Remote in Southern Seas. Early New Zealand Books, 1861-1863: Taranaki War

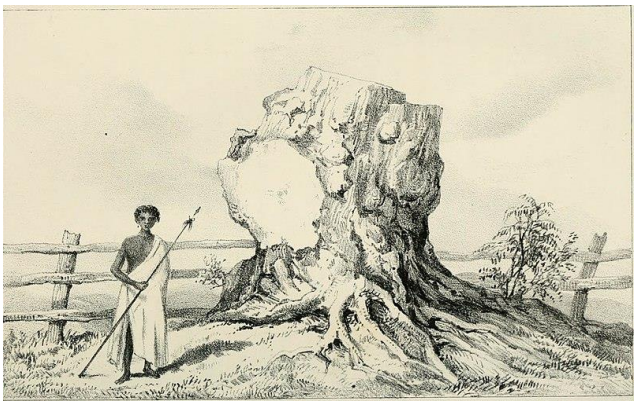
Written under the pressure of a sorrowful and heavy heart

Gilbert, T. *New Zealand settlers and soldiers. 1861.*

The voyage out is often recorded as tedious, even languorous, although it was described this way only by cabin passengers. It was also mostly uneventful. However, when the *Simlah* was sailing towards Auckland, there appears to have been a disturbance amongst the crew which necessitated the ship putting into Hobart on October 4.[1] According to the local press, the crew had been '*mutinous and refractory*', and on October 31, '*Capt. Robertson prosecuted four of his crew for wilful neglect of duty from the 4th May, under the 4th part of the 78th Section of the Merchant Seamans' Act. The names of the offenders are Thomas Paddon, John Walker, William Hobley and John James Bloom. They were committed to twelve weeks hard labour and to forfeit one month's wages*'.[2]

The ship had left Gravesend on 23 April 1851 under Captain Charles Robertson, with 181 passengers, prominent amongst them the Gilbert family, comprising the Rev Thomas, then 41 years old, his wife Anne, 7 children, a nursemaid, and a manservant, amounting to more than 15% of the passenger list. The Gilberts survived the recalcitrant crewmen, and eventually disembarked in Wellington in late November. The *Simlah*, sailed on to Auckland and then in ballast to Valparaiso, presumably with a happy crew.

Gilbert (1809-1894), a Unitarian from a strong Calvinist household, had been pastor of the General Baptist Church at Ditchling, Sussex for some nine years, and also ran a school at Hurstpierpoint, a nearby village. It seems that he got tired of some sort of religious persecution by the rector of the local parish and resolved to leave, and did so in a big way, by emigrating.[3] After arrival, Gilbert and his family moved to New Plymouth and took up land, living there for 9 years before moving to Nelson in 1960 to escape the Taranaki War. There he took up a position as a teacher at the Clifton Terrace School, teaching there for 11 years, followed by another 7 years as librarian of the Nelson Institute. It was while in Nelson that he wrote and published his book about the Taranaki War.



Puriri (Ironwood) stump from which a slab was cut and sent to the Great Exhibition of 1851. Artist Maria Nicholson. Gilbert, 1861, p. 107.

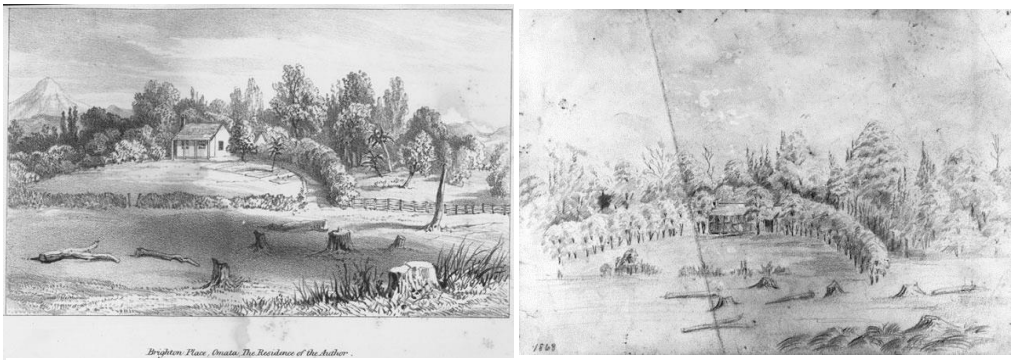
[1] Platts, U., op. cit. p. 105.

[2] https://freepages.rootsweb.com/~nzbound/genealogy/otago1851.htm

[3] Obituary, Death of Mr Thomas Gilbert. Taranaki Herald, Volume xliii, Issue 10173, 30 November 1894, p.2.

Gilbert, T. *New Zealand settlers and soldiers; or the war in Taranaki; being incidents in the life of a settler. London, A. W. Bennett; Houlston and Wrigh, 1861. iv, 220 pp, frontispiece, 5 plates, 24 pp adverts. 8vo. Bagnall 2103, Hocken 208.*

My copy is of half green calf, with morocco boards. It comes from the New Zealand General Assembly Library, with a stamp on front board, gilt library numbers on spine, and doesn't look much read, being near fine internally. For some reason, it is a quite rare item, with a correspondingly high price. I bought it very cheaply at auction in 2022.



Brighton Place, the home of the Rev Thomas Gilbert, Omata, New Plymouth. Left, from a drawing by Maria Nicholson, 1859-1860, in Gilbert, 1861, p. 32. Right the same house drawn by George Channing Gilbert in 1863, showing the house stripped of weatherboards because of the Taranaki War, Ref: A-263-016. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/23058873

The book has six plates, listed in instructions to the binder at the back. Gilbert in his Preface tells us that they are drawn by an '*English gentleman*' and a Miss Nicholson, from the household of the Rev H Brown, living in the neighbourhood. Miss Nicholson was Maria Nicholson, who only spent a year in New Plymouth, arriving in New Zealand in the *Eclipse* in 1859 as governess to the Brown family[4], the latter also settling in Omata. It is recorded that she drew the home of Thomas Gilbert, published on p. 32, and the sketch of the puriri stump (p. 107), a slab of which was sent to the Great Exhibition in 1851, but we don't know what others she might have done, if any. Maria Nicholson moved in 1860 to be governess for Bishop Hobhouse's family in Nelson, and returned to England in 1862.[5] Her other sketches held in the National Library are of Nelson.[6]

One of the drawings is of the Rev Brown's house, Brookwood, at Omata, and is attributed to Gilbert's eldest son George Channing Gilbert, a noted artist who also drew at least one sketch of the family home.[7] George Channing Gilbert is almost certainly the '*English gentleman*', coyly unnamed in Gilbert's preface. The frontispiece is a drawing of Swiss Cottage, the home of Jabez Marriage Gibson. There is one of the same house by the

[4] The Rev Henry Handley Brown arrived in New Plymouth in 1859 with wife, 11 children, and governess, settling at Omata and as itinerant vicar for the church of St Mary's.
[5] See Miriam MacGregor's books *Petticoat Pioneers*, published by A H & W Reed, in 1973 and 1975.
[6] https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22365895
[7] Gilbert, George Channing, 1838-1913. [Gilbert, George Channing] 1838-1913 :[Brookwood, the home of the Rev. H. H. Brown, Omata, New Plymouth] [ca 1860]. Ref: A-263-017. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/23236136

younger Gilbert[8], but it differs from this one. The other drawings are of a view of the Omata village and church, and John Jury's house.[9]

In his Preface, Gilbert writes that he wants to do nothing else but show the '*impolicy as well as the unchristian character of all war*.' There are no chapters, but a continuous narrative, liberally laced with religious recitations and laments for what is happening. He gives the background to Taranaki, then moves quickly into the conflicts and issues, tossing around the different views, almost as though he is not sure where he sits. *'The most frequent topic of conversation, with both natives and Europeans, is about the land; and the boasting assertion was continually made by the latter "The Waitara will be ours before long*."' But then: '*A crude feeling of nationality took possession of the minds of the aborigines of New Zealand generally, and this feeling exhibited itself among the Taranaki natives by a determined opposition to the anxious wishes of the settlers to gain possession of Waitara*.'[10]

Gilbert's account of the eventual campaign and the fighting is vivid and personal. He objects to fighting, being eligible, with his sons, for being called up to serve in the Volunteers under the martial law imposed by the army and government. He is faced with prison or a fine, but is eventually exempted, His son George Channing is also a pacifist, doesn't want to serve, and remarkably, Gilbert arranges with the commander, Colonel Murray for George to take a steamship for Nelson where he would be saved from serving. He recounts how he feared for his son William's life and his own involvement, and he realises that the campaign is led by officers with more interest in killing than a rational outcome: '..*I deemed a settlement under martial law, and a town likely to be not much better than a garrison – where every man was expected to take up arms, and be fully compared to kill and destroy at the bidding of officers, who perhaps had no interest in the matter beyond the mere glory of slaying the greatest number – no fitting place for me or my family*.'[11] He and the rest of his family eventually also left for Nelson and safety. It is a very personal, often heartfelt account, of a man disturbed by what is occurring, and putting his family, and particularly the safety of his sons, first. It is however, understandably, an account from a settler's point of view, though differing from his fellow colonists in believing that the conflict simply was neither necessary nor inevitable, and not afraid to say so. He is an honourable man, and one of peace. '*It has been often pleaded "The Governor could not with honour avoided the conflict with Wiremu Kingi and his natives;" – but I am reminded in this of what was once said by Sir Robert Peel. "In my opinion," said he, "no motive can be more justly branded as ignominious than that which is usually termed cowardice. But there is a temper of mind much more dangerous than this – though it may not be so base – I mean the fear of thought to be afraid. Base as a coward is, the man who abandons himself to the fear of being thought a coward displays little more fortitude*."[12]

At the end of Gilbert's account, the publisher has added an Appendix, providing details from newspapers and correspondents which provide material on the progress of the war in Taranaki after Gilbert left. There also are some pages of notes from Gilbert amplifying issues earlier in his account. In all, it's a great read.

Gilbert later returned to New Plymouth, then back to Nelson where he seemed happy in his garden until his death there in 1894. His eldest son, George Channing Gilbert, was a

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[8] https://natlib.govt.nz/photos?i%5Bcreator%5D=Gilbert%2C+George+Channing%2C+1838-1913&i%5Bsubject%5D=Taranaki+Region&il%5Bsubject%5D=Dwellings

[9] John Jury was one of the earliest settlers in New Plymouth, arriving in 1841 and farming at Omata.

[10] **Gilbert, T.** New Zealand settlers and soldiers; or the war in Taranaki; being incidents in the life of a settler. London: A. W. Bennett; Houlston and Wright. 1861. pp. 6-7.

[11] Ibid., pp. 110-11.

[12] Ibid., p. 161.

noted water colourist, with a number of his drawings held in the Turnbull Library. For the younger George, and his younger brothers, as recounted by his father, one advantage of being in Nelson was that the boys were safe from being called on to fight. George was taught in Nelson by the artist John Gully, and they both returned to New Plymouth, presumably with Thomas Gilbert, drawing and painting in the early 1870s.[13] Were the two Gilberts New Zealand's first conscientious objectors?

A number of books were published in the early 1860s recounting the Taranaki War by those involved, as settlers, military men, and missionaries, along with commentaries from those further afield already accounted for, for example by William Swainson and William Martin. The next books are, along with Gilbert, among those close accounts.

Swiss Cottage, Omata, the home of Jabez Marriage Gibson. Gilbert, 1861, frontispiece.

[13] **Platts, U.,** op. cit. p. 105.

A débonnaire little man, as brave as a bantam cock, shrewd as a court bailiff

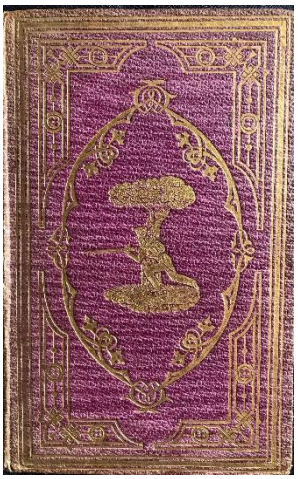
***Carey, Lt.Col**. Narrative of the late war in New Zealand. 1863.*

We need to be careful. There were two Lt. Colonel Careys in New Zealand in the 1860s. One (Robert Carey, 1821-1883) was involved in the Taranaki Wars, and the other (George Jackson Carey, 1822-1872) came out in 1863 and took part in the Waikato and Tauranga campaigns. They both ended up as Generals in the British Army, but fortunately, only one wrote a book.

Robert Carey was born in in the Channel Island of Guernsey, joined the army and served in Afghanistan, and then in Crimea in 1854. In 1856 he celebrated promotion to major, and a marriage to Caroline le Marchant, who has the same surname as his mother, Harriet Hirzel le Marchant, and we hope his wife was at the very least a cousin. They went on to have three sons. By 1860 he had risen to Lt. Colonel and was appointed Deputy Adjutant General in Australia. This is largely an administrative or managerial position, a bit like a chief operating officer in modern parlance.

Carey served in the Taranaki conflict in 1860-1861, then in a similar role in the Waikato campaign from 1863 to 1866, was promoted to Colonel after taking part in the action at Rangiriri, and finally served again in the second Taranaki conflict. It is an account of the first war of 1860-1861 that Carey published in 1863.

***Carey, Lt.Col**. Narrative of the late war in New Zealand. London. Richard Bentley, Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty. 1863. v, pp 199, frontispiece 2-tone lithograph. Bagnall 971, Hocken 222.*



My copy has the original purple gilt-embossed boards, with gilt edges. The decorative front cover has an image of a British soldier taking aim or firing from behind, or alongside, a tree. I bought it from a dealer in London in 2018, and it is a particularly clean, near fine copy.

The frontispiece two-toned lithograph of the *Banks of the Waitara* is by an unknown artist. The publisher is Richard Bentley, who printed a number of early New Zealand books of the time, and had access to drawings from a number of sources. It is strange that this accomplished drawing has not been attributed. However, it may have been by Carey himself. There is a record of a drawing by '*Brigadier General Robert Carey*' from 1864, of Tauranga and used in Cowan's *New Zealand Wars*.[14] If we assume this is our Carey, then he may have drawn his own. However, it was George Jackson Carey who was a Brigadier at this time. So there is confusion and it is just as likely that the Tauranga sketch was by George Jackson Carey.

Carey makes clear at the start that he wishes only to provide an objective account of the action, not delve into the politics. '*It is not my intention, nor would it become me, to enter on the justice or policy of the quarrel*.'[15] And as a serving officer at the time, that stance would seem politic. He provides the background to the conflict and takes up the action with the

[14] **Platt, U**., op. cit. p. 61.

[15] **Carey, Lt.Col.** Narrative of the late war in New Zealand. London, Richard Bentley, 1863. pp. 1-2.

arrival of Major-General Thomas Pratt. Pratt had arrived in Australia in January 1860 to take command of the Australian forces, and decided to take personal command of the Taranaki

Banks of the Waitara, New Zealand. Carey, 1863, frontispiece. Artist unknown.

action after the British defeat at Puketakuere in June. He arrived in New Plymouth on August 3.[16] From there, Carey records the whole campaign, providing tables of personnel, and details right down to the dress of the troops: '*..well calculated for the service, viz., a blue serge jumper worn over the belts, in lieu of the tunic, while a forage cap replaced the shako. In winter they had the great-coat, with the skirts tucked up, cut off, or worn horse-collar fashion*.'[17] In August, Pratt travelled to Auckland to get more assistance from Governor Gore Browne, getting a lukewarm response, and a steamship, and Carey records that about 600 women and children were shipped to safety in Nelson[18].

Pratt left after the end of the fighting with the truce in March 1861. Carey's account provides a different slant to that from some such as Thomas Gilbert (q.v.) who saw many of the military simply playing out the conflict for their own glory. Looming over the ending of the war was the almost certain initiation of conflict in the Waikato, and Carey is quite plain about it, noting that the defeated Māori would likely try to avoid war: '*These considerations to my mind were almost a guarantee that the Waikato would endeavour to avoid further hostilities, unless forced into them by the impolitic conduct of many colonists, who, it would almost appear, are desirous of fomenting the quarrel, chiefly with a view to retain the enormous military expenditure, probably also with the design of exterminating the natives and dividing their lands*.'[19] And so it happened.

Carey's work stands out for its military detail. He has much to say on the efficacy of the pa, rapidly assembled then abandoned in many cases, as an effective Māori tactic, and their use of trenches or sapping, for which they have been seen as world-leading

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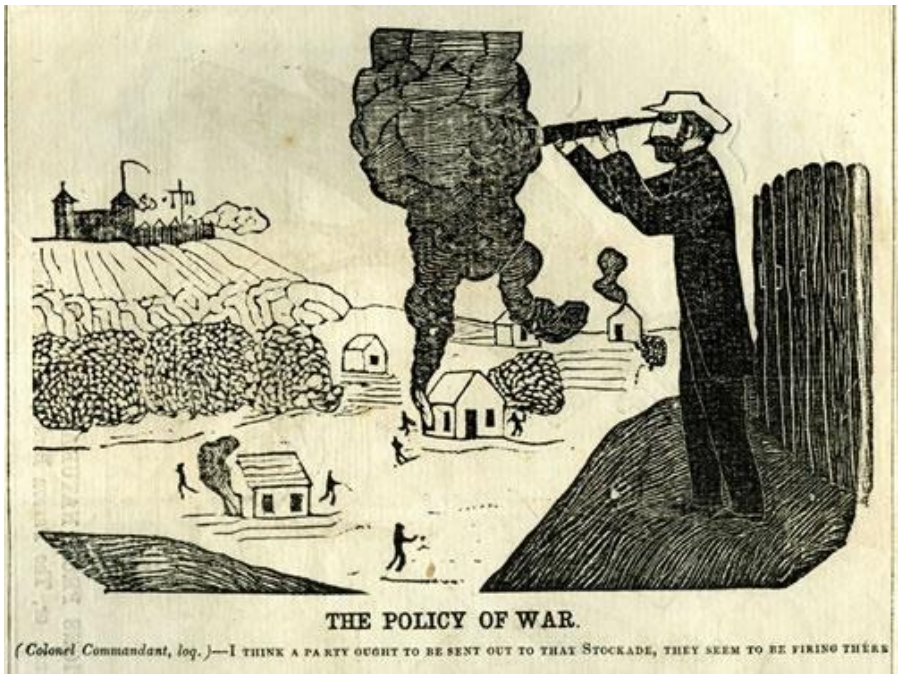
[16] David Green. 'Pratt, Thomas Simson', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1p28/pratt-thomas-simson (accessed 16 April 2023)

[17] **Carey, Lt Col.,** op. cit. pp. 94-95.

[18] Ibid., pp. 78-79.

[19] Ibid., p. 185.

innovators.[20] And he has skin in the game in any interpretation of relative British or Māori success, supporting an English view of General Pratt's supposedly victorious campaign, differing from that of those in the know back on the ground in New Zealand.[21] The book was reviewed in the London Quarterly review, and that review, along with those of the tracts on the Taranaki war by Robert Paul and Octavius Hadfield, was the subject of an article in the *New Zealand Herald* in June 1864. The Herald is careful to differentiate between the Col. Carey '*lately in command at Tauranga, and who arrived in Auckland last winter, and who is respected by the colonists, both as a gentleman and a soldier, ……and 'Lieutenant-Colonel Carey of Taranaki notoriety…*'. The pamphlet of the latter is '*written from a point of view entirely antagonistic to the settlers, and the reviewer remarks truly when he says "He writes, we cannot but think, with unfair prejudice against the colonists: as to what he says of the colonial newspapers, it is the normal state of the military man to be at war with the local press."*'[22]



Cartoon from the Taranaki Punch, 1861, showing a British Colonel ordering as an assault on a distant pa while ignoring the settlers under attack, a frequent criticism of Pratt's campaign. The caption reads: The Policy or War. (Colonel Commandant loq.) -I think a party ought to be sent out to that stockade, they seem to be firing there. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/taranaki-war-cartoon, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 24-Jun-2014

Carey pops up frequently, as expected, in accounts of the Taranaki and Waikato Wars. Rusden quotes him favourably on protecting Māori prisoners of war from '*unmanly*'

[20] **Belich, J.,** The New Zealand wars, and the Victorian interpretation of racial conflict. Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1986. pp. 108-113.
[21] Ibid., p. 115.
[22] New Zealand Herald, 22 June, 1864. p.3.

attacks by European settlers[23] He appears in a later account of the war, as the upright military man confronted with missing and disorderly volunteers under Major Harry Atkinson "*Major, this is very bad. Where are your men?*" and Atkinson replies "*Colonel, let the column advance. My men will fall in as we go, and, in any case, there are enough volunteers present to storm the position*." And so apparently there were. Carey here is described as '*a débonnaire little man, as brave as a bantam cock, shrewd as a court bailiff*.'[24]

By 1866, Carey retired as Major-General, and served as Deputy Judge-Advocate at Army Headquarters until 1882, dying a year later.

[23] **Rusden, G.W**. Aureretanga: Groans of the Maoris; edited by G.W. Rusden, Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society. London: William Ridgway, 169, Piccadilly MCCCCLXXXVIII [1888]. p.20, referring to p. 189 in Carey's book.

[24] **Grace, M. S**., Sketch of the New Zealand War. London, Horace Marshall & Son, 1899. p.84.

A flag of truce and a letter fastened to the end of a supplejack

Grayling W I *The war in Taranaki, during the years 1860-61. 1862.*

William Grayling in his twenties. Reproduced from a photograph courtesy of J Cassie, in Wood, 2017, J Roy Soc, 47, 2017.

There he is, the little, débonnaire, brave and shrewd Lt. Colonel Carey asking where the Taranaki Volunteers are for his forces, and one of them might have been William Irwin Grayling. Grayling (1818-1902) however, was no conventional settler. He had trained as a chemist and was an early member of the newly formed Pharmaceutical Society in England the early 1840s, before sailing to Australia in 1843. In Sydney he occupied himself lecturing on physics of electricity, combustion and gases, organic and agricultural chemistry, and working as an industrial and agricultural chemist.[25]

Grayling visited New Zealand in 1845, undertaking a geological survey of the Coromandel, recording copper and silver deposits, although the quality of his chemistry seems a bit suspect.[695] He returned to Australia, but eventually arrived back in New Zealand in 1852, plying his chemist trade in Canterbury and Nelson, publishing on soil chemistry, lecturing, and working for the nascent coal industry. Then in 1858, he appears as a settler in Taranaki. There's not much call for an industrial chemist up that way, but a healthy need for testing soils and plants, and fertilisers and agricultural chemistry. He writes articles for the papers, follows the leading European chemist Liebig on fertilisers, phosphate, lime and nitrate, and then in 1860 he is in the middle of a war. He volunteers, becomes a war correspondent for the *Taranaki Herald*, based in Omata where Thomas Gilbert and the Rev Hall have their holdings, and two years later has his experiences published by the local printer Garland William Woon.[26] Is this the first book published in New Plymouth? Incidentally, the first novel printed in New Zealand, in 1861, was about the Taranaki war, but was published by W C Wilson in Auckland[27].

Grayling W I *The war in Taranaki, during the years 1860-61. W.I.Grayling of the Taranaki Volunteer Rifles. New Plymouth: G.W.Woon. 1862. vi, 112 pp., [5] plates (some folded): 2 ill., 3 col. maps. 8vo. Bagnall 2274, Hocken 217.*

The book is very rare, with blue illustrated paper covers and I don't have a copy, although I have seen one. There are two engravings. One, opposite the title page, is of the Omata stockade by Thomas Good, and the other at p.16 is of the Hua blockhouse, drawn and engraved by H F Rawson. Thomas Good was a local sheep farmer, and built the

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[25] **Wood, V.,** William Grayling (1820–1902): an early practical chemist in the Antipodes. Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand, Vol. 47, pp 19-26, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1080/03036758.2016.1207683

[26] Garland William Woon (1831-1895) was born in Tonga and came to New Zealand with his parents in 1834, was educated at Richard Taylor's mission school, apprenticed to Williamson and Wilson of the *New Zealander*, and set up in New Plymouth by his father in 1850, starting the *Taranaki Herald* in 1852.

[27] **[Stoney, Major B.],** Taranaki: A tale of the war. With a description of the Province previous to and during the war; also an account (chiefly taken from the despatches) of the principal contest with the natives during the eventful period. Auckland, W.C. Wilson, 1861. '*A wearisome attempt to weave together the official despatches of the war, which are interesting, with a vapid love story*.' [Hocken, 215]

stockade: '*It is true that the internal comfort of the building is solely due to Captain G. R. Burton, of the Taranaki Militia; but, without doubt, to Mr Good, formerly of Omata, belongs the credit of planning and executing the fortification. He was oftentimes to be seen working alone, before others could be induced to join in the active furtherance of its completion, to the present time sacrificing time and means in a public work without reward or acknowledgment from the Government*.'[28] Good's drawings were also used in Charles Hursthouse's book on New Plymouth.

There are also 3 hand-coloured maps or plans in the Appendix, drawn by Rawson, of the theatre of war, a '*map of the Waitara with the position of the sap and the various block-houses and redoubts'*, and a '*map of the Omata district, shewing the relative positions of the military and civilians at the battle of Waireka'*. The Appendix also has full descriptions of the maps, detailing the enumerated features, and provides background information to the two engravings. It also, unusually, has a description of the four scenes included on the cover: *View of Mount Egmont and Barracks from the Town; View of the mountain and ranges from the Omata; The Sugar Loaves; View of the Waiwakaiho River and Bridge*.

The Omata Stockade. Grayling, 1862. Opp. Title page. Drawn by Thomas Good.

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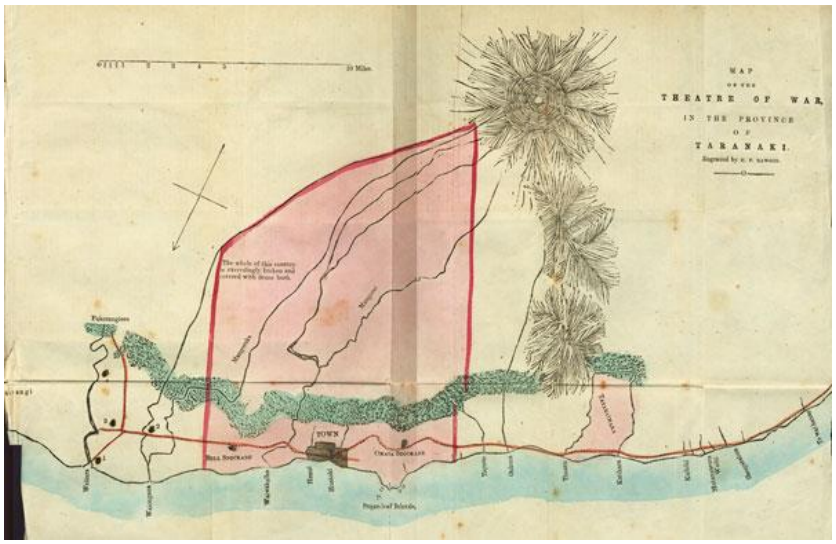

Map of the theatre of war in the Province of Taranaki. Grayling, 1862, Appendix, p. 78. Engraved by H. F. Rawson

Henry Rawson (1839-1879) was a member of the Rifle Volunteers during the war, in the role of hospital sergeant, and took part in the battle of Waireka; he was also known for his more scenic watercolours.[29]

[28] **Grayling W I** The war in Taranaki, during the years 1860-61. W.I. Grayling of the Taranaki Volunteer Rifles. New Plymouth: G.W.Woon. 1862. p.86.
[29] **Platts, U**., op. cit. p. 202.

Grayling dedicated the book to Major Charles St John Herbert[30], commander of the Taranaki militia and volunteers. He opens with some background on Taranaki and is clear on is views on Māori: '*The Maori, like most of the primitive races, possesses an ardent love for his fatherland. We find him at the present time, startled at the gradual increase of the white population, forming land leagues and taking other precautionary steps towards preventing more territory from passing under British rule*. And it seems that a more perfect process of civilisation and education, incidentally without squabbling missionaries, would have solved the current issues: ' *No one can doubt the Maori's power of comprehension, and, had it been possible to have consistently educated him, he might by this time have altogether cast aside his savage habits and associations; but the incongruous medium through which he has imbibed ideas of civilization has left only on his mind the advantages of worldly gain, unassociated with a love of the sublime and beautiful*.'[31]

Grayling charts the progress of the conflict from Wiremu Kingi's resistance to land sales, Governor Browne's proclamation and the subsequent campaign. On March 26, 1861, '*a white flag fluttering in the morning breeze was visible from the insurgents' lines; at the same time a native was seen approaching the redoubt with a flag of truce and a letter fastened to the end of a supplejack (or New Zealand cane); which, on being forwarded and read by the General, was found to contain such offers of peace that he could not concede to*.'[32] However Governor Gore Browne, Donald McLean the Native Secretary and others soon appeared and eventually a truce was accepted; Grayling provides copies of all the appropriate declarations and announcements. He provides a conclusion which, while not lacking in insight, places himself firmly in the group of settlers who have the view that Māori must stop listening to their stories and myths, and face reality, and certainly he has little time for those who are strong in their sympathies with Māori, frogs in the well looking up at a restrictive view of the universe: '*As to the most certain method of ensuring a firm and substantial peace various opinions exist. At this present time there are no less than three political parties in New Zealand: one forming the war party, whose openly avowed object is to subdue the natives by force of arms alone; a second, consisting of liberal minded, thinking men, who have watched and studied this experiment of civilization in New Zealand with intense interest, approving of war only as a last resource when all honorable diplomatic means should fail; whilst a third, hedged in by bigotry, pretend to have formed such exalted ideas of the perfection of the Maori character as scarcely to recognise amongst them even the common frailties "which flesh is heir to." The whole power of their eloquence has been spent in extolling the half-naked savages, and in depreciating without adequate cause their fellow-countrymen. Like the frogs in the well, they look up and can see no more than a small portion of the blue sky above, from the limited, circumference by which they are bound*.'[33] And in the end, they need to get a realistic view of what counts for civilisation in this colonial world: '*in place of tales awakening feelings of savage barbarism, their minds would find ample food for thought in contemplating the often troublous, but certain advance in civilization, and the advantages that have accrued from the cultivation of the arts and manufactures. From these sources they might be taught that a people only rank as great in proportion to the amount of their commercial value*.'[34]

Grayling ends with a further Appendix, listing those killed and wounded in the conflict, settlers , military and Māori, despatches from Gore Browne and Grey, a piece on the

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[30] Fort Herbert, a blockhouse now included in the area of Pukekura Park, New Plymouth was named after the Major.

[31] **Grayling W I** The war in Taranaki, during the years 1860-61. W.I.Grayling of the Taranaki Volunteer Rifles. New Plymouth, G.W.Woon, 1862. pp. 9-10.

[32] Ibid., p. 56.

[33] Ibid., p. 73.

[34] Ibid., pp. 75-76.

character of the natives, quoting from Nicholas, Hursthouse and others, and an account and data of property destroyed. In the end it is an account of its time from a settler and scientist. After the war, Grayling continued his geological work as companies started searching for oil in coastal Taranaki, testing samples for James Hector[35], and undertaking some speculative drilling with the future premier Julius Vogel[36]. He is recorded as continuing work in natural chemistry, and as late as 1885, gave his final lectures on the surprisingly modern topic of molecular physics.[695]

Map of the Omata District shewing the relative positions of the military and civilians at the battle of Waireka. Grayling, 1862, Appendix p. 82. Drawn by H F Rawson

[35] Sir James Hector (1834-1907), geologist and naturalist, was one of New Zealand's earliest scientists, and an important figure in the development of New Zealand's scientific institutions.

[36] Sir Julius Vogel (1835-1899) had a background in chemistry and metallurgy, arriving in Otago from Australia in 1861. He was premier twice in the 1870s.

A homely account of the place and people suited to general readers

Hodder, E. *Memories of New Zealand life. 1862.*

Here is a man who can write hymns that chart both the depths of the earth, '*Thy word is like a deep deep mine*' and earthly delights '*Thy word is like a garden, Lord*', and it is as a hymn-writer that he is probably best remembered.[37] Edwin Hodder (1837-1904) was born in Middlesex, and at about 20 years old, sailed from London on the *John Masterman* in October 1856, arriving in Nelson on February 8, 1857. He was on his own, as an Intermediate passenger, one down from the three gentlemen, including the ship's doctor, occupying cabin class, but definitely not in steerage, premium economy we might call it.[38]

Hodder stayed in New Zealand for about 4 years, and his stay included a visit to Taranaki during the first 1860-1861 war. It is this time, '*years full of sunshine and enjoyment*' as he says in his preface, that he records and publishes.

Hodder, E. *Memories of New Zealand life. London: Longman Green, Longman & Roberts. 1862. viii, 232 pp. Bagnall 2629, Hocken 218.*

My copy is the second edition re-cased with the original printed boards. These in themselves are interesting, with an advertisement for the first edition on the back, quoting various positive reviews.

The first edition was issued with cloth boards, and a gilt vignette on the front cover depicting three gold diggers, perhaps representing the three companions with whom he teamed up in his foray into the Nelson gold field in the Aorere valley? There were very positive reviews of the first edition: '*Animated and vivacious*'; '*Some of the descriptions of New Zealand life are very racy*', and a second edition was issued a year later with printed paper covers.

His book, with a preface and no illustrations, is designed '*not so much to instruct in practical matters, as to give a glimpse at the social life and simple unsophisticated pleasures enjoyed by the settlers in the far-off land; to describe some of the ways in which leisure time may be occupied in recreation, and the adventures incidental to travelling*.'[39] Right from the start there is a leisurely, novelistic feel about it, direct speech creeps in quickly in his account of the voyage, and indeed, he went on in later life to write some ten novels, mainly of travel and adventure.[40] Intermediate class on the boat, it turns out, is no fun. '*One cabin was set apart for single men, and into this I was consigned with three others. We sat down that night on our boxes, which were jammed together on the floor of the cabin, a compartment eight feet by six feet,*

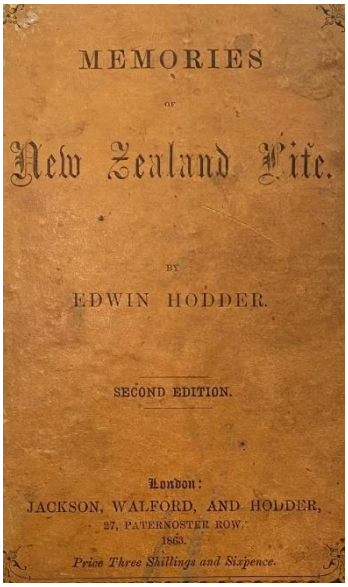
[37] https://hymnology.hymnsam.co.uk/e/edwin-hodder

[38] https://www.geni.com/projects/New-Zealand-Settler-Ships-John-Masterman-1856/4478420

[39] **Hodder, E.** Memories of New Zealand life. London: Longman Green, Longman & Roberts. 1862. p.vii.

[40] https://www.victorianresearch.org/atcl/show_author.php?aid=3474

containing four berths like coffins, just wide enough to lie in without turning, and talked over the prospects before us. To me they presented no very agreeable aspect. Our cabin was about the most uncomfortable in the whole ship; it was totally dark when the door was closed, even on the brightest days.'[41] But they did entertain themselves. *'In the second cabin was an ancient maid of the dubious age of thirty or thereabouts, rejoicing in the name of Amelia.'* This Amelia drew the attention of *'a young man who was going to New Zealand, for the simple reason that his society was not required at home. He was what is termed in the colonies "cranky"; that is, possessed of an unusually small modicum of brains, and having a strong tendency to imbecility. He had not an imposing appearance, being diminutive in stature and possessing a most insinuating cast in one eye, which always seemed struggling to look round the corner. But with this identical eye he spied out Miss Amelia soon after leaving England, and whether he fascinated her, or the eye was evil, is not known* .'[42] Amelia seemed attracted, despite the flaws, so Hodder and his mates contrived a letter to be written to the '*cranky*' young man, purporting to be from Amelia and suggesting an assignation. They dressed another fellow in woman's clothing, and the assignation, as planned, didn't go well, with the youth proposing to the fake Amelia, who boxed his ears and sent him sprawling. Well, you had to fill in the 4 months somehow.



In Nelson, Hodder has the novelist's eye, describing what is in the shops, and out on onto the Waimea plain, Stoke, Richmond, Hope and upper and lower Wakefield, though '*one village is so much like another in New Zealand the further descriptions would be tedious*.' He provides a chapter on Colonial Society, and although New Zealand is a land of '*self-made men*', '*...the race for riches is often undertaken and eagerly prosecuted to the entire rejection of all intellectual culture.'*[43] He then decides to go gold digging, gold having been discovered '*in considerable quantities at Massacre Bay, a distance of about 150 miles from the town. This seemed a golden opportunity, and I determined to snap at it*.' '*Nothing venture, nothing have*' he says, and buys some canvases and stitches together a tent for himself. He cant find any companions to go with him. '*My dear fellow, don't think of such a thing. Nature never cut you out for a gold*,' they said, and we suspect '*they*' were right, but he resolves to go alone. '*I could not divest myself of a strange uncomfortable feeling, half of shame, half of pride, as I started off through the town with my tent, blankets and provisions on my back, and a spade, pick and shovel over my shoulder, attired in a blue slop, corduroy trousers, water-tight boots, and a felt cap*.' After landing by ship at a Māori settlement at the mouth of the Aorere river, he eventually sets out for the diggings, with some new mates: '*one was a German who could not speak English, and had a club-foot, which did not, however, interfere with his digging; another was a German who spoke English, and acted as interpreter; the third was an old colonist, whose weakest points, as I afterwards found, were brandy and tobacco*.' They find very little gold, and after trying different sites give up and the party decides to return to Nelson, but Hodder decides to walk the hundred miles and sets off alone: '*in four days* [I] *arrived at home, after an absence of six weeks, worn out with fatigue, clothes torn and tattered, and money spent. The two shillings and three pence I first earned , still hung from my neck, and to this day it is suspended on a wall in my room, in a neat little frame ,*

[41] **Hodder, E.,** op cit. pp. 4-5.
[42] Ibid., pp. 13-16
[43] Ibid., p.60.

where it seems to say, "Depend upon it , city clerks [Hodder later became a civil servant in London], *ye are not cut out for gold-diggers*." [713]

Hodder settled in Richmond, and writes about daily life in the village, and a camping trip he makes with a friend which starts out like a walk in the Lake District, and all along has the irredeemable air of brightness and keen observation that we expect from this engaging young fellow. He makes a visit to Wellington: '*On the third evening of the gale I walked , or attempted to walk along the jetty to the steamer; but having got to where the wind blows across from an opening in the clay hills , I was positively afraid to go a step further, and sat down on the pier, catching hold of the trams to prevent being blown away*. [44] Hodder spends a lot of time walking and exploring across the Nelson and Buller regions, and then is confronted with some sharper realities: '*Surrounded as I was in Nelson with the Taranaki refugees, it was impossible not to have my sympathies largely called forth with regard to their sorely trying misfortunes*.'

In November 1860 he takes to Taranaki to see for himself. He walks through New Plymouth and immediately experiences '*its warlike appearance, which had not been seen from the vessel, became manifest. Every other person we met was a soldier; soldiers were standing in groups at the corners of the streets, or in heated and excited manner were talking at every public-house door of the recent victory*.'[45] He visits the destroyed Omata, Waitara, the Bell Block Stockade, and the hospital, but he is a day tripper, since his steamship only stays for the day

New Plymouth under siege, 1860, Artist Edwin Harris. The town as visited by Hodder. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/new-plymouth-under-siege, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 2-Apr-2019

and he departs. There is a chapter on the war, where, like Gilbert and others, he realises that the conflict is about '*far weightier causes'* than just the local land issue; '*..and hence the quarrel, which commenced with the assertion of Wiremu Kingi's mana, or tribal right and authority to a few paltry acres, has resolved itself into a question of British or Maori supremacy in the Northern*

[44] Ibid., pp. 85-136.
[45] Ibid., p. 199.

Island of New Zealand. King Potatau v. Queen Victoria; Barbarism v. Civilization.'[46] And there he ends: '*We leave New Zealand with a dark, heavy cloud hanging gloomily over it*.'

Hodder appends pieces on the Nelson goldfields, the Taranaki war, ironsands, and the moa. Its's one of the most engaging accounts from the time, not important, but capturing the eyes of a young man on an adventure; you stroll along with him, and enjoy life. He later wrote about 10 novels. Were they better than this?

Hodder then moved to Australia, and then back in England and took up a career as a writer and civil servant. The books included the novels, travel writing, and two books on Australia, one a *History of South Australia*, published in 1893, and the other with closer New Zealand links, a biography of George Fife Angas[47], father of George French Angas, the artist and writer of early New Zealand. He must have been writing hymns all along, since his first book of hymns was published in 1863,[48] a year after his book on New Zealand.

Hodder was probably the brother of Matthew Hodder (1830-1911), who brought the family name into the publishing world, partnering with Jackson and Walford, the official publisher for the Congregational Union, in 1861, and later when his partners retired, with Thomas Stoughton in 1868 to form the firm Hodder and Stoughton. Edwin Hodder died in Chichester in 1904, eight years after retiring from the Civil Service.

[46] Ibid., p. 215.

[47] **Hodder E.** George Fife Angas. Father and founder of South Australia. London; Hodder & Stoughton, MDCCCXCL [1891].

[48] **Hodder, E**.,(ed) New Sunday School Hymn Book. London, Jackson Walford and Hodder, 1863.