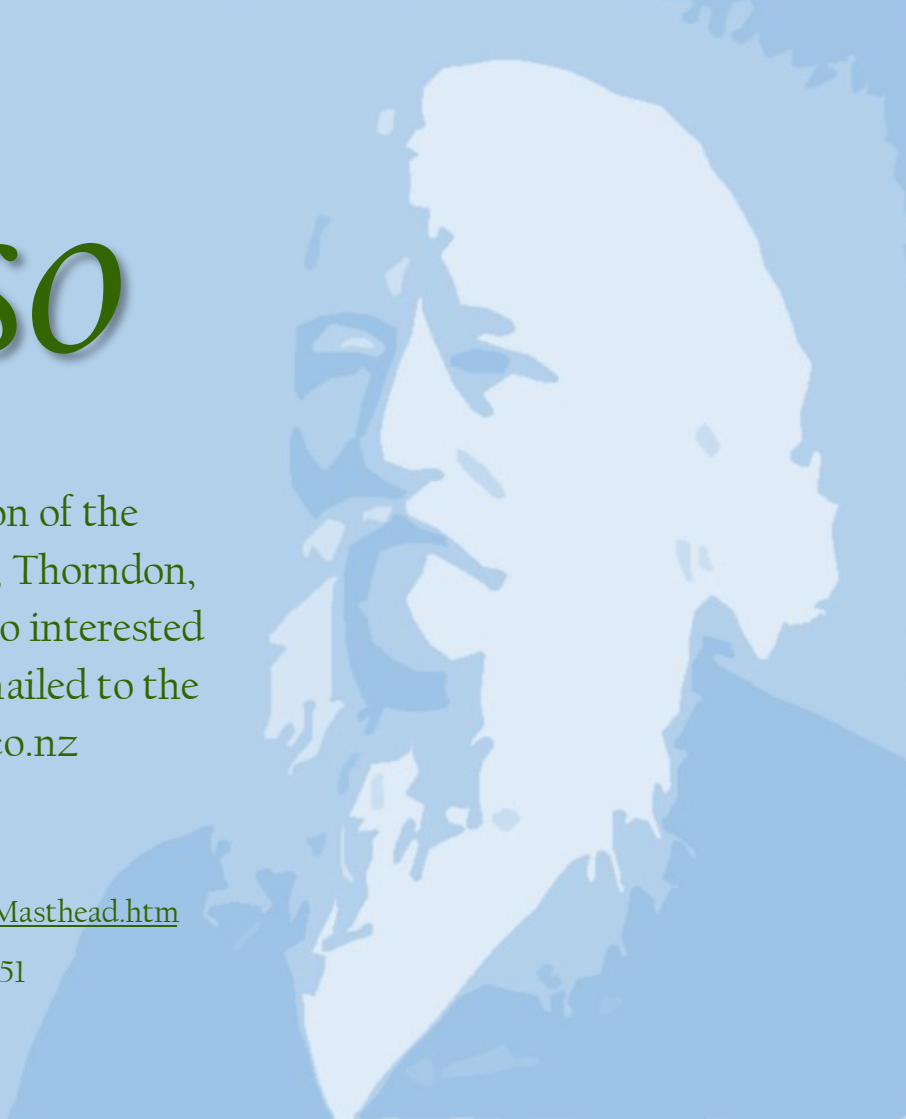


eColenso

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Supplement: *The authentic and genuine history of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi....*

The Government printing of Mr. Colenso's *résumé* of what happened at the Meeting for signing the Treaty of Waitangi, with interesting historical and political Appendices thereto

Colenso's account of the Treaty meeting on 5 and 6 February 1840 has become the stuff of national legend. We mentioned it in *eColenso* May 2013. It is reprinted this month as a supplement.

Whatever personal baggage you like to assess it with, Colenso's account is important, and the extant documents related to its printing are fascinating.

1890 was to be the Jubilee year: 50 years after the Treaty. Colenso had communicated with the government "repeatedly" from May to October 1889 about writing his account. Probably he had written to the Colonial Secretary, Thomas Hislop—but Hislop resigned in some disgrace in early September. Colenso did write to Premier Harry Atkinson in late September.

What follows is transcribed from documents held at the National Archives, Wellington (Record No. 1889/3518). The first is a telegram to Colenso from Hislop's successor William Russell, Colonial Secretary in Wellington, dated 16 October 1889,

Will you please send me word about what size the volume of your résumé of what happened at the meeting for the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi is likely to be, and how soon you could forward the manuscript to the Government Printer. As soon as I receive an answer to this I will be able to send you an answer as to Publication by the Government Printing Office.

Colenso replied to the Colonial Secretary the next day, from Dannevirke,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your delayed telegram of yesterday (16th.)—which only reached me here this afternoon: and with reference to your questions therein, re (1) the size of the “résumé of what happened at the meeting for the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi”: and (2) the time when I could forward the Ms. To the Government Printer: I have now the honour to inform you, that,—

(1) the size of the résumé itself is but small, say about 10–12 pages, (it is, however, a long time since I saw it,) but to it I had intended to append more or less of useful and interesting historical matter pertaining thereto, so as to make it a little book of (say) 30–40 pages.—

(2) I could, I think furnish the Ms. (or the former part of it) early in December.—

Not having received any answer to my repeated enquiries respecting it, (extending over five months,) I had not taken it in hand; and, also came hither last week: and if I should have to get the said Ms. ready, I must return to Napier much earlier than I had intended.

On 19 October Russell scribbled a note on the back of Colenso's letter,

Mr. Didsbury, Please state probable cost of bringing out such a book in cloth binding—and how long it would take to publish.

His Under Secretary GS Cooper sent Colenso's letter to George Didsbury, Government Printer on 21 October. On 22 October Didsbury scribbled beneath,

Should the book referred to make 40 pages demy 8vo size, the cost of printing and binding 1000 copies would be £31.

On 24 October Russell wrote,

Recommend 50 copies & £20 be offered him to cover Mr Colenso's clerical expenses in preparing the same script.

On 25 October Cooper wrote to lesser Under Secretary Hugh Pollen,

*Write to Mr. Colenso as per Capt'n. Russell's minute within. **

**Govt. to print & publish the work and to give Mr. C. 50 copies & a bonus of £20.*

On 28 October that was conveyed to Colenso who then wrote to the Colonial Secretary on 23 November,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ultimo, (which was duly received by me at Dannevirke,) respecting the “Government printing my résumé of what happened at the Meeting for Signing the Treaty of Waitangi, with interesting, historical and political appendices thereto.” I should, perhaps, have done this before, but as it was only an affirmative reply to mine of the 17th. ultimo,—and as I wished to send you some copy for Press with it, I refrained till I was able to do so. I now send you the first instalment of copy of the same for the Government Printer. This copy for press is about 2/3rds. of the whole, and the

remainder shall be forwarded when ready: I hope to be able to do so by the 1st. proxo.

On receiving your letter I returned quickly to Napier, and commenced working closely at the said Mss.—as I saw that no time was to be lost, so that the little book might be quite ready and issued in time for the approaching Jubilee Season. And I am happy to say, that through shutting myself up, And by dint of working early and late, and good health,—I am advanced beyond my highest expectations.

I trust the Government will publish all the various articles of the Appendices; many of them are truly historical reflecting their times, and also curious and interesting, and I believe very rare if not unique.

I have also drawn a small (key) Map of that part of the Bay of Islands containing those spots so prominently mentioned in various parts of the book, which, I think, will prove of service: I hope the Government will also publish it. Its general outlines and positions are quite correct.

I enclose, also, 3 views of places in the Bay mentioned in the Mss., all taken by myself at an early period; which would further serve to illustrate and make still more popular the work, if the Government should approve of their being published with it.

On the same day (just to be quite sure there would be no delays) he also wrote a personal letter to Capt. Russell,

I am sending by Mail this day, addressed to you, my first instalment of Copy for Press of the little book for the government printer. I trust you will cause it to be put early into his hands.—

I fear you may not have time to spare to run through it:

though I should much like for you to look at the said résumé (authenticated as it is by Mr. Busby): and particularly at no. 1 of the Appendix—as it is high time the matter I have there laboriously worked up should be set to rest. I may tell you, that I wrote to Vogel, when Agent General in London, to get Cook's log, &c, looked up:—but he took no notice of my letter.—

I trust you will also get the little (key) map published with the book: and, perhaps, the 3 plates of Views in the Bay.

I have added, in appendix I, several interesting & unique reminiscences of the olden time.

But I won't worry you with a long note.

Russell was away from his desk, visiting Dunedin, and his staff missed the point: an internal memo is dated 25 November, *Stand over till balance of Mss is sent. Are all the appendices to be printed?*

By 1 December Colenso, no doubt surprised he had not yet received proofs, sent a telegram to the Under Secretary in the Colonial Secretary's office,

Are Mss sent put into your printers hands enquiry made re competing (sic) & forwarding remainder.

Under Secretary Hugh Pollen replied on 3 December, *First instalment of Mss not yet placed in Printers hands—you stated in letter of twenty third Novem you hoped to send balance by first of this month—*

Colenso wrote to the Colonial Secretary on 4 December, *I have the honour to send you herewith a packet containing the remaining portion of the "Copy for Press" of my little book re "Signing the treaty of Waitangi," &c.—*

In my letter to you of the 23rd. ulto (accompanying the first instalment of the same) I said,—“I hope to be able to do so” (send this) “by the 1st. Proxo.”—and I am happy in having this day completed it.—

Not having heard from you in reply to my letter, and not knowing whether the first lot of copy sent had been placed in your printer's hands,—or, had even been received by you, I wired to you yesterday morning to enquire, and I must say, that I was somewhat surprised at your reply (also by wire),—
1. That the “Mss. I had forwarded were not yet placed in printers hands”: and, *2. that I had stated in my letter of 23rd. Novr., “I hope to send the balance by first of this month.” —*
For, in my so exerting myself and also early despatching to you the first lot (being about 2/3rds of the whole), I had been led to do so that no time should be lost in beginning the said work: little thinking that such would be kept back until the arrival of the “balance.”

And, as I cannot understand this, I trust you will permit me to say:—1. that in my (second) letter to the Hon. the Premier on the subject (Sept. 27, 1889), I have stated,—“as an alternative; you may possibly prefer and allow my sending the said Mss. to your Printer, and he executing the work for me, I paying him cash for it.” 2. Therefore, If there should be the least hesitancy on the part of the Government, as to their adopting the work in its entirety,—I do hope they will grant me my “alternative”, and that immediately. Just as was done by your Printer for Tregear and others at Wellington.—

One request I must here make, viz.—that I shall expect to receive back all the printed copies clean and entire I have forwarded to you,—that is, all of my own printing at Paihia, —as I have no others and I greatly value them.

Then a note in Pollen's hand,

Appendices placed in safe. Mss. to Printer 7.12.89.

Colenso wrote to George Didsbury, the Government Printer, on 9 December,

I have to thank you for your kind memo. of the 5th. inst., (only just to hand!) in reply to mine of 23rd. ult.—and in my doing so could wish I had received it a little earlier: as I had also written to you a 2nd. letter on the 4th. inst., on the same subject,—and which, (I suppose) you must have received very soon after you had written to me.—

No doubt you are quite right in your supposition re the detention of the Ms. (Copy for Press) I had earlier sent you—viz. the absence of the Col. Secy. at Dunedin: for, since my last to you, I have received a telegram from him at Dunedin, informing me, that he would attend to it on his return to Wellington. So, as I find both from you and from him that I shall be in time with this line to you, I now write a few more remarks on those Mss.

1. I hope you may get them in time, &c.

2. I find, from your memo you had given in “an estimate for 40 pages.”—

3. It is likely that what I have forwarded may exceed that number: and this I would endeavour to meet:—(1.) By myself paying you the cost for any extra pages: and (2.) By now pointing out to you what might be lessened from the heterogeneous lot of “Copy” sent:—I could not have done this before.—

a. re Appendix I.—

no.7. first English book: this might be given in a few lines—title, date, &c.

no.8. Busby to Europeans:— ditto ditto
no.13. De Thierry manifesto:— ditto ditto
no.14. Prospectus ½-Caste Institution:—ditto.

b. re Appendix II.—

no.13. might be omitted.

no.16. First Gazette: title, date, &c, &c, briefly given.

Further, I would suggest:—

1. That nos. 3 & 4, Appendix I. should not be printed in cols., as in copy.

2. That nos. 4 & 5, Appendix II, should be inserted (from Copies by you)—verbatim: these I think are absolutely necessary.

3. And that the little simple map I furnished should certainly be inserted:—if not, also, the 3 plates: and should these 3 be inserted please see that “Herald” &c (big & ugly! too,) be struck out.—

I would that I had early known of this delay or protraction: as, in that case, I should have worked more leisurely, and probably have done it better.

I don't recollect if I told you in my letter of 23rd. ulto. (written in haste), that I had last autumn spoken to, and ½ arranged with Mr. R.C. Harding, a Printer here, to execute this little work for me: but I afterward thought it was more of a Public nature, and therefore wrote (in May) to the Government about it.

With this I post a copy of a late little book printed by Mr. Harding for me; which, please, except: I could almost hope you may not have already seen it.*

Hoping soon to hear from you (see a Proof, &c.)—I am, Dear Sir, yours truly...

Colenso to Russell, 10 January 1890,

Your kind & thoughtful note of the 7th. inst. (with Revise, &c.) only reached me late this afternoon,—I reply at once.

1. I have made those alterations in pp. 13 & 14, pointed out by you:—and I agree with you: indeed, such had occurred to me when making the Copy for Press,—only I thought it better to adhere to the old Ms. in its entirety (as stated by me in the Preface): Bp. P., also, being dead.—Further, you, my dear Sir, little know the abuse—the scorn—we had to endure from him and his officials. It rose to such a pitch, that, only a short time before the arrival of Capt. H, we had held our Public Meeting at Kororareka with him & his priests—within his own bounds! Which lasted 2 days, and in the open air, too!!—

2. I have also, in accordance with your wish, made the alterations necessary, through the Appendices not being printed: please note, all I have written on the Revise is in red ink: of course, any further correction you may require, please make.

3. In accordance therewith I have written a fresh table of “Contents”.

I regret very much your not publishing with the brief Memo. some portions (at least) of the Appendix no. I,—especially those early public documents, petitions,—letter from Viscount Goderich, &c.—I cannot help thinking, they very properly appertain thereto—as a kind of prologue to the Play:—also, my enquiry relative to the exact day in which Capt. Cook took possession of N.Z., &c.—not yet commonly known!

I suppose, the little map of the locality in the Bay of Islands will also share the fate of the Appendices.—

I would that I had earlier known of the intention of the Government: as such would have saved me a deal of worry and labour.

* Fifty years ago in New Zealand.

Again thanking you my dear Capt. Russell—I am, with kind regards, yours faithfully.

Please direct that all Papers of the 2 Appendices may be returned to me. W.C.

On 23 January Hugh Pollen noted that the Government Printer was authorised to print 550 copies, 50 to be sent to Mr. Colenso and 500 to be sent into Stationery Store and offered for sale. *Mr. Didsbury suggests sixpence each as price at which copies might be offered to the public.*

Cooper noted, *That is right. Prepare voucher for £20 to Mr. Colenso.* He continued, *Inform Mr. Colenso and return appendices in a registered packet.*

Pollen drafted a letter to Colenso on 28 January,

Ref: to previous correspdcce respecting the terms upon which the Govt. wd. be prepared to print "The Authentic and Genuine History of the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi"—I am dir. by C.S. to inform you that the Govt. Printer has been directed to forward 50 copies of that work to your address and that a voucher for £20 has been approved for payment to you being remuneration agreed upon for your services in connection therewith. The mss. fwded by you is returned by registered packet.

They must have mislaid Colenso's sketch map, for on 30 January Hugh Boscawen (Lands & Survey, one of the botanical artists of Kirk's *Forest Flora*) wrote

Mr. Pollen, I have looked through Mr. Barron's papers and can not find original of map. I do not think Mr. Barron will be long away, if you can wait until his return.

Alexander Barron of Lands & Survey presumably drew the map from Colenso's sketch. Boscawen sent a memo to the Government Printer,

There must have been a wealth of interesting material in what Colenso intended as his appendix—and some of it can be identified,

- He had already, in 1877, published his paper "On the day in which Captain Cook took formal possession of New Zealand" in the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute* 10: 99-108.
- Russell must have objected to some of Colenso's comments on Bishop Pompallier's actions and these may have been watered down.
- The map was copied and published.
- The *Herald* lithographs of three views of the Bay had already been published in his *Fifty years ago in New Zealand*.
- Appendix I.—no.7. first English book: the "rules" of the first NZ Temperance Society.
- no.8. Busby to Europeans: "I have also printed ... 200 Circular Letters, (part of the number in English & part in Native,) for the British Resident, J. Busby, Esqr.," wrote Colenso to Coates in 1836.
- no.13. De Thierry manifesto: de Thierry alarmed James Busby, British Resident in New Zealand, and the missionary community by issuing manifestos stating that he intended to establish his authority as sovereign chief by force (Te Ara).
- no.14. Prospectus ½-Caste Institution: I can find no clear reference to this, though there was a Roman Catholic "Nazareth Institution, for native and half-caste girls."
- no.16. First Gazette: the *Gazette Extraordinary* ordered by Hobson in December 1840.
- a petition?
- Viscount Goderich's letter, probably that of 14 June 1832 to the Chiefs of New Zealand, in support of James Busby.
- Actually printed in the Appendix were copies of the Treaty in English and te reo, along with three proclamations.

Please ask Mr Didsbury whether Mr. Barron returned the original sketch by Mr. Colenso of a map of the Bay of Islands; it was copied here the other day, and now the Col. Sec. Dept. require the original rough sketch to be returned to them. See attached.

Didsbury scrawled across the corner, *Original copy of sketch was not returned to me.* It must have turned up, for on 6 February Colenso wrote to the Colonial Secretary,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt (on the 4th. inst.) of your letter of the 28th. ulto,—informing me of the 50 copies of the little work (“the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi”),—the voucher for £20.,—and the Mss. etc. I had sent with that work to form two appendices,—having been sent to me; all these I have also received: for which I beg to thank the Government.

On 12 August 1890 Colenso wrote to Coupland Harding,
... *On my way hither from Napier I fell in with Mr. Smith (the Member) at Waipuk. platform, who gave me Sir G. Grey’s kind remembrances, and, also, how very much Sir G. was pleased w. the “Ty. of Waitgi.” pamphlet;—speaking to him (S.) very highly of it: I have it in mind, to write to Sir G.—to ask if he will subscribe & support the printing of its 2 appendices: but I fear he is much too busy to be intruded on....* (ATL qMS-0495.)

For an interesting and thorough analysis of Colenso’s account of the Treaty signing, see Judith Ward’s 2011 MA thesis. “Fact or fiction? : William Colenso’s authentic & genuine history of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi” URI: <http://hdl.handle.net/10179/3412>.

One would not argue with her observation, that Colenso wrote it “with a purpose... influenced by his personal views and biases”, for, as Emerson wrote, “All history becomes subjective; in other words

there is properly no history, only biography”.

Naturally it was written with the views and biases and perspective of a Victorian English evangelistic churchman, with all the altruistic paternalism and sense of justice toward Māori that that involved—with all the enmity toward the trappings of Roman Catholicism that it also entailed—but it was nonetheless written with the high level of honesty and objectivity that a nineteenth century scientist would morally demand of himself: Colenso was a lifelong advocate for truth.

One might, however (and therefore), question her conclusion that two late footnotes may have been “inserted in order to garner favour with Canon Samuel Williams” and so gain readmission to the clergy.

The decision to readmit Colenso would be taken in 1894 by Edward Craig Stuart, Bishop of Waiapu 1877–1894, just before he left for Persia, and 4–5 years after the period in which Colenso was writing his booklet on the Treaty. Samuel Williams was appointed archdeacon of Hawke’s Bay in 1888 and Canon of Waiapu in 1889, so it is indeed likely he could have had some influence on the Bishop’s decision. There is nothing in Colenso’s writing, however, to suggest that the readmission came as anything but a complete surprise.

Would a couple of kind footnotes by Colenso in favour of Samuel’s father Henry Williams have made a difference? To believe so one would have to accept that Samuel Williams was fickle, that Colenso was devious and that he was planning his readmission five years ahead of the event. None seem likely.

Colenso and Henry Williams had fallen out in Paihia [*eColenso* January 2016] but Colenso was a man who consistently forgave his enemies; he had later argued with the CMS about its ill-treatment of Henry Williams.

He had no need to—would have had no desire to—and indeed would have found it repugnant to—garner favour with Samuel Williams in such a way.

The Office

Two of the *dramatis personae* here act out another little Dickensian sketch, recorded in the Archives. On 20 March 1891 Colenso writes to the Colonial Secretary asking for the later volumes of John White's *Ancient History of the Maori*...

The then Colonial Secretary Patrick Buckley writes a memo to Under Secretary Cooper,

The applicant has written for a copy as it appears to me because that the sale was prohibited. I think there can be no objection to gratifying his curiosity. I suppose he will pay unless there is some special reason to give a copy gratis.

Under Secretary Cooper tells more junior Under Secretary Pollen (on 31 March 1891),

Tell Mr. Colenso that the reason why Mr White's book was withdrawn from sale was the destruction by fire of the greater number of volumes unbound. Of the few which are left the Col. Sec. has authorised the issue of a copy of a vol of each of nos. 3 & 4 to Mr. C. on payt.

He sends Pollen a further note on 21 April,

Has not Mr Colenso been written to in terms of my minute of 31 March?

Pollen replies (22 April),

Mr Cooper, not yet. It is usual to wait until books have been sent, and it did not occur to me to write first in this instance.

Cooper: *Write now.*

George Sisson Cooper: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=TH18780322.2.14>

Hugh Pollen: <http://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2014/02/27/hugh-pollen-1851-1912-the-ultimate-faceless-bureaucrat/>

Mr. Wade & the Treaty

William Colenso wrote about the Treaty of Waitangi to the CMS Secretaries in a letter he began on 24 January 1840,

... H.M.S. "Herald," has arrived, came in the Bay and anchored, on the morning of the 29th. Jany. (bringing Lieut. Governor Hobson and suite. His Excellency has issued 2 Proclamations, (copies of which are enclosed in the parcel of Books, &c,)—has assembled together some of the Chiefs at Waitangi, and has got some to sign the Treaty. The Principal Articles of the Treaty are, 1. The Cession of the Sovereignty of their respective Tribes to the Queen of Great Britain. 2. Their consenting to sell their Lands only through the person appointed by the Government. 3. Their being entitled to the Rights of British Subjects, on their Signing the Treaty. Forty five Chiefs signed the document, several refused to do so; there are not many Chiefs of the first rank among those who have signed. This morning (Monday, Feb. 11.) His Excellency went to Waimate, and tomorrow he goes on to Hokianga; and in a few days to the Southward, in the "Herald," to Issue his Proclamation, and to get the Natives to sign the Treaty. I have little doubt, myself, but that the Natives will come forwards ready enough to sign the same, at the same time, I believe it will be from ignorance of the Articles. [Last week 2 persons, baptized, in the Hokianga district, quarrelled, when one cleft the other's face asunder with his axe, so that he died: and since that, in the same neighbourhood, a Chief of the Romish Bishop's party, coolly and deliberately killed a man for the stealing of an handkerchief. Chiefs believe they

have a right to do as they please with their slaves, and, for a false accusation, cursing, trespassing on sacred places, Sorcery, &c, &c, they are invariably punished with death—and often without Inquiry.] As to their being aware that by their signing the Treaty they have restrained themselves from Selling their Land to whomsoever they will; I cannot for a moment suppose that they can know it. A proof I can adduce; Hara, a chief of the second rank, in this neighbourhood, and one who wished the Treaty to be signed, and who came forward and signed the same, has since offered to sell his Lands, and, on the person, to whom he offered them, saying, “it was irregular, &c, Hara replied, “What! do you think I won’t do as I like with my own?” I believed, and do believe, that the Natives did not fully understand what they signed: believing this, and finding no other person would, I took it upon me to address His Excellency, at the Public Meeting, when the first person was called up to append his Name to the Document. I asked His Excellency, whether His Excellency supposed that the Native Chiefs knew what they were about to do, &c &c. His Excellency, in reply, stated that he had done his best to enable them to understand the same, &c, &c,—I mention this circumstance, my dear Sirs, that in the event of a reaction taking place, you may know the very root from whence such a reaction proceeds.—It is also possible that you may hear of my having addressed His Excellency on this subject from another quarter. Interests are beginning to clash—beginning did I say? they have long since begun to do so—and the dearest must be supported. Oh! how thankful should I be to the Lord, (though I sometimes feel my poverty,) that He has kept me from becoming possessed of Land, and, by that means seeking my own welfare before that of my Redeemer, the Society, or the poor New Zealander! I must be enabled to send you speedily an account of the Meeting, from notes tak-

en by myself on the spot: But have not time at present to fill out the same, and be given the requisite Information.¹

Colenso wrote, in the introduction to his *Authentic & genuine history of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi*,

Mr. William Richard Wade, hitherto a member of the Church Mission, was about to leave both it and New Zealand, with his wife and family, to reside in Tasmania. ... the writer gave him his MS., open, to read during the voyage and (if he should have time) to copy for the Church Missionary Society. This he did, and so the MS. was returned to the writer, minus the printed appendices....

A ship having at last arrived in the Bay of Islands bound for Sydney (the “Eleanor,” Captain W. B. Rhodes...) passages were taken by her for both Mr. Busby and Mr. Wade and their families....

During the passage to Sydney Mr. Busby read the said MS., which he had not previously seen, and also added a few valuable notes, which the writer has faithfully copied (*ipsissima verba*),* inserting them where Mr. Busby had placed them.²

Colenso thus states here that Wade did copy his account of the signing of the Treaty and sent it to the Church Missionary Society in London (presumably *plus* “the printed appendices”), returning the original Ms. with all its asterisks, arrows, annotations and afterthoughts.

That Ms. became the text for Colenso’s printed account fifty years later and was among the papers inherited by his family. George Petersen bought it from them in the 1940s and the Petersen family sold it at auction when it was bought by the Alexander Turnbull Library in 1981.³

* *ipsissima verba* = the exact words

Judith Ward (see p.8) wrote,

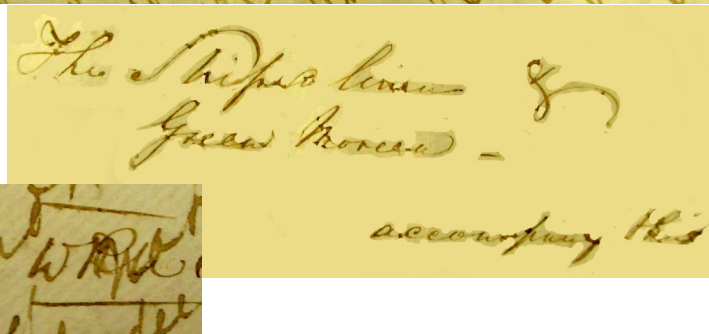
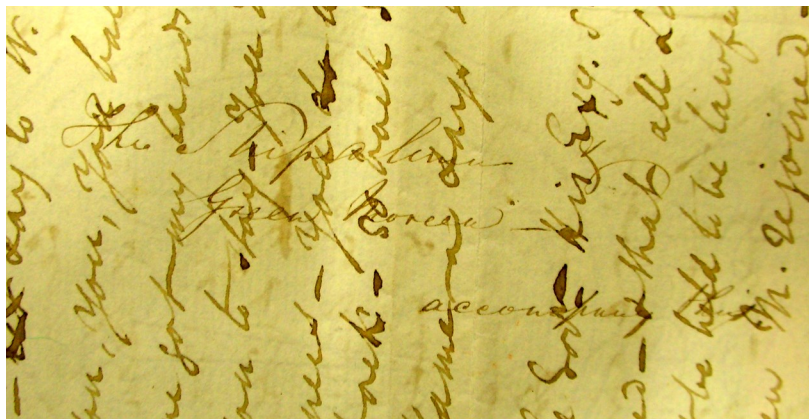
“Cross-writing over the page that records Te Kemara’s speech and Hobson’s comment to Moka is not clearly legible but appears to say ‘The... Moreau accompanying this’. According to the *Australasian Chronicle* Reverend Delphin Moreau of the Society of Mary arrived in Sydney from Hobart in January 1843 and then sailed to join the mission of Bishop Pompallier. This suggests that Reverend William Wade may have given the manuscript to Father Moreau to return to William Colenso at Paihia.”⁴

I doubt it: in fact although Colenso was parsimonious with paper, unlike some, he rarely used cross-writing, generally preferring the margins when he ran out of space; 1843 would be very late to return the manuscript; both Colenso and Wade despised Roman Catholicism; and the manuscript contained disparaging remarks about Pompallier’s antics at the Treaty signing. I think she has misread the cross-writing (see right ►) which is in Wade’s hand (he has initialled it WRW) and appears to me to read (rather more prosaically), “The Shipra linen & Green Moreen – accompany this.” *

Had Colenso asked fellow printer Wade to buy bookbinding fabrics for him in Tasmania? They were not among the “commissions” Wade undertook for him in Sydney.

Wade’s copy to the CMS of Colenso’s Ms. account of the Treaty signing has not been found. A letter from Wade to Colenso, started on 6 April 1840, the day Wade arrived in Sydney, casts some light,

Wednesday April 8th.—Have not yet been able to get my things ashore & consequently have done nothing yet about your M.S.S. Mr. B. read the “Victoria Meeting”[†] and made



* Moreen: sturdy fabric of wool, cotton, or wool and cotton, often with an embossed finish, used especially for upholstery.

† The Treaty was signed on the lawn in front of James Busby’s house, the site of the town he wanted to call “Victoria”; Wade and Busby travelled together to Sydney; Wade here refers to the Treaty gathering as the “Victoria Meeting”.

corrections & remarks in the margin wh. you will see. I copy accordingly. I wish you could get me from Shortland the notes of the Hokianga Meeting wh. he promised me....

Monday April 13th....

The Marion Watson is daily expected from Hobart Town to return in a few days. As she has good accommodation this will probably be our conveyance.

Have not yet had time to copy the proceedings at Waitangi. N.Zd. Commissions for one and another have run away with the greater part of my time....⁵

The Wades arrived in Hobart on 12 May on the schooner *Mary Watson*, no doubt to a busy period of settling in. Wade wrote to Dandeson Coates at the Church Missionary Society on 13 June⁶ and again on 26 October (though the date has been altered):

I last wrote to you from this Town on the 16th of June, 1840, forwarding a few papers relative to New Zealand, which I hope you will have received. A duplicate of the Letter is enclosed (Enclosure A).

The remainder should have been completed and sent sooner, but I have not known of any vessel for England.

Enclosure B. I can hardly suppose will be of any use now; but having promised I send it.

Enclosure C. will give you not only an outline of the Tradition; but some idea of the way in which the Natives tell a story.

Having heard of the loss of the "Navarino", and not knowing whether her mail-bag was saved, I send you Duplicates of letters &c forwarded by her, as they are somewhat important in reference to our leaving New Zealand. (Enclosures D & E). Have heard of Mr. Alex Busby's safety (not yet authenticated) & would hope the drawings were saved....⁷

Shipping Intelligence.

—O—
ARRIVALS.

ALBIL 3.—From South America, the cutter *Rover's Bride*, Captain Biddulph.

4.—From a sealing voyage, having left Chat-ham Island on the 19th ultimo, the brig *Emma*, Captain Brown, with 149 seal skins.

6.—From the Bay of Islands, whence she sailed on the 25th ultimo, the barque *Eleanor*, Captain Rhodes, with oil, &c. Passengers, James Busby, Esq., Mrs. Busby and three children, Miss Busby, Rev. W. Wade, Mrs. Wade and two children, Miss Wade, Messrs. Charles Reynolds, William Chandler, Edward Brown, James Leitch, and Lachlan Reynolds.

The barque *Eleanor*, which arrived yesterday, from the Bay of Islands, brings intelligence of a most distressing nature relative to the ravages of the late gale, in which the *Harriet* whaler was lost. While the *Eleanor* was at the Bay, the *Guide* arrived there and reported the wreck of several vessels. The *Navarino* was reported to be a total wreck; the *Falcon* was lost in the Bay of Plenty, crew saved; the *Fair Barbadian* was reported to be lost, the *Diana* had been driven on shore, but was expected to be got off without much damage; the *Ulitea* was totally lost, and all hands perished; the *Trent* was wrecked at Tegadoo; the schooner *Phœnix*, from Coromandel Harbour for Bay of Islands, with Mr. Small, of the late firm of W. J. Small & Co., Sydney, as passenger, foundered at sea, and all hands perished. The revenue cutter *Ranger* and the *Westminster* had arrived at the Bay. The *Columbine* was to sail for Sydney in two days. The *Glenbervie*, *Adelaide*, and *Bengal Merchant*, were reported by the *Guide* as having arrived at Port Nicholson, with emigrants. The *Vittoria*, with Colonel Wilson on board, had arrived at Port Nicholson, but he could not find sale for his stock. The *Guide* sailed for Sydney from the Bay two days before the *Eleanor*.

D. Coates Esq
Brisbane.

37 Murray Street
Hobart Town
Hobart Feb 26/40

My dear Sir,

Enclosure A. I last wrote to you from this Town on the 16th 8 June, 1840, forwarding a few papers relative to New Zealand, which I hope you will have received. A duplicate of the letter is enclosed.

The remainder should have been complete and sent sooner, but I have not known of any vessel for England.

Enclosure B. I can hardly suppose I be of any use now; but having promised I send it.

Enclosure C. will give you not only an outline of the Tradition, but some idea of the way in which the Tradition tells a story.

Enclosure D & E. Having heard of the loss of the "Navarino" and not knowing whether her mail bag was saved I send you duplicates of letters you forwarded by her, as they are somewhat important in reference to our leaving New Zealand. (Enclosures D & E). I have heard of Mr. Allen's business safety (not yet authentic). He would hope his drawings were saved in his private baggage and will reach you. Their loss I shall much regret, as I was anxious to put all I could in your possession in reference to New Zealand, and some of them could not be explained without visiting the Island.

It has ever been my wish and aim in all my correspondence with C. R. S. to report faithfully concerning New Zealand and the Mission. In doing so I have made myself enemies, and have the mortification of reflecting that my testimony

Which of these might have been Wade's copy of Colenso's Treaty manuscript? we must deduce...

Enclosure A was Wade's letter of 16 June 1840; the original had enclosed "a few papers relative to New Zealand" which were other letters (one from Colenso) relating to the printing press and Wade's intending removal to Van Diemen's Land. These enclosures are not now present in the CMS files in Birmingham (Anne George, *pers. comm.*) and certainly Wade's copy of the Treaty Ms. is not listed.

Enclosure C is about "Tradition" and story-telling. In Wade's 1842 book *Journey in the Northern Island of New Zealand*, he used the word "Tradition" quite narrowly in the context of "the origin of New Zealand" and related a number of legends and stories.⁸

Enclosures D and E, copies of letters sent on the *Navarino* which left NZ on 16 March can also be dismissed. A letter from Wade to Coates dated 14 February 1840 states,

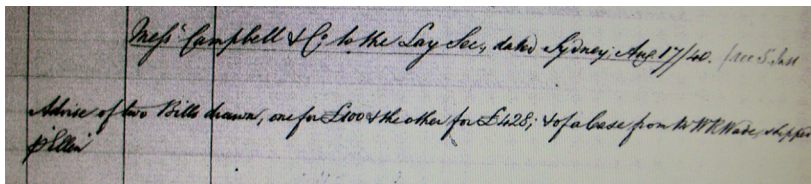
By the "Navarino" I wrote under date Jan. 13/40, fully acquainting you with the circumstances which led me to take steps for quitting the Mission. Also by the same vessel a note dated Jan. 27/40 forwarding 18 drawings through the kindness & care of Alexr. Busby Esq.⁹

The barque *Navarino* was loading spars at the Kaipara in December 1839 and arrived in Wellington in January 1840. The *Sydney Monitor* of 8 April reported her lost in a storm on 29 February 1840 (that intelligence was brought by the *Eleanor*); but in fact she was not lost and arrived safely in London on 14 July 1840 (*The Colonist* 12 November 1840), with James Busby's brother Alexander presumably carrying Wade's drawings (which are listed in the CMS papers). Enclosures D & E were copies of Wade's letters of 13 and 27 Jan 1840.

Enclosure B seems at least possible: "I can hardly suppose (this) will be of any use now" could mean, perhaps, the Treaty would by then be

old news; “but having promised I send it.” (he had promised Colenso he would send his copy of the account).

A search of CMS papers and microfilms held at the Alexander Turnbull Library and dated between August 1840 and May 1841 divulged Richard Taylor’s reports of Hobson’s Kaitaia and Hokianga meetings, but not Colenso’s of the Waitangi (Victoria) meeting; a letter from Rev H. Dawling of Launceston referring to Wade’s arrival there; various minutes regretting Wade’s departure from the CMS; and (from the Sydney agents Campbell & Co dated 17 August) “Advice of... a Case from Mr WR Wade shipped p. ‘Ellen’” ▼. Did that case contain Wade’s copy?



The brief 19 January 1841 CMS Correspondence Committee minute:

Messrs. Campbell & Co. to the Lay Sec, dated Sydney; Aug. 17/40. (rec. 5. Inst.

Advice of two Bills drawn, one for £100 & the other for £428; & of a Case from Mr. W.R. Wade, shipped p. 'Ellen'

That advice is mentioned in the Correspondence Committee’s minutes for 19 January 1841, but had been received on 5 January. There are later messages from Messrs. Campbell (dated 3 September 1840 and received at CMS 15 February 41) that may refer to the case: “We likewise forward Bill of Lading for the case of Birdskin shipped pr Ellen as advised”; and “There is shipped on board the ‘Ellen’ 1 case to your address received from Mr. Wade containing Birds of which no doubt he has duly advised....”

The barque *Ellen* departed Sydney on 8 September 1840 for the Bay of Islands, and presumably thence to England. The voyage would have taken about 100 days,

so Wade’s case should have been recorded among CMS papers received in late 1840 or early 1841. I can find no trace of it, nor of when the *Ellen* arrived—though by 8 May 1841 she was reported off West Africa, “laden with emigrants for Adelaide” so she had arrived in England well before that.

Perhaps Wade’s case contained nothing other than birdskins.

Possibly Wade didn’t copy Colenso’s Ms. at all. Or possibly he was planning a full account of the Treaty signings—“I copy accordingly. I wish you could get me from Shortland the notes of the Hokianga Meeting wh. he promised me....” —and perhaps he was disappointed, or otherwise occupied, and so abandoned the idea.

Conclusion

Wade initialled Colenso’s original Ms. and sent it (without the appendices) to the Bay of Islands, with “Mr. W. Colenso, Paihia” cross-written on the outside of a larger folded sheet used to wrap the rest of the Ms; and “The Shipra linen & Green Moreen accompany this” cross-written on the inside. Busby’s notes must have been separate, for they are not on this copy, nor are their locations (where Colenso added Busby’s footnotes to the published version) marked in the Ms.

Possibly Wade made a clean copy and sent it with appendices as Enclosure B of his private 26 October letter to Dandeson Coates, shipped after that date, to arrive in London in 1841: if so, it is not preserved nor even recorded in the CMS papers.

Time line

1840

13 January: Wade writes to CMS explaining why he left the mission.

27 January: Wade writes to CMS with 18 NZ drawings.

5 & 6 February: Treaty signed at Waitangi.

11 February: Colenso writes to CMS Secretaries about Waitangi. Writes his Ms. account of the signing.

14 February: Wade tells CMS that he sent his 13 & 27 January letters to them on the *Navarino*.

16 March: *Navarino* departs with Wade's letters.

25 March: *Eleanor* departs for Sydney with the Busbys and the Wades; William Wade has Colenso's appendices and Ms.—Busby annotates it aboard ship.

6–13 April: Wade arrives in Sydney & writes to Colenso that he hasn't had time to transcribe the Ms. yet.

8 April: *Sydney Monitor* erroneously reports *Navarino* lost.

12 May: the Wades arrive in Hobart in *Mary Watson*.

13–16 June: Wade writes to CMS forwarding papers relative to the printing press and his departure for Tasmania. A copy of this letter is "enclosure A" in his 26 October letter.

14 July: *Navarino* arrives in London. Wade's January letters received by CMS Correspondence Committee July 1840.

17 August: Campbell & Co. advise CMS of Wade's "case" shipped in *Ellen*.

22 August: Colenso replies to Wade's April letter to him.

3 September: Campbell & Co again advise of Wade's case being shipped in *Ellen*.

8 September: *Ellen* departs Sydney. First stop Bay of Islands.

26 October: Wade writes a "private" letter to Dandeson Coates with a list of enclosures A–E. "Enclosure B" may be his copy of Colenso's Treaty Ms.

???: Wade sends Colenso's Ms. back to Colenso at Paihia, along with fabric.

1841

5 January: CMS receives Campbell & Co's 17 August advice about Wade's case shipped on *Ellen*.

19 January: CMS Correspondence Committee minutes the receipt of Campbell & Co's advice. Later minutes simply record the shipping advice, not receipt of the case itself.

15 July: Wade's 13 June letter is marked as received at the CMS—the late arrival suggesting this was the duplicate sent as "Enclosure A" with his 26 October letter. With it are none of the enclosures sent with the 13 June letter, nor can the other enclosures sent with the 26 October letter be found.

1890: the NZ Government publishes Colenso's *Authentic & genuine history*.

References

1. Colenso W 1840. Letter to Church Missionary Society Secretaries 24 January. Hocken Library Ms Vol 63; ATL qMS 0491, p.10.
2. Colenso W 1890. The authentic and genuine history of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, New Zealand, February 5 and 6, 1840 : being a faithful and circumstantial, though brief, narration of events which happened on that memorable occasion; with copies of the Treaty in English and Maori, and of the three early proclamations respecting the founding of the Colony. George Didsbury, Government Printer, Wellington.
3. Colenso W 1840. Notes about the Treaty Signing at Waitangi. ATL: Ms-Papers-1611.
4. Ward, Judith 2011. "Fact or fiction? : William Colenso's authentic & genuine history of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi : a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in History at Massey University, Albany, New Zealand." URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10179/3412>.
5. Wade WR 1840. Letter to Colenso 6 April . ATL MS-Papers-0031-87.
6. Wade WR 1840. Letter to Dandeson Coates 13–16 June. ATL Micro-Ms-0307.
7. Wade WR 1840. "Private" letter to Dandeson Coates 26 October .
8. Wade WR 1842. Journey in the Northern Island of New Zealand—Interspersed with Various Information Relative to the Country and People. Hobart Town, George Rolwegan.
9. Wade WR 1840. Letter to Dandeson Coates 14 February. ATL Micro-Ms-Coll-04-60.

Acknowledgment

I am grateful to Anne George, Archivist at the Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, Edgbaston, University of Birmingham, for searching the Church Missionary Society papers held there.

often asked the King to extend
his Protection unto you. Now
His Majesty now offers you that
Protection in this Treaty.

[illegible]

Waitangi Day according to Mr. Kemp

One account of the Treaty signing that seems to have been overlooked by many commentators is that of James Kemp.

Lay preacher Kemp arrived in NZ in 1819 but by 1840 was the only missionary left at Kerikeri. Kemp took regular services, smithing, farming and tending the sick, although after 1822 his main non-clerical function had been running the CMS store which supplied the other stations. In 1832 he supervised the construction the Stone Store, completed in 1836. It served the mission until 1843. (<http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1k7/kemp-charlotte>).

Kemp was present at the Treaty signing at Waitangi and within a week wrote this to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society in London.

Kerikeri, Feb. 11, 1840.

My dear Sirs

The Whaler Matilda being about to sail direct for England from hence, I embrace the opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your kind letter of June 12/39. It came by the same conveyance which brought our new Governor, an event which will be long remembered by all in this land. I do hope & trust it will be overrated for good, both as it respects the temporal & spiritual good of the natives & all others who may dwell in this land. Capt'n. Hobson was proclaimed Governor at Kororareka on Thursday, June 30th., & on Wednesday & Thursday, Feb. 5th. & 6th., the native chiefs in connex-

ion with the Bay of Islands & Hokianga signed the treaty at Mr Busby's. Many of our brethren in the Northern District were present & rendered the Governor all the assistance they could. His Excellency left the Waimate this morning for Hokianga to be proclaimed there on Wednesday or Thursday next, who will on his return to the Bay of Islands proceed to the Southern part of the Island. Where the seat of Government will be is not at present known. You will, no doubt, receive copies of the Proclamation & also of the Treaty by this conveyance, in which you will see the particulars. The natives at first made some objections against their signing the Treaty, which objections had no doubt been instilled into their minds by wicked & designing men; but after these objections were explained by the Governor through Mr. Williams, the Chiefs took quite a different view of the matter, & all who were Chiefs of influence came forward with a good feeling & signed the Treaty. What the event of these things will be, we must leave in the hands of Him who is too wise to err & too good to be unkind. The number of Europeans who have come & are continually coming to this land, is considered by all as evidently pointing out & calling loudly on the British Government that British laws should be established in New Zealand; & I think it is generally considered that between two evils the least is chosen, & not a better step could under existing circumstances be adopted than what is now in progress.

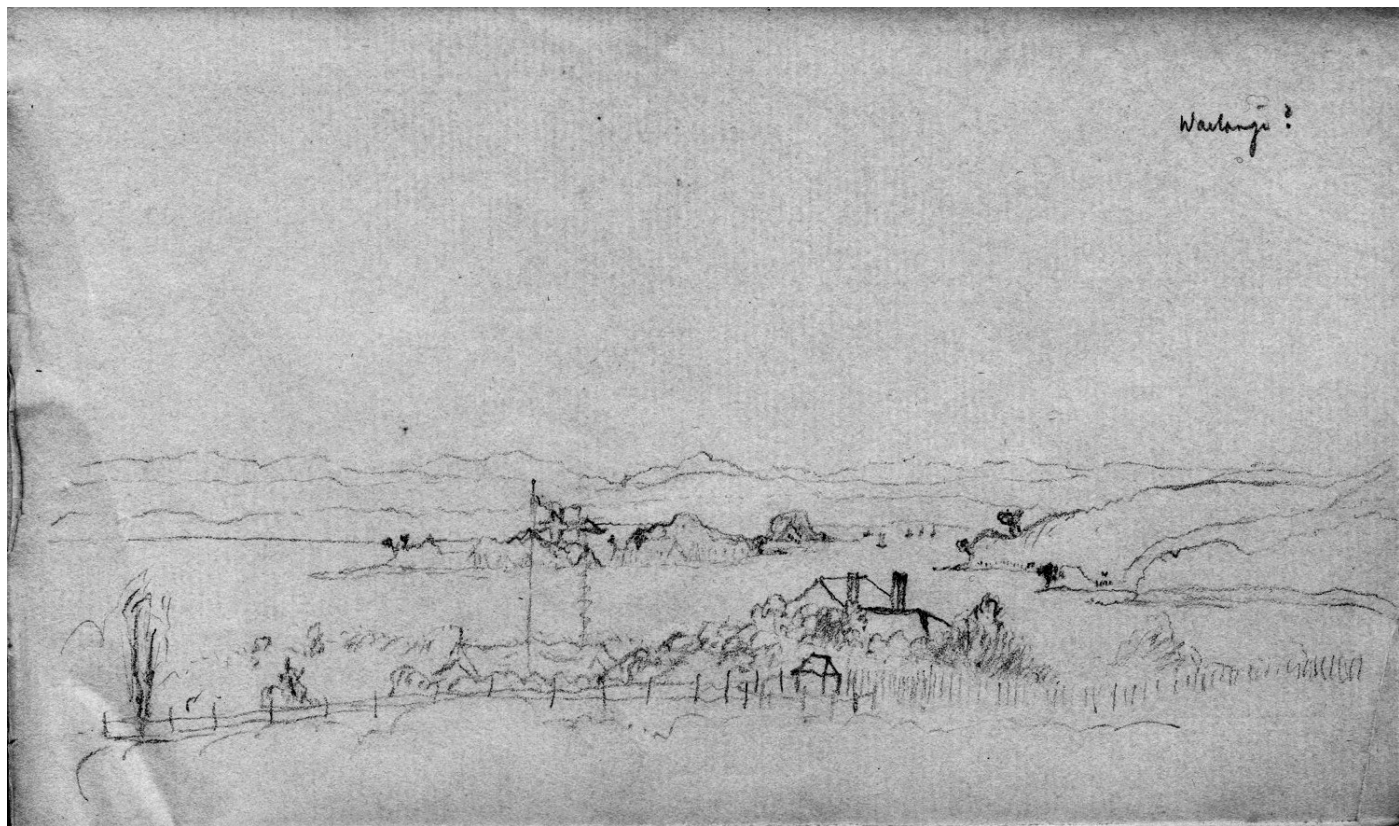
....

James Kemp

How Waitangi looked on our national day



William Colenso's sketch of "Southern view of Waitangi" taken on 9 March 1840, a month after the Treaty was signed, the palisaded kaik in the foreground. Busby's house is in the upper left distance, Ti Point with its cabbage trees right of centre, and between them Nias Track leading from Hobson's Beach up to the flagstaff lawn in front of the Treaty House. This was the path Hobson and his party took when they landed at Waitangi and made their way to where the Treaty participants were assembled. [Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW, Sydney: ref A7611016h]. Pencil on paper digitally enhanced .



This is William Colenso's 1839(?) rough sketch of Waitangi from the north—flagstaff middle left in front of Motumaire island, Taylor island to its right, then Paihia middle right, ships offshore (above Busby's house, built in 1834, in the foreground). The annotation "Waitangi?" seems not to be in Colenso's hand and the sketch is unlabelled otherwise. [Journal, 1839–1840, gifted by Mrs. Martin Simcox, Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust, Ruawharo Tā-ū-rangi, m67/23 c, 66224]. Pencil on paper, digitally enhanced.



Waitangi
National Reserve

Colenso would have been here for his view
from the north

Flagstaff Lawn

Hobson's beach

Waitangi

Ti point

Kaik

Colenso would have been here
for his view from the south

Te Karuwha Parade

Paihia Beach
Resort & Spa

Motumaire Is.

Taylor Is.

Paihia



The NZ polymath: Colenso and his contemporaries

Wellington 17–19 November 2016

Call for papers

The nineteenth century was full of scholars who turned their intellectual interest to a dazzling array of subjects: botany, languages, geology, conchology, ethnology, religion. William Colenso was one of them, as were Sir George Grey, Lady Jane Franklin, James Hector, Julius von Haast and Augustus Hamilton. What were the worlds of knowledge these men and women explored? *The New Zealand Polymath* aims to deepen our understanding of nineteenth century knowledge, especially matauranga Māori, and knowledge networks. How was knowledge acquired and recorded? How did disciplinary fields intersect and inform each other? What interested nineteenth century polymaths? What were the networks? Colenso's regular papers to the Philosophical Society covered a huge array of topics from Māori vocabulary and social life to botanical description. How accurate were they? What do we know now about matauranga Māori in the early years of colonisation? Who were the women scholars?

Papers are invited which address any area of nineteenth century knowledge making and collecting for a conference to be held at Victoria University from 17–19 November. We would particularly welcome proposals of panels, such as 'collectors' or 'flower artists'.

Possible topics might include:

- Māori knowledge
- Botanical drawing
- Astronomy
- Social and cultural practices
- Object making
- Fishing
- Cultivation practices
- Collecting
- Networks
- Women in science
- Women collectors
- Relationships between European scholars and their Māori collaborators
- Any other relevant field

Abstracts of not more than 200 words should be sent to Deborah.Levy@vuw.ac.nz by 30 April 2016.