THE TURNBULL LIBRARY RECORD

WELLINGTON NEW ZEALAND
THE FRIENDS OF THE TURNBULL LIBRARY
MAY 1973
VOLUME 6 (n.s.) NUMBER 1

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CONTENTS

Shipboard diaries of early voyages to New Zealand are not rare. The Turnbull Library Manuscripts Section has a number of them. On those apparently interminable and usually miserable journeys the keeping of a diary was a natural response to the strangeness and endlessness of it all. The more educated passengers, usually, were the ones who kept diaries, and such an activity on the part of an ordinary, everyday emigrant was likely to be seen by his fellows as a pretentiousness in need of swift excision. On the *Lady Nugent,* 1840-1, poor Joseph Greenwood was not one of the "Gentlemen Passengers" and although he had paid his fare he associated mainly with the assisted emigrants. He had been keeping his book for only ten days when 'At breakfast they requested to know if I would allow my *Journal* (I suppose they meant Log) to be heard; I objected, when Mr [name omitted] told me if I brought it on the Table again he would take & throw it overboard, I am almost inclined to try him, but shall write in my Cabin for the present.' Greenwood seems to have taken about ten weeks to decide to make use of the thick vellum-bound notebook he brought with him, but having begun, and weathered some hostility over it, he kept it up.

On the whole it was just another shipboard diary, not particularly well-written or detailed or perceptive. It was only when, late last year, the Library bought the diary of George Hilliard, Surgeon Superintendent on that same voyage, that Greenwood's acquired an extra dimension. Here is a situation where we can really eavesdrop, where we can be smug in reading one diary in the light of inside information gleaned from the other.

Hilliard's prose is more literate, lyrical, and expansive than Greenwood's, which consists largely of flat statements having, nevertheless, the strength of economy in them. Hilliard was self-consciously the responsible surgeon and the perceptive observer of his fellow mortals and of the wonders of nature. His diary begins on the day the ship left London and ends on arrival at Wellington: the conscientious 'shipboard journal' he was required, as Surgeon Superintendent, to keep. Greenwood's begins ten weeks out and continues until the pages run out some six years later: a casual commentary on whatever was making up his life. We are able, then, to have a look at Hilliard before Greenwood joins the company.

Wielding several kinds of authority—he read Sunday services and burial services, stopped rations and indulgences, harangued emigrants and put them in solitary confinement, instructed the Captain as to his nautical course in view of dwindling rations—Hilliard was propped up by a rough and ready class-consciousness which can't have eased his relations with the emigrants. On Sunday 1 November he 'read the morning Service in the Cuddy to the Captain officers & Passengers, & one of Mr Bradley's

beautiful Sermons, on the 5 foolish Virgins "our Lamps are gone out". Read the afternoon Service to the Emigrants after their dinner & one of Mr Sumner's excellent plain Sermons on the 1st principles of the Xtn. faith, found them very attentive and orderly.' The following Sunday he read a sermon in the cuddy (beautiful Bradley again): "Lord teach us to pray", and to the emigrants (plain Sumner again): "The Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which is lost."

In the meantime things were far from simple for him. By the time Greenwood takes up his pen Hilliard has had to cope with the following situations: shortage of water, putrid water, bad meat, dirty preparation and serving of meals, bickering and fighting, ophthalmia, fever, croup, childbirths, childdeaths, accidents, drunkenness, children in a state of atrophy from vomiting and purging, rotten rigging, no oil for the lamps, potatoes finished, Captain refusing to let mail off the ship for fear of bad reports reaching London, typhus, pilfering, salt beef very coarse and bad. One has considerable sympathy for him when, on Christmas Day, as the visiting officers of a passing ship left the *Lady Nugent* he found 'the tout ensemble was really affecting & sent my Heart into my mouth & me to my Cabin to think of all dear to me in old England & to sit & to sit & blubber like a great Baby as Fancy painted all their dear faces & how they were spending this day the first Xmas day I have ever passed among strangers.' Nor is it surprising that his entry for the last day of the year is one of earnest piety and determination to prepare himself for death if it should come and for obedience to God if it should not.

The following day, 1 January 1841, Joseph Greenwood begins his blunt commentary. He is aware of Hilliard throughout, though unaware of his real problems; whereas Hilliard never mentions Greenwood but is always uneasily conscious of 'the emigrants' whom he describes at the end of the voyage as 'generally a reckless idle immoral unprincipled set'. Consequently it is Hilliard we can spy on, through Greenwood. On 5 January, for instance, there was an unpleasant incident, and the discrepancies between the two accounts are interesting. Hilliard: 'Mr Wathan went down to Mr Pool's cabin which is on the Gun deck & on returning up the companion ladder, Mr Pool, who was with him was joking with Mr Carrington the 3rd Mate when Mr Large came out of his Cabin (I hear much excited with drink) & told them they were disturbing him & ordered Mr Pool to his Cabin who replied that Mr Large was a mutinous discharged officer & had no business with him, nor to speak to him and that he should not attend to him, some violent altercation ensued & Large struck Mr Pool in a most cowardly manner & while Wathan was endeavoring to part them Thorby (an emigrant who waits on the Midshipmen) came out of the Cabin & struck Mr Pool two or three very violent blows. I sent for him this morning (Tuesday) & after pointing out to him the impropriety of raising his Hand & assailling of

the Gentlemen Passengers suspended him from his situation & forbid [him] ever again during the Voyage going on the Gun deck.'

But here is Greenwood: 'Last night about ten o'clock we had an uproar; Mr Wathan came down the Steerage, went to call Mr Pool (they were both drunk) & then they began insulting the Midshipmen; Mr Large (Chief Mate) came out of the Cabin & told them it was time to get some sleep, they then began striking him, when Torby (one of the Emigrants) & others soon got them from him. They then began wth abusive language, when Mr Turner [i.e. Torby?] told Mr W. if he said so to Mr Large he would strike him, this quietened him; after much abusive language & the Captain calling to know what was the matter they dismissed. Today the Surgeon has enquired into the matter & Torby is to be dismissed from attending upon the Midshipmen, this probably will cause some disturbance.'

According to Greenwood the row was resumed the following night, with Wathan and Pool setting upon Large. Pool was in a 'drunken fit' and tried, ineffectively, to resort to firearms. Hilliard is silent on this development. The confusion over so simple a question as which side was drunk suggests a strong prejudice operating somewhere, and on Hillard's own showing in other situations one feels compelled to ascribe it to him.

On Saturday the 9th Hilliard writes 'I shot a magnificent Albatross which was from 13 to 14 feet from wing to wing.', while the other version is 'The Surgeon shot an Albatross before breakfast.' Greenwood had other things on his mind this day. 'Mr Milne having overlooked me when writing saw his name and requested or demanded to see my "Log", but I am not inclined to submit this, not that I have taken account of ought I consider wrong, but I do not want any of the impudent Midshipmen they pose to see & make game of it. I offered to select one of them to see it but they refused & therefore they must be quiet without know its contents.' He was as undeterred by this suspicion and hostility as he was by his own constant ill-health. Almost every entry records 'I am unwell' or 'I am still unwell' or 'I am no better' and on one occasion 'I have again applied to the Surgeon who says my stomac is out of order', and later 'I am no better. The Surgeon has ordered me some more Medecine. My Throat is sore.' The Surgeon does not refer to his attempts to treat this patient and at the end of the voyage the trouble was still undiagnosed.

But Greenwood's diary gave him opportunities for mild (though silent) revenge. There was the matter of the albatrosses which the Surgeon shot on 12 January. According to Hilliard '[I] shot two very fine Albatros, gave one to Mr Lowther & assisted by one of the Emigrants skined the other for myself, they measured about 11 feet from tip to tip of the wings.' While he was thus congratulating himself Greenwood was writing 'The

Surgeon has shot 2 Albatrosses & as we have had almost a Calm they went out in the Boat for the first & the other was taken up by one of the Ship Boys (Geo.) at the Larbord side of the Ship in the water. The Surgeon got down in the Boat but was glad to get back on the Poop again. . . . The first Albatross measured 9 ft 3 in & the other 10 ft from tip to tip of the wing. The first the Captain said was not worth preserving, it was so small, he has seen them 13 ft. The second was beautifully spotted; they are about the size of a large Turkey; they have been busy skining the Birds perhaps to cure.'

The death of Mary Gray a few days later is recorded by both men, but only Hilliard sees it as an occasion for an outburst (piously retracted at the end) against the scheme of things: 'Poor Mary Gray died this night at 11 o'Ck of Decline—Consumption! the curse of England, thou insatiable Demon! who can stay thy steps? No mortal efforts can arrest thy progress, or unfasten thy fatal grasp when thou had once seized thy victim, & why dost thou generally fix on the fairest & the gentlest of our race, & blast the opening flower just springing into Maturity. None but the Almighty in his Wisdom can know. Enough for us to feel "Whatever *is,* is *right*." '

Because of the serious loss of time resulting from protracted tossing about in the Bay of Biscay, Hilliard put considerable pressure on the Captain (copying his formal communications into his diary) to divert course and put in at the Cape of Good Hope for more provisions. The Captain agreed, and did in fact change course (at the same time requesting from Hilliard a 'more peremptory order' in writing), but then silently reverted to the original course during the night. Hilliard tried to make the best of it, restricting rations still further, but the effect on the emigrants was one of confusion and anger. With much discussion, noted by Greenwood, they wrote a letter of protest to the Surgeon about the reduced allowance of water, and 52 of them signed it. Hilliard, after first observing that this letter had 'scarcely a respectable signature to it' did in the end find two among them who had paid their passages, and sent for those two. Repressing whatever impulse he may have had to tell them that he had tried very hard to persuade the Captain to put in at the Cape, he said that he had acted as he believed for the best and if the emigrants were not satisfied 'they could have their remedy against the Owners by an action at Law on their arrival at New Zealand'. And the next day he observed that 'the Emigrants seem to be reconciled to the disappointment of not toutching at the Cape'. For their part, however, the emigrants never really forgave Hilliard and henceforth their need for a scapegoat was centred on him.

There was a double, if temporary, clearing of the air the next Sunday when rain came down in torrents and the decks were strewn with every available container for collecting water. Perhaps it was this that made

Hilliard feel safe in using the Sunday service to rub home a moral: 'Read the Morning Service at 12 in the Cuddy to the Gentlemen & such Emigrants as chose to attend [Greenwood wrote 'They (the Cuddy passengers) had Service in the Cuddy about one P.M., they sent down to let us know just when we were set down to dinner; they Change the time for their own *conveniance*'] and in the afternoon read the Evening Service to the Emigrants below & one of Bradley's Sermons on the miracle of our blessed Lord feeding the multitudes of 5000 with 5 barley loaves & 2 small fishes. I thought it a very appropriate discourse for them, as they have done nothing but express their dissatisfaction & complaining of the small alteration I had made in their dietary table & Mr Bradley explains in very plain but forcible language the duty of all who would follow Xt. to be moderate & temperate in their appetites, content with food sufficient for them, grateful for the blessings they hourly receive & how certain all who trust in Him are to receive even temporal benefits & casting all their care on Him that he will ever provide for all their wants in this world & the next.' No comment from our spokesman.

Troubles of various kinds arose and subsided like the mercurial sea. A midshipman was flogged for writing a rude letter to one of the Gentleman Passengers; children died; water poured on to sleeping passengers (at which Greenwood caught a Cold which became persistent); food continued to deteriorate (Hilliard: 'The Beef is very inferior that the Emigrants are now eating—very coarse black meat looks more like Horse flesh than anything else.'); vulnerable bits of the ship failed to withstand the weather and broke away; mutiny hung in the air. But there were pleasant aspects of life at sea too. Hilliard gives a good deal of space to sunsets, sunrises, the moon and clouds, while Greenwood is clearly fascinated by the animal life swimming in the sea or flying above it. ('They caught a Paupus' he writes, using the most endearing of his mis-spellings.)

By 11 February they were hoping to reach Hobart Town in 10 or 11 days. But on this day a quarrel broke out in the Cuddy between the hard-drinking Gentleman Passengers and the Captain, over his refusal to allow them more wine. 'A great many angry words passed' wrote Hilliard, 'Captain Santry saying that hardly a day past but some of them were drunk etc.' The following day 'I called Captain Santry into my Cabin and asked for a little chat with him.' As the Captain's senior by ten years, Hilliard (who was on the brink of 40) felt it his duty to advise the Captain to avoid clashes at all costs, and to give way to the passengers for the sake of peace. He then called the most important passenger into the cabin to make peace with the Captain. 'I had the Happiness of seeing good feeling and harmony once more prevail and we are now again in "smooth water & sunny weather" at least as far as the inside of our Cuddy is concerned.' Thus Hilliard glossed over certain other unpleasant aspects of the case, but to no avail for the silent scribe was at work. The

day after Hilliard recorded his Happiness, Greenwood wrote 'There was another unfortunate occurance which was nearly as follows. When the Intermediate's Porter was stopped the Surgeon was on good terms with them generally; Messrs M. & A. mentioning it to him he said, there is plenty on Board, stick out & the Captain will give in to you, this was mentioned in a letter to the Captain, & the Surgeon denied it; therefore Mr M. asked him (as he came from the Sick bay) when he would be ready to go before the Captain, to clear up what he had said about Mr A. & him; he said had he said so it was very ungentlemanly of him (Mr M.) telling the Captain; but he did say, there was plenty of Emigrants Porter on board marked "Medical comforts" how did he know what was on board as cargo. The Surgeon called Mr M. a liar & Blackguard upon which he (M.) seized the Surgeon by the coat & threatened to strike him, saying you call me a liar & Blackguard; the S. answered you are proving yourself to be so; he said you call me so again & I will, the S. answered "strike me", he said I would but you will prosecute me; he answered yes I would. Here the Cap. came down & the matter ended. The Cap. said (after) Mr M. was not drunk but had always behaved properly.' While that was being written Hilliard was confessing to having been very unwell for the last few days, and feeling that he will not recover his health and spirits until he can resume his old habits of exercise. There is an uncharacteristic touch of depression and self-pity in this entry. A man whose burdens are such that they cannot be imparted even to his diary is a sad man.

At long last Hobart Town was reached on 27 February, and Hilliard with great relief stepped ashore. He was much impressed with what he saw and with the hospitality of Dr Learmonth, First Physician in Hobart. During the next few days he did some intensive sightseeng, enjoyed a good deal of social life, and kept his ears open for reports of New Zealand. 'All the Hobart Town people speak terribly of Port Nicholson, say that 70 people left New Zealand & came here & to Port Philip for employment & that nothing but distrust dissatisfaction & starvation was to be met with there. Mem: not to credit all the accts. we here in this place as Hobart Town is a rival Colony & of course would not speak well of any new settlement likely to injure their own. Saw Dr. Campbell who had just arrived from Port Nicholson & was Surgeon to the Blenheim, did not like New Zealand said they were overrun with Medical men & that he was going to settle at Port Philip or Sidney.' Greenwood, spending much less time ashore, had little to say about Hobart Town. He was impressed with some very fine shops ('equal to London') and beautiful houses ('Gentlemen's Seats') but he was more concerned with getting his letters properly finished and sent off than with taking much notice of a place which was unlikely to play any part in his life.

Two days before the *Lady Nugent* put to sea again, bound for Port

Nicholson, Henry Bevan, aged 12, died on board. Greenwood records his death and notes that 'he has been unwell some time & suffered much.' Hilliard describes it thus: 'Hy Bevan died at 4 this morning a perfect skeleton worn out from long disease & the profuse discharge of his abcess. Dr Learmonth came on board to breakfast with me & went over the ship accompanied him on shore & saw the Coroner made a report of this Child's death informed he would let me know in the course of the day after the Police had made inquiries whether an Inquest was necessary —I told him that I thought it could not be necessary as he had had eight weeks severe Illness & was expected to die every day for the last month.' The following day was Hilliard's last on shore ('met Dr Sutherland who had just arrived from New Zealand, did not give me a very flattering acct. of it') and early the next morning the ship sailed, with Henry Bevan's dead body on board. Greenwood takes up the tale: 'About 7 A.M. they committed the remains of John [i.e. Henry] Bevan to a watery Grave. It was expected he would be buried on Shore, this is probably to save the Captain the Expense. The Father thought the Surgeon's conduct very wrong & accordingly asked E. Halswell Esq. to Read the *Funeral Ceremony*. The Surgeon would not allow this & therefore the Father lifted up the Grating & let the Body into the Sea then walked away, afterwards the Surgeon read the ceremony. This caused them to Quarrel. The day has been fine. I have a bad Headache etc. & have vomited.' Hilliard, his censoring mechanism in good order, wrote: 'Rose at 6 o'Ck. at 7 read the Service over the Body of Hy Bevan. Very unwell & feel a severe bilious attack coming on, qualmish sick & wretched . . . obliged to go to bed.' The next day was Sunday and Greenwood noted 'The Surgeon is laid up so we have had no Service.' On Thursday 11 March Greenwood makes his last reference to Hilliard: 'The Emigrants are preparing an account of the Surgeon's conduct for Col. Wakefield, this will tell poorly for the Surgeon & Captain.' The Surgeon himself either was unaware of this attitude or chose to ignore it, for on Sunday he 'read the afternoon Service to the Emigrants. . . . At the termination of it I told them that in all probability that was the last time the present congregation would meet together in this ship for prayer & praise & exhorted them to pursue a religious course of life in their new country, to practise regular & daily habits of prayer that they could not expect blessings & mercies if they did not humbly & earnestly ask for them, & that prayer to the Soul was what food is to the Body, & that as certainly as they faithfully asked for blessings in the name of their Saviour He had promised that they should as surely receive them. And so ends my ministry with them.'

On Wednesday 17 March they made landfall and Hilliard's diary comes to a close. At the end of it he copied out two letters he received, the first from 'James Sellar', and the second from 'the Emigrants who

sailed in the Lady Nugent'. Both are in the form of testimonials to Hilliard's selfless care and devotion to duty throughout the voyage. The second letter was signed by 'all the respectable Emigrants'. On balance one feels that this view of Hilliard's conduct was just. He was in an extraordinarily difficult situation and he handled it, on the whole, with good sense. The amiable Greenwood's function was to show that Hilliard was more flawed with ordinary human weakness than he was able to admit. Hilliard should have the last word and he has it in his last diary entry: 'I went in the Government Boat on Shore & delivered my despatches from the New Zealand Co. to Col. Wakefield as here ended my duty. I shall now therefore bring my Journal to a conclusion. Delivered the following list to the Emigration Agent (Mr Ritherford) got my Certificates signed & felt like a man who had travelled a very long and weary path with a heavy burthen on his back who has just reached some friendly shelter & thrown his cares & his load down together.'

MARGARET SCOTT

THE WAITARA PURCHASE

I

A letter from Archdeacon Hadfield, vehement defender of Maori rights, to Archdeacon Govett at New Plymouth, and correspondence of John Coleridge Patteson, Bishop of Melanesia, are recent additions to the Library's manuscript collections. They provide further documentation of the Waitara dispute which in 1860 brought Maoris and European settlers into open conflict over the possession of land. Bishop Patteson's comment on the explosion, detached to a degree, reveals his views on the action taken by the chief protagonists. His letters indicate an important two-fold role as relatively neutral intermediary between Governor Gore Browne and churchmen led by Bishop Selwyn, and as the means of communicating the clergy's viewpoint to the Imperial government.

The confrontation at Waitara saw the alignment of the Church of England clergy on the side of native rights to the extent that they were treated with acrimony by land hungry settlers. At the same time the Maoris harboured feelings of disillusionment against their champions. Wiremu Kingi te Rangitake, baptised by Archdeacon Hadfield, expressed this graphically in a letter of 10 December 1862 addressed to Bishop Selwyn from Huiterangiora, District of Kihikihi. . . . 'Where were you before Governor Brown, [sic] why didn't you tell him to enquire about that land [at Waitara]? Instead you allowed blood to flow in a crimson tide.'[1] The Governor had, under pressure, and in Patteson's opinion with little understanding of the import of his action, secured by force the purchase of this land sold by a tribesman Teira in spite of Wiremu Kingi's assertion of his right, set down in the Treaty of Waitangi, of 'chieftanship over the land' of the Ngatiawa tribe, whereby he refused to permit the sale.[2]

Archdeacon Hadfield, more than any other European, had had a close association with Wiremu Kingi and the members of the Ngatiawa tribe since the setting up of his mission at Waikanae in 1839 before the tribe's return to Taranaki. The substance of his ardent support of Maori rights over the Waitara Purchase may be found in his three pamphlets—*One of England's little wars, The second year of one of England's little wars* and *A sequel to one of England's little wars* published in London by Williams and Norgate in 1860 and 1861—and in his evidence taken at the Bar of the House of Representatives on 14 August 1860. Correspondence between Archdeacon Hadfield and Archdeacon Govett, the two missionaries most immediately involved in the complications of Wiremu Kingi's assertion of tribal rights is referred to by Robert Parris, Land Purchase Commissioner in Taranaki, in his report of the purchase at Waitara.[3]

The letter recently deposited in the Library was discovered by Rev. J. A. G. Day amongst papers in the vestry of Holy Trinity Church, Fitzroy, New Plymouth. Archdeacon Hadfield wrote from Otaki to Archdeacon Govett at New Plymouth on 10 May 1860 two months after the outbreak of hostilities. He brings his letter to a close by asking for 'a few lines' on occurrences which 'may not be clearly conveyed in the papers'. While providing no new information this letter sets down clearly Archdeacon Hadfield's views on the purchase and its effect and pinpoints the close liaison with Archdeacon Govett while filling out some details concerning the views of Hadfield's Maori friends and informants. There is significance in the observation 'the shameless falsehood of these assertions of McLean amazes me. He did not venture to speak in that positive way to me in Wellington when I told him that I knew of fifty claimants who opposed the sale.' This anticipates and supports Bishop Patteson's view of the value of McLean's evidence at the Bar of the House. In a letter of 5 February 1861 to his father Patteson refers to *The story of New Zealand* by A. S. Thomson published in London in 1859 in which it is maintained that no individual had the right to alienate Maori land without the consent of the tribe.[4] He asserts on the authority of the Bishop of Wellington '. . . that Mr. McLean, the chief Land Purchase Commissioner and Native Secretary, . . . had himself sanctioned the proof sheet of that book as far as it dealt with all questions affecting native Interests . . . [and] that he had warned the Governor not to involve himself in a "land quarrel" at Taranaki. You may judge from these facts, and I could supply many more, of the value of his *Evidence* before the House of Assembly.' In fact McLean's evidence records more than one view of Maori land tenure.[5]

The text of Archdeacon Hadfield's letter is as follows:

Otaki, May 10 1860

My dear Archdeacon,

. . . I have had some difficulty in dealing with these people. Even if I had been inclined to put a favourable construction on the Governor's proceedings in reference to the occupation of Waitara, the people here are far too intelligent and well-informed for anything but a distinct avowal of my opinion, that a military occupation of land, when there had not been even a breach of the peace, was illegal. But they are not prepared to take any part in the war: they still have faith in the Queen's Government, though they have none in the present Governor. I, however, rather fear that the injustice of the attack on W. K. will be made much of by the supporters of the Maori-King throughout the country. I know that many in this district have been led by the Waitara affair to join it. How strange it seems that with such a formidable and widely spread conspiracy

well organised throughout the country to oppose the Queen's government the Governor should have left it alone and gone out of his way to attack a chief who was opposed to it. Nothing now but a very strong force will do to put down this conspiracy and rebellion. It will require many years to do it.

The principle to which you allude, of asking an individual tutua to sell any land he may fancy he has a title to, is wholly at variance with Maori custom. If the Governor could carry the point (which he could not except by force) anywhere it was attempted, it would be futile for any practical purpose, as no *tutua*[6] can establish a title anywhere to 50 acres of land. But as said before, it is wholly repugnant to maori notions on the subject and cannot be acted on.

With regard to Matene's[7] opinion about Teira's title he says he had no opportunity of seeing any one but Teira's party. He was afraid of expressing his opinion at Taranaki. A letter of Wi Tako's was published by McLean; but Wi Tako said here last week that there was no doubt whatever that Wi K. was right in denying Teira's right and in resisting the Governor. He told Rewai[8] so; who is my informant.

My own opinion is that a greater act of injustice was never committed in N.Z. or elsewhere than the possible expulsion of W. K. and his tribe from land they refused to sell. It was unjust; it was illegal. And I will never cease to argue in support of these two assertions till the truth is admitted. I have quite convinced two or three members of the Gen. Ass. that I am right in this. I distinctly deny McLean's statement as to the majority of the claimants to the land in dispute having been satisfied. But the alteration of men's property cannot be decided by majorities. McLean last year started this new principle at Manawatu, because Ihakora and others wished to sell their land. He opposed the chiefs and said you can't interfere, he may do what he likes with his own. They shrewdly replied—'Very good; that cuts both ways; if he has a right to sell we have a right to withhold.' The result is that the block purchased is full of Maori lands with ill-defined zig-zag boundaries—some containing many hundreds of acres. The greatest possible confusion will be the result. And a very high price has been given for a very small block of land; and the natives are all intensely disgusted. With regard to Ropoama,[9] he is a personal enemy of W. K. He unjustly interfered with Euoha's[10] rights in Queen Charlottes Sound. You could have this confirmed to you if you like by any Waitara natives. Wi K's having appointed him as his successor is a fiction—at least I am told nobody knows anything about it. Ropoama sent McLean a list of names favourable to Teira's sale including those of Whitikau's[11] party who had never authorised him to do so, and who side with

W. K. The shameless falsehood of these assertions of McLean amazes me. He did not venture to speak in that positive way to me in Wellington when I told him that I knew of fifty claimants who opposed the sale.

What a foolish proceeding it appears to have an assembly of the chiefs[12] at the present time! It really seems lamentable that twenty years after the establishment of the Government in the country there does not appear to be the least advance in government of the natives. McLean's nominees are called together to advise with him. What weight will their proceedings carry with the various tribes? Absolutely none. And then again the move is ridiculed as an act of weakness. I seem at times as if I am in a dream. I am sorry you have been obliged to send your children away. I feel sadly grieved to think your settlement is so thoroughly disordered. We must pray and trust that peace will soon be restored. . . .

Yours very faithfully,
Octavius Hadfield

Ven. Archdeacon Govett

II

Bishop Patteson's papers were purchased by the Library in 1970 as part of a collection in the estate of Mr K. Webster, London. The correspondence consisting of twenty-nine letters covers the period 1854 to 1871 and concerns primarily the affairs of the Melanesian Mission. These letters, addressed almost entirely to his father, Sir John Patteson, some of them in journal form, have significance in the discussion of British Colonial policy as it affected missionary activity in Melanesia which was territorially outside the British sphere of influence in the Pacific. Comment is made on Church activity and events which occurred in New Zealand during the five months spent each year at the Melanesian mission school at Kohimarama. Eight letters discuss the Waitara affair and reveal Patteson's key role in the outcome of the purchase. Throughout he frankly recognises the import of what he writes.

Bishops Selwyn and Patteson came from families linked by friendship and common interests in the legal world, tied to Eton and strong followers of High Church principles. Rev. W. Tucker, biographer of Bishop Selwyn, observes that he sought counsel and assistance from Mr Justice Patteson, 'One who better than almost any other man, was qualified to give it',[13] in the formulation of the colonial Church constitution. Sir John Patteson became a member of the Privy Council in 1852 after a distinguished

career at the Bar. John Coleridge Patteson, his son, early reveals that his observations are made in the full knowledge of both Selwyn and himself that these views would reach the Imperial authorities notably W. E. Gladstone, Selwyn's friend and contemporary at Eton, and Henry Pelham, fifth Duke of Newcastle, Peelites who joined in strange alliance the government of Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell in 1858. Gladstone served as Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Duke of Newcastle as Colonial Secretary from 1859 to 1864.

Before arriving in New Zealand Patteson wrote from the *Duke of Portland* in a journal letter dated 25 June 1855 to his father:

> I must write one sheet or so to you wh. must not be seen out of the house, giving you an exact account of the state of the C.M.S. clergy, of the treatment the Bp. has suffered from them, and the Salisbury Sq. committee, of the extraordinary manner in wh. self will and ingratitude seem to be developed in a colonial atmosphere . . . also I shall give you, as exactly as I can, an account of the qualifications requisite to make a clergyman useful in N.Z. or Melanesia; of course this will be simply retailing what the Bp. has often told me, *but he does not* write it lest it shd. get abroad and so compromise him; but he told that *I* might, and agreed with me that it might be useful that some such account shd. be in the hands of someone who could state among his friends with some degree of authority the sort of person required.

Unfortunately the 'sheet or so' is not to be found but this observation alerts the reader as to the significance of this collection of letters. J. C. Patteson reveals himself as a sensitive, humble man subject to introspection. He displays a strong sense of dedication and the highest regard and respect for Bishop Selwyn whom he refers to as 'my bishop' on more than one occasion.[14] He writes incisively making very personal comment on personal encounters by reporting conversations verbatim and drawing excellent word pictures of people. This is exemplified in his estimation of William Swainson, Attorney General, as:

> . . . not a man known intimately by many and by no means an easy man to understand; in fact his mistake is probably this, that he likes to be an enigma to many people, and almost on purpose is somewhat inconsistent, but he is a valuable man, and personally I value him much, and we talk freely together.[15]

The letter concludes with a postscript which clearly puts the significance of the Selwyn Patteson relationship into context:

> Jan. 23 (1860). I saw the Bp. yesterday—his mind is quite made up about Melanesia. He said 'Suppose Archd. Hadfield had taken

> Wellington, and Chas. Abraham could have some day been Bp. here, I might then have taken Melanesia, but I think this plan the better one of the two on the whole, even were the other possible. I have been for a long time arranging this. I might have delayed a year, but for the political changes at home, the Duke of Newcastle being at the Colonial Office—it will take some time to arrange the *basis* on which the Bpric. shall be constituted. . . . Your father has helped me to determine the question of New Zealand or Melanesia and I can see clearly I can [not?] keep both. I agree with him that with our Church Constitution requiring management with my knowledge of the natives, and at my increasing age, I ought to retain N.Z. The matter is settled, and the letter to the Duke of Newcastle is already in the Governor's hands. . . . It is not as if I am passing over the mission into a stranger's hands—we shall of course always work together, and I shall give all the assistance that I can—go as a *passenger* it may be (whereat I laughed) or do anything you may wish—' . . . and now you know the whole story.

To turn to Patteson's comment on and involvement in the Waitara affair his letters of March and April 1860 and January, February and May 1861 clearly reveal his role. He records his reaction at the outbreak of hostilities and traces the causes and events leading up to the confrontation taking the view that:

> The evil is, that the matter was allowed to begin without due consideration, and without any consultation of the Bp. Mr. Martin or Archd. Hadfield, or in short, anyone but the interested parties, the selfish set at Taranaki, and the anti-native part of the community. . . . It is not only that the Colonisation of N.Z. will be delayed: but that a bitter feeling between the two races will be excited and increased. In this case there is some show of justice on the side of the English, but the long course *of insult offered by the white settler to the Maori is forgotten. . . .*[16]

As the crisis develops Patteson takes his father into his discussions with Bishop Selwyn, William Martin, Chief Justice, and William Swainson—the Auckland Triumvirate. He writes freely and openly of the dilemma of these Churchmen, their assessment of the situation and their responsibility in the attempt to prevent extended warfare by finally seeking the Governor's recall. On April 10 1860 three weeks after the confrontation at Waitara he wrote:

> This Taranaki affair has become so serious, and is likely to involve such very grave consequences, that I think you ought to hear about it, so that you may be in a position to give real information, if required. I really fear, that if not itself the crisis of the attempt to

amalgamate the two races, it is bringing on that crisis very rapidly. I don't feel sure, that a war of extermination may not grow out of it. Anyhow it is a very serious matter, and the *least* important part of it is this, that it may cause the recall of the Governor, misunderstandings at home as to the attitude of the Church of England people, and misconceptions as to the actual relations between the natives of this country and the English people. It *may* be the commencement of a course of real injustice to the native race.

Bishop Patteson takes the missionaries' line and deplores the attitude of the settlers towards the Maori. He observes that they understand little of their way of life or their language. 'They dont contemplate the New Zealander ever becoming entitled to the privilege of the English citizen, though they take good care to let him feel that he is the subject of the white man's sovereign.'[17] Personal anecdotes give another and human dimension to the facts of the situation as he sees them:

'Now,' said a man to me yesterday 'all their savage passions will be aroused.' 'Yes' said I quietly 'on *both sides*.' Whereupon our eyes met and I looked him steadily in the face till he saw my meaning and held his tongue.[18]

However, from the beginning Patteson is concerned at the effect of the clergy's stand. He sounds a warning that their attitude could engender the feeling that they forgot their duty as subjects of the Queen in their defence of Maori rights ('and with some reason owing to the wrong-headedness of some of the clergy'). He is critical of Archdeacon Hadfield's action in withholding letters from Wiremu Kingi who sought his intercession with the Governor to prevent the Waitara purchase and observes:

One person has acted wrongly no doubt. Archd. Hadfield. He was in actual communication with his old friend Wm. Kingi, and suppressed information that was in his possession; in this way. He for 20 years and more has been a quasi Dictator in the South on all Maori questions; he had, I believe, passed his word (as it were) to Wm. Kingi that he could not be disturbed in the quiet rights which he enjoyed at Taranaki (according to Maori comprehension of rights, customs etc). Now that the Governor has taken a part contrary to that which Archd. H. assured his friends must be taken, he (the Archd.) is so excessively angry that he cannot speak or write temperately on the matter.[19]

Patteson does not see this as sufficient reason for not communicating with the Governor and furthermore predicts only the possibility of great mischief in Hadfield's insistence upon printing a pamphlet.[20]

. . . His object is not now to offer advice—it is too late—it is simply a repudiation of any share in 'such gross injustice'—a severe con-

demnation of the Governor's policy; and all, as I fear, in intemperate, unwise language.[21]

The Bishop is critical too of Archdeacon Govett as saying 'imprudent and in the present crisis, wrong things at Taranaki'.[22]

Patteson considered that Colonel Gore Browne was misinformed and unaware of 'the real difficulty surrounding the question and of the strength of character and means of resistance possessed by the Maori.' He asserts that Bishop Selwyn, William Martin and William Swainson living within a mile of him had not the slightest notion of the Governor's intention to enforce the Waitara purchase. He records their dilemma feeling it would be an act of impertinence to approach him:

> The Governor now says 'Why did not men warn me of the consequences of what I said a year ago at Taranaki?' Mr Swainson said to him 'How is it that you never consulted us?' to which he replied that he really did not know what he had been about. I think the truth is that the Governor did not see that he had raised a question which was agitating widely and deeply the Maori people and so did not see that he *needed advice*: they on the other hand did not think it conceivable that he could have acted otherwise than deliberately, when he took such a very decided step, in opposition to the accepted principles on which land was to be bought. . . .[23]

Bishop Patteson's neutral position as Melanesian missionary 'knowing all the circumstances' made him the obvious means of communication with the Governor. A good churchman, Colonel Gore Browne felt himself deserted by the clergy whose championing of Maori rights he, as an Indian Army Officer, was unable to understand, seeing their stand as disloyalty to the Queen. But it was the Governor who first approached Patteson who gives a full account of a conversation which took place on Easter Sunday, 8 April 1860:

> I had not seen the Governor for a year . . . But he and McLane [sic], the head native secretary, were on the wooden terrace outside the [Government] house, and he saw me, and came forward in his hearty way . . . [Reference is made to Bishop Selwyn's sermons ('when he spoke out about English covetousness etc.') and the Governor observed 'You only set our backs up.'] . . . Then did the Governor open fire instantly[?], taking me by the arm and leading me into the room, where we sat down on the same sofa. . . Gov. I am very sorry not to meet with the cooperation I thought I could count upon from the Church J.C.P. The Bp. only yesterday said to a third person in my hearing, that he thought it was the duty of every loyal subject to give his best advice and support to the Government. Gov. But why was not information given to me long

ago. J.C.P. I dont defend Archd. Hadfield's conduct; but surely a man may reserve to himself the right of differing in opinion from any policy adopted by the Government. Gov. Certainly, so long as the difference of opinion does not lead him into a course of action contrary to the welfare of the country. J.C.P. I can hardly think that any man can fail to see that his simple duty to the Queen now is to support your Excellency to the utmost of his power; but I can understand how it is, that several of the persons you usually consult should have hesitated to obtrude their opinion upon you. The suppression of information I dont defend. Gov. The Bishop is a man of war. J.C.P. He has a strong feeling naturally on all native questions, but I can assure your Excellency that he is anxious and ready to cooperate with the Government though I dont think that he is privately convinced that the claims to this land at Taranaki have been properly investigated. Gov. It is painful to me not to be acting with my usual advisers on native questions. I have a letter from the Bp. of Wellington which I can only characterise as a 'painful letter'. I wrote to him in the most friendly way possible, but he differs from me, and has written a very painful letter, which in vindication of myself I must send home in the Despatches. It seems as if they all took a strange course. As for Archd. Hadfield, his conduct is that of a *traitor*. But I have put myself into Mr Martin's hands. I can act with him (implying that he could not act with the Bishop). . . .

This conversation graphically illustrates the extent of the Governor's alienation from the Auckland Triumvirate particularly Bishop Selwyn but apparently it at least helped temporarily to re-establish contact as Patteson reported on 20 April that Colonel Gore Browne had 'assented to a proposition' that Bishop Selwyn, Mr Martin and Mr Swainson should draw up papers relevant to discussions at a great meeting of chiefs to take place at Kohimarama.[24] He did not expect the Governor to follow their recommendations but considered that 'He is quite at his wits end, and his ministers dont know what they are about. In fact the country is not governed at all at this minute.' But Bishop Patteson and his friends saw no reason for the Governor's recall at this stage:

I think that, after this lesson, he would do well. His fault, I take it, has been that he has taken no pains to know much about the natives, their usages, customs and rights; and that he does not know them personally, and conciliate the chiefs by proper attentions, and learn to talk to them even a little. There has been great pressure upon him, from Taranaki especially, somewhat also, I suspect, from his ministers. But the truth may be not impossibly that he thought English rule must sweep away some of what he thought to be Maori

prejudices. This, I hope is not in his mind, because it would be manifestly unjust.[25]

However by the end of this long journal letter written between 10 and 27 April, 1860, Patteson stated that he feared that the Governor did 'not wish to recede from the course' he had taken. This hardened line is reflected in the arrangement made by the Triumvirate to ensure that their position was understood by the Imperial authorities. Bishop Patteson acted as their mouthpiece:

> The Taranaki affair very serious. The Governor has now a considerable force at his command from Sydney and elsewhere, and he is determined (as I fear) to follow up the war vigorously. Bp, Mr Martin, and Mr Swainson all think him wrong. . . . The papers I will send if I can: they are violent and scurrilous in the highest degree. There is great difficulty about writing. The Bp thinks that with his friends in power at home, his letter would carry weight and damage the Governor terribly. Mr Martin and Mr Swainson will not write. Yet somebody from whom information may be obtained at the Colonial Office, ought to be in possession of the facts. Hence I write with their knowledge to you: I dont mean that they have seen this nor do I write officially as it were, but rather leave you to make out for yourself from what I have written in so diffuse a way the real state of the question. The fear is that the Maori race will be oppressed: the tone of the colonist's mind is very unjust and very strong; they would repudiate the treaty of Waitangi tomorrow. N.B. The correct translation of the *Maori* copy of the treaty gives the chiefs the power of chieftainship *over their lands*. This clause *does* occur in it.[26]

John Coleridge Patteson returned to his flock in Melanesia and his letters are not concerned with New Zealand affairs until he returns to Kohimarama on 28 November 1860. In spite of preoccupation with his Consecration he discusses fully the precarious state of the colony. The situation had deteriorated so much that he considered the recall of the Governor as the only possible means of achieving a peaceful settlement. He observed that the Maoris were uniting over the land question and they could attack anywhere in the North Island. 'The Maori throroughly distrusts the Governor—nothing for it but a *new man* as well as a *new policy*.'[27] In his letter of 5 February 1861 he writes:

> Now that you are in communication with the Duke of Newcastle we have great hopes that you may be instrumental by God's blessing in bringing about a very different state of things here.

He gives a full account of dinner conversation at Government House on 4 February:

> I was astonished last evening at the tone of the Governor and Mrs Gore Browne when for five minutes only some question was touched upon bearing upon the state of the country. You may judge of the 'animus' of the Governor and the Ministry by the 'Native Offenders Bill'; by the Governor's 'Proclamation' to stop the free expression of the opinion of the colonists; by the report, well founded as I have reason to think, that a majority of one only saved us just the other day from the Proclamation of Martial Law in Auckland. But last evening he was sneering at the free and enlightened community and distinctly implied that the only way to govern this country, and both races in it, is to have an absolute Despotism. I sat between him and Mrs G. Browne and turning to him stopped the conversation. . . .

In another context Patteson records that 'the Governor himself described the state of the English population by saying that they alternate between abject fear and beastly bullying' stressing that the general disaffection of the Maori was created by the present misgovernment.

> No amount of Martial Law, no quantity of soldiers and Armstrong guns will stop that; they are *not disaffected towards the Crown, but towards the present Governor and Government.* Is this distinctly understood at home? The real hope is that the Home Government will do them justice; they themselves draw this distinction, and cling to the hope of it proving a well-founded one.

This letter of 5 February is the key letter in which Bishop Patteson gives a picture of the state of the country and sets down his views as to the remedy:

> I constantly reiterate the same statement, that the only hope for N. Zealand consists in the immediate removal of the present Governor: and in the appointment of some Governor or Commissioner empowered to investigate fully the causes of the present quarrel. If Sir George Grey came out, that would, humanly speaking, be best of all. Next best, some strong man of rank and position to hold his own against the the mischievous spirit of the colonists. . . . I pray God that the Duke may be guided to see this matter aright—by which I do not mean necessarily seeing it as I see it, but that he may be enabled to realise our actual position here and the line of action that must be adopted with reference to it. I dare to affirm that humanly speaking, it is as inexpedient and useless as it is unjust to attempt to settle this question by force. Send a new man—offer terms of peace—investigate the whole question openly and honestly —do not be so cowardly as to be ashamed to confess that we are in the wrong. This will restore confidence—Then introduce measures for the well government of the two races.

Colonel Gore Browne was recalled by a despatch from the Duke of Newcastle of 25 May 1861. Sir George Grey returned but Bishop Patteson's high hopes for peace and justice were not achieved.

III

The aim of these extracts from Bishop Patteson's letters has been to give the reader some idea of his assessment of the causes, effects and outcome of the Waitara dispute and of his not unimportant role in influencing the course of events. An examination of published works and documents has produced no evidence to date of his involvement in the affair. Charlotte M. Yonge in her still standard biography, *Life of John Coleridge Patteson. Missionary Bishop of the Melanesian Islands* published in London in 1873, 'purposely omitted letters upon the unhappy Maori war'.[28] Sir John Gutch in *Martyr of the Islands. The life and death of John Coleridge Patteson* published in 1971 passes over the Waitara purchase with slight comment. His quotations from Patteson's letters concerning the affair are not in the Library's collection which gives substance to the view that there are other relevant letters in existence. Little attempt has been made to put this collection into context with the documentation of the Waitara dispute as a whole.[29] There is no doubt, however, that Patteson leaves a vivid picture of Colonel Gore Browne, the man, as he saw him and most important throws light on the actions of Bishop Selwyn and his friends in Auckland. He foresaw and pointed out the dangers of the clergy's vehement support of the Maori cause but it seems that he was unable to convince the Duke of Newcastle that their stand amounted to little more than disloyalty to the Crown. In a letter to Sir George Grey of 5 June 1861 the Duke wrote:

> I have come very reluctantly to the conclusion that the Bishops of New Zealand and Wellington and Archdeacon Hadfield have done much mischief by the part they have taken, and you will see that both Lord Lyttelton and I have expressed this opinion in Parliament. It may be said that Bishop Selwyn's 'solemn protest' was not published by him and was only sent to the Governor; but such protests are not fitting productions from the Prelate of any Church, and it is only too well known that the spirit of that document has actuated the dignitaries in question and *some* of the missionaries.[30]

In defence of Archdeacon Hadfield it must be recognised that he had no Sir John Patteson to put his view to the Colonial Office and was forced to make a direct and public approach to the Duke of Newcastle[31] by letters and pamphlets in order to make his stand for Maori rights. Regarding Hadfield's action in withholding Wiremu Kingi's letters, Patteson

himself wrote 'that Hadfield had reassured Wiremu Kingi that he could not be disturbed in the quiet rights which he enjoyed at Taranaki'.[32] He was apparently as much in the dark as Bishop Selwyn and his friends in Auckland as to the Governor's intention to enforce the Waitara purchase. This is supported by Bishop Abraham's letter defending Hadfield. 'We had no idea of the sudden *coup de main* your Excellency was planning.'[33]

Bishop Patteson may not have succeeded in justifying the clergy's stand in the eyes of the Duke of Newcastle but his letters and that of Archdeacon Hadfield must take their place in the documentation and analysis of the outcome of the Waitara purchase.

JUNE STARKE

NOTES

All letters from Bishop Patteson are addressed to his father, Sir John Patteson.

[1] ATL. Misc. MS 1326. Objection to Commission of Enquiry on Waitara.

[2] J. C. Patteson, 25 April 1860. See p. 20.

[3] In AJHR, 1860. E-3A, p. 9-10.

[4] Thomson, A. S. *The story of New Zealand.* London, John Murray, 1859, pp. 96-98.

[5] In AJHR, 1860. E-4, p. 15-

[6] *Tutua,* freeman of the tribe. This definition is to be found in Archdeacon Hadfield's evidence at the Bar of the House. In AJHR, 1860. E-4, p. 3.

[7] Matene Te Whiwhi, chieftain at Otaki.

[8] Rev. Rewa te Ahu, a Ngatiawa serving at the Otaki Mission who asserted his right to the disputed land at Waitara.

[9] Ropoama te One, chief at Queen Charlotte's Sound.

[10] Euoha, half brother to Wiremu Kingi.

[11] Whitikau, chief at Queen Charlotte's Sound.

[12] Conference with chiefs held at Kohimarama, 10 July-11 August 1860.

[13] Tucker, H. W. *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of George Augustus Selwyn, D.D.* London, Wells Gardner, 1879, vol. 2, pp. 87-88.

[14] J. C. Patteson, 5 July 1856.

[15] J. C. Patteson, 23 January 1860. Fragment.

[16-17] J. C. Patteson, 23-25 March 1860.

[18] J. C. Patteson, 27 March 1860.

[19-23] J. C. Patteson. Journal letter, 10-27 April 1860.

[24] See note 12.

[25] J. C. Patteson. Journal letter, 11 April 1860.

[26] J. C. Patteson. Journal letter, 25 April 1860.

[27] J. C. Patteson, 7 January 1860.

[28] Yonge, C. M. *Life of Coleridge Patteson. Missionary Bishop of the Melanesian Islands.* London, Macmillan, 1874, p. vi.

[29] See Morrell, W. P. *British colonial policy in the mid-Victorian age.* Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1969, pp. 244-269.

Sinclair, K. *The origins of the Maori wars.* Wellington, New Zealand University Press, 1961, pp. 215-225.

[30] Martineau, John. *The life of Henry Pelham Fifth Duke of Newcastle, 1811-1864.* London, John Murray, 1908, p. 322. See also p. 319. A private letter from the Duke of Newcastle to W. E. Gladstone, 21 January 1861.

[31] Hadfield, Octavius. *One of England's little wars. A letter to the Right Hon.*

the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies. London, Williams and Norgate, 1860.

[32] J. C. Patteson. Journal letter, 10 April 1860. See p. 17.

[33] C. F. Abraham, Bishop of Wellington, to the Editor of the *New Zealand Spectator,* 24 August 1860 reprinted in O. Hadfield, *The second year of one of England's little wars.* London, Williams and Norgate, 1861, p. 90. See also pp. 18-23 for Hadfield's reasons for withholding the letters.

A GLANCE FROM THE ART ROOM

The fascinating questions posed by both newly acquired paintings and sketches and their juxtaposition with existing art room mysteries provides Mrs Janet Paul as Art Librarian with the substance of half-a-dozen *Record* articles in as many months. Alas, until she is given time to explore step by step these tantalising relationships they will not be exposed. In default of more substantial fare we present a typical day's wayside jottings.

One of the delights of working at the Alexander Turnbull Library is the happy accident, the unexpected discovery, the joyful glimpse through shifting arches of small truths, to an unexpected facet of a known place or character.

The work of the Art Librarian sometimes seems like that of a bug in the yeast. The real ingredients are all there. The catalogue may give unexpected conjunctions; a request for accurate paintings to illustrate a book on mountaineering may mean that a not-before-opened box or sketchbook is searched. This happened today. A slight, faded blue watercolour, delicately lining distant peaks and the swirling arcs of a glacier, signed 'W.S.G.' moved the visiting mountaineer. It is the first painting ever made from the slopes of Mount Cook. Its title is 'Head of Tasman Glacier from a height of 8500 ft. on Mt. Cook'. It is signed 'W.S.G.': the artist, the Rev. William Spotswood Green who, with Boss & Kaufmann, made the first ascent in 1882.

The other was a group of three sketchbooks, bound in a slip-case with letters in gold, 'G. Duppa. Sketchbooks'. Inside was a note indicating that four sketches were by William Fox. But, on opening, it was clear that the same pencil had been used on subsequent pages. Fox loved to put cows in his watercolours, whether they were in 'Horowhenua' or on 'Capitol Hill, Washington'. In these sketchbooks he draws great beefy bow-legged bulls (George Duppa imported breeding cattle); catches the dipping gesture of a duck; the mild face or outrageously upholstered back view of two heavily-fleeced sheep. He draws a pair of drooping-legged hacks, and typically 'Fox' trees; the action of two bulls in horned battle; or carefully and expressively the face of a tattooed Maori so that one sees a man of character. On one double-spread William Fox shows an almost Edward Lear humour—a heavy, thoughtful bull head down (labelled in Fox's hand with 'An attacking position') is faced by a receding line of frock-coated and top-hatted men. Under the first, standing with open umbrella, spike towards the charge, Fox has written 'A Defensive Position!!' under the second, 'a Fugitive Position', and under the undignified scramble at the far side 'a decadent Position'. If further proof is needed that the sketch is not the work of the money-making farmer, George Duppa, a small signature—WFx—is visible.

WALTER MANTELL TO JANE CARLYLE

When visiting the National Library of Scotland in November last I was shown, among a number of interesting manuscripts, a letter from W. B. D. Mantell to Jane Carlyle. The letter is an excellent example of the writer's polished irony and urbanity which with his overseas cultural links make him one of the most interesting correspondents of the period. Pending the editing and publication of what could be a worth-while collected edition we offer this Wellington commentary with the permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland. Mrs Margaret Scott informs me that the Library has five letters from Mrs Carlyle to Mantell although the one here printed—the only one from Mantell to her so far located—seems to have drawn no response other than a short sharp note about her servant Margaret, referred to by Mantell in his P.S. Mantell had resigned from the position of Native Minister in the Fox Government nearly three months before the date of the letter. As a matter of consequential interest Wellington was disappointed for Sir George Grey did not make it.

Wellington N.Z.
March 8. 1862.

My dear Mrs Carlyle,

Long before this reaches you you will have heard of my demission and inferred that it thereby became impossible for me to hand your letter to the Minister for Native Affairs, there being no longer any such Minister.

Native Affairs however seem to go on just as well without him for, so far as we know and we heard from Auckland a month ago, Sir George Grey's plans have been working without any material impediment. True he has wisely begun at the easiest end by pacifying those tribes which were at peace with us & each other. The less amiable tribes are to be converted by observing the success of his institutions among the former. My own opinion is that those who live will see the event—the nature of which will then be perceptible.

Wellington is in an agony of expectation. The Avatar was promised for the 5th of March & on that day all the preparations were complete. Already the triumphal arches begin to droop and the simple gallows of their framework to peep through their faded greenery, and the dogcart & six in which His Excellency is to risk his precious neck is wearied out with practising the short route from the wharf to Govt House. The town is full of Native Chiefs with their wives & followings—occupying the best rooms in the best hotels & drinking grog at the expense of the Government. As the Governor has to be in the Waikato by the 20th calling at Wanganui & Taranaki on the way, he will not be able to stay here above a day or two even should he come today. In that day or two we are going

to do our little utmost to make life a burden to him. Addresses of all sorts—a public dinner—a ball—a converzione (as I see they spell it) and the usual driving first piles & laying first stones for daylight amusements. When to these are added levees & private interviews with Natives & Europeans it seems clear that Sir George will have little leisure.

Our last English mail has not come & we are at a loss for the reason of its not coming. Whether war with America has thrown it into the hands of the gentlemanly skipper of some Yankee pirate or whether it be only delayed by one of the usual breakdowns of steamers, we cannot guess. Wanting the stimulus of recent news we shall find letter-writing hard this month—for me, I give in before this additional difficulty and shall probably not achieve a line beyond these few. Writing by every mail to every body is silly dreariness after all. When I watch my flowers day by day they seem provokingly unprogressive but if I am away for a week their growth amazes me. Now my friends insist on watching me monthly and are of course disgusted at my apparent inertness & I catching the infection come to regard myself as one of the most useless of God's creatures. I have half a mind to hide myself for a year or so from this too constant surveillance.

Tell Mr Carlyle that I have indeed been 'patient with fools' but am getting impatient with the only one I now see much of—myself. But our Mudfog meets here in June & I may then find other food for my patience.

Wishing you well through the plagues of the 'Exhibition'.

Yours very truly,
Walter Mantell

P.S. Ellen asks me to send her best love to Margaret from whom she hopes to hear very soon. She is very well & seems moderately happy.

F. A. Bett Collection

When Dr F. A. Bett died in Nelson in 1957 he left one of the finest local collections to be found in New Zealand. For over 40 years he had gathered a variety of material relating to his city and province—over 2,000 manuscripts, some 500 paintings and sketches, and many hundreds of books, maps and photographs. The Bett Collection was bequeathed to Nelson by the Doctor, on condition that its Trustees should house it at the Alexander Turnbull Library until such time as they were satisfied that Nelson had provided adequate accommodation that was fireproof, waterproof and large enough for the collection to be suitably displayed. It was not expected that Turnbull would have custody for more than five years.

On 25 February the Minister of Internal Affairs (Mr May), opened the recently completed Nelson Provincial Museum at Isel Park in Stoke, a few miles from the centre of Nelson city. The Bett Trustees having accepted this building as suitable, the Bett Collection was returned by Turnbull to Nelson. The first consignment, consisting of virtually the entire art collection and a selection of the more interesting MSS., was taken to Nelson by Mr R. F. Grover, Assistant Chief Librarian, in time for the opening. The balance of the Collection was sent in early May.

Almost all the published material is duplicated in the Turnbull, but original items, more particularly MSS. and pictures, by permission of the Trustees, have been photo-copied to provide a record and to make them to some degree more readily accessible for research.

The Bett Collection is an admirable example of what can be done by one man, dedicated and informed. And it is still possible to form such invaluable specialised collections devoted to local history. But the fact that it has taken Nelson 16 years to provide safe accommodation for the Bett Collection shows that such collections do engender problems, and that collecting alone is not enough: the value of such material must be fully appreciated by the authorities and the general public, locally.

While it is with reluctance that the Turnbull surrenders many items, more particularly some of the very fine and important paintings, the completion of the long and sometimes embarrassing Bett stewardship is a relief to the Turnbull and its staff. At least a little more room becomes available for its permanent collections.

"A House is Not a Home"

The "core collections" and staff, except Photo Section and the Conservation Officer, are now fully in occupation of the "temporary" home in the Free Lance Building, 44 The Terrace. The move began on Wednesday 27 December and was virtually completed to the capacity of

the building in May 1973 when the belated erection of the preferred steel units permitted the shelving of the newspaper collection. Except for some periodicals and manuscript the entire Pacific collection is housed under one roof for the first time in 17 years. Miss Margery Walton's months of detailed planning were magnificently vindicated, the operation itself being carried out by contractors assisted by student labour and the male and female huskies of the Turnbull staff.

The Free Lance building was suggested as a possible headquarters for the Library as early as 1965 when NAC, the then tenant, decided to proceed with the erection of its own building. However, after the passing of the National Library Act the Government Accommodation Board proposed that the building be occupied jointly by Turnbull and the Central Division of the National Library. This scheme was accepted by the parties concerned early in 1968.

Planning for joint occupancy was a lengthy and demanding task, particularly as much of the work coincided with the preparation of plans for the National Library building itself. A complication was that the official forecast of the available area was considerably in excess of the final figures. So far as Turnbull was concerned, senior staff and the Turnbull Committee supported by the Trustees and the National Librarian took the view that the standard of accommodation should be fitting, appropriate and not inferior to that of the Turnbull building in Bowen Street, having regard to the real meaning of "temporary" in the time-scale of Government building. Preliminary planning of the Turnbull area on the second or top floor was substantially the work of Mr R. F. Grover in full consultation with senior staff members concerned and was completed early in 1970. Working drawings and architectural supervision for the refitting of the building as a whole was the responsibility of Messrs W. Pearson and Associates. The costing estimates caused concern to those directly involved, particularly in the light of a policy of Government restraint on such expenditure but in mid 1971 the Cabinet Works Committee made the welcome decision to proceed. The contract itself took the 1972 calendar year although, as seems not unusual in such circumstances, various sub-contracts extended beyond the first quarter of 1973. It would have been most satisfactory to the Chief Librarian if he could have retired in mid-May in the knowledge that all the problems associated with the air-conditioning equipment, the security system, the protective glass panels and the display screens (to be a feature of the main exhibition area) had been resolved but regrettably this was not possible. Patience, persistence and time, however, will soon bring the building to a reasonable standard of working efficiency. The ground and first floors are occupied by the User Services and General Services Divisions of the National Library whose excellent collection of general library catalogues and bibliographies are available for consul-

tation by Turnbull staff as, reciprocally, are the Turnbull Pacific reference collections by our colleagues downstairs.

There is not space here to deal with the future of the old Turnbull Building which, throughout all negotiations, the Library has been anxious to retain at least for the interregnum until the occupation of the National Library building—possibly in another ten years. Its use as a display centre and gallery (picture display areas in the Free Lance building are restricted) as well as for partial storage much more accessible than the Ford building where the Library's general collection, much of it of the highest value, is still housed, would seem a practicable and efficient solution. It would also meet the wishes of many Friends and others who would like to see the building continue its association with the Library.

At the time of writing the Government appears to have rejected proposals for its further use by the Crown on the grounds of the earthquake risk to staff which it presents, and has offered the building to the Wellington City Council. In all Wellington buildings, however, earthquake risk is a matter of degree and it is still hoped that the concept of limited use as proposed above may ultimately be acceptable. The matter is one for the Trustees and the Minister but there may be a need as well as an opportunity for the F.O.T.L. to make its views on the matter known clearly to those concerned.

Operation Fumigation

One of the most important, arduous and worrying operations undertaken in connection with the Turnbull move was the fumigation of the entire Art Collection excepting the oils. This occupied the Anniversary Day long weekend, the whole project being under the supervision of the Conservation Officer. During the preceding week some 10,000 items—primarily watercolours and sketches, albums and published books—were carried from the second floor Art Room to the large one-time Exhibition Room on the ground floor. There a range of three double-sided stacks was utilised, measuring approximately 26 ft. x 11 ft. The 54 bays were fitted with an average of 14 shelves each and the 3ft. aisles were also filled.

The whole was then covered with a special tarpaulin—which seemed like a vast orange Niagara cascading upon one as it was pulled over one end of the stacks after being spread across the tops. This was sealed with sand-snakes around the base to contain the fumigant gas, which remained therein for forty-eight hours. The District Port Agriculture Officer supplied Mr Baillie with a gas mask, as the gas is toxic to humans, and the Health Department was also consulted. Warning notices were placed outside the building and at 11 p.m. on the Friday night Mr Baillie, accompanied by Mr Murray-Oliver as a fail-safe back-up, commenced

the complex release procedure which took until 1.30 a.m. Special arrangements had been made for security men to be on duty twenty-four hours a day throughout the process but Mr Baillie made periodic inspections and was joined by Mr Bagnall on the Saturday morning.

All went well, with none of the expected casualties forecast by ill-informed Jeremiahs. At 11 p.m. on the Sunday night, when passing traffic was again relatively light, the tarpaulin was partially lifted and the heavy gas was flushed out by carbon dioxide gas under pressure. The whole building was then aired until the Tuesday morning. For the next four days the Art Collection was interpolated with the Rare Books being taken to The Terrace. Carrying out the tarpaulin was reminiscent of the dragons seen in Chinese ceremonial processions, but unfortunately it came to life in a brisk breeze when stretched out on the front lawn, which was not big enough to take its full length and width as it was folded up. It took a dozen men over quarter of an hour to subdue the beast.

The purpose of the fumigation was to treat all paper items in the Art Collection to eradicate all moulds, particularly those responsible for foxing, for mould is an organism more difficult to kill than animal life. It was important that this should be done before the art material was installed in the air-conditioned Art Room in the new premises, which could otherwise have become contaminated. It is intended to fumigate the whole of the new National Library Building with methyl bromide to eradicate animal pests such as rats and silverfish.

Message from Editor

This issue marks the last which I have assembled as Editor and as Chief Librarian. In signing off in the latter capacity I wish to thank all who have assisted the Society and the Library during my seven years in office. During this time donations have continued to enhance the collections by significant new books, manuscripts, sketches, paintings and other materials as well as by heartening cash support for the Friends and particularly for the Endowment Trust. In an inflationary period when prices in the open market present a formidable challenge it has been most encouraging to assist the Library to hold its own. In the acquisition of Pacific source material, as distinct from purely New Zealand items, as well as in the field of European first editions we still need enhanced resources to enable the Library to build out the collections but the way has been shown.

To members for their support both at Library functions and for the *Record* I tender special thanks. In concluding this note *after* May 18 I wish to thank all concerned for the splendid farewell gift of *Portraits of the New Zealand Maori* (Angas) and the set of crystal glasses, a

gesture quite out of proportion to what I have been able to achieve in the time available. While completing work on the *New Zealand National Bibliography* and undertaking personal research my active association with the Library will remain. I much look forward to continuing to be in touch with friends and present and past members of staff whose help has enabled us to carry through some of the tasks assumed in 1966.

A. G. Bagnall

ISSUES OF *RECORD* IN SHORT SUPPLY

Owing to the Editor's failure to make adequate provision for the rapid growth in the Society's membership three recent issues of the *Record* are in short supply. The Secretary would welcome the return of copies of any of the following numbers from members who do not wish to retain their sets:

Vol. 4 No. 1 May 1971
Vol. 4 No. 2 October 1971
Vol. 5 No. 1 May 1972

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY

WAKEFIELD, E. J. *The London Journal of Edward Jerningham Wakefield, 1845-46* edited by Professor JOAN STEVENS from the MS. in the Library. (Alexander Turnbull Library monograph, no. 4. The H. B. Fleck Memorial Fund, published jointly with Victoria University of Wellington) 1972. 182p., 8p. illus. (col. frontis.), folding map. *$6.00 in N.Z. (Price to Friends $4.75).* Limited edition of 750 copies.

Duperrey's Visit to New Zealand in 1824 edited by ANDREW SHARP. (Alexander Turnbull Library monograph, no. 3. The H. B. Fleck Memorial Fund.) 1971. 125p., 6 plates, 2 maps. *$4.75 in N.Z. (Price to Friends, $4.25).* Edition of 1500 copies only.

BEST, A. D. W. *The Journal of Ensign Best, 1837-43* edited by NANCY M. TAYLOR from the MS. in the Library. (Alexander Turnbull Library monograph, no. 2.) 1966. 465p., plates (col. frontis.) *$3.50 in N.Z. (Price to Friends $3.15).*

MARKHAM, E. *New Zealand [in 1837] or Recollections of It* edited with an introduction by Dr E. H. MCCORMICK from the MS. in the Library. (Alexander Turnbull Library monograph, no. 1.) 1963. 114p., illus. (some plates in colour), map. *$3.00 in N.Z. (Price to Friends $2.70).*

John Cawte Beaglehole: a bibliography compiled in the Alexander Turnbull Library and published jointly by The Friends of the Turnbull Library and Victoria University of Wellington. 1972. 48p., portrait. *$2.00 in N.Z. (Price to Friends $1.00).* Edition of 1000 copies only.

McCORMICK, E. H. *Tasman and New Zealand: a bibliographical study.* (Bulletin no. 14.) 1959. 72p., plates. *75 cents nett.*

SEE OVER PAGE FOR TURNBULL LIBRARY PRINTS.

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Note: Stocks are exhausted of *The Queen's Prints* (Heaphy's Thorndon, Te Aro and Nelson views); The Heaphy 1964 Prints (Hokianga, Egmont and Chatham Islands); The Barraud Wellington 1861 view; and the Jubilee Print of von Tempsky's watercolour of the attack on Te Putahi Pa.

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