the encampment of her crew, and their march across the island of New Zealand: blended with moral and scriptural illustrations. By one of her crew. Landport: Published by Annett and Johnson. 1858. x, 127 pp. Bagnall 3602, Hocken 191.*

My copy has the original purple faded cloth boards, board title label, and a printed slip tipped in on the verso of the half title page, which identifies the author; it is a near fine copy of the first edition. 'Landport', as the location of the publisher, is in modern day Plymouth, UK.

Henry Moon is rather obscure, except for the information on the tipped in slip in the book. After the *Osprey* wreck, he went on to serve, always as steward, in the *Kestrel* at the Brazil Station until 1850, then in the following year in the *Alecto* in Sierra Leone, in the *Tribune* in the Black Sea until 1854, and finally in the *Retribution* in the Baltic until 1856. He must then have died sometime in the next two years, since the Editor in his Preface tells us that the work has been compiled at the urging of Moon's friends to assist his widow, who was in '*indigent circumstances*.' The editor says that while he made some corrections, he took care not to '*alter the style of the language generally used by the writer, who, though one of the humbler classes, and probably self-taught, exhibits, in his mode of expression, not only a cultivated mind, but a mind deeply imbued with, and responsive to, the poetry of religious truth;...*'.

We know very little about the editor, Edward Colls Stacey. He married a 16-year-old Bridget Dover in 1860 in Tasmania, and was probably born in Norwich in 1825, or 1830, depending on the source of the information.

[48] https://www.pdavis.nl/Times.php?id=1842 Accessed 27 March 2023.

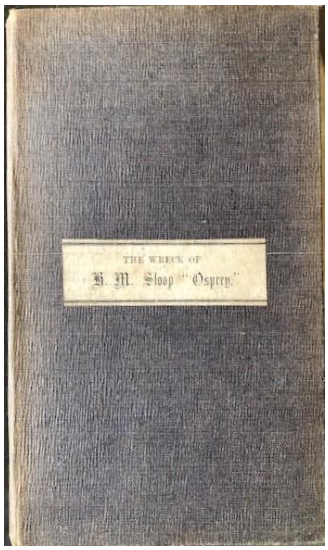
The wreck of HMS Osprey. Painting believed to be by the Master's Mate EH Jackson. Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia.
https://www.nzherald.co.nz/northland-age/news/another-dimension-to-blacksmiths-bay/yqdazb7adcirc6rojk6vfjzf5a/

The story of the wreck can be told briefly[49]. The *Osprey*, much admired by the Royal Navy, reached the Bay of Islands about a year after the burning of Kororareka by Heke and Kawiti. She was a state-of-the-art warship, sent to show the flag, and proceeded to sail north up the coast, round North Cape and down the west coast to the Hokianga Harbour. On 11 March 1846, searching for the harbour entrance in mist and rain, the Captain,. Commander Patten though he saw a house and a red signal flag raised on the dunes and proceeded to sail across what he thought was the Hokianga bar, but instead was driven onto the shore. Despite turfing the guns overboard and cutting the masts, the ship stuck fast and was wrecked. The crew got ashore, and set up camp with the help of local Māori and missionaries.

The crew remained there for a bit over 7 weeks, and then departed south to the Hokianga and overland to the Bay of Islands. It was not a good month for the Royal Navy. No sooner had the crew left than another ship, a schooner the *Aurora* operating out of the Hokianga, which had been helping convey the Osprey's stores to safety, ran aground on the same place and came to rest alongside the deserted *Osprey*. The *Osprey* crew walked to the Bay of Islands, and eventually were picked up by Navy ships and arrived back in Portsmouth in December 1846. They proceeded directly to a court martial, as was the custom for Royal Navy ships that had been lost. It was a mild and sympathetic affair: '*Mr. President and Gentlemen, I would respectfully submit that although I may have been so unfortunate as to have lost Her Majesty's brig under my command in the anxious performance of my duty, circumstances have occurred which I trust will show it was not occasioned through neglect or want of any possible precaution being taken by me...'*[50] The court agreed, noting that the waters had not been surveyed, and Pattern was exonerated, after a mere hour's deliberation, and ceremonially given back his sword.

[49] https://www.nzherald.co.nz/northland-age/news/another-dimension-to-blacksmiths-bay/YGDAZB7ADCIRC6ROJK6VFJZF5A/
[50] https://www.pdavis.nl/Times.php?id=1842

The editor's Preface sets the scene for the '*Moral and Scriptural Illustrations*' that the title page advertises: '*God's mercies and blessings, because they came day by day, and were "new every morning", were not lost upon him, but were most thankfully acknowledged*.' There also he notes Moon's observations, and particularly '*a phenomenon in its natural history, then little known, yet verified by Professsor Owen, relative to the transformation of a caterpillar into a plant,..*'. This is described on pages 115-116, with a footnote of information given by Owen. It refers to the caterpillar of the moth *Aoraia dinodes* or *Dumbletonius characterifer* which becomes infected by the fungus *Ophiocordyceps robertsii,* its fruiting body extending then above the ground like a small stalk, and was eaten by Māori. Edward Shortland[51] describes this and refers to Moon's description as well. Owen calls the plant *Sphoeria robertsii*, but this has been superseded by the individual taxonomies of the moth and fungus. Moon can't resist reverting again to biblical allegory: '*Is not the history of this little work inexplicable to mortal man? And though not a proof, may nevertheless serve as a striking emblem of the resurrection of our bodies*.'



Moon's account is an entanglement of biblical tract and allegory, and journal of the events from the wreck through their eventual march to the Hokianga and the Bay of Islands. There is much of interest in his narrative of how they strip the ship of everything they can, beating the copper, taking out the stores, setting up camp, and much on the local Māori. Friendly chiefs such as Nopera[52] give them food; 76 baskets of potatoes, from '*these babes in Christ...these simple children'*[53]. There are two poems at the start of the book: *Lines on H M Sloop "Osprey"*, making the most of the allegory of the wreck : '*Like her, if God be not your guide, a wreck you too will be*', and then '*Lines: H M Sloop "Osprey" at anchor at Wangaroa ,New Zealand. Symbolic of the pure state of infancy*.' The shipwreck of the Apostle St Paul, recounted in the Acts of the Apostles in used in pages of biblical reflection, and all through, incidents and observations serve Moon's religious sensibilities.

It is an interesting account, unusual in that the castaways are anything but that, in constant engagement with Māori, the settlements at Hokianga and other ships on the coast. One wonders why they stayed so long, probably waiting to be taken off by sea, an event that never happened, largely because of the very nature of the coast that caused the *Osprey's* destruction in the first place. Moon is a modest man, likeable, strong with his faith, taking the pledge against alcohol amidst a navy that often seems to be have been driven by it, not wishing to offend his companions or readers, trying to tell the truth, and ending: '*And now, having brought this memoir to a close, I take my leave of the reader, and whether it be one of my fellow companions in the above events, - at whose request it takes the present form – or a landsman, let them make every allowance for its errors, and pardon the want of ability it may exhibit in its construction, for the sake of the intent which produces its publication*.'

[51] **Shortland, E.** Traditions and superstitions of the New Zealanders; with illustrations of their manners and customs. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1854

[52] Nōpera Panakareao, of the northern Te Rarawa iwi. Mentioned in the book by Louis Chamerovzow.

[53] **[Moon H]** An account of the wreck of HM Sloop "Osprey;" with the encampment of her crew, and their march across the island of New Zealand: blended with moral and scriptural illustrations. By one of her crew. Landport: Published by Annett and Johnson. 1858. pp 42-45.

New Zealand has been colonised principally, with a hardy yeomanry

***Fuller, F** Five years' residence in New Zealand. 1859.*

Captain Francis Fuller (1820-1891) was a military man, serving with the 59th Foot Regiment, and the army records have Fuller still with the 59th in 1838. Finding which Francis Fuller is our man, is difficult however, since there were about four of them, all serving in the army, most with the 59th Foot Regiment. The most illustrious was General Francis Fuller (1763-1841), who had a son Francis in the army, but he died too soon for us. However, it appears likely that our Francis Fuller[54] was the son of a Lt. Col Francis Fuller (1787-1868) who was serving in Bengal at the time of his son's birth.[55]

However, what is clear is that our Francis arrived in Canterbury in 1853 as a Gladstone settler taking up land in Beaconsfield, and as a retired military officer, hence the '*Late of 59th Regiment*' on the book's title page. As a retired military officer, Francis was entitled to a land grant, and there is a record in the ordnances passed by the Canterbury Provincial Council of 12 May 1857, granting Francis Fuller, settler of Beaconsfield, 150 acres as a remission on a previous purchase of crown land he had made for some £300.[56] However, there is confusion, since the records show that a Captain James Fuller came out on the *Minerva*[57], arriving February 2, 1853, along with the Rev, John Raven, to settle in the Gladstone scheme, Raven going on, when that failed, to establish Ravenswood, also near Woodend.[58] However, the *Minerva* passenger list gives a Captain Fullerd. Are James and Francis the same Fuller? Is Fuller Fullerd? Let's move on.

In 1853, the year of his arrival, he also appears in the journal of Henry Sewell[59], firstly with a note on his book with it's dedication to Lord Lyttleton, Chairman of the Canterbury Association, as the owner of 100 acres at Woodend, known as 'Beaconsfield'. Woodend is a little north of Kaiapoi, north of the Waimakariki River. Fuller clearly has something to do with the colonisation schemes, and on February 3 and 4, Sewell walked with Fuller, and met him again at the Land Office to seek information on the Gladstone scheme, which Sewell concludes is 'mythical'.[60]

We don't have much more information on Fuller, although information can be gleaned from within Chapter II of the book, and it is assumed that he left Canterbury in 1858, after 5 years, and back in London, published his book the following year.

***Fuller, F.** Five years' residence in New Zealand; or observations on colonisation. London: Williams and Norgate. 1859. xvi, 266 pp. Bagnall 2071, Hocken 185.*

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[54] https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Fuller-13764
[55] https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Fuller-10550
[56] https://christchurchcitylibraries.com/Heritage/Digitised/Ordinances/Ordinances_257-298.pdf
[57] Edward Gibbon Wakefield was on the same ship, as were Henry Sewell and the Deans family.
[58] https://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/north-canterbury/116876813/facing-north-chance-find-links-family-to-first-canterburys-newspaper-and-ravenswood-subdivison-land
[59] **[McIntyre, W.D. ed]** The Journal of Henry Sewell 1853-7. 2 vols. Christchurch, Whitcoulls, 1980. Vol. 1 p. 175.
[60] The Gladstone settlement scheme was that of Sir Thomas Tancred, and involved a new township some 15-20 miles from Christchurch, of about 1500 acres. The scheme was passed onto John Godley with suggestion of a site near Harewood Forest. It is likely that Fuller was involved in the scheme in some way, though had purchased his own holdings at Woodend. Gladstone was a supporter of Godley, hence the name. Details of the scheme are given in footnote #20 of Sewells's Journal Vol.1.

My copy is in plain contemporary blue cloth boards. It is a copy withdrawn from the Parliamentary Library, and doesn't look as though the MPs read it. Pages xi to xvi, concluding the table of contents, are missing from my copy, and look as though they were never bound in.

Fuller provides a full page dedication to Lord Lyttleton, rather ingratiating, then a Preface and a separate Introductory Chapter where he puts much emphasis on the type of people who make up the New Zealand colonists, people of craft and tradesman skills, hard workers and yeomen, and then the gentry; all the right ingredients for a successful colony, with none of the poor or the convicted. If it was indeed him on the *Minerva*, sailing with Wakefield, (who revelled in two cabins near the poop) then they must have talked colonisation policy and theory, and this is reflected in the book, which is more of a theoretical discourse than a set of observations. In fact, we hear very little about Canterbury and the settlers.

There are no images of Fuller, nor much of the 59th Regiment in India, the Minerva, nor of Woodend in the 1850s. And the book is not very interesting and has no images. So here is Lord Lyttleton (1817-1876) in about 1850. He was Chairman of the Canterbury Association, and threw himself down the stairs aged 59 in 1876, mentally troubled.

There is a chapter on the influence of religious differences on the New Zealand population. The second is titled: '*To become a colonist does not forfeit social rank or position',* where he dismissed the prejudices shown by members of the upper ranks of society against colonists. He seems concerned over this. There is recognised dignity in those '*brought up in employments more or less connected with trading or producing occupations'...but many others are brought up to follow public and other services, where great prejudices are entertained to the occupations of a colonist*..'[61] And there, suddenly in the middle of the chapter, is Fuller giving an account of his life, as an example of a colonist who could have been *'deterred from considerations of deteriorating from their personal dignity or self-importance by following the occupations of a colonial life....others have had similar scruples laid before them, and have heartily rejoiced in laying them aside*.'[62] There is something here about Fuller feeling the need to justify himself, as though he had experienced social disdain for taking on the colonial life. It's worth dwelling on this account. His early life in the army seems to have been not so happy. He confirms that he has come from a military family, born in the barrack square, which fits with the information we have of him probably being born in Bengal where his father was serving. His father was colonel of the Regiment, and retired to look after his large family. As a young boy, Fuller watched as *'the old colonel cried like a child as he walked up and down the ranks, shaking hands with every man in it, and bidding them adieu*.' He later joined the same regiment, '*but his career became a melancholy one*.' The command of the regiment was taken over by Fuller's uncle, whose wife, from a lower social order '*did not possess the requisite ideas for supporting her position with dignity and respect*'. The uncle was clearly not very capable, apart

[61] **Fuller, F.** Five years' residence in New Zealand; or observations on colonisation. London: Williams and Norgate. 1859. p. 29.
[62] Ibid., p.31

from marrying an unsuitable wife, and eventually was removed, and the new Colonel was nothing more than a job-seeker: '*He proved to be a man so destitute of feelings that his officers made it their business to have as little to do with him as possible*.'[63] Fuller kept himself in the background and went to Sandhurst to help forward his career, but was not very successful, eventually becoming a Captain, but was rejected from the Horse Guards because of a speech defect. Whatever was that? There was more to complain of, however, for Fuller brought up a complaint against a senior officer for drunkenness, and the investigation found it unproven, thus Fuller's career was doomed, and he soon resigned. There's more, including his Colonel Uncle's daughter made pregnant by an officer, all adding up to a tale of society misery.

Fuller goes on to make a lot of general observations on the careers and prospects of people such as himself, but it seems that he keenly felt that English society was not favourable to colonists, and saw many of them as unfortunate and unsuccessful. He moves on however, with chapters on the price of land, investment of capital and farming for profit. There is information on 'squatting' and on the problems of establishing Canterbury, the necessity of maintaining a public spirit, how there are no beggars, and how the problems with Canterbury are light compared with those of other colonies. He ends on politics. It is all serious stuff and positive for the potential settler, but then, as with so many, he spends five years and then returns to England. Why not stay?

[63] Ibid., pp. 33-35.

Ninety volumes, two hundred pamphlets, and nearly a hundred-weight of parliamentary papers

***Thomson, A.S**. The story of New Zealand. 1859.*

It was better to be a soldier with the British Army in New Zealand than in India in the mid-19th C. There are probably may reasons for that, but the main one was that aside from being shot, there was much less chance of dying from disease. Arthur Saunders Thomson (1816-1860), the first medical scientist to work in and about write New Zealand, served in both theatres, and did the numbers, believing that it was the healthier climate and environment in New Zealand that made it safer, adding to the widespread view that New Zealand was a very healthy place to live in.[64]

Thomson was a Scot, who graduated in medicine from Edinburgh University in 1837, already with an interest in climate and disease. He enlisted the following year and served as an army surgeon in India until 1847, writing on fever epidemics, already a pioneer in using statistics in study of disease epidemiology. He joined the 58th Foot Regiment and sailed to New Zealand. The regiment had been deployed in New Zealand from 1845, but by 1847, the main fighting in the Northern Wars was over, and Thomson was in the happy position of being able to travel, observe and write without the intrusion of battles.[653] Thomson spent about 11 years in New Zealand, and there is a suggestion that he married Ngahiraka Waitangi Wood[65], the mother of his three children, 1856, although other sources suggest he was unmarried[653]. The three children and Wood, however, clearly did exist, and were left behind in New Zealand.

Ngahiraka Wood (c.1842-1890), mother of 3 children by AS Thomson.

Thomson departed in 1858, with the rank of Surgeon Major. He published his history the following year, but didn't live long to enjoy it. He served with his regiment in China in the second Opium War, being in Peking when it fell, and then in winter quarters in Tientsin, where he died in 1860.

***Thomson, A.S**. The story of New Zealand: Past and present – Savage and civilised. In 2 Volumes. London: John Murray, 1859. Vol 1. ix, 331 pp, folding frontispiece, 4 plates, 2 maps (I folding); Vol 2. vii, 368 pp, frontispiece, 7 plates, 2 folding plans. Bagnall 5537, Hocken 198.*

My copy is near fine, in contemporary half calf, raised bands, gilt compartments, leather spine labels, marbled boards and edges. It was bought in Toronto when visiting in 2009.

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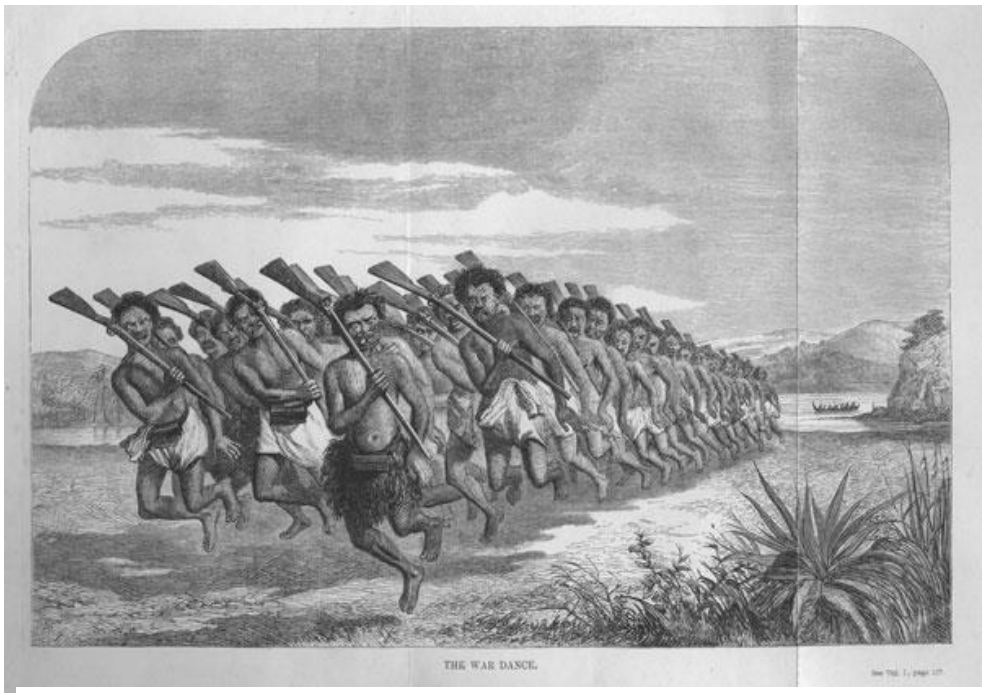
[64] **Michael Belgrave.** 'Thomson, Arthur Saunders', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990, updated July, 2014. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t95/thomson-arthur-saunders Accessed 3 April 2023.

[65] Ngahiraka Wood was the daughter of Capt. James Wood and Matarena Waitangi, a high-born daughter of Chief Hotu of Whakatohea in the Opotiki region. Wood married twice more and had more children. https://www.geni.com/people/Ngahiraka-Kennedy/6000000022191587361

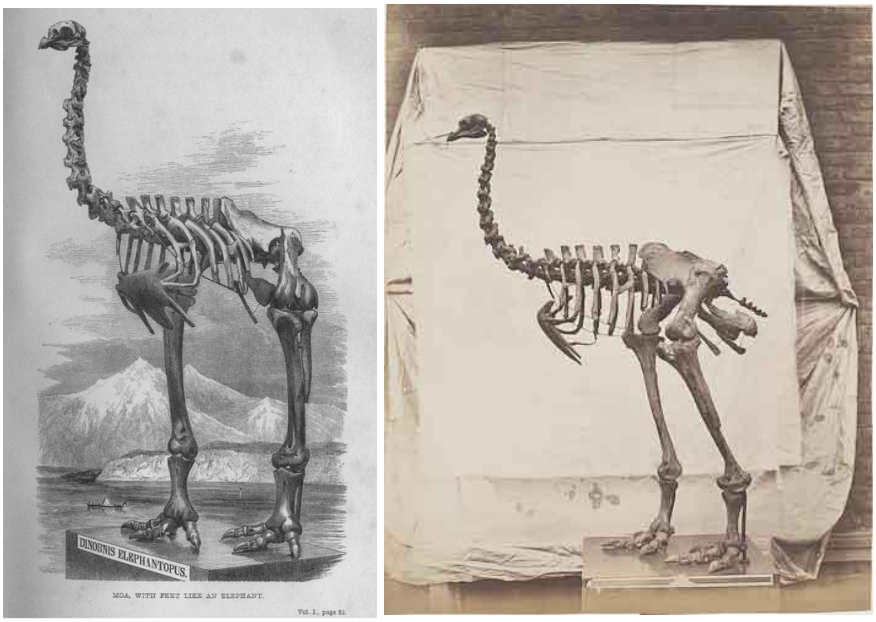


The War Dance. Thomson, 1859, Vol. 1 frontispiece. From a drawing by Lance-Serjt. J Williams of the 58th.

The book, in two volumes, is notable for the original engravings. These are largely from drawings by other military men. In Volume I there is a folding frontispiece, a dramatic depiction of a haka, the warriors armed with muskets. This is based on a sketch by J Williams of Thomson's regiment. The commander of the Regiment also gets into the act, with three engravings from sketches by Col. Bridge,[66] on the title page of a Pa with a wooden gong being struck, a native village with swing and Pa in the distance, notable for the swing which appears in earlier images, such as in Grey's *Polynesian Mythology,* and a sketch of the Waimate mission station in 1845. Another officer of this regiment of artists sketched a native litter for the conveyance of the sick and wounded. There is a drawing of the terraces at the Hot Lake (at Rotorua) by the Rev John Kinder[67], and a large drawing of the skeleton of a moa, taken from a photograph by Roger Fenton[68] in 1850. There are two maps. One shows the route that the Malays took in migrating from Sumatra to New Zealand, following the theory outlined by Thomson of a migration from the Malay archipelago to the Polynesian islands. The other is a folding hand-coloured map of New Zealand showing the provinces.

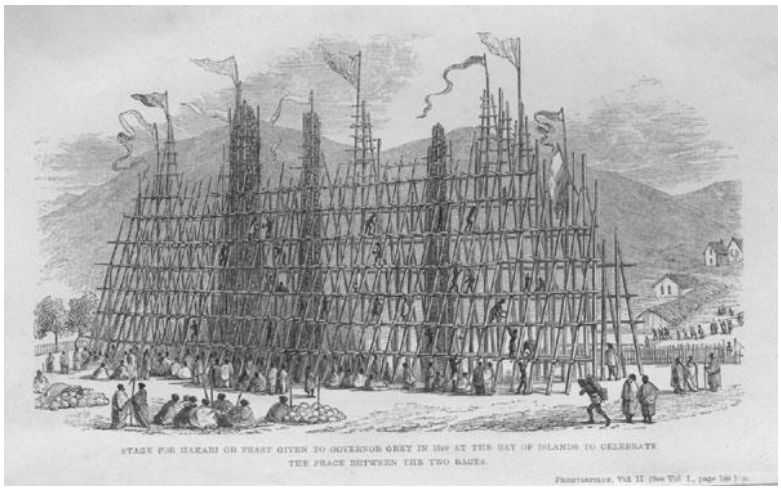
There are nine engravings in Vol. II, again from Thomson's military colleagues, and one from Kinder of a Selwyn church, as a vignette on the title page. Col. Bridge providing images of the Kerikeri waterfall, Kororareka in 1849, the attack on Okaihau, Waikare river expedition, and one by Williams on the repulse of the storming party at Oheawai. There is a Merrett sketch of Heke and his wife, which has the same figures as a well-known painting by JJ Merrett (Merritt in the book) from 1846, but with Heke's cloak of a different design, and,

[66] Cyprian Bridge came out to New Zealand in 1845 as a Major with the 58th, and left in 1858 as Colonel.
[67] Kinder (1819-1903) was an Auckland-based clergyman, artist and photographer, leaving behind a considerable collection of watercolours and photographic and prints. He arrived in Auckland in 1855, so overlapped with Thomson for 3 years.
[68] Fenton (819-1869) was England's most celebrated photographer in the early age of photography, and the first official photographer to the British Museum.



Left, Moa, with feet like an elephant, Thomson vol 1.p 32. Right, Elephantine Moa (Dinornis elephantopus), an Extinct Wingless Bird in the Gallery of Fossils, British Museum, 1854-1858, print from The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. The photograph, posed on the right, was taken by Roger Fenton at the British Museum, and used for the engraving in the book on the left.

perhaps surprisingly, the breast of Hariata more fully exposed. There is also engraving from a photograph of a New Zealand girl and her half-caste nephew and niece, all in European clothing, originally taken by John Crombie, the Auckland photographer[69]. The frontispiece is a rather spectacular engraving of the stage, or hakari, erected for a feast given to Governor Grey in 1849 in the Bay of islands. This is by Cuthbert Clarke[70], and there are original water colours of this in collections. The engraving shows a slightly different perspective from the original.



Stage for harkari or feast, given to Governor Grey in 1849, at the Bay of Islands, to celebrate the peace between the two races, from a sketch but Cuthbert Clarke, 1849. Thomson, 1859, Vol II, frontispiece.

[69] John Nicol Crombie (1827-1878), arrived in Auckland in 1855 and set up a studio in Shortland St, becoming one of Auckland's most prominent photographers, recording life in Auckland for almost 20 years.
[70] Cuthbert Clarke (1818-1863) arrived in New Zealand in 1849, and was with Grey at the feast in the same year.

The volume also has a fine plan of Kororeka and another of Kawiti's Pa at Ruapekapeka. There are a couple of further minor bibliographic items. The volumes were presented to The Rev Edward P. Eddrup by the parishioners of St Gabriel's, Pimlico in 1860, with a bookplate in on the inside cover of each volume showing this.[71] And then on the margin of the New Zealand map in Volume I, there are notes in an elegant contemporary hand making some corrections. Contrary to what is shown, the note says: '*The boundary of Nelson and Canterbury is on W. Coast, Grey River, on E. Coast Hurunui River. Lake Brunner is close to the W. Coast*.' So even in 1859, mapmakers can be wrong.

One of Bishop Selwyn's New Zealand Churches. Thomson, 1859, Vol. II, title page.

Finally, at the back, before the index, is the most comprehensive bibliography of New Zealand literature to date. As he says in his Preface, it contains some 90 volumes, 400 pamphlets, and a hundred-weight of parliamentary papers. It starts with Harris' *Collection of Voyages*, in 1642 and ends with Fenton's *Observations on the state of the aboriginal inhabitants of New Zealand*, published in 1859.

Well, after all that, what of the book? Thomson says in his preface that despite this great volume of literature, there is no general history of New Zealand. He has time on his hands, and so over 11 years, observes, collects, has access to government papers thanks to Dr Sinclair[72], the late Colonial Secretary, and is able to get an insider's view of Māori from Wiremu Maihi te Rangikaheke[73], a Rotorua chief who lived with him for several years, and who contributed substantially to George Grey's collections of Māori material.

The book is in three parts. The first, on the country and its natïve inhabitants, covers geography and climate, and then all things Māori, their migration, appearances, customs and manners, food and mythology, and a chapter reflecting his interest on diseases, and this is bolstered by a table in the Appendices in Vol. II. Here he compares disease numbers for patients in an English infirmary against a New Zealand hospital, and gives comparative numbers out of a 100 cases for each race, including dropsies, scrofula, venereal diseases, lung disorders etc. Thomson here shows his skills in collecting and analysing data, which reach back to early army days and his interests in pandemics, fevers and disease spread. Māori come out poorly, but there is likely a bias in that the diseases and disorders more prevalent in England perhaps do not get on the list.

The second part is on the history of discovery of New Zealand by Europeans. It covers the early voyagers and settlers, missionaries and the Church. He gives an honest view of the Treaty, noting that it was laughed at by many settlers, '*bartering sovereignty for blankets*', and

[71] St Gabriel's, high church, was consecrated in 1853, the Rev Eddrup would have been the first vicar, or at least one of the first, publishing a book of Practical Sermons in in 1860.

[72] Andrew Sinclair (1794-1861), surgeon and botanist, was New Zealand's second Colonial Secretary, from 1844 to 1856.

[73] Te Rangikāheke (c1815-1896) became a close friend and collaborator with Grey, lived in Auckland in the years of Thomson's stay, and went on to become a noted orator, Government employee, and tribal leader. His living with Thomson is not mentioned in the biographies. Jenifer Curnow. 'Te Rangikāheke, Wiremu Maihi', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t66/te-rangikaheke-wiremu-maihi Accessed 5 April 2023.

shows up the New Zealand Company: '*considered the whole business as illegal, and doubted "whether a treaty made with naked savages could be treated by lawyers as anything but a praiseworthy device for their amusement".....but settlers unconnected with the company, land sharks, or the Government, who have watched events since the formation of the Colony, universally admit that the treaty of Waitangi was a wise measure*…'[74]. Post the Treaty, the chapters follow the governors; Shortland, Fitzroy, Grey, Wynyard and Browne.

Thomson ends with Part III on the population decrease of the New Zealanders, pointing out that most British colonisation efforts tell a sorry tale with, where the indigenous people have declined. He gives numbers, and tables, diseases and issues of sterility and possible in-breeding, and calculates that over the last 30 years there has been an annual 1% decline in Māori population, which, if continuing, would eventually eliminate the race. He has a chapter on the proofs of civilization of Māori, with a large table where he shows progress on some 36 items such as cannibalism, food, slavery, Christian conversion, etc., all with assessments for 1770, 1836, and 1859. His conclusion is that there is progress, although the table shows some questionable improvements, such as the increase in guns, use of tobacco and spirits, and the shift from common ownership of land to individualisation of land, which he elaborates on further. '*Their civilisation is however still in its infancy, and before it can reach maturity the government must endeavour to teach them Christianity and the English tongue, individualise property, from roads and English settlements, make the Queen's law run over the land, prevent disease, and promote the amalgamation of races*.'[75] Civilisation is a population of Englishmen.

Thomson ends, before an Appendix of 25 tables of data, with hints to emigrants, and a warning: '*Emigrants must not be deluded by the glowing descriptions of enthusiastic settlers*'. The land is often poor, it needs '*much labour and sweat*', but in the end they will find it a '*good land*'. No book up to this date has provided an emigrant, or an historian, with such comprehensive information, facts, and data on the first half of the 19th century colonisation of New Zealand.

[74] **Thomson, A.S.** The story of New Zealand: Past and present – Savage and civilised. In 2 Volumes. London: John Murray, 1859. Vol. II, pp. 22-23

[75] Ibid., p.. 301.

No apology is necessary for offering to the public some practical information

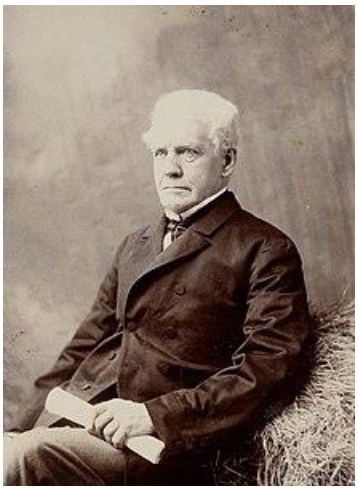
Bennett, G. *Wanderings In New South Wales. 1834.*
Bennett, G. *Gatherings of a naturalist in Australasia. 1860.*

George Bennett (1804-1893) was a great traveller in his early years, and didn't waste time. Born in Plymouth, he sailed for Ceylon and Mauritius at the early age of 15, returning to study medicine in 1821.[76] He combined his early experience by taking up an appointment as ship's surgeon, sailing for Sydney in 1829. He returned to England in 1831, along with a collection of plants, an Ungka ape[77] from Singapore, and a young girl from the New Hebrides, who he apparently rescued from being a sacrifice[78]. Bennett was by now well established in the scientific world as a naturalist with a broad range of interests, one of whom was his friend the anatomist and palaeontologist Richard Owen, then Hunterian Professor at the Royal College of Surgeons in London. At the time Owen was particularly interested in the platypus, publishing the first work on the animal in 1832, and confirming it was a mammal. One of Bennett's missions on returning to Australia in 1832 was to pursue his own study of the weird creature.

Over the next couple of years, Bennett travelled within Australia, in between his duties, presumably medical, and returned to England in 1834, by way of Batavia, Singapore and China. Back in England he published his *Wanderings*.

Bennett, George *Wanderings in New South Wales, Batavia, Pedir Coast, Singapore, and China; being the Journal af a Naturalist in those Countries, during 1832, 1833, and 1834. 2 Volumes. London: Richard Bentley, 1834. pp. 2 p.l., [vii]-xv, [1] blank, 440, [1 leaf] note; vii, [1], 428. errata slip in each volume. 2 aquatint frontis. by J.Clark after sketches by Bennett & Chinnery. Several wood-engraved text illus. Cordier 211,. Bagnall 411, Hocken 55.*

My copy is near fine, in half calf, brown cloth. It has the book plate of John Calaby (1922-1998), a CSIRO zoologist specialising in Australian mammals. It was bought from an Adelaide dealer in 2020.



George Bennett, c.1880. Photographer John Tangelder Gorus, working in NSW from 1854.

In terms of New Zealand, we can largely pass over this work. There is a New Zealand reference in an extended description of New Zealand flax, and its processing in Sydney. Bennett must have visited New Zealand between 1832 and 1834, since he describes collecting flax from the Thames region, noting it was better than from the Bay of Islands. He thinks we could have done better: '*From the natural indolence of the New Zealanders, it is difficult to procure the flax from them in a dressed state, until some of them are taught the art of hackling*[79] *it, which would be advisable to be done immediately*.' There is a

[76] https://australian.museum/about/history/people/george-bennett-curator-1835-1841/
[77] The Ungka ape is a true ape of the gibbon family, from Sumatra.
[78] **A. H. Chisholm**, 'Bennett, George (1804–1893)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bennett-george-1770/text1981 , published first in hardcopy 1966, accessed online 7 April 2023.
[79] Hackling is the last step in dressing flax, splitting and straightening the fibres prior to making into rope or other products.

further short mention of New Zealanders (Māori), labouring in Sydney, '*esteemed for their steady and sober habits*.'[80]

Australian water mole, Ornithorhynchus paradoxus. Bennett, 1860, p. 135.This is not New Zealand, but the ecstatic platypus shouldn't be missed.

Bennett settled down at last in 1836, having returned to Australia, still only 34 years old. He combined the professions of physician with those of naturalist at large. He became the first secretary of the Australian Museum, and was a leading figure in the professional institutions such as the Zoological Society. Bennett travelled in Australia, collecting and observing, his name appears in plant and animal taxonomies, and he continued to correspond with Owen and other naturalist luminaries such as the ornithologist John Gould. In 1860, the London publisher of natural history books, John van Voorst[81], issued Bennett's *Gatherings*.

Bennett, G. *Gatherings of a naturalist in Australasia: being observations principally on the animal and vegetable productions of New South Wales, New Zealand, and some of the Austral Islands. London: John Van Voorst. MDCCCLX [1860]. xii, 456 pp, frontispiece plate and 7 other coloured plates, map, plus 24 text illustr (most by G.F.Angas). Bagnall 410, Hocken 199.*

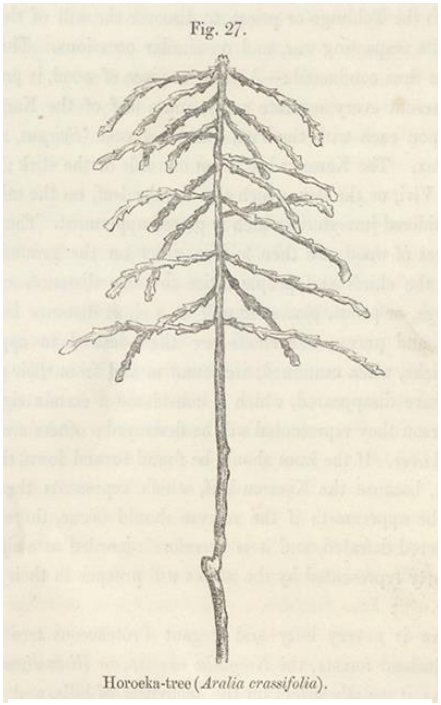
My copy is in the original purple embossed cloth boards, a bit faded. It was bought from a Melbourne dealer in 1993. It has a book plate of Leonard L Barton, an Australian book collector, whose collection of Australiana[82] was auctioned in 1966.

[80] **Bennett, G.** Wanderings in New South Wales, Batavia, Pedir Coast, Singapore, and China; being the Journal of a Naturalist in those Countries, during 1832, 1833, and 1834. London, Richard Bentley, 1834. Vo. 1., pp. 340-341.

[81] Van Voorst (1804-1898) was a leading London publisher of works on natural history including being the principal bookseller for the Zoological Society.

[82] The New Zealand equivalent term, Kiwiana, seems to lack the dignity required for the rare book trade.

The book is noted for 7 hand-coloured plates, including the very fine Jabiru bird as the frontispiece, and the platypuses. The others are a Portuguese man-of-War, the Mooruk (*Casuarius bennetti*, or dwarf cassowary named after Bennett), the baobab tree, rice-paper plant (*Aralia papyrifia* now *Tetrapanx papyrifer*), Christmas tree (Ceratopetalum gummiferum), and Gigantic lily (*Doryanthes excelsa*). They are either by George French Angas, whom Bennett acknowledges in the preface, or Joseph Wolf (1820-1899), who was the principal artist and illustrator at the British Museum from 1848. There are numerous black and white engravings throughout the text. These include a rather spindly drawing of a the New Zealand horoeka or lancewood, though it is a spindly plant anyway. Bennett notes the different juvenile and adult leaf forms[83].



Horoeka tree (Aralia crassifolia). Bennett, 1860, p. 408. Known as lancewood, now classified as Pseudopanax crassofilius.

The book covers all things natural to Australia, fish, other marine plants and animals, birds, snakes, the great Australian fauna, plants of all kinds, food sources, insects, and medicinal plants. Tucked away is a wealth of New Zealand references on birds and plants. He notes that the tui '*brought from New Zealand, and kept in cages in Sydney, is easily domesticated*.'[84] It's a sad fate for a fast-flying, rather mad bird, but he also notes its facility in mimicry, so familiar to New Zealanders. And the kiwi doesn't get a chance amidst the splendour of the emus and cassowaries. In his penultimate chapter, on plants and medicinal properties and uses, he covers a range of New Zealand plants, describing wood, food source and medical and ceremonial usage. But overall, it's a bit hard to claim the book as a New Zealand one.

Bennett travelled back to England in 1859, taking an overland route which he describes in his final chapter. Times have changed. He notes in the preface that news can travel from England via Panama to Sydney in 35 to 40 days, and here at the end of his trip he thanks '*the commanders and officers of that well-regulated steam-ships of the Peninsular and Oriental Company'*. Bennett lived on in Sydney, as prolific in his three marriages as in his travels, dying there in 1890, much lauded.

[83] **Bennett, G.** Gatherings of a naturalist in Australasia: being observations principally on the animal and vegetable productions of New South Wales, New Zealand, and some of the Austral Islands. London: John Van Voorst. MDCCCLX [1860]. pp. 408-9.
[84] Ibid., p. 211.