http://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz

ResearchSpace@Auckland

Copyright Statement

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

This thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognise the author's right to be identified as the author of this thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from their thesis.

To request permissions please use the Feedback form on our webpage.
http://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/feedback

General copyright and disclaimer

In addition to the above conditions, authors give their consent for the digital copy of their work to be used subject to the conditions specified on the Library Thesis Consent Form.
IMAGES AND APPRAISALS OF NEW ZEALAND 1839-1855

A COGNITIVE-BEHAVIOURAL APPROACH TO
HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

Judith Anne Johnston

A Dissertation Presented for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in Geography, University of Auckland

1975
Painted by W. Alsworth; lithographed by E. Walker.

The Mackay family about to leave Scotland for New Zealand in 1845. The scene includes their home, Drumduan; and the privately chartered ship 'Slain's Castle' in the Bay. The Mackays settled at Nelson.

Reproduced with permission from the Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia, Canberra.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have assisted in the collection of material for this dissertation. The help and advice of the reference librarians and their assistants is much appreciated, especially that given at the Alexander Turnbull Library and at the National Archives in Wellington; at the Hocken Library and at the Otago Early Settlers' Museum in Dunedin; at the Mitchell Library in Sydney; at the Australian National Library in Canberra, and at the Tasmanian State Archives in Hobart.

The author would also like to acknowledge the permission of the Alexander Turnbull Library to reproduce the photographs of paintings used for Plates 1, 2 and 3, and the permission of the Rex Nan Kivell Collection, Australian National Library, Canberra, to reproduce the painting used as the frontispiece. Acknowledgement is also made to the Hocken Library, Dunedin, for permission to reproduce copies of early emigration posters seen in Figures 4 and 7.

The financial assistance provided by the research grants awarded by the University of Auckland Research Committee made possible the collection of most of the manuscript material available in Australia and New Zealand.

The helpful advice, criticism and encouragement of my Supervisor, Associate-Professor A.M. Gorrie is much appreciated. The author also values the interest taken in this research by all concerned.
ABSTRACT

This dissertation considers the images and appraisals of New Zealand in the period 1839 to 1855. The expectations of British emigrants were examined in terms of the information available about New Zealand, the nature, accessibility and dissemination of information, and the images about the new environment created in the accessible sources of information. These expectations, largely drawn from the images, are compared with the appraisals made by the emigrants after arrival and settlement.

The dissertation was developed at three levels: as an historical geography using a cognitive-behavioural approach, being concerned with the relationships between information, images, and appraisals, and examining a specific process - emigration to New Zealand from 1839 to 1855.

In light of the recent anxiety and pessimism over the future and direction of historical geography, the use of new concepts and methodologies has been regarded as a necessity. While there are many problems and complexities inherent in the use of a cognitive-behavioural approach to historical geography, the concepts of perception, image, and appraisal offer much to the understanding of how man evaluated and behaved in the world of the past. It is suggested that the use of relevant cognitive-behavioural ideas broadens the areas for research by offering a new perspective to the past and by encouraging the use of much previously unused material.

The second concern was the relationship between information
and image and between image and appraisal. The role of information was found to be most important in the development of images about the new environment. The appraisals also reflected the information contained within the images. It was suggested that it is impossible to reconstruct images of the environment in their totality but that it is possible to reconstruct simpler sub-images of specific features in the environment. It is in this manner that the historical geographer can make a major contribution to the understanding of man's behaviour, in relation to the geography of past times.

The third concern was with the process of emigration to New Zealand in the period 1839 to 1855. Although much information about New Zealand was available, the intending emigrants had access only to limited sources of information, much of which was promotional in nature. The images of the physical environment were largely drawn from these sources. These images appear to have been the basis of the expectations of most of the emigrants. The later appraisals made of the physical environment showed a close relationship to the images, although several discrepancies occurred. These discrepancies reflected the distortion of information, the role of imagination and the personal evaluations of different sources of information.

Emigration to New Zealand in the period 1839 to 1855 was, therefore, examined in terms of the images and appraisals made of the new environment. While general satisfaction with the new homeland was expressed, few of the emigrants considered New Zealand to be an 'Eden of the South Seas'. 
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

| Title Page                                | i    |
| Frontispiece                               | ii   |
| Acknowledgements                           | iii  |
| Abstract                                   | iv   |
| Table of Contents                          | vi   |
| List of Figures                            | viii |
| List of Tables                             | ix   |
| List of Plates                             | x    |

## PART I

**INTRODUCTION: CONCEPTUAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL DISCUSSION**

**Chapter One**  
The Cognitive-Behavioural Approach to Historical Geography, Geography and History  
1

**Chapter Two**  
Information, Images and Appraisals: Concepts and Methods  
34

## PART II

**INFORMATION AND IMAGES**

**Chapter Three**  
The Available Information About New Zealand  
54

**Chapter Four**  
The Dissemination of Information to Intending Emigrants  
89

**Chapter Five**  
Images of New Zealand  
118

## PART III

**APPRAISALS OF NEW ZEALAND**

**Chapter Six**  
Arrival in New Zealand: The Emigrants' Appraisals  
171

**Chapter Seven**  
Eden of the South Seas?  
226
PART IV
Chapter Eight
CONCLUSION
Conclusion
Page 240

APPENDIX I
Some Comments About Data Sources
Page 253

APPENDIX II
Notes on the Bibliography
Page 261

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Page 265
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Behavioural Approach to Geography: Some Relationships</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Migration: Diffusion of Information</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Diffusion of Information about New Zealand to 1855</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Emigration Poster 1848: Labour Force Required in the New Colony</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Emigration Poster: Rates of Passage</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Emigration Poster 1842: Costs for Unassisted Passages to Wellington and Nelson</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Emigration Poster: Advertising the Canterbury Settlement</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Real Cost of Different Sources of Information</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Frequency Count of Adjectives Used to Describe the New Zealand Climate in Pamphlets and Handbooks, 1839-1855</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Frequency of Scores from an Evaluative Assertion Analysis on Statements of Soil Fertility, 1839-1855</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Scores from an Evaluative Assertion Analysis Testing Statements about Soil Fertility, 1839-1855</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF PLATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Following Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kauri Forest Wairoa River</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Taranaki, New Zealand, 1860</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>A Road Through Bush</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PART I      INTRODUCTION

CONCEPTUAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL DISCUSSION
CHAPTER ONE

THE COGNITIVE-BEHAVIOURAL APPROACH TO HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY, GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

Introduction

The nature and methodology of historical geography have long interested human geographers and historians. Many have sought to explain change over time (Clark, A.H. 1954; 1968), or have sought answers to present day problems by searching for similar patterns in the past (Dray 1966; Wagner 1971). Others have been concerned with reconstructing the world of the past in order to increase man's knowledge of his heritage and his world (Darby 1940; 1952). Major statements had been made defining and developing historical geography as a field of research before the mid-1950s. Since then however, few historical geographers have taken part in the discussions on concepts and methodologies being considered elsewhere in geography and history. Recent reviews, particularly those of Koelsch (1970) and A.R.H. Baker (1972), have regarded participation in conceptual and philosophic discussion as a necessity if historical geography is to retain a place as a major field of research in human geography.

In the early 1970s, there was general concern over the future and direction of historical geography within the so-called 'new geography' (Gould 1969 b). Some writers considered historical geography to be in a "cultural backwater" removed from the forefront of contemporary research (Perry, P.J. 1969 a). Others were more critical seeing it as a refuge for those unwilling to cope with new concepts and philosophies (Koelsch 1970). Criticism was levelled at historical geographers for their neglect of new philosophies and methodological frameworks being adopted and discussed both in other fields of
geography, and in other disciplines such as history, sociology and psychology. Perry, writing in 1969, argued that the main task for historical geographers in the 1970s should be to "catch up with the rest of geography" (Perry, P.J. 1969 a, 104). This catching-up process would involve an evaluation and adaptation of the relevant quantitative techniques, the development of theoretical structures, the use of models and the application of cognitive-behavioural and phenomenological approaches.

In recent years, writers such as A.R.H. Baker (1969, 1972), R.C. Harris (1970), Osborne and Reimer (1973), and Powell (1972), countered this criticism by discussing and developing ways of drawing historical geography back into the mainstream of geographical philosophy and practice. The common thrust of these articles is that historical geography still has much to offer the geographer. In particular they applaud the studies which adopt a rigorous historical approach to research rather than the pseudo-scientific methods of some present day studies. Many of the new concepts and methods have also been incorporated into the research programmes, thereby adding to our knowledge of people in past times. Prince, in introducing his major essay on historical geography suggested that:

... historical geographers, concerned primarily with the past, may pause to consider the contribution they are making to the advancement of the subject and they may also ask whether methods used by other specialists are capable of assisting their own researches.
(Prince 1971, 4)

His purpose, in suggesting evaluation of other methods was "to open broad vistas of research, to indicate new approaches to knowledge of the past" (Prince 1971, 4). In the following year A.R.H. Baker, writing on 'Rethinking Historical Geography', thought that it was:
... the future that matters most in the study of historical geography. For a discipline to flourish it needs to be flexible .... In the case of historical geography the need is for a rethinking of its philosophy and methodology. Rethinking should be, of course, a constant and routine intellectual process. (Baker, A.R.H. 1972, 11)

While the recent debate and discussion on the future direction of historical geography has created some pessimism and anxiety among geographers, one result has been the sharpening of conceptual and philosophic arguments on the methods and techniques being used. Approaches such as post-diction, content analysis, network analysis, the use of theoretical models, perception and attitude studies, and some statistical analysis have all been used on and adopted for historical data with varying degrees of success (Carter 1969; Moodie 1971; Moon 1969; Morrill 1963; Rimmer 1967). Despite this, and despite the urgings of writers such as P.J. Perry (1969a) and Koelsch (1970), there have been comparatively few published works by historical geographers in recent years. In New Zealand in particular, there has been a dearth of historical geographical studies. One review suggests that this can be traced to the uncertainty surrounding the future of historical geography (Wynn 1975). The movement of some historical geographers into other fields of geography and the lack of "skilled young recruits" has also been thought to influence this apparent lack of interest (Heathcote and McCaskill 1972).

In light of the recent pessimism over the present standing of historical geography, the anxiety about its future direction, and the apparent lack of interest in New Zealand historical geography, the present study applies relevant ideas from the cognitive-behavioural approach in order to analyse and to interpret an aspect of historical geography in New Zealand. Previous research (Johnston, J.A. 1972)
would suggest that the features of the cognitive-behavioural approach most relevant to historical geography are the concepts of perception and image. Such concepts are particularly useful in the study of appraisals of new environments. Thus, this research focuses on the emigration of British settlers to New Zealand in the period 1839 to 1855 and examines the images held and the appraisals made by the settlers of the new environment. In order to appreciate the concepts of perception and image and to understand their relationship to other aspects of the cognitive-behavioural approach, it is necessary to examine the concepts and their use in geography before considering the particular problem posed in this research.

**Recent Trends Within Geography**

Since the 1950s human geographers have sought to establish each of the fields of geography as a distinctive and useful area of research. Many writers argued for a more scientific or deductive approach to the study of human geography with a greater use of statistical methods and schematic models. They also expressed a concern about the place of theory in geography. This development became known in the late 1950s and early 1960s as the "quantitative revolution" (Burton, I. 1963). Advocates of this approach pointed out that historical geographers in particular had much to learn about measurement, systems analysis, formulation of generalisations, sampling techniques, and the verification and testing of hypotheses. The adoption by geographers of the deductive and quantitative methods per se, aroused much comment and condemnation by both historical geographers and social historians (Baker, A.R.H. et al. 1969; Barzun 1972). In the first place they questioned the value of quantification and at the same time emphasised the contributions of the non-quantified researcher who critically examined sources of data,
who queried and established data reliability, and who tested the theoretical models against the realities of experience as seen in the world of the past.

As a reaction to the increasing concern with quantification and deduction, a number of writers argued for the need for more imagination in both geography and history and a concern with the more subjective elements of man's world. As early as 1952 W. Kirk, in developing the ideas of J.K. Wright (1947), had advocated an approach which attempted to study the minds and hearts of men, as well as their behaviour in the world. As Lowenthal said in 1961 "we all subordinate reality to the world we perceive, experience and act in", and "we respond to and affect the environment not directly, but through the medium of a personally apprehended milieu" (Lowenthal 1961, 1). It was not until the late 1960s and early 1970s that these ideas were adopted in part and became known as a behavioural approach, or more recently as a cognitive-behavioural approach (Harvey, D. 1969 b; Murton 1972), to geography. The main focus of research was on environmental perception (or as it is now more correctly known, environmental cognition), and decision making as it concerned man's behaviour in his environment.

The decision making process of an individual is affected by the way he perceives his total environment. The perception, and structuring of information (cognition) from the environment leads to the formation of an image of the world or environment in which the individual lives. Thus decisions are themselves a behavioural response and determine activity or non-activity (behaviour) in the environment. Human behaviour is affected by and also has an effect on the environment but only insofar as the environment provides alternatives in light of given technologies and the attitudes of the social group. The cognitive-behavioural approach was therefore a recognition that the
spatial patterns of human activity (the traditional concern of the geographer), result from many individual cognitions and decisions which result in behaviour in and towards the environment. The main emphasis of this approach adopted by geographers has been the use of perception and attitude studies to provide some understanding of the aspects of the decision making process which lead to behaviour in the environment. The concept of perception has been incorporated into all branches of geography and increasing familiarity has demanded and encouraged a broad interpretation of the ideas associated with the cognitive-behavioural approach.

Perception Studies in Geography

The concept of perception is itself a complex one. Few geographical studies, until recent years, showed an awareness of the complexity of the concept. Definitions of perception range from discussions on the physiological and physical aspects of perceiving an object to questions of inference made when perceiving other people. While the concept of perception can be viewed in many ways there have been two general conceptual frameworks (Bevan 1958; Downs and Stea 1973; Schiff 1970).

The first framework is one in which perception is considered as a simple mediating process in the transmission of information from the environment to the individual. Much of the work done by geographers adopted this framework since it isolates the major variables on which data is available. In the second framework perception is a more complex interactive process and is a function of many variables such as the stimulus of the present situation, physiology, psychology, motivations, past stimulation and personality.

For the geographer, with his interest in man and environment,
perception studies have for the most part been concerned with environmental perception or environmental cognition, and have focused on the affective components of perceptions and attitudes. The main emphasis has therefore been on what is generally termed social perception. Social perception is concerned with the effects of social and cultural factors on man's cognitive structuring of his physical and social environment (Schiff 1970). The role of perception studies in geography was seen therefore as an attempt, by considering the subjective elements of man in his world, to increase our understanding of man acting in and responding to his environment.

The term perception, as used by geographers, depended on more than the stimulus present or the capabilities of the sense organs (Schiff 1970; Tuan 1974). The term is usually used to define the way one comes to know the world, or the way one experiences and appraises the world. The individual's perception of the world is something he constructs from whatever information is available to him. The perceptual process itself is seen as being composed of many variables some of which are personality, knowledge, experience, motivations, memory, mood, social and cultural circumstances, expectations, language and tradition. Responses to certain stimuli in the environment are stored in experience in terms of images, attitudes and behaviour both past and present. The selection process, or the formation of attitudes can be analysed to determine patterns of behaviour and to suggest possible alternatives for planning purposes. Where the selection process cannot be identified, perceptions and cognitions are either inferred from behaviour or sought in other indirect ways.

---

(1) In recent years there has been some discussion among psychologists and some geographers as to whether or not perception is separate from cognition. This is discussed in more detail below in Some Problems Inherent in the Approach.
such as through personality tests.

The perceptual framework has found application in most fields of geography. Geographical studies using this approach have concentrated on the differences that are seen to exist between the geographic environment measured in scientific (objective or factual) terms, and the environment as it is perceived, measured in many different ways. Most methods and measurement techniques have been drawn from social psychology. Thus geographers who have adopted the concept of perception in their research studies have used questionnaires, interviews, mapping tests, a modified thematic apperception test, paired comparisons, rating scales, semantic differentials and other psychological tests to measure such things as assessments of and adjustments to hazards, consumer preferences, the images of cities and neighbourhoods, mental maps of residential desirability and space perception (Gould 1966; Lynch 1960; Saarinen 1969). With all these methods, the ability to relate directly to the individual - to observe him, to subject him to tests, and to converse with him - is an essential element. These techniques however, are often not applicable in historical geography when the individual is not generally present (2). The researcher therefore has to rely on the impressions or images of the past world recorded by the people being studied.

Impressions of the world of the past have been recorded in many forms such as in art, in religious ritual, in common behaviour, in poetry, drama and other written forms both personal and public, fiction and non-fiction. Reactions and responses to environment are also visible in the construction and organisation of more tangible aspects

---

(2) The use of reminiscences is one of the few instances when the person concerned may be present. As Heathcote warns however, such observations must often be treated with caution (Heathcote 1965).
such as settlement patterns, building styles and the spatial organisation of land. These recorded impressions, though of many types and different scales, are past people's perceptions and images of their world. The range of images recorded reveals the range of recognised responses towards particular phenomena in the environment and the different images evoked from that environment. Each age records its impressions in different ways and looks back to the past with different eyes. This subjective element makes it more difficult to distinguish between the factual and perceived worlds of the past. In most instances the historical geographer has to assume that the perceived world is, or closely resembles, the factual world.

Much of the traditional research by historical geographers has attempted to reconstruct the factual or phenomenal world of the past and how it changed over time. This reconstruction of past verifiable and factual features of the phenomenal world has been regarded by A.R.H. Baker et al. (1969) as having been the main interest of most professional historical geographers. Without this form of research the concept of perception would have little to offer since the more detail that is known about the phenomenal world, the better equipped is the historical geographer to evaluate the images portrayed. It is often impossible to discover all the components within the operational environment (3) of people in the past, but it is possible to study their perceptions in relation to their behaviour as recorded in history. The historical geographer can therefore only hope to establish the principal components of the images held of the phenomenal world. People in past times had different images of the world and evaluated

(3) Operational environment as defined by Saarinen (1969) is the environment in which man operates. It consists of the portions of the world that impinge on him, influencing his behaviour in some way or another, whether or not he is fully aware of it (Saarinen 1969, 5).
it in different terms. An understanding of their world and their images is a necessary and often neglected, but extremely difficult, aspect of geographical and historical studies.

Both A.R.H. Baker (1972) and J.A. Johnston (1972) have emphasised that studies of historical perceptions of environments have not been a recent phenomenon, but the numbers of studies using this approach in a more explicit manner has increased in the last five years. In his overview A.R.H. Baker (1972) commented on the progress of historical geography and stated that:

It is now widely accepted that considerable parts of any cultural landscape are obviously the results of human actions, that behind these actions lie ideas about images of reality, and that an historical geographer comes to understand a landscape by studying these ideas and images. (Baker, A.R.H. 1972, 27)

However, while noting the work done in historical geography, Baker also cautioned that the approach did have some limitations and that:

No matter how well an historical geographer understands what men in the past thought about their environments, this remains the actor's viewpoint. Reconstructing their viewpoint is part - but only one part - of the task of any historian, who must go on to analyse the total situation according to the observers' view as well. A behavioural approach in historical geography involves more than reconstructing 'imagined worlds of the world'. (Baker, A.R.H. 1972, 27)

Recent Trends in History

While historical geographers have been concerned with the future of their discipline, so too have historians debated the future direction of historical research. Many of the themes and concepts currently being discussed within geography have their parallel in history. As early as 1904 historians were told that history was primarily a "psycho-sociological science" (Lamprecht, in Barzun 1972,
37). In 1958 one historian spoke of the "urgently needed deepening of our historical understanding through exploration of the concepts and findings of modern psychology" (Langer 1958, 284). The different conceptual frameworks, such as the adoption of the deductive approach, the use of quantification where applicable, and the development of a behavioural approach, have also been considered by some historians (Aydelotte 1966; Barzun 1969).

Historians, writing in the 1960s, when debate was developing over the growing emphasis of 'scientific history', stated ideas similar to those held by some historical geographers. Berlin (1960) saw the task of the historian as being one which allowed him to enter into the thoughts, feelings, motives and principles of people's characters. Explanation through the understanding of thoughts was also argued for by Collingwood, although there has been considerable debate over his ideas. Collingwood expressed it in 1946 as:

> For history the object to be discovered is not the mere event, but the thought expressed in it ... the events of history are never mere phenomena, never mere spectacles for contemplation, but things which the historian look, not at, but through, to discern the thought within them. (Collingwood 1946, 214)

Writers developing this idea felt that the historian had to attempt to become more than an eye-witness or observer, and that the aim of the historian was to try to see the world as the individual of the past had seen it, both through his biases as well as with his feelings, hopes and fears, rather than to examine the past solely from the objectivity of the present day in light of contemporary knowledge. Berkhofer (1969), in advocating a behavioural approach to history, argued that the historian had a more difficult task than the social scientist since he depended on "the physical remains of past behavioral manifestations as evidence of that and other behavior,"
and what these indicated about the ideational and internal state in general of the actors producing that behavior" (Berkhofer 1969, 13).

One of the more extreme expressions of the behavioural approach to history was the development of what was called psycho-history. This form of research drew heavily on psychological literature especially the work of psychoanalysis. Some writers argued that the new approaches of behaviouralism, psychological and scientific interpretation had little new to offer the historian, apart from a new terminology. No new methodology has been established. Rather a different focus of interest has developed and it is a "programme of ordinary historical research, assuming the right evidence to be there" (Barzun 1972, 40). Dray, writing in the 1960s, claimed that curiosity into the lives of people in the past was the attraction of history. It is an "interest in discovering and imaginatively reconstructing the life of people at other times and places" (Dray 1963, 132-133). The problems associated with a behavioural approach to history are similar to those faced by the historical geographer. The most difficult problem in studying man and his relationship with his environment in past times, is the lack of certainty that the research is even beginning to comprehend past people and their thoughts. As Carr wrote:

> No document can tell us more than what the author of the document thought - what he thought had happened, what he thought ought to happen or would happen, or perhaps only what he wanted others to think he thought, or even only what he himself thought he thought. (Carr 1963, 16)

In his work on the behavioural approach to history, Berkhofer argues for the incorporation of "sophisticated social theory and precise explanation into the writing of history in order to achieve
a more complex representation of past reality than hitherto found in the subject" (Berkhofer 1969, 4), rather than the abandonment of the traditional goals of the historian for the aims of the social scientist or philosopher. In agreeing with this, Barzun would see the direction of history as being one which allows history and the more analytical studies to exist side by side and to complement each other rather than to compete for acceptance and recognition (Barzun 1972).

The Cognitive-Behavioural Approach to Historical Geography

These discussions within geography and history and the concern over the present standing of historical geography raise important questions concerning the future direction of historical geography. Will it follow the trends established by workers in other fields of human geography by adopting the cognitive-behavioural approach in terms of conceptual frameworks, methodology, and terminology? Can the concept of perception and its related components be applied to studies concerned with past times and past people? Historical geographers and historians have traditionally drawn from similar areas of research and the adoption of new methods and techniques involves a critical evaluation of their position. In reviewing the state of historical geography in New Zealand, P.J. Perry felt that:

What is required is not imitation, however, but careful and critical evaluation and adaptation of new methods and new techniques for the peculiar purposes of historical geography.
(Perry, P.J. 1969 a, 104)

Peter Perry also suggested that there were some advantages in being the last group to adopt an innovation. One of these advantages should be "a developed sense of discrimination ... further tempered in the case of historical geography by a definite feeling for historical
method and the past" (Perry, P.J. 1969 a, 105).

While many historical geographers have been somewhat hesitant even to evaluate new concepts, others have incorporated them into their research programmes, thereby adding to our knowledge of people in past times (Heathcote 1965; Newcombe 1969 b; Powell 1972; Thompson, K. 1969 a). The new conceptual frameworks and philosophies, if they are to attract worthwhile studies, must add to the results achieved by the traditional methods of research without losing the objectivity and rigour of the historical method. Recent studies by historians and historical geographers emphasise that some of the concepts within the cognitive-behavioural approach such as the concept of image, do have much to offer the researcher as long as there is an awareness of the problems inherent in such an approach (Barzun 1972; Johnston, J.A. 1972). The use of some of the ideas associated with the cognitive-behavioural approach has been seen as a way of encouraging the historical geographer to add another perspective to his study of the past. This perspective considers the perceptions, recorded thoughts, attitudes, images, and behaviour of the people in the past (Kirk, W. 1952; Powell 1972). The use of the concepts of perception, attitude and image broadens or deepens the traditional concern of the historical geographer by allowing him to reconstruct the perceived world (or images held), of people living and acting in the past. Not only does it encourage new research, but it is hoped that new methodological debate and discussion will be stimulated (Koelsch 1970).

The more traditional historical geography, such as that of Darby (1948) and Sauer (1941) often used behavioural concepts in an implicit manner, relying on written observations, collections of statistics and impressions as sources of data. Their findings were not explicitly explained in terms of perceptual frameworks however.
The main change has merely been one of emphasis. While historical geographers such as A.H. Clark and H.C. Darby were primarily concerned with geographic change over time, cross-sectional analysis and the place of time in historical geography, some present day geographers are emphasising the need to study the past in all its forms, including the more subjective elements. Writers adopting the behavioural, or more particularly the cognitive, approach all attempt to understand and interpret the perceptions, images and appraisals of past people. As Sauer had said as early as 1941, it is an interest in trying "to see the land with the eyes of its former occupants" (Sauer 1941 b, 362).

The emphasis and methods used by present day writers vary with the individual aims of the researcher, the type of data and the reliability of the source materials. No standard techniques have been established. Most writers attempt some form of classification of the source materials in order to simplify and organise the research and to allow some understanding of the origins and development of ideas about the environment. All writers however, recognise that these types of research depend to a major extent on the source material available. There is also a recent realisation that there are many difficulties inherent in the approach, both for geographers interested in present day conditions and for historical geographers. Much of the work published, which claims to use the cognitive-behavioural approach, fails to clarify the issues and concepts involved and adopts a terminology without critically evaluating its usefulness,
Some Problems Inherent in the Approach

One of the major problems, and possibly the most important, in the adoption of this approach is the terminology to be used. An acceptable definition of perception has continued to elude geographers as can be seen by any review of the recent literature. There has been some major discussion among psychologists and some geographers as to whether or not perception is separate from or part of cognition (Downs and Stea 1973). Saarinen (1969), Brookfield (1969), Schiff (1970), and others have attempted to define and give meaning to perception, cognition, attitude and image, but a wide variance in both thought and use is still apparent. In line with other recent writers, R.M. Ward (1973) argues that this confusion in use is not surprising since both psychologists and other social scientists have been unable to agree upon a common definition. As Downs and Stea state when considering the use of the word perception:

... the context itself is ambiguous, since the word falls into the "process-product" category .... It is difficult to determine whether the process of perceiving is being discussed or whether the concern is with the product of the perception process. (Downs and Stea 1973, 13)

The free and often undefined use of the word perception has increased the variance in both thought and terminology. Geographers, psychologists, and other social scientists have all used the term differently, often leaving it to the reader to assume certain meanings and connotations (Hochberg 1956).

Psychologists have used the term perception in assuming that the individual involved must come into direct contact with the stimulus. Thus it is more a physiological experience and the term "should be limited to those situations in which there is or was a physical stimulus or set of stimuli present" (Schiff 1970, 12). Some social
psychologists however also use the term to cover both the physiology and the understanding of previous impressions of people. If a direct contact with the stimulus does not occur, or once the contact is complete, the individual is forced to think about the stimulus, and cognition, which involves the mental activities of receiving, storing and processing information, occurs. Perception and cognition are therefore separate parts of the whole cognitive process. However they often occur simultaneously and are thus difficult to differentiate.

Geographers on the other hand, have for the most part assumed the term perception to be an all-encompassing one, covering not only perception and cognition but other parts of the cognitive process as well. These include such aspects as memories, preferences, attitudes and assessments. Thus geographers have been more concerned in general with what is in fact cognition. Downs and Stea argue that studies done under the title of environmental perception have rather been on aspects of environmental cognition (Downs and Stea 1973). Recent studies, especially those attempting to analyse the images or cognitive maps of urban areas, have begun to place more emphasis on the cognitive aspects of the behavioural approach (Golledge 1974).

The term perception therefore is limited to those situations where a stimulus is immediately apprehended and which are temporally close to the stimulus. Cognition does not need to be directly related to the stimulus. Both perception and cognition are involved in the organising and interpreting of information but perception is regarded as being the initial and more immediate physiological experience. Cognition is a more general term within which both perception and conception (the organisation of ideas) may be included.

In line with this argument therefore, both perception and
cognition are relevant to historical geographers. The term perception can be used to define observations and impressions contained with the appraisals of new environments or objects. This is particularly relevant in studies concerned with the movement of people to new areas. Cognition is also significant however since the processing and storing of information must occur in the development of images about new environments. This image is itself composed of many perceptions and cognitive constructs, some of which the historical geographer may be able to reconstruct from past records.

While the term image (or cognitive map) also has varying definitions, there is more general agreement as to its meaning and use than has been the case about perception. Boulding (1956), in introducing the concept of image, said that it was the sum of an individual's knowledge and which influenced him to act the way he did. Simon (1957) developing this idea saw the image as the simplified model an individual made of the real world situation in order to cope with it. With more general use of the word image following Lynch's work on the Image of the City in 1960, Saarinen defined it in 1969 as the mental picture carried around by an individual. Downs (1968) regarded it as being the stored information or the mental or cognitive space within which an individual operated. By the late 1960s therefore, it was accepted by geographers and other social scientists, that the image or "perceived world" was that in which the individual acted, behaved, and made decisions. It should therefore be studied when considering man and his environment. This total image is now beginning to be seen as being composed of the many cognitive constructs of the individual. These constructs are themselves images of certain specific topics.

It is on the construction or reconstruction of these simpler
images (or cognitive constructs) that the value of much of the present day research rests. It is impossible to construct images in their totality. It is therefore on the reconstruction and analysis of simpler specific images that research should, and is beginning to, concentrate. It is in this particular aspect of the cognitive-behavioural approach that the historical geographer can make a major contribution. The record left by people of the past often permits a reconstruction of these specific images.

In historical geography, the recorded impressions and observations of people in past times reflect the perceptions, cognitions, and images held about the environment of the past. These provide a surrogate for the total information available at the time. When studying past periods, these records are often the only information left about an environment. Both the nature of the landscape and the behavioural environment created by a group of people may be regarded as a palimpsest which may reveal much about the people themselves. Brookfield (1969) felt that all geographers have difficulty in defining the real and the perceived worlds. The geographer can only hope to produce a reconstruction of these worlds.

A second major problem faced by geographers, and especially historical geographers, is that they approach their material with unaccustomed eyes. Just as the anthropologist or sociologist studying present day people can never be one with the people he is studying, so the geographer must realise that he himself is culturally conditioned. As Berkhofer said of historians, "every historian is as much a product of history as he is an interpreter of it", for "according to the truths of his time, he frames the questions he asks of his sources and fashions the organisation of his material" (Berkhofer 1963, 21). Since both perceptions and images are influenced by the
culture and society of the times, so a knowledge of important facets of both the culture and society is necessary to interpret adequately these perceptions and images. Yi-fu Tuan and C.J. Glacken have made valuable contributions towards the knowledge of both past and present peoples (Tuan 1966; 1967; 1968; 1974; Glacken 1956; 1967). The task of interpreting images of the world of the past is further complicated by the lack of information on the culturally acquired preferences and tastes of the people concerned. A recent study by Rorabacher (1973) has investigated how the socio-cultural institutions have in times past, influenced environmental cognition in Western civilisation. The work of B.S. Allen (1937), K. Clark (1949), Malins (1966), Heathcote (1972) and R. Rees (1973) all provide useful insights into the cultural and social conditions of past times. Hall (1966) writing on the art of past times emphasised that the researcher can only glimpse what the perceptual world of past people may have been like. One of the first geographers to emphasise the value transference involved in historical and cultural studies was W. Kirk (1952) in his major work on historical geography and the behavioural environment.

Historians and historical geographers have long been aware that the evidence they deal with is biased in many ways. Events and details of new environments were often recorded by people who failed to understand the full significance of what they observed (Denning 1966). As well, much of the extant historical evidence was the written and pictorial observations of an educated and literate elite. In many studies and particularly those concerning early New Zealand, and therefore this work, such a bias must be accepted. There has been little work as yet done on the impressions of the less well educated, often illiterate people of Victorian times. In many instances records were either never written or have been lost. Studies such as
those of G.B. Nash (1970), Knights (1971) and Lemon (1972) emphasise
some of the social and economic aspects of what has been loosely
termed the 'common man' in early North America. The majority of
these writers however, do not consider except indirectly, how he
appraised and evaluated his world. In some unfortunately rather
rare instances, novels such as those of Charles Dickens, the folk-lore
of the 'common people', may provide a more accurate insight into the
lives of earlier people. Yet inevitably, even in such observations
(for example the novels of Thomas Hardy), what is represented is not
the author's direct observations, but rather his impression of what
he thought of his subjects' views and ideas. Dening regards this as
the double aspect of any historical event: "the event as it happened
and the selective description of the event by observers and the
historian himself (Dening 1966, 35).

Reading the historical record necessitates not only a knowledge
of usage and meanings of words at the time of writing and how these
may have changed over time, but also an awareness, if possible, of
the biases of the writer or observer. Even the statistics collected,
for example those in the Domesday Book, reflect the collection of
information thought to be significant by the people of the times.
Thus interpretation of past documents, records, paintings and other
sources of information, must be carried out in light of the culture,
the society, the ideologies and theories present at the time.

A difficult problem faced by the geographer as well as the
historian is that of conceptualisation. Groups of people, defined
according to different criteria will have different viewpoints and
images of the world. Geographers concerned with perceptions,
cognitions and behaviour have been, and still are, attempting to find
that portion of the individual images which forms a surrogate for the
population or group of people being studied, and who are defined
according to some standard criterion (Golledge 1974; Saarinen 1969). Thus the geographer is trying to assess the common images of people in order to explain how they behave and make decisions in their world. For the historical geographer the problem becomes even more complex since his only sources of data are the records left by the people who recorded what they felt to be important. This is often not what the researcher, attempting some objective analysis is either looking for or can use.

A fourth and perhaps the most difficult problem is that of defining and measuring the perceptions and images of people. This problem is one which cannot be readily solved. Qualitative concepts are often difficult to quantify, especially when working with past people. The measurement of variables which exist primarily in the minds of the individual is what the behavioural geographer working with present day people is trying to achieve, in order to explain, describe, predict and plan for man's spatial behaviour. The measurement of these images is further complicated by the fact that the variables affecting the development of cognitive constructs and images also interact. In most cases geographers have not been trained in the measurement of subjective data or in the interpretation of collected subjective material. The psychologists' pleas for multi-dimensional scaling have largely been ignored, and there has been little realisation that aggregation of facts will not in themselves reveal the reality of the world. Interpretation is an essential element if we are to understand the images held by people.

The question of historical interpretation and use of qualitative methods has long been the concern of historical geographers and historians. Berlin (1960) stated that people interested in historical studies could not "evade the task of interpretation", because:
... nothing counts as interpretation unless it attempts to answer the question of how the world must have looked to other individuals or societies, if their acts and words are to be taken as the acts and words of human beings neither wholly like ourselves nor so different as not to fit into our common past.
(Dray 1966, 44)

One of the criticisms made of the cognitive-behavioural approach is that it merely introduces a further technique. While it is true that the approach does add another approach to research, it also offers a new interpretation of past evidence. A re-interpretation, that examines the evidence as written by the people being studied, can offer much to man's increasing knowledge of his world and his heritage. Interpretation of the world of the past is most important since as Lowenthal's recent article states:

We need the past ... to cope with present landscapes. We selectively perceive what we are accustomed to seeing; features and patterns in the landscape make sense to us because we share a history with them .... Without the past as tangible or remembered evidence we could not function.
(Lowenthal 1975, 5-6)

For the historical geographer, interested in developing cognitive and behavioural ideas into his research, there is a further problem. This is the question of data sources. Merrens (1969), an historical geographer who has studied the images of the physical environment of South Carolina with some success, noted that the most serious drawback to research in historical topics is the fragmentary and non-quantitative nature of much of the record. For his particular research he overcame this difficulty by exploiting the wealth of material found in such sources as official reports, private diaries, journals, letters, and travellers' accounts. By determining sources and origins of information, the images could then be seen more clearly and the more unreliable descriptions could be discarded. Heathcote (1965) writing about the
changing attitudes to pastoral resources of semi-arid Australia also used a wide range of source material - personal interviews, memoirs, newspapers, government records, field observations and private papers, to list the major sources. Where possible, recourse to diaries, journals and letters may indicate more about impressions and ideas. Travel accounts, promotional or booster literature, and even official reports occasionally emphasise the bizarre and atypical. Kenneth Thompson, concerned with understanding the development of the erroneous concept of an insalubrious California, looked at as many observations on climate as possible. These were then contrasted with the medical knowledge and doctrine of the time (Thompson, K. 1969 a). Like Merrens (1969) and Heathcote (1965), Thompson consulted a broad range of data sources. The problems of the inadequacy of the data are ones that every researcher must resolve for himself, in light of the material available and the aims of the research. Ability to interpret the sources is no mean task. Often past documents and records raise more questions than answers and leave large areas of doubt concerning the apparent confusion in held perceptions, cognitions and images.

The task facing the historical geographer interested in reconstructing and understanding the perceptions and images of the past is therefore more wide-ranging and difficult than has generally been realised. The work of writers such as Heathcote (1965), Merrens (1969), Moon (1969), and Powell (1972) illustrates that the cognitive-behavioural approach can be used with success, and allows the past to be viewed from a new perspective. The following schematic diagram illustrates, in a somewhat simplistic fashion, how the various parts of the behavioural concept combine together (Figure 1). The researcher interested in the use of historical data is not able to
Figure 1:
BEHAVIOURAL APPROACH IN GEOGRAPHY
Some Relationships

OBJECTIVE PHENOMENAL WORLD

INFORMATION

Social and Cultural Value System

Situation

Stimulus

INDIVIDUAL

IMAGE

Evaluation

Decision

No Behaviour Change

BEHAVIOUR

Johnston, J.A. 1975
study the perceptual processes involved. He can hope to consider the relationship between information and image, or the influence of societal and cultural factors, as well as to study the known behaviour recorded in history. Images of events or environments can also be studied in detail. Some evaluation of these images can be further considered by comparing them with some surrogate of the objective phenomenal world. This present research is concerned primarily with the relationship of information to image development, and isolates four images about the New Zealand landscape. These images are then considered in relation to behaviour as seen in the later evaluations or appraisals of the landscape. It is hoped that this research will offer a new perspective to historical geography in New Zealand.

**Historical Geography in New Zealand**

In common with the criticisms and reviews of historical geography overseas, some recent articles on New Zealand historical geography express concern over the present state and future direction of this form of research. Writing in 1969, P.J. Perry felt that the "standing of historical geography within geography has rather diminished since the early 1960s" (Perry, P.J. 1969 a,103). More recent reviews are no less pessimistic (Heathcote and McCaskill 1972; Wynn 1975). All these writers, however, agree that there is still much geographical research to be carried out into New Zealand's past.

Geography in New Zealand has been typified by an awareness and concern with the historical approach, whether as introductions to major works on contemporary New Zealand, or as studies in their own right (Brookes 1970; Watters 1965). Much historical geographic research has been carried out in New Zealand. Writers such as
Cumberland (1941; 1949; 1950; 1954), Hargreaves (1960; 1961; 1963; 1967; 1974), McCaskill (1949; 1954; 1958; 1961; 1962), Forrest (1961; 1964; 1965), Franklin (1960; 1965), Pownall (1950; 1956), and Stokes (1966) to name a few, have well documented many aspects of New Zealand's past. In terms of area, most of New Zealand has had some aspect of its historical geography researched. Although much of the research has been in the form of theses, and not published, it does suggest a marked interest in past events and environments. In terms of topics and time periods studied, a wide coverage has been achieved. Studies of pre-European New Zealand, the history of mapping, early agricultural systems, population numbers and composition of both Maori and European people, economic and industrial issues, urban settlements, and landscape change have all been studied (Armstrong 1959; Clark, W.A.V. 1962; Duncan 1960; Franklin 1965; Hargreaves 1960; Lewthwaite 1950; Linge 1965).

The time period covered ranges from the early exploration and mapping of New Zealand to population changes in the twentieth century.

While much research has been carried out, interest and debate over methodological and philosophical issues has been almost non-existent. The statements of Cumberland (1955) and McCaskill (1967), and the discussion by Cant (1969) stand alone. Peter Perry (1969a) concerned over the future of historical geography in New Zealand stated that:

... unless there is continuous re-examination of methods and objectives, there is a risk that historical geography will fade away, at least as a specialist field. Old and new historical and geographical insights still deserve to be fused into a convincing whole. That this should cease to be done would be far from the best interests of geography and society in New Zealand.
(Perry, P.J. 1969 a, 105)
Heathcote and McCaskill (1972) argue for the "posing [of] new questions of old material or asking old questions with more refined tools" (Heathcote and McCaskill 1972, 167). There have been isolated attempts to use some of the ideas and methods developed elsewhere - in particular the use of models and some statistical analysis (Perry, P.J. 1969 b; Rimmer 1967). The cognitive-behavioural approach has largely been ignored in New Zealand historical geography. A monograph completed in 1969 used much of the early manuscript material in describing English reactions to New Zealand landscape (Shepard 1969). Reactions to New Zealand were considered in terms of themes such as 'friendly scenes', 'the gentleman's park', 'familiar association' and 'the sublime'. While using much valuable data the article fails to make any substantive conclusions or attempt useful interpretation. It was however, the first major attempt to use and evaluate the material. Some research has been carried out at graduate level using some cognitive-behavioural ideas (Lee, J.W. 1972; Ng 1972) but little of this has been published. The present research therefore attempts to "build on the empirical work" (Heathcote and McCaskill 1972, 167) already carried out in New Zealand by posing new questions, using a different approach, and examining much previously unused material.

The Case Study

As has been stated above, this dissertation proposes to examine three related aspects of the emigration to New Zealand of British emigrants in the period 1839 to 1855. It attempts to establish the information available to intending emigrants, the images promoted of the new environment, and the subsequent appraisals of four features of the physical landscape. The relationships between these three aspects are also considered. Where relevant some of the ideas and
concepts contained within the cognitive-behavioural approach will be used, in association with methods and techniques used by the traditional historical geographer.

While emigration, settlement, and aspects of pioneer life in early New Zealand have been studied by both historical geographers and historians (Cumberland and Hargreaves 1955; Forrest 1964; Turnbull 1959), there has been little work carried out on how the emigrants learnt about their new homeland or about their later appraisals. In New Zealand the period 1839 to 1855 was one of planned emigration and settlement. The major organisation involved in the movement of people was the New Zealand Company. Emigration to New Zealand rather than to Australia or North America, was a major concern of the New Zealand Company, particularly in the first years of settlement.

The research has concentrated on emigration to New Zealand with particular reference to the New Zealand Company settlements. Apart from the settlement at Auckland, the New Zealand Company was responsible for all the major settlements up to 1855. Since Auckland was not part of the New Zealand Company plans, little information about it was available in the pamphlets and books published to encourage emigration. Some reference has however been made in the dissertation to the comments of settlers at Auckland where they provide a useful contrast to the observations made about other settlements.

The limitations imposed in terms of the time period were arbitrary in some respects. The research was primarily concerned with the observations made for two to three years after the arrival of the settlers. The time of writing of such observations was most important. With the arrival in New Zealand after four months at sea, and the establishment of the settlements, there were plenty of satisfied
emigrants. A period covering two to three years after arrival encompassed both the initial satisfaction or dissatisfaction and the later reactions once the first flush of enthusiasm had faded. After this period observations about the new landscape were few since the features of it had become known and familiar. The first settlers to arrive under the auspices of the New Zealand Company were those who came to Wellington in 1839. The last settlement was that of Canterbury in 1850. The year 1855 was therefore considered a major limit in terms of time. This year was also a major turning point in the development of New Zealand. It preceded the gold rushes and the major events of the Maori wars—two issues which created rapid and fundamental changes in the ideas and images held about New Zealand and which were to have considerable influence on subsequent history.

In order to establish and examine the appraisals made by early emigrants, it is proposed to consider the emigration process 'through the eyes' of emigrants themselves. Thus the research will focus firstly on what information was available about New Zealand and how accessible it was to intending emigrants. By examining the total information available on New Zealand at the time some simulation of the objective phenomenal world will be established. This total information may be called the reality of the past situation. A second major focus of the research is on how information about New Zealand was disseminated to intending emigrants. From this a reconstruction of the images promoted of New Zealand will be possible. These images can then be examined in terms of the emigrants' own observations and impressions of New Zealand in order to see whether or not the emigrants' expectations were realised. It is hoped that such a study will offer some understanding of what emigration meant to the people involved, as well as allowing some insight into their
appraisals of the new environment, and reveal more about the geography of early New Zealand.

For research concerned with establishing the images and appraisals of new environments the nature of the source materials is crucial. The source materials used in this research were many and varied. Private letters, journals, and diaries were used in association with memoirs, reminiscences, and some paintings to establish the emigrants' perceptions and appraisals. To reconstruct the images of New Zealand, travellers' accounts, emigrant guides, handbooks, pamphlets, posters, panoramas, newspaper and magazine articles, reports of public meetings, and other promotional literature were all consulted. Official documents, reports and papers, the records and correspondence of the New Zealand Company and their agents, books, pamphlets, publishers' guides to literature, newspapers, magazines, posters, public notices, private letters and journals were examined to discover the nature of the available information and how it was disseminated.

While the source materials were wide ranging they also acted to impose some limitations on the research. The study has therefore been limited to the perceptions and appraisals of British settlers, predominantly those who came to New Zealand under the auspices of the New Zealand Company, in the period 1839 to 1855. Individual's observations were used to determine the major processes of information dissemination and to reconstruct general appraisals of the new environment. Images and appraisals were thus examined in aggregate terms rather than at the individual level. It was not possible because of the incomplete nature of most of the records to trace individual emigrants throughout

(4) A discussion of the sources of data and some of the problems encountered in the search for data is found in Appendix 1.
the complete sequence - from learning about New Zealand through to the subsequent reactions after settlement. In the establishment and analysis of both images and appraisals, attention has concentrated on the physical landscape, in particular on relief features, climate, soil, and vegetation. The selection of these aspects was based on two major considerations. In the first place, information on these features was available to an intending emigrant. The same features were also those noticed and commented on by many of the emigrants in their letters and journals. In the second place, there was little information available on the settlement or society in the first years of emigration and settlement although this was a feature of the later years of the period. While several of the early accounts of New Zealand had contained information on the Maori inhabitants, the actions of the New Zealand Company in the suppression of unfavourable or dissonant information, meant that the question of the native inhabitants was not a major concern of many of the pamphlet writers. Some writers ignored the question completely. In addition, the perception and appraisal of people, while obviously closely linked to the appraisal of the environment, involves a different set of underlying assumptions and values, and ventures into the realm of sociology. It was felt therefore that the reactions of the emigrants to the Maori people would constitute a major study on its own. For these reasons therefore, this dissertation excludes images and appraisals of the Maori people.

The following chapter completes the philosophical and conceptual discussion by outlining the model and methodology used in the research. Part II is concerned with the case study, establishing the information available, the major channels of dissemination and the major images promoted. Part III draws the case study to a conclusion by considering
the emigrants' appraisals of New Zealand and the realisation or otherwise of their expectations. Part IV attempts to assess the case study in the context of the methodological and philosophical questions posed in Part I.
Migration and Information

Many disciplines have been interested in the study of migration and the changes associated with the movement of people from one area to another. This interest has been concerned with small scale studies, largely movements within the city, migrations within national areas, and with the longer movements of international emigration. As Richardson wrote in 1967:

> Interest in migratory behaviour, in its causes and consequences, in its effects on the individual and on the group, is as old as any topic in the social sciences. Within the past hundred years, it has been studied by demographers and economists, by sociologists and anthropologists, by historians and political scientists and by psychiatrists and psychologists. Each has focused on a different aspect of migratory behaviour and utilized a somewhat different class of data. (Richardson, A. 1967, 3)

While migration is one of the most complex components of population growth and change, its importance lies not only in the movement of people but also in the diffusion of ideas, innovations, information and cultures (Demko, et al. 1970). The large scale emigration associated with colonisation and settlement in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was one of the most important movements of population in history. Some work has been done on emigration but research has often concentrated on modern patterns of emigration and the questions of refugees, and involuntary movements caused by political changes (Beijer 1969). In recent years however, much of the emphasis in migration studies has been on internal migration.
and intra-urban movements.

With historical studies of emigration there has been little research into the process of migration despite the numbers of studies concerned with the volume, causes and results of migrations from Britain to North America and Australia during the nineteenth century (Cameron, J.M. 1972). Research concerned with colonial promotion and emigration has indicated that the process of emigration is a necessary field of study, in particular the way in which information about the country of destination has been evaluated and has affected migration. Both E.S. Lee (1966) and Wolpert (1965) emphasise the role of information in encouraging migration but, apart from some recent research, few studies have considered this aspect in any depth. Conclusions have been largely tentative. Geographers and historians continue to emphasise the need for this aspect of migration to be studied in some detail (Cameron, J.M. 1972; Cameron, J.M.R. 1974; Wolpert 1965).

As early as 1885, Ravenstein postulated the Laws of Migration, but it was not until E.S. Lee's work of 1966 that these laws were developed into a general theory of migration. This theory stated that every act of migration, regardless of scale, involved not only an origin and a destination, but also an intervening set of obstacles. While origins and destinations have received some study by historical geographers and historians, there has been little work on the intervening sets of obstacles. In 1972, J.M. Cameron developed Lee's ideas further and attempted to provide a framework by which the intervening obstacles could be studied and understood in nineteenth century international migration. The main obstacles were considered to be primarily ones of distance, cost, availability of transportation, political barriers, organisation, personal inertia,
and information about the area of destination (Cameron, J.M. 1972). Wolpert (1965), while not detailing the processes of international migration, felt that understanding the stream or flow of information was of major importance in studies of long distance migration since information about prospects must somehow compensate for the absence of personal knowledge and experience. The role of information is also a most difficult one to unravel since, according to E.S. Lee:

Knowledge of the area of destination is seldom exact, and indeed some of the advantages and disadvantages of an area can only be perceived by living there. Thus there is always an element of ignorance or even mystery about the area of destination ... (Lee, E.S. 1966, 50)

When considering the behavioural aspects of the decision to migrate, Wolpert suggested that although the intending migrant usually has access to a "very broad environmental range of information coverage, typically only some rather limited portion of the environment is relevant and applicable for his decision behaviour" (Wolpert 1965, 163). The role of information has also been examined by L.A. Brown and E.G. Moore (1971) with particular reference to the decision to migrate in the intra-urban context. The availability of information and the means of dissemination or diffusion are critical elements in the intending migrant's search behaviour. The search behaviour itself is considered as a means of accumulating information about an environment and of eliminating sets of alternatives from the overall decision making process. The research carried out on intra-urban migration offers fruitful areas of study for the question of nineteenth century emigration. In particular, it suggests that a crucial element within the emigration process, and one which can be studied, is the nature of information about the destination. The processes of dissemination of this information can also be examined.
In his work on Scottish emigration to Upper Canada, J.M. Cameron (1972) suggests that there are several intervening obstacles relevant to the movement of people in the past. From his list of obstacles, as outlined above, the most important is that of information. Not only does it influence, it also determines many of the other obstacles. In the case of emigration to New Zealand in the period 1839 to 1855, the obstacles of distance, cost and transportation were all closely interrelated. The distance to New Zealand was daunting. It was the longest emigrant voyage of the times with at least four months spent aboard ship. Since cost was proportional to the length of the voyage, it became a fundamental factor in the migration decision. The price of a passage to New Zealand ranged between £15 to £45. To encourage emigration the New Zealand Company offered free and assisted passages on their vessels to selected individuals and families. Since the New Zealand Company was the major organisation concerned with promoting emigration, its vessels also provided the main means of transportation to New Zealand. In addition to actually organising the selection, passage and settlement of emigrants, the New Zealand Company was also one of the major sources of information on both emigration in general and New Zealand in particular.

Political barriers were not a significant factor in the New Zealand situation since the aim of the New Zealand Company was to reproduce a 'Britain of the South' (Hursthouse, C. 1861). In terms of political involvement, the supposed threat of possible French settlement of New Zealand meant that there was little or no policy of settlement. The role of the New Zealand Company in disseminating and promoting information, and in organising land allocations and passages, also helped overcome much of the problem of inertia or hesitancy. This obstacle (personal inertia) is one that is almost impossible for the
historian or historical geographer to study in any detail since
the individuals concerned cannot be questioned. In the New Zealand
case therefore, the most significant obstacle was that of
information — the nature of available information and the means of
dissemination. This supports the statements of workers interested
in the modern-day smaller scale movements of people within the city.
Thus it is suggested that research concerned with movements of
people at any time and at varying degrees of scale, should concentrate
on the role of information in influencing the decision to move.
A study of the diffusion of information to intending emigrants
should therefore contribute much to the understanding of the role
of information in the emigration process and in the development of
images about the New Zealand landscape.

The Diffusion of Information

The general idea of information theory is that information is
received by individuals who may or may not actively search for
information, through a series of filters or barriers, some external
to the individual and some within the individual himself (Brown, L.
and Moore 1971; Hudson 1972; Rogers 1962). These barriers or
filters can be traced through the individual's pattern of search
behaviour and his evaluation of information. In a study with an
historical perspective, the tracing of information flows becomes
more difficult since the individual rarely records his own search
behaviour. While this acts as a restraint on the analysis, it allows
a more objective approach to the diffusion of information by focusing
on the channels of dissemination rather than the search behaviour.

Brookfield (1969) stated that information could be gained in
many ways and from many sources. For studies concerned with the
present day he felt that changes in sources of information, the
individual's receptiveness and resistance to these sources, the transmission and alteration of information by educational, promotional and publication means, and the distortion of information, as well as the evaluations made of it should be studied. Thus, while it is often not possible to study the cognitive aspects of this diffusion of information, it is possible to outline the process of information change and dissemination. Historical studies therefore, can study information diffusion by establishing the possible flows of information and the various components within this flow. The following diagram (Figure 2) is an attempt to schematise the diffusion of information and the processes involved, while recognising that the whole schema is dynamic and subject to change over time.

In this schema, the so-called "real world" situation is represented by the Objective Phenomenal World (A) on which information is being sought. The only way this element can be understood is through the interpretation of those who have written about that situation. In this study the Objective Phenomenal World is New Zealand. Of this Objective Phenomenal World there is a totality of information (or summed knowledge) which is represented in the schema as Total Available Information (B). This totality of information may be further subdivided into types of information if desired. Common subdivisions are official and popular, subjective and objective and various combinations of these. The first major process that the information is subject to is that of Accessibility (C). The term accessibility is used to describe the availability of information measured by such means as cost, type of information - published or unpublished, and whether or not it is obtainable by the intending emigrant. Once the accessibility of information has been determined
Figure 2:
MIGRATION
Diffusion of Information

OBJECTIVE PHENOMENAL WORLD → A
interpretation

TOTAL AVAILABLE INFORMATION → B

READILY AVAILABLE INFORMATION → C
accessibility

READILY AVAILABLE INFORMATION → D
interpretative distortion → E

DISSEMINATION CHANNELS → F
deliberate distortion → G

INTENDING MIGRANT → H

OTHER INFORMATION → personal evaluation and selection → I

INDIVIDUAL KNOWLEDGE → J

DECISION TO MIGRATE OR NOT → K

Johnston, J.A 1975
the Readily Available Information (D) can be established. It is from this source that most of the ultimate information and personal knowledge is derived. This aspect is of particular importance in historical studies since it can be established with some degree of authority. Some determination of the credibility of the various types of information sources is also an important question at this stage, since it gives an indication of the evaluation placed by the individual on these sources of information.

From this stage onwards the diffusion of information becomes more complex. There are however two general processes involved. The first of these is Interpretative Distortion (E). This process is the evaluation by the individual of the Readily Available Information where he has personally sought major sources for facts in order to increase his own knowledge of the subject. Some unintentional distortion will occur within this process as the individual selects and evaluates these facts according to his own value system and existing knowledge. This process is distinct from the second however, since no deliberate distortion occurs. The second process is a twofold one. Some interpretative distortion also occurs when people concerned with dissemination of information evaluate the Readily Available Information in selecting the facts they wish to use for publicising the Objective Phenomenal World. These Channels of Dissemination (F) provide most of the information in a form accessible to the public and to the intending emigrant. While some interpretative distortion does occur, the second part of the process, that of Deliberate Distortion (G) is more important, since it is through these channels of dissemination that most of the intending emigrants receive their information. The process of Deliberate Distortion, however well disguised, is found in most promotional literature, characterised by the selection and exaggeration
of material for publication and the suppression of non-favourable pieces of information. In this study the channels of dissemination are the specialised agencies concerned with promoting New Zealand, the literature and the displays of information.

From this stage onwards the individual's search behaviour is important since he personally selects and evaluates the information in terms of his own present situation, experience, values, needs and personality. From his evaluation a decision to migrate or not is made based on his Individual Knowledge (K). One other category is added into the schema at this stage. Other Information (J) allows for the possibility of information being obtained from additional sources such as personal knowledge gained from private letters or word of mouth, both of which are personal to the receiver.

Information is therefore diffused through various intervening processes to provide the intending emigrant with a series of images of his destination. These images influence his decision to emigrate or not. While the processes outlined above are considered to be the major methods of diffusion other less significant processes may also occur within the structure. An example of this may occur when an individual selects his information directly from the Readily Available Information and although having access to information disseminated by promotional bodies, sees the latter as being merely supportive and of minor significance. A different process would also occur if an intending emigrant's decision was largely prompted by information gained at the personal level followed by a searching for additional information. As information is disseminated it becomes more available, and less objective. The accuracy or detail of the information content also varies through the process. Specific detail about particular parts of the Objective Phenomenal World may become generalised. These general statements may in turn be used to
ascibe specific qualities to non-specific areas.

When considering this schema in historical terms, it is not possible to reconstruct all the components but it is possible to establish most of them in some detail. In the context of this case study the vital and pertinent information on New Zealand to 1855 can be established since the work of historians, historical geographers and other writers has well documented this period (Beaglehole 1936; Cumberland 1949; Gorrie 1955; Hargreaves 1967; Turnbull 1950; Wright, H.M. 1959). The question of accessibility can be closely approximated by considering the cost of the various kinds of information, ease of obtaining information and the form or nature of the information. From the reconstruction of these two elements the Readily Available Information can be established. The identification of the various channels of dissemination and the nature of the information within each of these channels permits some understanding of the degree of distortion. Since the individual is not present, except in his recorded impressions, it is not possible to fully reconstruct his search behaviour. Through his records and impressions however, it is possible to suggest which of the major dissemination channels were the most influential. The component, Other Information can be reconstructed only if it has been recorded in some way by the intending migrant himself. Thus it is possible to reconstruct most of the elements within this schema. The structure is a dynamic one allowing for change. The process of feedback of information is constantly operating and thus over time it is assumed that some of the elements of the schema will change and others will be reinforced.

In terms of the New Zealand situation the schema would appear as illustrated in Figure 3. The various sources of information, the amount of distortion, and the dissemination of information to
Figure 3: DIFFUSION OF INFORMATION ABOUT NEW ZEALAND TO 1855

NEW ZEALAND

Interpretation (by writers and explorers such as Cook, Marsden)

ALL WRITTEN AND PICTORIAL MATERIAL ON N.Z. UNTIL 1855

Accessibility (in terms of cost, form and ease of purchase)

READILY AVAILABLE INFORMATION

Interpretative distortion

CHANNELS OF DISSEMINATION (Literature, N.Z. Company, displays)

deliberate distortion (suppression and exaggeration)

INTENDING EMIGRANT

personal selection and evaluation

OTHER INFORMATION (Letters, diaries and journals)

INDIVIDUAL KNOWLEDGE

DECISION TO EMIGRATE OR NOT

Johnston, J.A. 1975
intending emigrants will be examined in later chapters. This examination of the role of information is important for two reasons:

a) it is the source from which the images of New Zealand were drawn; and

b) it provides some measure of objectivity against which images and later appraisals can be evaluated.

The thesis presented here therefore is that:

i) in spite of the general availability of much information about the New Zealand landscape and its resources, few of the intending emigrants were aware of this information since for most of them, the range of possible information sources was limited;

ii) that the emigrants' knowledge of their new homeland was often limited, selective, biased and in most instances drawn from few facts and a great deal of imagination;

iii) that the 'distorted sources' were important components in the promotion and development of images about New Zealand prior to arrival; and

iv) that emigrants' appraisals made on arrival in New Zealand about features in the landscape, often reflected the limited information held by the emigrants.

Evaluation of Information

A further dimension to the importance of information is the credibility or otherwise assigned to the sources of information. While some research has been carried out into the search behaviour, the learning process, and information evaluation of short distance movers - the intra-urban migrants - little has been achieved in terms of long distance movers or movements in past times. Research
on modern intra-urban migrants and on the adoption of innovations suggests that there are four main channels of information dissemination. These four are the network of personal contacts, displays of information, specialised agencies and the mass media or literary sources although all of these channels interact and interrelate. Research into the diffusion of information and adoption of innovations by present day people suggests that while printed matter is more important in generating initial awareness, information gained at the individual or personal level is more influential in subsequent decision making than that gained from the mass media or literary sources (Brown, L.A. 1968; Fairgray 1974; Hügerstrand 1952). The role of experts or specialists, while their influence is not as great as personal communication, is more important than that of the mass media. In his recent study of sheep breed diffusion in New Zealand, Fairgray notes that information received from other farmers (personal contact) is assessed more carefully than that received from specialist agencies once the innovation has been accepted. These specialist agencies were in turn more influential than published information (Fairgray 1974).

The complexity involved in attempting to assess information credibility was emphasised by J.M. Cameron in his study of Scottish emigrants to Upper Canada in the period 1815 to 1855 (Cameron, J.M. 1972). He suggests a threefold qualitative ranking of the sources. These were defined as:

i) friends and relatives; periodicals, newspapers and books; Scottish port, shipping, and emigration agencies;

ii) government; emigration societies, and trade unions; landlords; and

iii) land companies and land speculators in Upper Canada; and churches.
This ranking schema was arrived at on the basis of the degree of difficulty of obtaining information from these sources and the numbers of emigrants who were assisted or influenced by each of the agencies.

This qualitative ranking schema, while useful for the Canadian situation has been adapted for emigration to New Zealand. The main difference has been to adapt the schema in terms of the more general ideas on evaluation of information as outlined above. Thus the schema ranks the value of information, once the process of emigration had begun, from personal contact as the most effective source followed by specialist resources with published literature as the least important. It is suggested however, that where personal and specialist sources are not readily available, then literature is increasingly influential. Thus literature was more important in generating interest in emigration and in providing information before letters and other personal observations became available. The adapted ranking schema therefore is as follows:

i) friends and relatives, along with other personally gained information;

ii) emigration company agents and public meetings;

iii) pamphlets, newspapers, journals and books;

iv) government bodies, land companies, land speculators, churches and other interested parties.

It should be noted however, that this ranking schema is relevant only after emigration had begun. The positions or ranking of literature and personal contact would be interchanged in assessing their influence in generating the first awareness and interest in emigration prior to the receipt of letters from early emigrants.
Images and Appraisals: Previous Studies

Although studies of perceptions and appraisals of new environments have interested historical geographers in recent years the methodology used has varied greatly (Kovacik and Rowland 1973; Powell 1972). There have been several studies of images and appraisals of settlers in the new environments of North America and Australia. Few of these studies however have been concerned to provide a general or conceptual framework, being content to detail the particular case study. Brookfield (1969) in his more general and philosophical study, was interested in establishing the generalities from which the specific assessments of new environments were drawn. Merrens (1969), in his study of colonial South Carolina, emphasised that the colonial image of the qualities of the environment was as important in the settlement of Carolina as were the actual physical capabilities of the land. To achieve this he devised a fivefold classification to illustrate the aims and origins of the information available on South Carolina. This allowed him to show how the images of the physical landscape were developed and how these images in turn influenced the nature and rate of settlement. The five classification groups were:

i) official reports,

ii) travellers' accounts,

iii) natural history accounts,

iv) promotional literature, and

v) settlers' descriptions (Merrens 1969).

This classification permitted an assessment of the nature and quantity of the information available, and the impact such information had on the development of images. The classification of Merrens is more detailed than that adopted by other writers, many of whom have used a general division of information into categories such as official
and popular.

Powell (1972) in his work on *Images of Australia*, extended the ideas of Merrens to consider how the "variety of images of the physical environment ... and other images, political and social in nature" (Powell 1972, 1), influenced the evolution of settlement in Australia. He was also interested in the effect of these images on the development of an Australian identity. The images evoked about the physical environment were examined as being "the products of the interplay between a European heritage and the matrix of problems and prospects actually inherent in the Southern continent at any point in time" (Powell 1972, 1). The study therefore established a number of major images, considered how the images were evoked and created, determined their origins and discussed their acceptance as being an integral part of the Australian way of life (Powell 1972). Powell achieved this by identifying the basic or common threads within the images and outlining the role of creative workers in the learning process.

The evaluation of information and how it encouraged and promoted settlement has been the concern of both Watson (1969) and J.M.R. Cameron (1973; 1974). Watson was primarily concerned with the role of illusion in the European settlement of Canada. The exploration and assessment of land in North America was examined by considering the notions of reality that influenced and encouraged exploration and settlement. The evaluation and promotion of the Swan River area of Western Australia has received considerable attention from J.M.R. Cameron (1973; 1974 a & b), who also devises a means of examining the process of distortion. His earlier work (Cameron, J.M.R. 1973) analyses James Stirling's examination of the Swan River area and the assessments made about the potential of the area. These were studied in light of Stirling's preconceptions about the area and
the problems involved in evaluating the Australian environment. This detailed account of an early examination of the area is followed by an article which attempts to establish the amount of deliberate distortion which occurred in the selection of information to encourage settlement (Cameron, J.M.R. 1974 a). This second article examines the role of different dissemination agencies and the feedback of information about the Swan River area. The major distortions are identified by establishing the differences between the promotional accounts of the Swan River area published in literary journals, and the original report of the area by James Stirling. The study focuses on four major journals of the time before outlining a process of distortion. This process contained four structural elements each of which was discussed. These elements were the environment, the assessors, the public, and the disseminators. A third article follows up these two ideas and traces the development of images about Western Australia in the period 1616 to 1829 (Cameron, J.M.R. 1974 b). The development of these images is examined in terms of the influence of scientific reasoning, romantic conjecture and the reports of actual discovery.

In her study of perception and appraisal of the South Australian landscape, Moon was primarily interested in the aesthetic qualities of the landscape and its resources (Moon 1970). A more detailed study of the same topic was published in 1969 (Moon 1969). This study examined "the South Australian pioneers' appraisal and perception of the aesthetic qualities of the colony's landscape and its most basic resources, climate, soil and vegetation" (Moon 1969, 41). The perceptions and appraisals of colonists who occupied the land and of visitors to the area were used to examine the aesthetic qualities of the landscape and the major resources. The study was concerned with the response of settlers to the new environment.
Case Study: Methodology and Outline

The rest of the dissertation falls into three parts. In Part II information and images are examined. To trace the role of information in the development of images about New Zealand, the model of information diffusion outlined earlier (Figures 2 and 3) is used. An attempt to establish some surrogate of the total available information on New Zealand is made in Chapter Three. Although not using the classification adopted by Mergens, his general framework is used to organise the material. Rather than discussing origins and purposes of information the approach is one which examines the changing availability and nature of the information over time. This chapter also determines the accessibility of information in order to establish the more readily available information and to consider the question of distortion of information.

Once the availability or otherwise of the information has been established, the various means of information dissemination are studied. Thus Chapter Four examines the four major channels of dissemination identified in the modern intra-urban migration situation - mass media, specialised agencies, displays of information and personal contact. Chapter Five is concerned with establishing and interpreting the images created and promoted about the New Zealand landscape. The images will be examined in two ways. The general themes within the images are identified. Within these images four particular features of the physical environment are examined. These features are the nature of the physical landscape, climate, soil, and vegetation. The particular characteristics within these features which were common to most of the pamphlets are identified and described.

Part III examines the settlers' appraisals of the new landscape. The approach adopted in examining the appraisals is similar to that
used to discuss images. The same four features are examined and
the general themes identified. The appraisals are further examined
in order to establish whether or not the images of New Zealand
corresponded with the reality of the emigrants' appraisals.
Chapter Seven therefore considers the degree of satisfaction or
dissatisfaction with the new environment as displayed in the
emigrants' appraisals.

Part IV draws the dissertation to a conclusion by attempting
to answer some of the questions raised throughout the work.
PART II

INFORMATION AND IMAGES
CHAPTER THREE
THE AVAILABLE INFORMATION ABOUT NEW ZEALAND

Early Exploration

Although speculation on the existence of the large southern continent of Terra Australis Incognita began as early as the Middle Ages, it was not until the voyages of explorers in the Pacific Ocean in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that factual information became available. This information proved that the imagined large land mass was instead the Antarctic icesheet, the Australian continent, New Zealand, and a number of smaller islands. As far as has been authoritatively established, specific knowledge of New Zealand dates from 1642 with the voyage of Abel Tasman. It was not until after 1769 and the voyages of James Cook however, that more accurate and reliable information became available.

This information was from three main sources - written accounts of travels and voyages, maps, and artistic representations. Of these, the written accounts of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are today perhaps the better known sources of information on early New Zealand.

Much of the information contained within these written sources was descriptive. Some writers did attempt to combine impressions with more scientific observations, as the work of Forster illustrated. Forster described the southern coast of the South Island as follows:
The whole southern extremity of Tavai-poe-namoo (sic), or the southern island of New Zealand, & especially the land about Dusky Bay consists entirely of steep rocky mountains, with craggy precipices, clad with thick forests, and either barren or covered with snow on their summits. No meadows and lawns are to be met with, and the only flat land we found, was situated at the head of deep coves, where a brook fell into the sea .... we could not find a single spot of ground which might have afforded pasture. The grass which grew on some beaches being very hard and coarse.

(Forster 1777, 144)

Forster's account had numerous and lengthy passages of description and scientific observation. He had noted that New Zealand had not a climate but many microclimates. (5) Forster was careful in his evaluations and assessments of the new landscape, and his observations would have been most informative to the general reader interested in learning about this newly discovered country in the South Pacific.

After having been ashore to set up an astronomer's observatory, Forster commented in some detail on the nature of the vegetation. In particular he noted the thickness of the vegetation cover and observed that it had:

... served to lower the great idea which our people had conceived of this country; for the prodigious (sic) intricacy of various climbers, briars, shrubs, and ferns which were interwoven throughout the forests rendered the task of clearing the ground extremely fatiguing and difficult, and almost precluded access to the interior parts of the country.

(Forster 1777, 126-127)

(5) This was a point made nearly two centuries later by B.J. Garnier in The Climate of New Zealand: A Geographic Survey, London, 1958.
The journals of Tasman and Cook are today the best known of these early accounts. The records of Cook's voyages do appear however to have been known in general terms throughout Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century (Smith, B. 1960). The voyages of later explorers such as Crozet in 1771 and 1772 (Roth, 1891), Duperry in 1824 (Sharp 1971), D'Urville in 1826 (Wright, O. 1950) and 1840 (Wright, O. 1955), and of visitors such as Savage (1807), Nicholas (1817) and Darwin (1845), also produced journals. Again these accounts were largely descriptions of the areas visited, but they did provide further detail on features of the physical landscape as well as observations about the customs and habits of the Maori. Much of the description was selective in terms of area and specific in terms of content. Most of the descriptions were of locations in the northern parts of the South Island and parts of the North Island, in particular the Bay of Islands and the East Coast. Moreover, since few of the early voyagers and visitors travelled far from their points of anchorage, most of the accounts described features of the coastal areas with some reference to inland features seen from the coast.

Although Tasman's comments on the landscape tended to be brief, he did make many careful and useful observations on coastal features and small local areas (Muller 1965). Of the coast of New Zealand he wrote:

... about 2 miles off the land, was a very high double land but [we] could not because of the thick clouds, get in sight the tops of the mountains .... from this point aforesaid with the rocks, to the north east the land makes a great bight and stretches first due east, thence again due northerly. This aforesaid point lies in the Southern latitude of 41 Degrees 50 minutes, the wind west here on the water it was good for seeing, that in this region a barren land to behold, besides [we] saw no people nor any smoke in the least ...

(Sharp 1968, 118-119)
Cook, who spent more time ashore than did Tasman, provided many observations on the landscape, the weather and the Maori settlements. His journal has been regarded by one writer as "the first geography of the country" (Gorrie 1955, 46), and his long and detailed accounts were to become the major sources of information on New Zealand for nearly a century. In describing the South Island he wrote that:

... the face of the Country as it hath at different times appeared to us ... off the Southern part of the Island, that the land seen then was rugged (sic) and mountainous; and there is no reason to believe that the same ridge of Mountains extends nearly the whole length of the Island .... The land near the Shore about Cape West is rather low, and riseth with a gradual assent (sic) up to the foot of the Mountains, and appeare'd to be mostly covered with wood.
(Wharton 1893, 210)

While Cook made many general statements on the appearance of the landscape, and on whether or not the country was suited to settlement by British people, he also provided more specific and detailed accounts of particular areas. In his account of the coast of the South Island he described several of the bays and inlets. Of one particular area he wrote:

From Point Five Fingers down to the latitude 44° 20' there is a narrow ridge of hills rising directly from the Sea, which are Cloathed with wood; close behind these hills lies the ridge of Mountains, which are of Prodiginous (sic) height, and appear to consist of nothing but barren rocks, covered in many places with large patches of Snow, which perhaps have lain since the Creation. No country upon Earth can appear with a more rugged (sic) and barren Aspect than this doth.
(Wharton 1893, 210-211)

The area described above was then compared with adjacent areas and the differences between the two mentioned. Many of Cook's comments
were cautious in their assessment of the potential of the country, since they were based on appearance rather than experience. This was particularly so with his observations about the appearance of soil fertility as assessed by the luxuriance of the vegetation cover.

The journals of Cook's companions were less well-known. Similarly the accounts of Crozet, de Surville and D'Urville were less familiar, particularly to the general public. These expeditions did however provide detailed descriptions of land and life in early New Zealand. Crozet had observed that:

The country which surrounds the Bay of Islands is a charming mixture of plains and slopes, valleys and mountains. Wherever the country is not covered with forest, it is covered with ferns; those which grow on the sea-coast and on the mountains are not much higher than those of France ...
(Roth 1891, 73)

Duperry, who visited New Zealand in 1824, also provided descriptions of the scenery and landscape of the Bay of Islands.

Although largely descriptive, occasional comparisons with England, Australia and parts of Europe known to the visitors were made. While the above quotation from Crozet compared the ferns of France with those of New Zealand, D'Urville commented on the soils and the relief features. During his visit to New Zealand in 1826, D'Urville described the coastal areas of the North Island and noted that:

So far as we could judge from the boat, all the soil seemed to bear marks of volcanic action; its general appearance, colour, and undulation reminded me of what I had observed in the past in some of the Greek Islands, like Melos, Lemnos, and Santorin.
(Wright, O. 1950, 104)
In his observations of the East Coast of the North Island, Cook had compared the face of the country with parts of Britain and, for example, considered the "Downs in England" similar to much of the land he had observed on the East Coast (Wharton 1893, 138). These comparisons tended to be with familiar scenes and landscapes known to the observer. Such comparisons were infrequent however, as the writers concentrated on describing the new landscape in detail in order to provide accurate and reliable information on the country.

Another early source of information was that contained in the maps and charts of the early explorers and visitors. Maps of the whole of New Zealand were compiled as were more detailed maps of smaller areas such as the Bay of Islands. These maps were those from voyages of explorers such as Cook in 1769, Vancouver in 1791, Smith in 1804, and the French expeditions of d'Entrecasteaux in 1793, Duperrry in 1824 and Laplace in 1831 (Hargreaves 1967). The charts and maps, while delineating the coastline, also contained some information on the location of Maori settlements, place names and some relief features. In terms of coverage of New Zealand, information was largely limited to the coastal areas and inland features such as the Southern Alps which could, on clear days, be seen from the coast.

A less well-known form of information was that contained in the visual impressions of New Zealand in the paintings of landscapes and Maoris, drawn by early artists. The earliest of these paintings and sketches were done by individuals accompanying the voyages of Tasman and Cook. Gilsemans in 1642, Parkinson in 1769 and 1770, the Cleveley brothers, and Hodges in 1773, all attempted to portray a rugged and mountainous landscape. The more exotic
botanical features received much attention as did aspects of Maori culture. Buildings and canoes, featuring Maori carvings, were prominent features of these paintings. Portraits of Maoris, particularly those with tattooed faces were also common. While art forms have limitations in terms of coverage and accuracy, the early New Zealand paintings did highlight some of the elements within the landscape that had attracted the attention of these early visitors. While the eighteenth century concern with romantic nature had favoured the representational portrayal of landscape features in as close a reproduction as possible, unfamiliarity with the landscape and with the differences in Maori physique, made both painting and interpretation difficult. Interpretation was made even more difficult by the completion of the paintings and sketches in Britain, when time and distance both had influenced memories of New Zealand. Thus by 1800, considerable information about New Zealand had been compiled. Its impact on the general public was limited, however, by the inaccessibility of much of the information.

Some of this early material - written accounts, maps, and paintings - was published or displayed. Expensive book editions or reports and letters to learned societies were the usual forms of publication. Some local libraries and reading rooms housed these publications while other copies were found in private collections. However, and this is most important when considering the nature of available information, little of it appears to have been published or displayed in a cheaper or more accessible form. The major exception to this was the excerpts from these accounts which were later reproduced in newspapers and in the nineteenth century emigration handbooks. Some of these excerpts, for example those
from the voyages of Cook, merely listed the places visited, while others emphasised the more spectacular features of New Zealand's history, such as the Boyd massacre. Much of the valuable information contained within the accounts of the early explorers and visitors became less accurate and somewhat distorted when removed from context. Various sections of these accounts, especially those of Cook, were also used, in part, as a means of supporting arguments for annexation of New Zealand and the settlement of it by British people. Although this information of a factual and scientific nature was available and in a published or displayed form, it was limited in terms of accessibility even to learned and generally wealthy individuals.

**Early Nineteenth Century Visitors**

From 1800 onwards more information on New Zealand resources, the landscape, and its native inhabitants appeared in published or displayed form. Maps continued to be a major source of information, although both their nature and quality changed. Although some of these later maps were drawn during voyages around New Zealand in the 1830s, maps assembled by cartographers in Britain also became available. These cartographers' maps, for example those of Arrowsmith and Wyld, were "compilations from all scraps of information that the cartographers could obtain - other maps (both published and manuscript), published travellers accounts, and first-hand oral information" (Hargreaves 1967, 400). Many of these maps contained major errors such as the charting of large bays, for example Taranaki Bay, or the depiction of inland lakes and rivers which had no foundation in fact. Major features of these maps were the concentration of place names in certain areas such as Cook Strait and the Bay of Islands, the constriction of the width
of the South Island and the addition of the mythical bays and inland features (Hargreaves 1967). It was not until the late 1840s and early 1850s, and the surveys for the British Admiralty by the Acheron and the Pandora, that such mistakes were corrected. In terms of accessibility however, these cartographers' maps were more important, being available to the general public from the 1830s onwards. Several editions of these maps appeared, usually in a cheap and popular form but also as frontispieces in many of the emigration handbooks. Thus, while many maps of New Zealand were available, it was the less accurate, although often more ornate, maps of the cartographers which were generally more accessible than the earlier maps from the voyages of explorers.

Paintings also continued to be a source of information on New Zealand in the early nineteenth century. Augustus Earle had visited New Zealand in 1827 and 1828. From his visit many sketches, paintings and lithographs were completed, and much of this work appeared before 1840 as reproductions from lithographs, in such magazines as the Saturday Magazine and the Illustrated London News. Many of Earle's paintings were of Maori settlements and locations but he was particularly interested in the Maori people and their customs. The value of his work was twofold. Since he visited New Zealand before the first main influx of Europeans, his representation of Maoris and their customs is particularly significant. Earle was also one of the few painters of the nineteenth century whose portrayals of the landscape were relatively free from attempts to anglicise it. Together with the earlier sketches and paintings from artists accompanying Cook, the works of Augustus Earle were the most important artistic impressions before the arrival of British settlers. Such paintings were, however, accessible to the public only through the lithograph copies
reproduced in newspapers and magazines. After 1840 and the arrival of the settlers, some of whom were accomplished artists, painting became a major means of communication. The paintings of settlers such as William Fox, Charles Heaphy, and Edward Shortland are good examples.

While the maps and paintings of the early nineteenth century had important informational content, it was the published written sources which were better known and apparently more frequently consulted. After the turn of the century written observations both published and unpublished increased in number. With an accumulation of information from these sources, knowledge of New Zealand had become more extensive and detailed by the 1830s. Information about major relief features, grand accounts of scenery, climatic and botanical features, and even some statistics on flax growing were available (Cruise 1823). Descriptions of Maori people and their customs were important as were accounts of their settlements (Polack 1838, 1840; Savage 1807). The records of explorers such as D'Urville were supplemented by the reports and descriptions from early visitors such as Earle (1827). Several visitors, for example Savage (1807), Cruise (1823) and Polack (1838), published their accounts. Lectures to learned societies were also printed in book or report form. Hay's lecture on New Zealand to the infant Geographical Royal Society and Bannister's discussion of population in New Zealand read before the Statistical Society of the British Association were later published (Bannister 1838; Hay 1832).

The increasing awareness of New Zealand after 1800 had encouraged further visitors, some of whom came with mercenary intentions rather than scientific interests. Many of these people were connected with the whaling industry in the South Pacific Ocean,
and trading establishments were set up to cater for the needs and activities of whalers and sealers. Base camps were located at major coastal sites in the Bay of Islands, the Cook Strait area and along the southern coast of the South Island. With the establishment of such trading depots and the more general interest being expressed in the annexation of New Zealand by Britain, some concern was expressed by the various missionary societies over the welfare of the native inhabitants.

The first missionary (Samuel Marsden) arrived in 1814 and mission stations were developed initially in the Bay of Islands and later throughout the northern half of the North Island. The expeditions of some of the missionaries took them into previously unknown areas of the interior North Island. Other visitors, for example Nicholas (1817), were also encouraged to explore more than coastal sites. With these visits some information on the nature of the interior of the North Island became available in the 1820s. The accounts written by missionaries such as Marsden (Elder 1932) and Alfred Brown (1833), and of travellers such as Nicholas (1817) and Earle (1827) described areas visited in some detail.

Nicholas was most impressed with the "fine rich verdure" and wrote that:

In our excursions into the interior of the northern island, we found that the soil varied in its quality, but generally appeared extremely fertile; the hills were composed, for the greater part, of a stiff clay; and the valleys consisted of a black vegetable mould, producing fern of the most luxuriant growth, while the swamps which we occasionally met with, were of trifling extent, and might be drained with little trouble or expense. (Nicholas 1817, 11, 231)

Earle, as his paintings illustrated, was most interested in the habits and customs of the Maori people. He did, however, describe
locations of many of the Maori settlements and the surrounding country. Of one journey he wrote:

... we travelled many miles through thick tangled forests, fatiguing beyond description ... we emerged from the wood, and entered upon extensive plains. These were not naked deserts, similar to the ones I had passed through on my former route, but were diversified with brush and brake, with a number of small villages scattered in various directions. At midday we arrived at what in New Zealand is considered a town of great size and importance, called Ty-a-my. It is situated on the sides of a beautiful hill, the top surmounted by a par (sic), in the midst of a lonely and extensive plain, covered with plantations of Indian corn, camara (sic), and potatoes.

(McCormick 1966, 98)

These accounts of Earle and Nicholas were both published in London. Such accounts, published before the major activities of organisations concerned with colonisation, like the unpublished travel accounts contained in the letters of Alfred Brown and the journals of Sarah Mathew, are of particular interest since they contain perspectives and standards of description that generally were free of attempts to boost or promote the advantages of New Zealand as a field of emigration. More often they were solely concerned to present accurate reports of their personal observations. Thus, by the early 1830s, coastal areas were reasonably familiar to explorers and travellers. In contrast however, while the interior of the country had been visited, little was known about the inland features.

Unpublished Knowledge

With the arrival of trading vessels, and missionaries and their families, a new form of information about New Zealand was written, although little of it was intended for public use. This was the information contained in the letters and journals of the
missionaries, their wives, and other travellers. In letters to friends and family, impressions and observations of New Zealand played an important part in describing for people in Britain what New Zealand conditions were like. On arrival at Kerikeri in the Bay of Islands in 1824, Clarke wrote to his parents that:

It would be difficult for me to describe the country to you it being so different from any other country I have seen. There is but little level land that I have seen but everywhere very hilly, and mountainous, on the hills grow nothing but Fern or what Norfolk farmers call Brokes, in the swamps with which the country abounds and little native grass is to be found, in the valleys there is a good supply of wood. (Clarke, G. 1824, No pagination) (6)

The observations of the missionaries and their families were predominantly of areas close to the various mission stations, or of land seen while travelling from one station to another. Detailed descriptions of these areas were given. Some impressions were also contained in the letters and reports sent by the missionaries to their respective organisations in Britain. Charles Creed provided many descriptions of the land seen on an overland tour from Akaroa to Waikouaiti in his letters to the Wesleyan Mission Secretaries in London (Creed 1845). Distances, relief features, and the vegetation all received some comment. The letters of Bishop Selwyn and his wife, of Alfred Brown, Gideon Smales, James Buller, and of the Williams family, all contained observations and impressions of features within the New Zealand landscape, yet little of this information found its way into publication channels. The major exceptions were the long pamphlets

(6) No pagination on the manuscript, which is a collection of letters. The observation was made by George Clarke on July 24, 1824.
written by Yate (1835), White (1839) and Wade (1842).

Unpublished impressions were not limited to the missionaries however. Visitors to New Zealand often kept journals or mentioned New Zealand in letters home. Lawry, an early visitor, was not at all impressed with New Zealand or its native inhabitants. In a letter to his parents in 1822, he wrote that he was "not at all pleased with the natural or moral appearance of New Zealand - The ground bears very little else but ferns, exactly like those in England, upon which the poor natives principally feed" (Lawry 1822, 1). The journal of Shepherd, who visited New Zealand in 1825 and 1826, contained many detailed observations on the relief features and the vegetation. This excellent account described the major bays of the east coast of both the North and South Islands. Some comparisons were made between the bays as to their suitability or otherwise for settlement and agriculture. Much of this information would have been invaluable for intending emigrants. In summing up a few of his impressions, Shepherd wrote:

At Stewarts Island is an excellent harbour, and sufficient quantity of timber for common purposes ... a great variety of ornamental trees and Shrubs, very little land for cultivation .... At Port Oxley [Otago] is a good harbour, a considerable quantity of timber fit for common purposes ... a greater variety of ornamental trees and shrubs than at any other place in New Zealand, flax of good quality, quantity unknown. (Shepherd 1826, 21)

These unpublished sources contained much important information about New Zealand and its potentialities. Many of the early letters of the missionaries and their accounts of efforts at agriculture would have provided considerable assistance to early settlers.
interested in establishing gardens and horticulture. As a
source of information for the intending emigrant however, being
unpublished, the missionaries' comments were of minimal, if any
significance.

Visitors to New Zealand in this early period were not solely
British. Apart from the expeditions of French explorers,
German and American travellers also described their impressions
of New Zealand. The German, Wohlers, kept a detailed journal of
his visit to New Zealand. A diary of observations was also kept
for the Worshipful Committee of Administration of the North German
Munster Society in Hamburg. His General Diary Number 3 described
the Tasman Bay area as:

Towards the south one sees the end of the bay
(Tasman's Gulf). And the flat Waimea region at
the mouth of the Waimea river. Behind this low
hills are rising which further out seem to
merge into the high mountain country. Towards
the west rise mighty ranges and which run along
the western side of the island .... The nearer
chains, even the foothills, one sees to be
covered with forest ....
(Wohlers 1843 b, 9-10)

An American, John B. Williams, who visited New Zealand in the
early 1840s, also made many informative comments in his diary. Like
many other writers of this period however, he felt that having
visited most of the northern half of the North Island, this permitted
him to speak with some authority on New Zealand as a whole. He
considered the climate of New Zealand to be one of the best in the
world. Of the soil quality he wrote:

Many people have been at much pains to represent
New Zealand as a barren mass of rocks, although
they know that 1 acre in 7 or 8 is fit for
cultivation with excellent soil of unusual
depth. Two crops can always be obtained from
the same soil and sometimes three .... For
the first mile or two the traveller observes little else than sterility but his curiosity is soon gratified by the prospect of verdure, the beautiful and romantic scenery, lofty, which is here from almost every mountain and hill.
(Williams, J.B. 1842, 57)

While most of these personal observations remained private, some journals of visitors and travellers were published. An officer from the brig Hawes, who had visited the Tauranga area in 1829, described the area as being "hilly and much diversified with woods, not of any great extent, but so numerous and so delightfully dispersed, as to present the appearance of a park arranged by a tasteful hand" (Atkins 1830, 649). This account was published in journal form in 1830. The observations of McDonnell were also published, as were the later journals of Hodgskin and Marjoribanks (Hodgskin 1841; Marjoribanks 1846; McDonnell 1834).

Newspapers

By the middle of the 1830s, concern over the possible annexation and settlement of New Zealand by Great Britain was at a peak. This concern, in conjunction with the activities of the New Zealand Company, encouraged general public interest in the antipodean islands. Newspapers, journals, and magazines started regularly publishing articles on New Zealand. As early as 1820, the London Magazine had contained a brief article on the possible establishment of a British colony in New Zealand (London Magazine March 1820). It was from 1835 onwards, however, that newspaper articles on New Zealand appeared more frequently. The Colonial Gazette reported regularly on the situation in New Zealand from 1839 to 1841. Like many of the more local newspapers, such as the Bath Herald, these reports
were predominantly details about the activities of the New Zealand Company, with little factual material on New Zealand. A new journal, specifically designed to inform people of the activities in New Zealand, started in 1840. This was the New Zealand Journal, which was published fortnightly. A magazine, Household Words, edited by Charles Dickens in the 1840s and 1850s, located many of its stories in New Zealand and referred to reported activities in the colony (Ryan 1965). One such article called 'The New Zealand Zauberflote' appeared in 1850 and referred interested readers to the published works of Angas (1847) as its major source of information.

British newspapers also reviewed some of the books about New Zealand published in the first half of the nineteenth century. The New Monthly Magazine had reviewed the work of Cruise (1823) in the December issue of 1823, and the account of Power (1849) was discussed in Sidney's Emigrant Journal in 1850. Later newspapers and magazines suggested that many of the early reports had been "romantic fictions" (Sidney's Emigrant Journal, 2, 5, 1850 a).

The editor of Sidney's Emigrant Journal also commented on the contradictions apparent in several of the books published by the New Zealand Company. The New Zealand Journal reviewed all relevant material on New Zealand and reported on the letters read before the Geographical Society. Other newspapers also discussed the reports of parliamentary debates which concerned New Zealand, and which were of interest to intending emigrants.

While British newspapers were primarily concerned with the New Zealand Company activities, several Australian newspapers also carried articles on visitors to, and activities in, New Zealand. Unlike those in British newspapers, these articles reported on conditions in New Zealand as well as discussing the activities of
the various colonisation and emigration groups in Britain.

The *Sydney Morning Herald*, the *Colonial Times*, the *Hobart Town Gazette*, and the *Courier* all contained frequent articles on New Zealand from 1838 onwards. The *Colonial Times* for November 26, 1839 noted that:

> From private letters, received by the Andromeda, from England, we learn that the utmost exertions are making to, forthwith, colonize New Zealand.... We regard this scheme with no very pleasurable feelings. The Islands of New Zealand, from all that we can learn respecting them, constitute a very fertile country, which is most favourable to the cultivation of various kinds of grain.

*(Colonial Times Nov. 26, 1839, 4)*

While Australian newspapers reported frequently on New Zealand affairs after 1838, rare accounts had also appeared earlier. In 1826, the *Hobart Town Gazette* briefly described the Bay of Islands in particular, and New Zealand in general. The report stated that:

> Twenty sail of ship is no uncommon sight in the Bay of Islands, where the seas are so prolific, and on the shores of which, the spars are all so good and numerous. But the opposite side possesses an eligible harbour for ships, and, is besides, the most fertile and most susceptible of easy culture. The flax, both yellow and red, of which the natives form their dress, abounds in all situations of both islands, on the poor as well as rich land, but thrives best in moist soils. The surface of the country is hilly and mountainous, resembling in a great measure that of Van Dieman's Land, with frequent expanses of open plains and downs.

*(Hobart Town Gazette Sept. 23, 1826, 4)*

Newspapers, both Australian and British, were important sources of general information. Much of the information was, however, limited to accounts and reports of the New Zealand Company activities. There were comparatively few articles which examined the New Zealand
question in terms of factual information or in comparison with other British colonies.

Official Interests

The question of possible annexation and colonisation by Britain encouraged official interest in New Zealand. Some parliamentary papers concerning New Zealand were published by order of the House of Commons, and permitted interested individuals, and particularly newspaper editors, to refer to the more important debates concerned with New Zealand. Such publications, although expensive, were more accessible than the parliamentary Blue Books. In addition, the concern over annexation fostered investigation by various parliamentary committees, which interviewed people who had visited New Zealand, in order to help assess the potential of New Zealand as a possible place of colonisation by Britain. Information was also sought from other official sources. The despatches from the Governors of New South Wales to the Secretary of State from 1830 to 1839 frequently contained reports of visitors to New Zealand. In the despatches of 1830 a letter from Lieutenant McDonnell to the Governor stated that:

The timber growes (sic) here to an uncommon height, and not infrequently Six feet in diameter, and may be procured in any quantity - The Country is rich in mineral and vegetable production - the soil fertile and easy of Culture. New Zealand possesses extensive lakes - the rivers are many and navigable, generally running North and South, and branching off into others from which run numerous Streams and Creeks .... The Climate is very healthy, and free from those hot and pestilential Winds so destructive to cultivation, and that characterize the Climate of New South Wales.

(New South Wales Governor 1830, 996)
The evidence given before the parliamentary select committees contained many valuable comments on New Zealand and its potential. In his evidence McCrae, when questioned about the vegetation cover, replied that:

In the interior I observed that the Fern that grows naturally & to a great height on the Flat land had been burnt by the Natives and had been succeeded by a natural grass of which cattle seemed to be very fond. And this I believe will always be the case until the fern, which in New Zealand is of a Very great Strength & size (about four feet in the best lands & 2 on the Hills & Bad land) rises above the grass and crushed it.
(McCrae 1821, 4481-4482)

The report from the House of Lords Select Committee appointed to look into the New Zealand situation was published in 1838. Extracts from this report were later used in the New Zealand Company pamphlets to support statements about the fertility and beauty of New Zealand. Of the individuals who gave evidence before this committee, at least six had never been to New Zealand, while of the rest the majority were familiar only with the Bay of Islands. Nicholas, when asked about the productivity of the soil, described it as being of variable quality but added that:

... generally speaking, it was a rich loamy Soil. One great Proof of the great Fertility of the Soil is the Magnificence of its Forest Trees, many of which grow to an enormous Size, and afford very valuable Timber.
(Parliamentary Papers 1838, 5)

Thus the evidence given before the various parliamentary committees, and the information contained within the official reports and despatches, while occasionally distorted through limited knowledge and inevitable inaccuracies, did provide many pertinent and detailed comments on the New Zealand landscape and its suitability for settlement and agriculture, in addition to the political
considerations involved in annexation and colonisation.

By 1839 and the beginning of organised settlement, the coastal areas of the North Island had been described in considerable detail by explorers, visitors, missionaries and other interested individuals. Unpublished information on the interior was available but of course little known. The South Island was largely unexplored and unfamiliar. Only the land bordering Cook Strait, and the existence of the Southern Alps were familiar to the reading public before the efforts of the New Zealand Company, to attract emigrants to New Zealand, changed the nature and availability of information.

The New Zealand Company

It was the activities of the New Zealand Company in the period after 1838 that changed the availability of information about New Zealand. The quantity of information accessible to the public increased markedly and a different quality of information was presented. Not only did the New Zealand Company have access to much of the less well-known sources but did itself publish much selective material in a more accessible form. Efforts by the Company to sell land and to encourage emigration led to major advertising campaigns in Britain. Posters, newspaper advertisements, emigration handbooks, pamphlets, brochures and guides appeared in increasing numbers as interest in the annexation of New Zealand became more pronounced.

The economic and social conditions in Britain in the 1830s and 1840s favoured the activities of organisations and individuals interested in promoting emigration. Increasing population pressure, industrial change and development, the fluctuating economic situation,
a succession of poor agricultural yields, and unpredictable world trading relations encouraged many organisations to promote the idea of emigration to British colonies, in order to relieve conditions in Britain as well as to offer new and exciting opportunities for settlement.

From 1838 onwards the publication of pamphlets, circulars, periodicals and books was indicative of the desire to create a public, rather than to satisfy a demand (Turnbull 1950). The new colonies, if they were to be settled, had to become known and familiar to the general public. In particular, the New Zealand Company had to make known the benefits of New Zealand as opposed to those of other British colonies. Thus, organisations such as the New Zealand Company subsidised and distributed many forms of literature on the advantages of emigration. Turnbull (1950), in his major work on the New Zealand Company activities, suggested that the books and pamphlets of the 1830s and 1840s were "invariably partisan, [and] usually propagandist in intention" (Turnbull 1950, 179). This was also true of all the writings on any of the colonial settlements at the time. There was little in the informational content or the style of presentation to differentiate the writings about the various colonies.

The majority of the books written after 1838, and especially those published during the major period of New Zealand Company activity, were written by individuals affiliated with, or subsidised by the Company. Writers such as Mangles (1842), Jennings (1843), Jameson (1841), Capper (1850), Heale (1842), Chapman (1843), E.J. Wakefield (1848), and John Ward (1839) were all connected with the New Zealand Company, either as shareholders, agents, or brokers, or were interested parties in other ways. Other
writers, such as Hodgskin (1841), Petre (1841) and Bidwill (1841), were often forced into accepting the financial support of the New Zealand Company for the publication of their work (Turnbull 1950). Thus the selection of material to be printed was often left to the discretion or otherwise of the Company directors.

Although many of the writers emphasised that their works were based on experience or personal observations, the frequent use of the terms "genuine and true accounts", "facts", and "plain statements", meant that such assurances of truth and knowledge became, according to Turnbull (1950), meaningless and doubtful. While the circulations of many of the pamphlets were small, the activities of the New Zealand Company and its agents attempted to diffuse information to as many of the interested public as possible. Editors of newspapers, such as Chambers Information for the People, and local newspapers, such as the Manchester Examiner, regularly published articles on New Zealand and the activities of the Company, written by Edward Wakefield senior (Wakefield E. 1843).

While a considerable quantity of information was produced, the nature of the information was promotional. General statements and emotive terminology characterised many of the descriptions. Thus, in the Handbook for New Zealand, E.J. Wakefield wrote that:

The face of the country is thus divided between mountains and hills more or less precipitious; extensive tablelands at a greater or less elevation above the sea and alluvial districts, interspersed with fens generally available by drainage, nearer the level of the shores.
(Wakefield, E.J. 1848, 45)

Some of the information emphasised the contrast with economic and social conditions in Britain. Others referred to the disadvantages of other colonies - the heat, drought and penal
settlements of Australia, the frozen winters of North America, and the heat and native problems in South Africa. Disadvantages of New Zealand, such as the reported cannibalism of the Maoris, were suppressed. The aim of the majority of the pamphlets was promotional. Information that was presented emphasised the favourable features of settlement in New Zealand, while unfavourable features were ignored or glossed over. Conclusions were drawn from scant evidence. Details of limited areas were used to describe New Zealand as a whole. Information about the interior was often inferred from the descriptions of coastal areas, such as the Bay of Islands, and characteristics of known areas of the North Island were readily transferred to descriptions of New Zealand. Information thus became distorted and less accurate. Pamphlet writers invariably spoke highly of the country. Beaglehole (1936) suggested that the country had been presented in the most favourable terms by the pamphlet writers and "by those who had never had the dubious advantage of observation" (Beaglehole 1936, 22). As Beaglehole said, New Zealand was indeed a "country incompletely known but magnificently imagined" (Beaglehole 1936, 22).

To the intending emigrant much of the propaganda would have appeared to have been similar in nature and form. Only the most careful of readers would have been aware of the confusion, the generalities, the inaccuracies, and the lack of factual information in many of the pamphlets. The pamphlet writers themselves had no easy task. Ignorance and lack of experience made it difficult for them to present their information in an unbiased form. But as Turnbull suggested "ignorance and contradictory reports made it easier to select favourable information and to escape the charge of bare-faced lying" (Turnbull 1950, 217-218). The New Zealand Company played a major role in the period from 1839 onwards, for
being concerned with emigration it was a major source of information on the colony. More than 60 general descriptions of New Zealand appeared in the period 1839 to 1855, and much of this material was originally published by or for the New Zealand Company (Gorrie 1955).

Annexation and Settlement

After the annexation of New Zealand by Britain and the beginnings of organised settlement, interest in the new colony and its settlers encouraged the publication of accounts and experiences in the antipodes. Many of the settlers also wrote to friends and relatives detailing their impressions of the new colony. Thus, personal observations and impressions of both settlers and visitors provided a further source of information about the New Zealand landscape. Journal writing and the keeping of observations of nature were common features of Victorian society, and many of the emigrants kept journals and diaries which described the voyage to New Zealand and the subsequent arrival. However, like the letters and accounts of the early missionaries and their families, much of the material was for personal use only and was not widely circulated. Nevertheless, while this information was personal, the quality of it meant that it was most valuable as a source of information. In contrast to the pamphlet writers, the emigrants' impressions were based on personal observation and experience of conditions in the new colony. Of his impressions of the Banks Peninsula coast, William Kennaway wrote:

... a bold rugged shore .... was dotted with trees to the very shore, but in some places seemed to have been cleared of timber and in others was covered with short scruffy looking stuff. With a glass we could distinguish cattle browsing on the hills.
(Kennaway, William 1851, 81)
As with the observations of the missionaries and earlier visitors, such detailed comments were not intended for public or promotional use. Emigrants who came to New Zealand with the later settlements would have had more personal information available but the nature of these accounts limited their impact. Gorrie, writing on the literature of this period, said that it was typified by "the quality of observation, its catholicity and detail" (Gorrie 1955, 77). While these writings did not claim to be scientific they did express careful assessments of the landscape. It is a pity therefore that they were not more accessible to the general public.

The New Zealand Company did publish many early letters from emigrants as a promotional move. While Turnbull rejects the idea that these letters had been forged or written by interested parties, he emphasised that many of the letters collected by agents and sent to the Company Secretary had had dangerous remarks, such as those on the hilliness or windiness of Wellington, removed (Turnbull 1950). Some letters had also been amended to alter their meaning. The letters written to or for the Company, like the pamphlets, used general statements and emotive terms, and many of the ideas expressed in these letters would appear to have originated from the pamphlets. Bradey (1843), seemingly entranced by New Zealand, claimed that there was "no more healthy, more productive or finer country in the world" (Bradey 1843, 1). As far as could be established, Bradey’s experience was limited to Kent, the voyage to New Zealand and Wellington (Turnbull 1950).

With the arrival and settlement of the emigrants, information on New Zealand became more extensive. New areas had become known as surveyors associated with the New Zealand Company carried out
expeditions in search of land suitable for settlement. The later settlements of Otago and Canterbury had encouraged exploration of the South Island, and information on the interior of both islands was becoming available. Tuckett (1844) and J.W. Barnicoat (1844) were two early settlers who had explored much of the South Island before the arrival of settlers at Otago. At all the settlements the clearing and developing of land was beginning to move away from the coast into the interior. Areas such as the Wairarapa were opened up for pastoral activities and the Waimea plains near Nelson were being settled.

By 1855 therefore, there was much detailed information available about New Zealand. From all the sources it was apparent that knowledge of the country was extensive, with information on landscape features, resources, capabilities, Maori customs and people, and locations being available in books, pamphlets, newspapers, reports, and personal observations. There was no work which organised this material however, and much of the information was limited in its impact because of the nature or form of presentation. A careful examination of all the sources of information, if they had been accessible, should have given the reader a clear and accurate picture of many features of New Zealand. Ritter, relying on accessible written sources, produced a book on New Zealand, which, while the style was verbose, gave a clear impression of New Zealand conditions (Ritter 1842).
Accessibility of Information

However, while a wealth of detailed information about New Zealand did exist, this information was not generally accessible to intending emigrants. There were two main factors involved in limiting the accessibility of much of the material. These were the nature or source of information, and the cost of material. The nature was determined by the form of the information - whether personal and therefore largely unpublished, or published. Cost was measured by the price of books, pamphlets, maps, and paintings where such detail was known. Cost was also measured against the average income of agricultural labourers and workers employed in industry at the time. This gave a crude index of the real cost of information (Table 1 p.86).

Much of the more valuable information on New Zealand was not accessible as has been implied in the above discussion. The personal nature of many of the more detailed observations limited their accessibility. Unless an individual was the recipient of letters from New Zealand or was closely associated either with family or with any of the learned societies, it was impossible to know or learn of the information contained in personal observations. The reports and accounts of the missionaries were largely lodged with the various missionary societies. Much of the more pertinent information for intending emigrants was thus found in letters to family and friends, or in correspondence with fellow missionaries. Little of this became publicly known apart from the small excerpts reproduced in newspapers. Thus, while many of the early visitors, missionaries and settlers recorded their impressions and experiences in some detail, these were largely inaccessible to an intending emigrant.
The original maps and paintings also had limited accessibility. Few reproductions of the original maps or paintings appear to have been published. It was, instead, the cartographers' maps, particularly those of Wyld and Arrowsmith, that were the most common and certainly the most accessible. Most pamphlets, if containing a map at all, used either one of Wyld's or of Arrowsmith's as a frontispiece. This practice was common throughout the period. These maps, as was mentioned above, often contained major errors. Reference to the use of maps as sources of information was rare, although several of the emigrants knew about the maps. Where reference is made to maps, it was to the maps of the cartographers. A settler at Auckland wrote to his mother advising her to purchase a copy of Arrowsmith's map (Collinson 1846), while Bishop Selwyn mentioned Wyld's map in his journal (Selwyn, G.A., 1845 a). With the arrival of the settlers some surveyors' maps of the various settlements became available. These were sold by the New Zealand Company. Such maps, however, were considerably more expensive than the pamphlets. Black and white maps ranged in price from two shillings each to more than three shillings each. Coloured maps cost from three to five shillings apiece.

As would be expected, few of the paintings were available in their original form. Several of the sketches of artists such as Earle and Heapby were often lithographed and reproduced in newspapers and magazines. Like the maps, however, sketches and copies of paintings were expensive to purchase. Prices for printed copies ranged between three and five shillings each (Table 1, p.86).

As mentioned above, the written accounts of voyages and the observations of visitors were often published in expensive editions or in reports to various committees such as the Royal Association. Unless reproduced in newspaper reports in an abridged version, in articles in journals or as excerpts in pamphlets, this material also
was limited in its accessibility to intending emigrants. Local reading rooms, libraries and Mechanics Institutes throughout Britain did house these works and thus some access was available to the interested. Despite the availability of much detailed information in both written and pictorial form, access to it was most often limited by cost and by the nature of the information.

It was the reproductions of the accounts in newspapers, journals and pamphlets that were the most accessible. Such accounts were directed at a wider section of the population, were generally less expensive and were widely promoted. As the preceding analysis has suggested, the information within such sources was often somewhat distorted. The major concern of the article and pamphlet writers was to make their descriptions "readable, comprehensible, familiar and above all interesting" (Cameron, J.M.R. 1974a, 60). The distortion practised by the pamphlet writers was similar to that in all writings concerned with colonial promotion. It was characterised by the selection of favourable comments only and the suppression of contradictions or unfavourable observations. The writers strived for a degree of objectivity but, like the pamphlet writers for the Swan River Colony in Western Australia:

... all were caught up with the general enthusiasm surrounding the formation of a colony and found it difficult to exclude an element of excitement from their writing .... Consequently elements from the available information were carefully selected and reorganized, and not infrequently embellished. (Cameron, J.M.R., 1974a, 60)

The writers of the pamphlets and newspaper articles obviously had some access to the accounts of explorers, to parliamentary papers, to some of the missionary reports and to letters sent to various organisations such as the New Zealand Company. Brief
quotations from all these sources occasionally appeared in the pamphlets. For the most part direct quotations were used with little reference made to the original context. Such quotations were primarily used to illustrate the advantages and benefits of settlement in New Zealand, or to reinforce statements about the suitability of New Zealand as a place for settlement. In most of the pamphlets more than one quotation was cited, in order to illustrate that the examples were neither isolated nor extraordinary. In many instances quotations were paraphrased or not acknowledged.

From the lists of publications on New Zealand found in the publishers' notices appended to most books and of which condensed versions were often found in the pamphlets, the number of major works being publicised by 1840 was less than 20. Of these 20 only five, apart from early New Zealand Company handbooks, were consistently cited as major sources of information. These five were the works of Yate (1835), Earle (1827), Savage (1807), Nicholas (1817), and references to the voyages of Cook. Only small excerpts from these works were used. In the later New Zealand Company pamphlets, the work of Dieffenbach (1843) and some of the evidence published in the parliamentary papers was also occasionally mentioned. From a small sample - 20 only - of the pamphlets which acknowledged their source material in the period to 1855, the writers mentioned above consistently appear to have been regarded as authorities on New Zealand. There was little change in the content or sources of information within the pamphlets over the period. Terry, writing in 1842, thought that much relevant material had been overlooked by the pamphlet writers. In particular he considered the accounts of Cook had not been made use of to their full extent. His claim was that:
To the authentic geographical information given by Captain Cook, on his first and subsequent voyages to New Zealand, 1769-1774, of the harbours and coasts of the North and Middle Islands of New Zealand, very little attention has hitherto been made. (Terry 1842, 4)

Of the authorities cited by various pamphlet writers, Cook was the least extensively used or quoted. Only brief mention of his observations, in particular those about the vegetation cover and the possibility of New Zealand supporting a large population, appeared in a consistent fashion. Perhaps the reason for this was the mode of expression used by Cook. In contrast to the emotive terminology used by many other writers such as Yate (1835), the accounts of Cook were "facts, embodied in grave, simple and philosophical language" (Lumsden and Son 1839, 15).

By the late 1850s, the lists of publications on New Zealand were dominated by the pamphlets of the New Zealand Company. In one list of pamphlets and publications relative to New Zealand in 1848, over 30 per cent were written for or published by the New Zealand Company (Wakefield, E.J. 1848). Despite the general availability of material by 1855, the price of much of the published material was prohibitive. Table 1 illustrates the range of prices of both published works, and maps and paintings. From an examination of the table it is apparent that the most accessible forms of information in terms of price were the cheaper pamphlets - those costing between one penny and one shilling. These pamphlets were largely those of the New Zealand Company or cheaper editions of more expensive publications. The work of Petre (1841) for example, cost three shillings in its original form but a cheaper version without plates or maps cost one shilling. The most accessible information and the cheapest to purchase would thus appear to have been the popular editions published by the New Zealand
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Price Range</th>
<th>Price Range as Per Cent</th>
<th>Numbers of Items Within Price Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Average Weekly Income</td>
<td>A.L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d to 3d</td>
<td>0.9 - 2.7%</td>
<td>0.46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4d to 6d</td>
<td>3.7 - 5.5%</td>
<td>1.8 - 2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7d to 1/-</td>
<td>6.4 - 11.0%</td>
<td>3.2 - 5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/- to 2/-</td>
<td>12.0 - 22.0%</td>
<td>6.0 - 11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/- to 4/-</td>
<td>23.0 - 44.4%</td>
<td>11.5 - 22.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/- to 6/-</td>
<td>45.0 - 66.6%</td>
<td>22.6 - 33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 6/-</td>
<td>Over 66.6%</td>
<td>Over 33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 A.L. Agricultural Labourer: Average Weekly Wage, 9/- (1850)
I.E. Employed in Industry: Average Weekly Wage, 18/- (1850)

Data Sources
Prices: Publishers' lists and advertisements;
Wages: Page (1919) 213; Mathias (1969) 219; Sutch (1941).
Company.

Access to original works and unpublished material was limited. If an emigrant had followed up some of the references to major sources, he, like Ritter (1842), would have been able to obtain a clear picture of New Zealand conditions. But, as Turnbull suggested, most of the "available accounts, published or unpublished, needed critical examination beyond the power of an emigrant to give them" (Turnbull 1950, 218).

The actual location of materials was also a problem for intending emigrants. Apart from local reading rooms, publishers' lists of recent publications, and reviews of books in newspapers, there were few ways of learning where information on New Zealand could be found. Bishop Selwyn's wife noted in her reminiscences that, on learning about the prospect of going to New Zealand in 1841:

The funny thing was that we could find so little to throw any light upon our future home. It seemed so far off as it well could be; it was just beginning to be colonised. (Selwyn, S. 1892, 35-36)

Mrs Selwyn also commented that most of the people in her local district (Exeter) "knew ... nothing about the country" (Selwyn, S. 1892, 42). It was therefore left to the New Zealand Company, and the enthusiasm of the local agents, to make known the more accessible pamphlets. Thus, although a quantity of published material was available by the early 1840s, it was left to the local New Zealand Company agents to ensure that such material became known and familiar to intending emigrants.

As has been shown therefore, while much information was available about New Zealand for the period studied, the amount of this material readily available to an intending emigrant was most
limited. This limited availability of information was further restricted by the relative inaccessibility, in terms of the nature of the information or in terms of cost, of many of the more detailed and reliable sources. It was left to the activities of a specialist agency such as the New Zealand Company to select and promote information about the country, as well as to present it in a form accessible to an intending emigrant. Thus, the activities of the New Zealand Company and the various channels of dissemination for information became crucial in the development of an individual's knowledge about New Zealand before arrival and his later appraisal.

Most of the emigrants appear to have accepted the information contained within the literature accessible to them. The fact that they emigrated was proof enough. Emigration to any new colony and the prospect of health, wealth and a better life, perhaps blinded many of the emigrants to the consequences of their decision. While their expectation of New Zealand was drawn from this limited information, it was also coloured by imagination and hope. As one writer suggested, the difference between hope and expectation was often slight (Turnbull 1950). It could perhaps be said that the emigrants believed what they wanted to believe.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION TO INTENDING EMIGRANTS

As has been shown in the previous chapter, accurate and reliable information on most aspects of the New Zealand conditions was available by 1839. Little of this information, however, was in a form readily accessible to the intending emigrant. As a result of the limited accessibility of the relevant information, the established channels of dissemination became vital elements in the individual's search for specific knowledge on New Zealand. The nature and quality of the information gained from these channels also varied in relation to the different forms of dissemination.

Studies concerned with the diffusion of information in present day situations have emphasised the role that information plays in the decision making process, and in the evaluations placed on the various sources of information. The channels of dissemination, therefore, are most important since they determine the nature of the transmitted information, as well as the selection of sources. Research into the decision making process of modern intra-urban migrants, and on the adoption of innovations, has suggested that there are four major channels of dissemination. These channels are the mass media, specialist agencies, displays of information and personal contact networks. While the time scale is different, these four channels were also important in the nineteenth century. Of necessity, the definitions of each of the channels may differ slightly since the technology and society were different, but the basic structures are unchanged. The modern term 'mass media' is meaningless
in an historical context. The relevant information came from newspapers, monthly journals, magazines and periodicals, although their impact in terms of 'mass' was limited. The specialist agencies were limited to those organisations concerned with emigration to New Zealand. Thus, the main specialist agency, and the only one significantly influencing emigration, was the New Zealand Company. The New Zealand Company was also instrumental in the development of the third channel of dissemination - displays of information. Such displays included advertisements, posters and literature. It was at public meetings, and through the actions of the individual agents in promoting New Zealand, that many of these displays became known. In addition there were the more visual displays of paintings, panoramas and exhibitions of curiosities. For any study of past people, the network of personal contacts is the most difficult to establish. In this study some small portion of this network is considered by looking at the references contained in private letters and journals which indicated personal knowledge.

Newspapers, Periodicals and Journals

The written word was a channel of dissemination with a huge potential since its influence extended throughout Great Britain. The more accurate and reliable information about New Zealand would have been available to editors of newspapers and magazines if interest and demand had encouraged research into the New Zealand question. Little of the detailed information available appeared in the newspapers, however, either at the national or local level. National newspapers occasionally reported on major events in New Zealand but these paled into insignificance when compared with the information published by the New Zealand Company at the local level. National and regional newspapers such as The Times and the Glasgow Herald, carried articles
on the benefits of emigration in general, as well as accounts of experiences in North America, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand. Notices on emigration company activities and meetings were published in the advertising columns, and in a section entitled Colonial News. Reports of experiences in the colonies, parliamentary debates, and some account of the various missionary societies were also published in local papers, such as the Bath Herald, the Cheltenham Gazette and the Leicester Mercury, from 1839 onwards. Journals such as the London Journal, the Westminster Review, the Chambers Edinburgh Journal regularly featured brief articles on emigration. In the Westminster Review of June 1840 an article considered the 'Comparative Prospects of our new Colonies'. In discussing the potential of the islands of New Zealand it was claimed that:

As a field of colonization they enjoy every possible physical qualification. Situated about 14 degrees nearer the equator than Great Britain, their climate is considerably milder; and whilst it has been found that the soil and climate generally are admirably adapted to the culture of grain, and especially wheat, the productions of southern Europe - the vine, the olive, the fig, and the mulberry - attain remarkable perfection .... The surface of the country is uneven; in the centre of both islands there are snow-clad mountains, from which descend a multitude of fertilizing streams. The stately forests of New Zealand bear witness to the richness of the soil. The remarkable luxuriance of vegetation has been noticed by everyone who has visited the country, and the salubrity of the climate is equally conspicuous. (Westminster Review June 1840, 171)

Not only was there local and national coverage of the emigration question but overseas newspapers also kept ex-patriates and army personnel informed of the affairs of the new colonies. The Saunders Monthly Magazine for all India reported on and publicised events in New Zealand. As stated above, Australian newspapers regularly carried features on New Zealand and the question of emigration.
As the major organisation concerned with the colonisation of New Zealand, the New Zealand Company realised the importance of newspapers and journals as a means of information dissemination to the general public. Edward Wakefield senior, wrote regular articles on New Zealand for the Company. These articles were published in both local and national newspapers, as well as in some European publications (Wakefield, Edward 1843). Many of Wakefield's articles were published in the Chambers Edinburgh Journal which sold 100,000 copies a week and reached over one million readers. In addition to the publication of articles in the Chambers Edinburgh Journal, Wakefield had personally negotiated with the editors of the Manchester Examiner, the provincial newspaper with the largest circulation in Britain, for the continued insertion of New Zealand news. Articles also appeared in the Glasgow Herald, the Glasgow Argus, the London Standard, the Leeds Mercury, the Colonial Magazine, and the Liverpool Times. The Glasgow Herald had lent Wakefield the use of its columns to start a Scottish Company as early as 1843 since, "the articles which have appeared from my pen in the Glasgow Herald have attracted great attention" (Wakefield, Edward 1843, 2-3). This national and local coverage by newspapers and magazines was an important channel of dissemination. In particular a wide section of the general public was reached by these means. As stated above, the information contained within such accounts was predominantly general comments about emigration and about the activities of the New Zealand Company. It was the work of the New Zealand Company and its agents at the local level, however, which disseminated information about New Zealand and which was more influential in persuading interested individuals to emigrate.
Specialist Agency: The New Zealand Company

In writing of the New Zealand Company in 1842, one observer claimed that:

... on one point the Company have been but too fortunate. They have succeeded in almost identifying themselves with New Zealand in the public eye ... [they] have taught the public to think of New Zealand only through the medium of the New Zealand Company. (Heale 1842, 8-9)

It was at the local level that the New Zealand Company had its greatest impact and directed most of its attention. The directors of the Company themselves had realised the importance of publicising information about New Zealand in the local areas and by personal contact. Action at the local level was emphasised in the Company directors' minutes. Advertisements were placed in local and regional newspapers calling for the appointment of agents to sell land shares and to encourage emigration. These agents, for example, John Patten in Leeds, W. Waddell in Liverpool, and John Crawford in Glasgow, were to promote, advertise, and interest people in New Zealand. More specifically, they made known the benefits of emigration in general, the advantages of New Zealand over other colonies, and the wisdom of going to New Zealand under the auspices of the New Zealand Company. Agents were instructed to avoid exaggerating the advantages of the Colony and "to lean towards the side of understating rather than overstating" (New Zealand Company 1839, AJCP 1481). Free or assisted passages would be granted to suitable applicants subject to the reports of the agents and the approval of the directors. Mechanics, craftsmen, agricultural labourers and domestic servants were the preferred applicants, while urban dwellers, persons resident in a workhouse or in receipt of parish relief, were to be discouraged. In terms of age and sex, young married couples with no children were
to be given preference, followed by young single men. The agents were instructed to interview and select suitable labourers to be granted the free passage (New Zealand Company 1839, AJCP 1481).

In all, over 90 agents concerned with emigration and land sales were appointed throughout England, Scotland and Ireland. The tasks of the agents were not always easy. The duties were comprehensive, including the promotion and advertising of the Company's activities in addition to organising public meetings, interviewing applicants, and generally meeting as many potential emigrants as possible. Turnbull (1950) suggested that many of the expectations and ideas about New Zealand conceived by the emigrants were the result of the persuasion and lack of explanation by the agents. John Crawford, the Company agent at Glasgow, emphasised in a letter to the directors in London, that much of his time was spent in travelling to interview prospective emigrants (Crawford, J. 1840), while the agent in Kent was treated with some suspicion by the local people (Turnbull 1956).

The New Zealand Company was a major channel of dissemination for information about New Zealand. Being a specialist agency it was concerned with presenting the advantages of the new colony in a favourable manner. The information presented therefore was often promotional or distorted. The New Zealand Company was actively involved in displaying and advertising information. It was in this manner, therefore, that the impact of the New Zealand Company was most obviously expressed.
Displays of Information

A third channel of dissemination, and one which was used by the New Zealand Company, was the presentation of information to intending emigrants. One of the first means of attracting attention to emigration and to New Zealand was the use of huge advertisements on 'Emigration to New Zealand', displayed in public places such as taverns, toll houses, and railway carriages (Cox, C.P. 1915). One such poster displayed in Maidstone, Kent, read:

EMIGRATE! EMIGRATE! EMIGRATE!

Young, healthy, and industrious MARRIED COUPLES of the Labouring Classes, anxious to better their condition and wishing to receive

A FAIR DAY'S WAGE FOR A FAIR DAY'S WORK may now obtain

A FREE PASSAGE TO NEW ZEALAND one of the finest countries in the world

(Turnbull 1956, 37).

Other posters and advertisements detailed who the local agent was, the location of his headquarters, notices of local meetings and when ships for New Zealand were due to depart (Figure 4). An early New Zealand poet, William Golding, dismissed often as a writer of doggerel (Kingsbury 1968), described some of these posters as "Great placard sheets ... large letter'd [that] would proclaim ... Free passage to New Zealand's isle" (Harvey, J. 1968, 20). Another writer described one of the multi-coloured posters as being "flaming posters ... flaunted ... in the railway carriages" (Cox, C.P. 1915, 4).
NEW ZEALAND
COMPANY,
EMIGRATION.

THE COURT OF DIRECTORS
NEW ZEALAND COMPANY

Are prepared to assist in Emigrating to their Settlements in New Zealand,

AGRICULTURAL
MECHANICS,
FARM LABORERS,
Domestic Servants

Of good character, who will assist themselves by defraying a portion of the cost of their passage.

The Directors will receive Applications accordingly, until

WEDNESDAY, the 9th AUGUST,
From persons of the above description, desirous of proceeding on these terms by the Ship

AJAX

Appointed to Sail from the London Docks on
Monday, the 4th September next.

Further Particulars and Forms of Application may be obtained at New Zealand House,

By Order of the Court.

Thomas Cudbert Harington.

New Zealand House, 9, Broad Street Buildings, London,
24th July, 1848.
The agents also realised the importance of the local newspaper as a major means of communication and dissemination of information. Paragraphs on activities in New Zealand, advertisements for free passages, and letters from satisfied emigrants were placed in the local newspaper. Individuals were also invited to write directly to the Superintendent of Emigration in London for further details on New Zealand and the free passages. The posters and advertisements were generally followed up by public meetings. These meetings were open to all interested parties and invitations were sent to local landlords and employers, or other possible settlers known to have capital assets. For some of these meetings tickets were sold, usually at a cost of twopence each.

The main purpose of the public meetings was to attract a large audience and allow interested individuals a chance, not only of hearing what the speakers had to say about New Zealand, but also to ask questions of the speakers. One such meeting was advertised as follows:

PUBLIC MEETING

OTAGO        NEW ZEALAND

A Meeting will be held in the Free Church School-Room, Bridge of Allan, on Wednesday, 20th December, 1848, at Half-Past Seven O'clock, Evening, when the Secretary of the Association for promoting the Scottish Settlement at Otago, in New Zealand, will explain the object and principles of the Scheme and communicate interesting intelligence respecting the Settlement.

The Rev. John Ferguson in the Chair.

(uncatalogued Mis. Ms. Hocken Library)
Local clergy or well known public figures chaired the meetings, often attended by local newspaper reporters. Reviews of the meetings, attendances and questions asked of the speakers, were often published in the local papers. Crawford (1840), in reporting on his activities to the New Zealand Company, noted that he had delivered a lecture on "The Colonization of New Zealand" at Paisley on January 30, 1839. This lecture presented "to diffuse information among the working classes" (Crawford, J. 1840, 3), was reviewed in the Paisley Advertiser and later in the New Zealand Journal (New Zealand Journal 1840, 1, 3). The review in the Paisley Advertiser noted that the "lecture was listened to with attention, and several passages of it warmly cheered" (Flotsam and Jetsam 1, 8).

There is little evidence to indicate how frequently such public meetings were held. For the later settlement of Canterbury in the 1850s, public meetings in London were held at least once a week. It is debatable whether this was typical of the general situation elsewhere in Britain. The information diffused at these meetings varied in content. Of one such meeting an emigrant wrote:

Having sometime entertained the thought of emigrating to America, I resolved to hear what could be said about the remote islands of New Zealand .... the addresses .... were very short, and the information of a very limited kind, for they were speaking of a country they had never seen, and of a life to which they were utter strangers.
(Adam 1874, 5)

While these meetings were open to the public many of the more elaborate meetings, involving formal banquets and speeches, were prohibitive to intending emigrants with tickets costing up to twenty-two shillings each. Many such banquets were intended more for possible landowners and capitalists in the new colony, often
personal friends of the directors of the New Zealand Company. At the more formal meetings some of the speeches were obviously promotional. The main claim of the speakers was that New Zealand was a favoured land, a land of promise and one which was destined to become the Britain of the South. In a speech on New Zealand given at the dinner held by the West Scotland Committee for purchasers of land, intending settlers, and other guests, one speaker said:

... I will not attempt to describe the favoured land to which the colonists, now assembled with us at this festive board, are so soon to wend their way - I will not speak of its shady forests, or its noble harbours, its tempered climate, or its fertile soil; its snowy ridges, rivalling the Alps in elevation; its perennial rivers, equalling our mountain streams in sweetness. Gentlemen, it has many capabilities and features of our land; its deeply indented and rocky shores; its isles, far stretching into the Main, its soil, teaming with coal and metallic riches; its torrents, affording an inexhaustible supply of water power for machinery! But it enjoys a very different climate - a perpetual spring fans its sunny slopes, protected, by a vast interior range of mountains and encircling ocean, alike from the shivering blasts of winter and the scorching heats of summer. 

(Alison 1839, 6)

The talks and lectures relied heavily on written material such as the works of J. Ward (1839) and Petre (1841), letters from settlers to the New Zealand Company (Smith, Elder and Co. 1843), and the publications of Savage (1807), Cruise (1823), J.L. Craik (1830) and Yate (1835). In most instances the speakers had never visited New Zealand and were familiar only with the works published for the New Zealand Company. The Bath Herald reported on a meeting held at the Castle and Ball Hotel, where the New Zealand Company agent, Rundall, had read extracts from published documents and private letters, all of which "bore testimony to the wonderful fertility of the soil, the beauty of the climate, the peaceful and honest disposition of the natives and the varied and luxuriant natural productions of the Colony"
(Flotsam and Jetsam 1, 11).

In addition to the public meetings, further posters and advertisements were sent to parishes, unions, public and private bodies, landlords, major working institutions and all provincial reading rooms, in a move to publicise New Zealand as widely as possible. Some of these notices to promote the Otago scheme, were sent as far afield as India. The more general advertisements provided details on the New Zealand Company - the directors, the regulations concerning emigration, the trades and callings required in the new colony (Figure 4), costs of passages for those not eligible for a free or assisted passage (Figure 5), forms of application, details on shipping movements (Figures 6 and 7), and information on how to proceed with applications. An agent, reporting on his activities, discussed the impact of such advertising. He mentioned an intending emigrant whose attention had been drawn to New Zealand by reading the 12th Report of the Company in a Mechanics Institution in the country (New Zealand Company 1849, AJCP 1481).

Intending emigrants could also consult the literature published and distributed by the New Zealand Company. Where prices permitted, an intending emigrant could purchase books, pamphlets, gazetteers, prospectuses of the different settlements and other published literature. The pamphlets and handbooks in particular, received much promotion at the local level - some being freely handed out by the agents. Advertisements for the handbooks were displayed in public places and reviewed or advertised in the local newspaper. The Handbook for New Zealand (Wakefield, E.J. 1848) costing six shillings, was advertised as "a careful and trustworthy compilation", which contained "nearly 500 pages of matter relating to New Zealand in general, and very full particulars about the soil, climate, and
IMPORTANT TO EMIGRANTS

SHIP FROM CLYDE TO OTAGO.

A Ship will be despatched from the Clyde to Otago, on the 4th of September 1849, provided a sufficient number of LAND PURCHASERS, and of Persons PAYING their own passage, desire to sail from the Clyde to Otago, at that date, come forward and give satisfactory assurance to the above effect. With the view to complete the arrangements for this purpose, it is necessary, and particularly requested, that all parties wishing to avail themselves of them, make application before the 9th of July 1849. On which day, the Otago Association will proceed to consider whether the applicants are sufficiently numerous to warrant a recommendation to the New Zealand Company, to lay on such a ship in addition to those which are to proceed from London, and will immediately thereafter intimate to the applicants, the decision of the Company.

RATES OF PASSAGE, PROVISIONS INCLUDED.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FOR EACH PERSON</th>
<th>Chief Cabin</th>
<th>Poor Cabin</th>
<th>Steerage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14 Years old and upwards</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Years old, and under 14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Year and under 1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 1 Year old</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Company will appoint an experienced Surgeon, and provide Medicines, Medical Comforts, and an ample Diet for each Class of Passengers.

For further particulars apply at the Head Office of the Association No. 37 Hanover Street, Edinburgh, or to Messrs ROXBURGH & RICHARDSON, Ship and Insurance Brokers, No. 1 Royal Bank Place, Glasgow.

BY ORDER OF THE ASSOCIATION.

J. M'CLASHER, Secretary
FIGURE 6: EMIGRATION POSTER 1842: Costs for Unassisted Passages to Wellington and Nelson

EMIGRATION TO NEW ZEALAND

Important to Farmers and small Capitalists.

The Court of Directors of the New Zealand Company having received numerous applications for passages from persons of the above description, and being desirous of facilitating the emigration to New Zealand of persons of the industrious classes, who do not fall within the regulations entitling them to a Free Passage, and also small Capitalists to whom the costly Accommodation usually provided for Cabin passages would be unsuitable. Notice is hereby given, that Cabin Passages to and Nelson may be obtained in the splendid new Ship.

PHOEBE,
Burthen 500 Tons, lying in the West India Docks,
Chartered by the Company to Sail from the Port of London positively on the 15th of November next, on the following terms:—

The price of a Chief-Cabin Passage, with a liberal dietary, will be 50 guineas for a married couple, & 30 Guineas for a single adult person: and that of a Fore-Cabin Passage will be £20 per adult. The prices for children will be in the proportions fixed by the Passengers' Act, or as the Directors may fix in the case of large families.

Families who may desire it, may have extra space for their Accommodation upon payment of a proportionate additional Sum. One Ton Freight will be allowed to Chief-Cabin and Half a Ton to Fore-cabin Passengers, FREE OF CHARGE; EXTRA FREIGHT will be allowed by the Directors in their discretion, at the rate of 45s. per Ton measurement, and 25s. per Ton dead weight.

The Company will appoint an experienced Surgeon, and will provide Medicines and Medical Comforts.

Applications for Passage or Freight, to be addressed to the Secretary of the New Zealand Company, Broad Street Buildings; or to J. STAYNER, SHIP & INSURANCE BROKER, 110, Fenchurch Street, London, on or before SATURDAY, 15th OCTOBER next.

A Deposit of £10 will be required for every Chief-Cabin Passage, and of £5 for every Fore-Cabin Passage, which must be paid to the Company, or to J. STAYNER, on or before the 15th October, and the remainder of the Passage-Monies previous to Embarkation.

By Order of the Court,

New Zealand House, Broad Street Buildings, September 14th, 1842.

JOHN WARD, Sec.
FOR

CANTERBURY,
NEW ZEALAND.

850 Tons,
The first-class Passenger Ships.
Sir GEORGE SEYMOUR

Thomas Goodson, Commander,
AND THE
Charlotte Jane

730 Tons,
Alexander Lawrence, Commander,
LYING IN
THE EAST INDIA DOCKS.
Chartered by the CANTERBURY ASSOCIATION, and appointed to sail from the Port of London

On THURSDAY, 29th AUGUST,
Calling at Plymouth for Passengers.
Each Ship will carry an Experienced Surgeon.

Rates of Passage, Provisions, Medicine, and Medical Comforts included:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Adult</th>
<th>Child Under 14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chief</td>
<td>£42</td>
<td>£25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot</td>
<td>£32</td>
<td>£15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A separate Agreement must be entered into with respect to Stern and Poop Cabins.
Steerage Cabins will be provided for Married Couples paying in full for their own Passage in the Steerage, on payment of £2 extra for each Adult, and Children in proportion.

For Freight, Passage, or further Information, apply to

FILBY & CO., 157, Fenchurch Street;

J. STAYNER, 110, Fenchurch Street.

By order of the Committee of Management,

WILLIAM BOWLER,
Superintendent of Shipping.
natural features of the Islands" (New Zealand Company 1848, AJCP 1484). In general, the New Zealand Company pamphlets were a less expensive version in order to be more accessible to intending emigrants. As well as being cheaper than books, such as those of Cruise (1823), they were also designed to present the advantages of New Zealand in the most favourable form. At least one such pamphlet received official criticism. In the Colonial Office Correspondence a letter from the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners expressed some dissatisfaction with the pamphlet, Letters from Emigrants (McKewan 1841), which was published by the New Zealand Company, for the information of the labouring classes. The Colonial Office objected to the use of comparisons with Australia. The letter stated that "our rule in respect of all publications inducing the labouring poor to emigrate at the public expense, which are submitted to us, is never to allow the praise of one colony to follow from the disparagement of any others" (Colonial Office 1841, 187).

While cost of pamphlets ranged from one penny to over six shillings (Table 1), most of the New Zealand Company pamphlets were advertised as cheap and popular editions which cost between threepence and three shillings. Two such pamphlets were New Zealand Described together with a few words of advice on the subject of Emigration in a letter to the Labouring class (Mann, G. 1840), which cost threepence and The Emigrant's Manual (Rolph 1841) which was promoted as a cheap edition addressed to the industrious classes and others who intended settling abroad. Pamphlets published for the New Zealand Company were sent to other organisations interested in the welfare of New Zealand. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Society for the Propogation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and the Church Missionary Society were
all sent copies of the pamphlets published by J.W. Parker from 1839 onwards. Advertisements for these pamphlets were also inserted in the Morning Post, The Times, the Morning Chronicle, the Morning Herald, the Standard, the Globe, the Spectator, John Bull, and the Examiner (New Zealand Association 1837).

A few of the intending emigrants did write to the offices of the New Zealand Company in London for material on New Zealand. One emigrant noted in 1848 that he had been busy "overhauling the books I got from Mr Watson, London, for the benefit of the Scotch emigrants" (Wilkie, J. & Co. 1894, 3). The agents also distributed pamphlets and prospectuses to emigrants who visited their local offices. Dowling, an agent in Edinburgh, noted that he had distributed prospectuses and copies of addresses on New Zealand to interested parties (Dowling 1843). Another agent wrote to the Company requesting more material since his office had been overwhelmed with enquiries and he considered an extra thousand copies of Fox's report would be most useful (New Zealand Company 1849, AJCP 1481).

Much of the information contained within these pamphlets and handbooks was, as one emigrant later complained "prettily got up works" (Weekes 1840, 1), and he was most dissatisfied by the "promises made to the emigrants in Plymouth by the Company's agents, for the purpose of getting them on board without trouble - and which they know well could never be fulfilled" (Weekes 1840, 8). As emphasised above, the pamphlets were promotional with the major form of distortion being the selection of favourable impressions and the suppression of unfavourable comments. Essentially such promotion was designed to 'boost' the standing of New Zealand in the eyes of the public. Statements such as:
The facts we shall adduce will show that the New Zealand islands contain more of available land, a richer soil, and an incomparably better climate than the British Islands themselves. (Lumsden and Son 1839, 14)

were typical introductory comments. Pamphlets writers all assured their readers that their accounts were true and accurate. Earp (1848), in his introduction, warned his readers not to "expect picturesque descriptions of scenery, though New Zealand, beyond most other countries, abounds in picturesque beauty; nor must he look for those narratives of personal adventure with which it is the fashion to season colonial books." (Earp 1848, 2).

The first paragraphs of the pamphlets listed reasons why New Zealand was preferred to any other colony. The following statement from the prospectus for the Scots Land Company for 1839 was a typical one:

The climate of New Zealand is more temperate than that of any other country, and pre-eminently healthy. The soil is rich, and the supply of rain being regular, capable of producing all the grains and fruits of Europe in great perfection, potatoes two crops in the year, good pasture at all seasons, and wool much superior to that of Australia. New Zealand is, besides, most advantageously situated for obtaining a market by disposing of its produce to the numerous South Sea whaling vessels which frequent its shores, and in supplying the wants of Australia at all times, but especially during the terrible visitations of drought and injuries by blight. (Scots New Zealand Land Company 1839, 2)

The contents of the pamphlets were, not surprisingly, similar in outline and drew heavily from the same source materials, thus, reinforcing many of the ideas about New Zealand. Typical chapter headings were: 'Why people should emigrate'; 'Hints for intending emigrants'; 'Preparations for the voyage'; 'The climate of New Zealand'; 'The soil of New Zealand'; 'The natural resources
or productions'; 'Description of the country'; and in later pamphlets, 'Descriptions of the various settlements' (Earp 1848; Lumsden & Son 1839). Several of the pamphlets also included letters from settlers and Company representatives already in New Zealand. Little hint of dissatisfaction with New Zealand conditions appeared in these pamphlets or letters; many of the letter writers being good publicists for the Company. One author claimed that if any "spirit of disappointment" was mentioned "the Company's agents are at work, and the writers denounced as misanthropes, comfortable nowhere, - agitators busy everywhere, or persons evidently not adapted to an infant colony, and who, consequently, should have staid (sic) at home" (Wood, J. 1843, 7).

Despite the general dissemination of information in pamphlet form and by the activities of the local agents, a few emigrants commented on the difficulties of obtaining accurate, unbiased and non-promotional information. Like Mrs Selwyn (1892), John Wood noted that:

For some months previous to quitting England the question of emigration had with us been seriously pondered, and every accessible source of information diligently perused. Guides to emigrants, travels, newspapers, missionary reports, and such Parliamentary papers as were accessible were all in turn consulted; but here let us observe how extremely difficult it is to obtain a true account of any one province of our Colonial Empire. (Wood, J. 1843, 7)

Other writers too, were aware that much of the accessible information was promotional. Marjoribanks, who visited New Zealand in the early 1840s, commented on the numerous works available on the colony. In his Travels in New Zealand, he stated that:
Though numerous works have of late been issued from the press in regard to New Zealand most of which I have perused, yet some of them are too expensive to come within the reach of the general reader, while others are too much confined to a description of particular localities, and it may be, too much tinged, occasionally, with motives of self interest, to exhibit a faithful and correct picture of that romantic country in all its different bearings. (Marjoribanks 1846, preface)

The New Zealand Company was also involved in another means of displaying information. Exhibits of paintings, maps, lithographs, and items from New Zealand were displayed in the New Zealand Company offices and Colonists' Rooms. Panoramas were also exhibited in Leicester Square in London. This form of display was a more visual one, designed to 'catch the eye' or attract the interest of passers-by. The New Zealand Company sent copies of most sketches and paintings done for the Company, to agents as well as to libraries, museums, reading rooms, and book sellers (Dowling 1843). These sketches and paintings were of the various settlements or of general New Zealand interest. Of all of these displayed items however, the panoramas appear to have attracted most attention. In some instances these were painted by people who had visited New Zealand. For example, the panorama of New Zealand by Brees was well known. Others were drawn by local artists from the sketches made by visitors to New Zealand. One of the better known panoramas was that of the Bay of Islands, painted by Robert Burford from the sketches of Augustus Earle. A descriptive handbook was also sold at the exhibition. This handbook contained further information about the painting and about New Zealand. Visitors and settlers made occasional references to these panoramas. In his journal of 1840, Best claimed that description of the Bay of Islands area was needless, since 'everybody has seen the Panorama in Leicester
Square" (Best 1840, 279). Bidwill was another who commented on the Bay of Islands panorama, emphasising that it was "a place become so familiar in England from various causes, but chiefly from the panorama of it exhibited in London" (Bidwill 1841, 24). From his own observations, Bidwill thought the panorama was "exceedingly like the place, with the exception that the hills are trifling elevations in reality, while in the painting they appear very considerable" (Bidwill 1841, 24). Like many of the paintings and lithographs, the panoramas were given general titles such as 'Panorama of New Zealand'. As one visitor later hastened to correct in a letter to the editor of the New Zealand Journal, the panorama in fact only portrayed a few square miles of the country (Hursthouse, C. 1850 a). Of one of the panoramas of New Zealand, C. Hursthouse wrote:

The panorama is rather vaguely styled a 'Panorama of New Zealand'. It actually shows, however, only a few square miles of a country as large as Great Britain. It is a faithful representation of one settlement, Wellington; but Wellington is no more the type of New Zealand, than the rugged tract around the Peak of Derbyshire is the type of rich champaign counties of England. (Hursthouse, C. 1850 a, 83)

This letter, which was never published, drew attention to one of the major forms of distortion used. This was the assumption that features specific to certain areas were common to the whole of New Zealand. Observations such as those of C. Hursthouse were rare. The various displays in the New Zealand Company offices received little or no mention, being regarded more as curiosities. Like many of the lithographs published in the newspapers, the natural life exhibits were predominantly features of the Maori culture such
as carvings and grass skirts. Lithographs, not published in newspapers, and copies of paintings were generally beyond the price range of most intending emigrants (Table 1). Maps were also displayed but appear to have aroused little attention. Apart from occasional references to errors on the cartographers' maps only one writer referred to the maps, displayed in London, as a source of information. On his arrival in Canterbury, J.R. Godley reported that:

From the top of the hill, there is a perfect view of the whole district ... I was struck by the accuracy with which its reality corresponded with the idea conveyed by the map.
(Godley, J.R. 1850a, 52)

There were two reasons for the lack of comment on maps and paintings. In the first place, for most of the intending emigrants, the maps were harder to interpret than a panorama, and more difficult to understand than a pamphlet. Secondly, maps and paintings were more expensive (Table 1, p.86).

The activities of the New Zealand Company and its agents in the local areas would seem therefore to have been the most influential channel of dissemination of information. While newspapers and journals provided a general awareness of the issues involved in the question of emigration, it was the work of the local agents in the local area which drew the attention of individuals to New Zealand. While these three channels of dissemination were obviously similar in some respects, the information gained at the local level, either from public meetings or from displays of information, was largely promotional and oriented to attracting the individual to emigrate to New Zealand.
The Network of Personal Contacts

Besides the information disseminated by the more official channels there was one other important source of information once emigration to New Zealand had begun. This channel is most difficult to reconstruct or evaluate, being the knowledge gained by an individual from personal contact or communication with settlers already in New Zealand or with visitors who had since returned to Britain. It is considered that where it occurred, the feedback of personally experienced information was most significant in influencing individual decision making. Its impact was somewhat limited however. Distances between New Zealand and Britain, the length of time for letters to reach Britain, and more significantly, the personal nature of these letters, meant that little of the information contained within such sources found its way into the general or official channels of dissemination. Since letters and journals were sent to relatives and friends thought likely to emigrate, the information within such sources would have been evaluated more carefully and regarded as being more correct than other sources of information. Likewise, information gained from personal contact often encouraged intending emigrants to check the written sources and to seek more widely for information. One settler commented that, after having heard two friends discuss the establishment of the Plymouth Company in New Zealand, he returned home to Plymouth and "read all the books and obtained all the information I could of this wonderful attractive colony" (Cooke 1850, 104). Cooke felt that he had been "colonially bitten" by the

(7) Mrs Selwyn noted in her reminiscences that it was more than one year after her arrival in New Zealand before she heard from Home (Selwyn, S. 1892, 54).
enthusiasm of his friends and by the personal experience of a friend already in Wellington.

Once the emigrants had arrived and settled in New Zealand, they themselves occasionally commented on the validity or otherwise of their own information. Advice was offered to friends and relatives about which of the sources of information appeared to be the most correct. Collinson criticised the handbooks and guides of the New Zealand Company and suggested instead that "one of the most amusing and truest books on New Zealand" (Collinson 1847, 8, 2), was the work of Marjoribanks (1846). Boddington, writing to his brother in 1842, claimed that the pamphlet published by Chambers Information for the People, costing one and a half pence, was a true account (Boddington 1843). Another settler recommended the work of Petre, of which he claimed that "all persons interested cannot do better than read the Hon. Petre's work on New Zealand, as I can testify that it is a correct statement" (Bradey 1843, 3).

Some were more critical of their sources of information and indicated that some of the facts in pamphlets and handbooks as well as in the newspapers were often incorrect. As one settler wrote "it is absurd to think that all the Otago Journal says is true" (J-'s Letters 1850, 89). Another wrote that while "much that we have heard of this colony is true ... some points have been a little misrepresented" (Trelawney Saunders 1850, 100). A German visitor, Wohlers, also commented on the rather exaggerated descriptions of Nelson that he had read prior to his arrival (Wohlers 1843 b, 14). There was also some criticism of the paintings or lithographs for not being true representations of the landscape. One settler, who had had some artistic training, claimed that the lithographs and paintings displayed in Britain bore no comparison to the reality, especially the paintings of Mount Egmont (Wallace 1843). John Robert
Godley after some weeks at the Otago settlement in 1850 noted in a letter to his father that the Canterbury landscape was different from what he had expected and that:

None of us, I believe, were prepared for the beauty of the scenery; it took us more by surprise than even at Otago; for the sketches which we had seen in England were very far from inviting.
(Godley, J.R. 1850 a, 48)

The letters and diaries and even many of the journals of the settlers contained much pertinent information on the reality of living in a new colony. Observations covered such aspects as colonial housekeeping (Godley, J.R. 1850 a), as well as the provisions regarded as essential items for emigrants. In many instances, the letters attempted to answer queries raised by relatives and friends still in Britain. In others, the recipients of the letters asked whether information disseminated through public channels in Britain was correct. James Young Deans of Kilmarnock, Scotland, wrote to William Deans in 1843 and urged him to:

... give us some more particular information regarding ... [the Manawatu area]. Has it a river frontage or how far is it distant from the river? Is it level or hilly, wet or dry, wooded or clear? If wooded, is the wood dense and heavy or otherwise? How far is it distant from the mouth of the Manawatu, and from the townships ... advertised in the Gazette? Is it all capable of cultivation .... Is the soil good and of what description?
(Deans, W. 1937, 51)

A desire to communicate accurate and detailed information is thus evident in many of the letters. Thomson, writing of the Canterbury settlement after twelve years there, claimed that knowledge of New Zealand in Britain was minimal, and thought that
many of the settlers had been "deceived by the exaggerated praises bestowed upon the country selected for the Canterbury Association, by some of the too ardent promoters of the scheme" (Thomson, C. 1867, 7). This writer emphasised that, like all colonies, New Zealand had several unfavourable features. One that she had noticed in particular was the winds which "do not blow harder, perhaps than they frequently do in England, but they certainly blow oftener and more continuously" (Thomson, C. 1867, 7). One of the Deans brothers also expressed some dissatisfaction when he wrote of the literature available about New Zealand:

No place that I have yet seen in New Zealand comes up to the description given of it, in any of the books written under the Company's directions, and I must say I am rather disappointed with it .... From all accounts I heard of this place and Nelson I expected to see a finer country ...
(Deans, W. 1937, 62)

Thus, while some settlers mentioned the errors in the information they had received, they often corrected such inaccuracies for later settlers. Other settlers were cautious in their assessments of New Zealand when writing to friends. Often it was left to the recipient to judge for himself whether or not New Zealand would be a suitable place for emigration. In writing to his brother, Nicholson said:

As I know you are not at all anxious of remaining in England, and wish to collect all the facts relative to the Colonies; I take this opportunity of describing in as impartial a manner as possible the principal settlements of the New Zealand Company here, but to only one of them can I bear testimony, namely, to that of Port Nicholson, but as to whether you consider it favorable or not, I will leave you to judge.
(Nicholson, R. 1842, letter 2, 1)
In writing to a friend in England who had expressed an intention to emigrate to New Zealand, Martin suggested that his friend should draw his own conclusions about the country by reading the newspapers from the colony for six months (Martin, W. 1847). The accounts of the settlers and the observations made in letters and journals contained much valuable information on particular settlements and on New Zealand. The recipients of this information therefore would have had more specific and realistic ideas about New Zealand, or about a particular settlement. When compared with the information disseminated by the New Zealand Company some discrepancies would have appeared. It is suggested that where this occurred, it was the personally experienced advice of relatives and friends that was most influential.

The extent of the network of personal contact and its influence is difficult to determine. There is little in the letters to suggest that this personally experienced information reached others than the recipients. It is reasonable to assume however, that letters from New Zealand had some interest, particularly in small local areas, and that news and observations contained within the letters were discussed at length with interested friends. Occasionally a writer did suggest that some friend or relative be informed of conditions in New Zealand with a view to emigrating. Lockyer, in a letter to his father published by the New Zealand Company, wrote asking him to "tell James Hilborne he could do well here. Tailoring is a very good trade here" (Lockyer 1843, 22). Such references are rare.

Visitors to New Zealand, who later returned to Britain, often commented on the lack of knowledge about New Zealand in Britain. Thomson felt that there was a general lack of interest in the affairs of New Zealand while Colenso thought that the information
accessible to most of the general public was limited by design, ignorance and carelessness (Colenso 1844; Thomson, C, 1867). In his research into the activities of the New Zealand Company, Turnbull (1950) suggested that a large portion of the British middle class remained totally unaware that New Zealand was a British colony despite the activities of the Company. Colenso, in particular, commented on the imperfect nature of much of the information available. In talking of the soils of New Zealand he wrote that:

The soils, in particular, of New Zealand have been represented as possessing a fertility unparalleled, and such everywhere abounding to an almost unlimited extent! Nearly ten years of residence (during which period a good share of travelling and numerous opportunities of obtaining the most correct information) has, however, convinced me, that such is far, very far, from the truth. (Colenso 1844, 93-94)

While personal contact and letters from settlers were a most important source of information, little of the detail contained within such sources became publicly known. This more personal information was limited in its accessibility, therefore, to the recipients of the letters and the dissemination such individuals gave it through their network of personal contacts.

When considering the channels of dissemination of information about New Zealand and about emigration, it is obvious that intending emigrants were largely dependent on the activities of the New Zealand Company in their local areas for information and detail. From this it would seem to be apparent that, unless an intending emigrant had personal contact with an emigrant already in New Zealand, it was most difficult to obtain accurate and unbiased information.
The most accessible, and probably the most influential, channel of dissemination was the display of information organised by the major specialist agency - the New Zealand Company. It was, furthermore, the activities of the agents of the Company in the local areas that attracted the attention of the intending emigrants. Newspapers, journals and periodicals were also important means of disseminating information but they were primarily concerned with general aspects of interest. It was at the local level that the various channels of dissemination overlapped. Agents used local newspapers as a further means of communication. Where personally gained information was not available, it was the activities of the Company which drew the attention of the local people to the possibilities of emigration to New Zealand.

It was therefore, as Turnbull suggested (Turnbull 1950), from the information received from agents or the Company, that most intending emigrants' ideas about their new homeland were drawn. Thus the images about New Zealand, created and promoted in the literature and other displays, were the basis of many of the intending emigrants' own images and expectations. To establish the images of New Zealand, conjured up by these displays of information, permits some reconstruction of the individual's image of New Zealand and of the relationship between expectations and later appraisals.
CHAPTER FIVE
IMAGES OF NEW ZEALAND

The image of a place held by an individual is a composite entity, the parts of which all interact and interrelate (Lindsay and Norman 1972). The importance of the informational component in the development of images has long been recognised by geographers interested in spatial perception and spatial behaviour (Gould 1969 a). Research has emphasised that the nature and evaluation of information bears a strong relationship to the individual's cognitive map or image (Downs and Stea 1973). Thus, the images or ideas contained within the information sources, may strongly reflect the individual's personal image or awareness of a situation, and influence his later appraisal. While it is impossible to reconstruct the totality of the image of an area, it is possible to reconstruct the principal sub-images.

In the period 1839 to 1855 in New Zealand, it has been established that the information disseminated by the New Zealand Company was the most accessible, and probably the most influential in the decision making of intending emigrants. Knowledge gained from personal contact may have been evaluated more carefully where it was available once emigration had begun. In considering the images fostered or created in the readily accessible literature and displays of information therefore, some close approximation of the images or expectations held by intending emigrants can be suggested. This chapter focuses on four related sub-images of aspects of the physical environment of New Zealand. These four - features of relief, the climate, the soil and the vegetation - probably the four most important sub-images,
had received considerable promotion by the local agents and in the literature and displays of information. Being important considerations in the development of any agricultural system, these four aspects were emphasised in most accounts of New Zealand. The same four features were also important considerations for the emigrants, and thus, were mentioned in letters, diaries and journals giving relatives and friends some impressions of their new environment. The images created by the published and readily accessible literature were thus, the source of information for many of the emigrants, and became the basis of their expectations about their new environment,

Relief Features

The physical appearance of New Zealand was a feature immediately visible on arrival. The literature therefore, attempted to familiarise the intending emigrant with major features of relief before his arrival. At the same time, descriptions of relief features emphasised the suitability of the country for settlement and agriculture. The grand and magnificent nature of the scenery was also mentioned. Two themes were expressed - a romantic theme was combined with the more utilitarian.

Familiar features of the British landscape were used as yardsticks against which the descriptions of New Zealand could be compared, either in terms of their similarity to Britain, or to emphasise the more exotic character of some of the relief features. Four main characteristics of relief were discussed in the literature. These four were details of location, size and extent of New Zealand; the surface features; the extent of open land; and the beauty of the landscape,
The first characteristic was a practical one. Details of location, size and extent of New Zealand were important for two reasons. The first of these was to establish whether or not the land could support a large population, particularly in terms of land suitable for agriculture and settlement. As one pamphlet described it, New Zealand was:

... a territory as large as Great Britain, of which, allowing for mountainous districts and waters, it must be fairly calculated that fully two-thirds are capable of being beneficially cultivated. (New Zealand Colonization Company 1838, 1)

A second reason for providing details of location and extent was to establish some more or less tangible dimensions to New Zealand, by comparing it with the size of Great Britain:

New Zealand ... comprises three principal, and numerous smaller islands; situated in the Southern hemisphere, about ten days' sail from the Continent of Australia, it extends in length from the 34th to the 48th degree of south latitude, and in breadth from the 166th to 179th degree of East longitude, averaging about 800 miles long by 100 wide, and aptly termed the Britain of the South. (Johnston and Barrett 1843, 1)

Details of location were significant facts for climatic considerations, particularly the position of New Zealand relative to the equator and the warmer climate of the tropics. In addition to climatic considerations, the location of New Zealand was important for strategic reasons. Not only was New Zealand similar to Great Britain in terms of size, but its position in the Pacific Ocean gave it an important place in the extension of British rule in the southern hemisphere. Most introductory statements in pamphlets and handbooks, therefore, reassured the reader of the similarity of the islands of New Zealand to those of Great Britain, and illustrated
this by detailing the location, size and extent of the country.

The following extract from an early pamphlet was a typical one:

The islands present an oblong appearance on the map, extending in the direction of north-east and south-west; thus securing the greatest variety of climate for the given extent of surface. Leaving the peninsula of the northern island to fill up the irregularities of the coast and straits, we may fairly suppose, on a rough estimate, the whole territory to be reduced to the form of a parallelogram of at least 800 miles in length by 100 miles in breadth. This would give 80,000 square miles - more than fifty millions of acres. Allowing one-third, or any large proportion, that could be reasonably calculated upon, for unproductive land and water, it is clear that the islands, without any extraordinary fertility being assumed, might support as large a population as Great Britain and Ireland, to which they are in many respects the counterpart, - in shape, in relative position to the neighbouring continent, and in the physical and mental vigour of the aboriginal inhabitants.
(Lumsden and Son 1839, 14)

Since details of location, size and extent were factual considerations most descriptions were comparatively brief. Both readers and writers were more interested in the second characteristic of relief - the surface features of their new homeland.

It was felt to be most important to establish the nature of the general surface features; whether the country was flat or hilly, the extent of the mountainous lands and the location of the open or level land. The descriptions or accounts of surface features varied both in length and detail. Some of the pamphlet writers, more particularly those who compiled the circulars, gave the surface features scant attention. One circular claimed that "the general aspect of the country is mountainous; but there are numerous extensive plains, and much cultivable hilly land" (New Zealand Circular 1852, 1). According to one writer, New Zealand was undoubtedly
a hilly country (Heaphy 1842), while another claimed it was only
generally hilly with some mountains (Fitzroy 1846). Most of the
pamphlet writers seemed less able to limit their descriptions of
the surface features, however, often becoming almost lyrical, as
the following extract from C. Hursthouse illustrated:

The natural features of the country are on the
grandest scale. An intelligent writer has justly
said, that New Zealand presents scenes of almost
every clime, and exhibits a world in miniature
.... It has its Alpine districts, snow-clad and
bristling with glaciers, and its lowered ranges
crowned with lofty woods. Its table lands and
grassy plains, sometimes flat or undulated by
rounded hills; its dells and valleys, overspread
with the richest verdure; its mountain streams
and ship receiving harbours, its coasts glittering
with bays and harbours.
(Hursthouse, C. 1849 b, 6)

The majority of the descriptions were general, couched in loose
terms such as "hilly" or "mountainous" with little attempt to be
specific. Terms were not defined, heights and other statistics
were generally omitted. Even the newspaper reports relied on general
non-specific statements. The Westminster Review described the
surface of New Zealand as "uneven" (Westminster Review June 1840).
Except for the detailed account of Dieffenbach (1843), few of the
descriptions noted areal differences throughout the country, and
only occasionally was any differentiation made between the North
and South Islands, or between the coast and the interior. Although
many of the pamphlets drew on material which was area specific, for
example the statements of Cook or Nicholas, the descriptions of
areas such as the Bay of Islands or the Southern Alps were, as stated,
assumed by pamphlet writers to be relevant for the entire country.
There was little published material available on the interior,
although missionaries and some visitors had traversed much of the
North Island. The thermal area of the central North Island was largely unknown, and thus, rarely mentioned in the pamphlets. One early pamphlet had noted, however, that there were several active volcanoes in the interior and on the coast (White 1839). The Chambers Information for the People observed that New Zealand was "evidently of volcanic origin, there being many extinct and a few active volcanoes in the interior of the islands" (Chambers 1841, 313). The work of Darwin had been consulted by some writers, and his opinion that the soils were volcanic was considered by many pamphlet writers, to be proof enough that active volcanoes existed in the interior.

While general descriptions of New Zealand as a whole were the most common, some writers did attempt to describe the major surface features or small local areas in some detail. Of the surface features, it was the mountains which excited and interested the writers:

To those who love wild rocky mountain solitudes, with forest masses in their clefts - to whom, in short, the usual characteristics of fine mountain scenery are among the things which make life enjoyable - New Zealand will probably present more external attractions than any other emigration field.
(Burton, J. 1851, 2)

The mountains were described by many writers as grand and beautiful, or picturesque, and were compared favourably with such well known ranges as the Swiss Alps and the Andes. One writer thought the "sublime southern Alps" were "perhaps unequalled in all the world" (Matthew 1839, 115). That New Zealand was a mountainous country was unquestioned. Most visitors to New Zealand had commented on the mountainous landscape. Descriptions of the Southern Alps were easily transferred to descriptions of all parts of New Zealand.
Not only were many of the pamphlet writers impressed by the grandeur of the mountains, but several felt that the mountains would, indeed, inspire all who lived with them. As Matthew wrote:

The character of surrounding objects must exert a powerful influence upon the genius of a people. These stupendous mountains, with innumerable rills pouring down their verdant slopes - their great valleys, occupied by the most beautiful rivers - their feet washed by the ceaseless south-sea swell, - their flanks clothed with the grandest of primeval forests - their bosoms veiled in cloud, - and their rocky and icy scalps piercing the clear azure heaven - must go to stamp, as far as earthly things can have impression, a poetical character upon the genius of the Austral British. (Matthew 1839, 115)

While the mountains were seen as bold and magnificent features of the new landscape, some more discerning pamphlet writers realised that such rugged mountains would be unfamiliar to the British reader, and tempered their descriptions. Such accounts warned the reader that the first impressions of the land, as seen from the sea - often ones of steepness and apparent sterility - were false. In its prospectus, the Plymouth Company wrote that:

The first appearance of the Southern Island is unpromising; a succession of apparently barren mountains stretching away from the coast, till they reach those covered with snow in the interior; but, on nearing the land, you find that the whole is covered to the very highest points with timber and brushwood ...
(Granville 1840 b, 45)

Likewise, Heaphy (1842), reassured his readers that although the land on either side of Cook Strait appeared to be sterile when first seen, it was in fact of "the richest and most fertile nature" (Heaphy 1842, 3). Heaphy, like other visitors, had had initial
misgivings over the apparently barren appearance and extent of the mountains. There seemed little room left for settlement and agriculture. This emphasis on first impressions was a feature of the pamphlets written by those who had visited New Zealand.

While the mountains were perhaps the most obvious relief feature, other aspects received some attention. Small local areas were occasionally described. The Saunders Monthly Magazine for all India, for example, gave a brief account of surface features of both the North and South Islands before discussing the site of the Canterbury settlement in some detail (Saunders Monthly Magazine 1852 a). Cruise (1823), whose work was often referred to by the pamphlet writers, had described the country generally as hilly. His description of the Bay of Islands area was more detailed, with a description of the general aspect of the area followed by some assessment of the extent of these features (Cruise 1823). Tuckett, in exploring the South Island for suitable locations for the southern settlements of the Company, gave many vivid descriptions of small local areas. Some of these descriptions were later published in a pamphlet (Tuckett 1844). The Aparima area on the southern coast of the South Island was described as follows:

..., the land appeared to be one continued prairie, not low and flat nor much broken, but a fine swelling surface, slightly elevated, just such a surface as is most compatible with beauty and utility. (Tuckett 1844, 52)

The Taranaki area was well described by C. Hursthouse. His pamphlet on the New Plymouth settlement was widely publicised (Hursthouse, C. 1849 a). The reviews of this pamphlet were most favourable, and the book was recommended to the reader for its precise descriptions of the area. A visitor to New Zealand in
1841–1842 later published his narrative as a pamphlet to counteract
the "puffery" he thought was being practised by many of the
New Zealand Company writers (Wood, J. 1843). His account of the
relief features of New Zealand assessed the vegetation cover as
well as the relief. New Zealand was divided into four general
types of land surface – wooded mountains, fern land, alluvial
valleys and flax swamps. Each district visited was then described
more fully.

In most instances the surface features of limited areas were
later used as general statements for the whole of New Zealand.
Yate (1835) described the appearance of New Zealand in somewhat
grandiose terms as:

In the southern parts of the northern island, the first objects of attention are, the cloud-
girt or snow-capped mountains, rising, with
gigantic grandeur, above the more humble hills
by which they are skirted. Some of these
mountains rise more than fourteen thousand
feet above the level of the sea; their sides
covered with forest timber, and their whole
appearance strikingly rich and grand.
(Yate 1835, 3-4)

This statement from Yate, although containing a factual error in
the height of the mountains, re-appeared frequently in later
emigrant manuals. It was used, however, to describe New Zealand
as a whole, not merely the southern part of the North Island. Many
later pamphlets reproduced excerpts from Yate (1835), and suggested
that the mountains of New Zealand reached over 14,000 feet. Yate
himself was also guilty of some interpretative distortion. In
expounding on the beauties of New Zealand, its lakes, its mountains,
and rivers, Yate used exclusively North Island examples yet continued
to phrase his descriptions so that the examples applied to the
entire country (Yate 1835). This selection of examples would not
have been obvious to the general reader, to whom place names, particularly Maori place names, often meant little.

Some writers did admit that their knowledge of New Zealand was limited, but this did not deter them from inferring details to areas with which they were personally unacquainted. Petre (1841) stated that his knowledge of the interior was limited, but, in later comments on river systems, he claimed that "the country has no large rivers intersecting the interior, nor, strictly speaking, any navigable rivers at all" (Petre 1841, 74). Published information about the South Island was still scarce by 1845, although several settlers had travelled over parts of it, particularly the Nelson area and the Canterbury Plains. Some writers were prepared to admit that the southern island was less well known but reassured their readers that the "reports of intelligent natives" described the South Island "as abounding in numerous tracts of fine upland pasture" (Anderson & Co. 1840, 12).

With many general descriptions of the surface features relying on the use of vague terms such as hilly or mountainous, several pamphlet writers realised that readers might misinterpret their statements regarding hilly or mountainous areas, to be disadvantageous in terms of the amount of land for settlement and agriculture. Thus, a third characteristic of the descriptions of the relief features was the desire to establish the extent and location of open or level land in New Zealand. It was also important to mention the location of the level land in relation to the proposed settlements, and the access to harbours. The 1839 report of Heaphy, published in 1842, was one of the earliest references to extensive inland plains. On his arrival in the Cook Strait area, Heaphy had been dismayed by the sight of the mountainous land around Wellington,
but noted that all on board "were aware of the existence of large tracts of level country inland" (Heaphy 1842, 3). Further exploration of the New Zealand coast, however, made it obvious to Heaphy that extensive areas of level land not close to the coast had inadequate access. His conclusion therefore, was that the Wellington area would be most suitable for settlement since:

Between these promontories, however, the best harbours are situated; and although they are surrounded with but little available land, yet, in some instances they communicate with large agricultural districts in the interior. (Heaphy 1842, 2)

In comparing the geography and geology of New Zealand with Italy, E.J. Wakefield (1848), stated that like Italy, New Zealand was "a narrow strip of land, containing many tracts available for cultivation" (Wakefield, E.J. 1848, 43). These tracts were to be found in the interior of the country and separated from each other by ranges of mountains. This belief in the existence of extensive tracts of level land in the interior was widely held by the pamphlet writers, and later by several early emigrants, and was a belief which writers were reluctant to disprove. As Petre noted in 1841:

Disappointment was at first felt in consequence of an impression that there was a great scarcity of land in the valleys; but this opinion, which prevailed generally at one time, and was widely reported in England, has been corrected by experience.

At first it was thought that the valley of the Hutt was the only one in the neighbourhood of Port Nicholson, and this was believed to be more limited than it has since been found to be; but as the surveyors, the settlers, and some exploring parties extended their examination of the country, rich and fertile valleys, though narrow, have been discovered in every direction. (Petre 1841, 46)
Tuckett, well aware of the need for extensive areas of level land, was hesitant to admit that apart from the Canterbury plains there was little land that could be classified as extensive level land. After exploring the Otago area he noted that:

Further inland the range of hills are lofty and steep, and their ascent most fatiguing from the dense growth of fern and toot (sic). There is every reason to believe what my guide assured me, that on the other side there was a very considerable extent of level land. Near the shore, the highest land I found to be the richest, affording a good level surface not broken, but sloping gradually inland ...
(Tuckett 1844, 30-31)

While there were many references to the existence of large tracts of level land in the interior, several pamphlet writers were somewhat more discerning in their accounts, noting the lack of extensive areas of flat land. Bright thought the North Island was "mountainous to an excess" and commented that "in travelling inland you pass over short flats and long hills, traversing ridge after ridge you notice the hills are often very precipitous, with occasional deep gorges" (Bright 1841, 5). Bright's conclusion was that there were few areas of level land in New Zealand and certainly a scarcity of extensive tracts of level land. Since the lack of level land was regarded as a major disadvantage, other pamphlet writers either did not mention the location or existence of level land, or gave it but passing reference (Fitzroy 1846). Some writers were perturbed at the lack of level land, if New Zealand was to support a major population. On viewing the Canterbury Plains, Tuckett was "delighted and astonished to behold an extent of level land so unwonted, but much wanted in New Zealand" (Tuckett 1844, 24).
The question of land suitable for settlement was often ignored. Writers focused instead on the nature of the coast and the suitability of the harbours. Safe anchorage for ships, as well as easy access to the interior and to other settlements, was most important in determining the sites of the settlements. New Zealand was considered by many writers to have some of the best harbours in the world. Of Port Nicholson one early pamphlet said:

... it is one of the best harbours in the world. It is at least 12 miles long, and upon an average 3 miles wide. The shelter is perfect, and ships may enter and leave the harbour with all winds ... the river Haritoua [Hutt] ... is said to be navigable for nearly a hundred miles. (Ward, J. 1839, 9)

Reports of harbours and coastal features varied in length and accuracy. Most accounts mentioned the many safe and sheltered "ship-receiving harbours", dotted along the coast. A later pamphlet considered the report of W. Fox (1851) to be the most accurate (Baker, Rev. A. 1857). The harbours of New Zealand were considered by W. Fox to be one of the colony's most remarkable features, but he did emphasise that most of them were not in immediate proximity to large areas of level land (Fox, W. 1851). Although the country was assumed to be richly endowed with harbours and navigable rivers extending from these harbours far inland, statements about these features were brief. The lack of detailed description of specific harbours was, in part, a reflection of the limited information available, particularly about the association of harbours with adjacent level land, and partly a desire to present the attractions of New Zealand as a place for settlement. It would have been foolish to draw attention to what were considered less attractive features.
Reports of extensive inland plains with good access to major harbours were, therefore, often brief and general. In the early 1850s, a newspaper article had commented on the apparent confusion or misrepresentation about the existence of extensive tracts of level land in New Zealand. In an article on the different guides to New Zealand *Sidney's Emigrant Journal* (1850) stated that from reading the different guides "no one could imagine ... that in all the existing settlements level fertile land was extremely rare ... [and] that it was necessary to travel a hundred miles to afford a hundred settlers a few thousand acres" (*Sidney's Emigrant Journal* 1850 a, 253).

The three characteristics - size and location, surface features, and the extent of level land - were all described from a predominantly utilitarian viewpoint. Many of the promoters were concerned with the practical considerations about settlement. The fourth characteristic was one which was expressed in more romantic terms. This was the assessment of the scenic beauty of the landscape. Most pamphlet writers were effusive in their discussions of the New Zealand scenery. In contrast to the rounded and smooth landscape of Britain, New Zealand was described as being rugged and mountainous. Terms such as wild, bold, magnificent, romantic and picturesque were used to describe the landscape. Yate (1835) thought that:

No country in the world, perhaps, can boast of greater natural beauties than the large and magnificent islands of the Southern Hemisphere; among which, New Zealand holds no mean or secondary place .... none can exceed New Zealand in the general aspect of the country - for rich and varied scenery - and for everything which naturally strikes the eye as beautiful or sublime.
(Yate 1835, 3)
As with any discussion or assessment of beauty there must be some point of reference. In some cases the writers compared New Zealand with Britain, and all that was familiar both to the writer and the reader. The scenery of Otago was described as being like English scenery (Earp 1848), while Bright felt that the scenery of New Zealand was mostly a "miniature of Wales" (Bright 1841, 5). Cruise (1823), was another who saw strong similarities between the New Zealand landscape and that of England, particularly in the hills covered with woods and in the large rivers.

Several writers realised that much of the scenery of New Zealand was of a scale and size different to that familiar to most readers. In a much later pamphlet, C. Hursthouse noted that:

The scenery of New Zealand is both bold and beautiful - though to an English eye, accustomed to trim fields, clipped hedges, and to the smooth-rolled, finished look of every acre in England, it would appear more bold than beautiful ... The scenery we admire in England is often the costly coat of art rather than the primeval dress of nature ...
(Hursthouse, C. 1861, 60-61)

While earlier pamphlets did not emphasise the differences in the way that C. Hursthouse had done, the New Zealand landscape was compared with areas known by reputation for romantic and magnificent scenery. In his manual written for emigrants, J. Burton (1851), compared the coastal scenery of New Zealand with the fiords of Norway and the coast of Scotland. References to the Swiss Alps were common. A general statement which summarised some of the opinion of the scenic beauty of New Zealand was that of J.L. Craik (1830). In his long discussion of beauty, utility and fertility, J.L. Craik noted that New Zealand presented:
,, a great variety of landscape, although even where the scenery is most subdued, it partakes of a bold and irregular character, derived not more from the aspect of undisturbed nature, which still obtrudes itself everywhere among the traces of commencing cultivation, than from the confusion of hill and valley which marks the face of the soil, and the precipitous eminences, with their sides covered by forests, and their summits barren of all vegetation, or terminating perhaps in a naked rock, that often rise close beside the most sheltered spots of fertility and verdure.
(Craik, J.L. 1830, 165)

From the above excerpts, which are typical pamphlet descriptions, it is apparent that there was little detail or factual information given about the scenery; rather it was grand descriptions which relied on the use of emotive terminology. While beauty in scenery is a rather subjective and nebulous feature, difficult to define, the pamphlet writers emphasised the grandeur of the landscape and the magnificence of the mountainous regions.

However, the assessment of beauty in terms of scenery was not as emphatic in the literature as the more practical concern of location, size and extent, or the nature of the surface features and the question of available flat land for settlement and agriculture.

Despite the favourable reports given in most of the pamphlets and handbooks, there was the occasional visitor who was not so impressed with the physical appearance of the country. Terry (1842), claimed that the islands of New Zealand were:

,, uncultivated wastes, - either of mountains covered with dense forests, - of plains and lowlands covered with impenetrable high fern and shrubs, - or of swamps and marshes covered with rush and flax - without any open spots of grass land for pasturage, or of verdant downs and hills for sheep.
(Terry 1842, 57-58)
Earle (1827), was not at all impressed with the appearance of the land at Kerikeri in the Bay of Islands, and Colenso (1844) thought that the North Island in particular was barren looking. Campbell (1840), described the northern-most part of New Zealand as "hilly, sandy and barren, holding out little inducement to a stranger to land" (Campbell, E. 1840, 5). These more unfavourable comments and descriptions were not widely publicised.

From a consideration of the discussions of relief features contained within the pamphlets, New Zealand appeared to have much to offer an intending emigrant. Not only was it similar in size and location to Great Britain, but it was also a country blessed with a grand and romantic scenery. Although much of the surface was mountainous, it was suggested in the pamphlets that there were extensive plains in the interior and long, wide valleys close to harbours. These plains were thought to be most suitable for agriculture. The descriptions of relief features assumed that the soil was fertile and volcanic, and the climate one suited to agriculture. Thus, for an intending emigrant, the literature assured him that New Zealand combined many of the relief features of his native Britain and in addition several of the more magnificent features of other countries known by reputation.

New Zealand was represented therefore as a country similar in size to Britain, suitable for settlement, and in a most strategic position in the South Pacific. The surface features of the country had two main characteristics. The mountainous areas were considered to be of considerable scenic beauty, but the country also had extensive inland plains. These two features indicated that the country was suitable for settlement from a utilitarian viewpoint, but was also romantically beautiful.
Characteristics of Climate

Like the major features of relief, the climate of New Zealand was considered by the pamphlet writers to be of major significance to intending emigrants. Reports of droughts in Australia, debilitating heat in India and South Africa, and the long frozen winters of North America, had made intending emigrants aware of the vagaries of climate in other British colonies. In particular, there were two major considerations concerning the climate of New Zealand. The first question was a general one. Was the climate salubrious, pleasant to live in and congenial to the British constitution? In the second place, was the climate suitable to the pursuit of agriculture, especially for the growing of crops? This was a most important question, since one of the basic tenets of the Wakefield scheme, and the New Zealand Company, was that the colony be an agricultural one. The affirmative answers to these two questions were often regarded as the major advantages or attractions of New Zealand as a place for settlement.

The pamphlets used two main arguments to illustrate why the New Zealand climate was most suitable for both health and agriculture. The first of these was the latitudinal position of New Zealand. From its latitude and allowing for the supposed cooler temperatures of the southern hemisphere, William Swainson (1840) estimated that the climate would be one:

(8) The term climate has been used throughout the discussion since the writers believed they were describing the climate. Most writers were in fact, drawing on accounts of daily weather for their observations.
... 8° or 10° cooler than that of the south of Portugal in the corresponding latitude of the opposite hemisphere - moderate in its extremes of temperature - of a humid atmosphere - with frequent changes of weather, and in general mild, equable, and showery. (Swainson, William 1840, 28)

A pamphlet published for the New Library of Useful Knowledge in 1839, compared the climate of New Zealand with that of the land "between the north of France and the south of Portugal" (R.R. 1839, 1), again allowing for a difference of seven degrees for the cooler temperatures of the southern hemisphere. Other writers suggested that the climate of New Zealand resembled that of the south of France, the mildest parts of Italy, Sicily, southern Spain and southern England. These descriptions and comparisons were with places known for the warmth of their climates. Such accounts encouraged a belief that the climate of New Zealand was almost tropical (Hursthouse, C. 1849 b). This concept of a tropical climate persisted despite the realisation by some writers that, in terms of its latitudinal extent, New Zealand was unlikely to have a tropical climate. Thus, several later writers mentioned, in general terms, differences throughout New Zealand. The following excerpt from Earp was a typical one:

In so large an extent of territory, it will necessarily be supposed that the climate will vary considerably - that the north will be warm, approaching to tropical, and that the south will be cold, partaking more of the character of that to which we are accustomed in England. (Earp 1848, 4)

Dieffenbach (1843) was an earlier writer who had emphasised that the climate of New Zealand varied considerably from north to south and from the coast to the interior. After some analysis of the features of the climate his assessment was that New Zealand had a rainy
climate, He noted that:

The east coast, on which Wellington, Auckland and the Bay of Islands are situated, is colder than the western, where the settlements of Nelson and New Plymouth have been founded, and where the air is softer and milder .... In the interior of the islands the climate is colder and less changeable, in consequence of the presence of a snow-clad mountain group and the greater distance from the ocean ....
(Dieffenbach 1843, 1, 174)

His comments on climate were not generally reproduced in pamphlets.

The second argument presented about the climate of New Zealand was the influence of local relief features. In his major treatise on climate, William Swainson (1840) emphasised that, while the distance from the equator was a major determinant of climatic features, local circumstances were also important. In the case of New Zealand there were two major influencing factors. The first of these was the insular nature of the country which gave the climate its more equable characteristics of mild winters and cool summers, in contrast to more continental areas such as Australia and North America. The New Zealand climate was described in one pamphlet as being:

...more equable than our own - neither so cold in winter, nor in reality so hot in summer; cool and refreshing breezes entirely preventing that oppressive heat and sultriness to which we in England are so subject.
(Sarp 1848, 5)

A second feature of local relief thought to influence the climate was the belief that mountainous regions attracted moisture. William Swainson noted that "a mountainous country is almost always more subject to rain than an open champaign country" (Swainson, William 1840, 27). It was widely thought that mountainous or hilly
countries had more rain than flat or level areas. In New Zealand therefore, "the prevalence of mountains and hilly lands renders the climate showery, and consequently it bears a resemblance to that of England, though of finer quality" (Burton, J. 1851, 74).

To provide some reference point for the descriptions of climate, many of the pamphlet writers compared the climate of New Zealand with that of Britain - a climate about which each emigrant had some detailed local knowledge. In general terms, Dieffenbach had considered the New Zealand climate to be "similar to that of England, but even milder than that of her most southern counties, whilst at the same time it is healthy and invigorating" (Dieffenbach 1843, 1, 3). It was this quotation from Dieffenbach that most pamphlet writers reproduced, since it presented New Zealand in a most favourable manner. Most of the pamphlets compared New Zealand with the climate of southern England, known throughout Britain for its warmth and mildness. The comparisons with England also implied that the climate was one most congenial to British constitutions. As Sidney Smith said in 1850:

New Zealand appears to possess for the European constitution, the finest climate in the world. It has no extremes of temperature, and no sudden changes of weather. At all times, both night and day, mild and equable, it is subject neither to excessive droughts nor excessive rains - labour can be at all times pursued in the open air. (Smith, Sidney 1850, 27)

Thus, the climate of New Zealand was described as being similar to that of Britain and having the more favourable features of the British climate. Moreover, the New Zealand climate was compared with more exotic climates, well known by reputation for their warmth, mildness and equable natures. Although most of the emigrants had
little knowledge of climates in other parts of the world, the majority, by hearsay or through education, had some notion of other climates. These provided standards against which the New Zealand climate could be assessed. Thus, the New Zealand climate was compared with Spain for warmth, Italy for brilliant sunshine, and southern France for equability and pleasantness. One pamphlet compared the major New Zealand settlements with well known continental cities, much to the advantage of those in New Zealand (Earp 1848). Wellington was compared with Peking, Otago with Quebec, Nelson with New York, and New Plymouth with Cincinatti. An earlier pamphlet had suggested that New Zealand enjoyed a "finer, more temperate climate than any other region of the world" (Matthew 1839, 115).

In some examples, the advantages of the New Zealand climate were emphasised by comparison with the less favourable features of other areas, particularly the settlements in Australia. Lang (1839) had considered the climate far superior to that of New South Wales or Tasmania, since it was free from droughts and hot winds.

Once it was established that the climate was a most favourable one in comparison with other countries as well as with Britain, the descriptions became more concerned with details relevant to settlement and agriculture. While often undefined, the excellence of the climate was apparently well established in the literature. A common statement which appeared in many pamphlets was that the climate was well adapted to the constitution of British colonists and to the culture of European field and garden plants (Earp 1848). The pamphlet writers emphasised that the climate was most salubrious. While the term salubrious was frequently used, it was rarely defined, it was left for readers to realise, by implication, that the term was equated with healthiness. Yate (1835) was in no doubt that the climate was salubrious, and the term appeared in most pamphlets.
Other terms such as equable and excellent were also common adjectives used to describe the climate (Table 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Favourable Adjectives</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Unfavourable Adjectives</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mild</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Variable</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warm</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Unpleasant</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temperate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Windy</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equable</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Wet</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rainy</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreeable</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cold</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delightful</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Frosty</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favourable</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hot</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superior</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Stormy</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnificent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Debilitating</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salubrious</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sample Size: 40

Source: Pamphlets 1839 - 1855

In the above frequency count of adjectives used to describe climate, the emphasis on the salubrity of it is well illustrated.

Salubrity was a difficult concept to measure. Many writers followed the arguments of Cook and other visitors, and used reports of the apparent healthiness of the native inhabitants as proof of the salubrity of the climate. Savage, in 1807, had written that the salubrity of the climate could not be doubted, since the appearance of the natives and the reports of visitors did not indicate the prevalence of any diseases (Savage 1807). More often however, pamphlet writers measured the salubrity by instancing examples of invalids being cured. While Dieffenbach had thought that "invalids [would] rapidly recover in this climate" (Dieffenbach 1843, 1, 183), Heaphy claimed the climate was unsurpassed in the
world, since it was:

... extremely equable, and, consequently, well
adapted to persons suffering from, or dreading, 
pulmonary diseases; and to whom the sudden
change from extremes of warm and cold temperatures
is fatally injurious. Many persons, and amongst
them some with whom I am personally acquainted,
emigrated solely on account of the benefit which
they expected they might derive from the
superior climate; and in every instance have
their wishes been realised.
(Heaphy 1842, 22)

It was, however, a short quotation from Yate that captured the
imagination of the pamphlet writers. Yate, with his usual exaggeration,
had measured the salubrity of the climate in the following manner:
"Those who come here sickly, are soon restored to health: the
healthy become robust, and the robust fat" (Yate 1835, 74).

The healthiness of the climate was not only exemplified in
the physical well-being of the inhabitants, but it was instanced
in the promises of longevity, and vigour both of mind and body. In
an early address on New Zealand (1824) it was said of the country
that:

... [it is] a beautiful garden, and capable of
being rendered the most delightful spot on earth.
Here there are no winters to chill mankind, and
cut off the fruits of their industry; no
intolerable heat to parch the one and destroy
the other. The climate is heavenly; and so
salubrious as to promise to those who may
cultivate its soil, a long life, to enjoy all
the good things with which every industrious
person cannot fail to surround himself,
(McKinlay 1939, 118)

Dieffenbach, too, had suggested that the pure atmosphere "imparts
to the climate a vigour which gives elasticity to the physical
powers and to the mind" (Dieffenbach 1843, 1, 183).

The question of the salubrity of the New Zealand climate was
studied by A.S. Thomson in 1850. Thomson measured salubrity by the
occurrence or non-occurrence of diseases in New Zealand. In his analysis, he compared common diseases among a sample of 1,000 soldiers in both Britain and New Zealand. His findings proved that admissions to hospital in New Zealand were only half those in Britain. Published as a pamphlet, Thomson's work was regarded as a verification of earlier statements about the salubrity of the climate (Thomson, A.S. 1850). The earlier work of William Swainson had been thorough and careful, and his observations on the lack of accurate information passed unnoticed by most pamphlet writers. Attempts by writers to substantiate their arguments were rare, Dieffenbach (1843) and Petre (1841) both listed daily weather observations collected while in New Zealand. There was little awareness of the difference in meaning between weather and climate; and certainly there were few statistics available on weather from which some assessment of the climate could have been made. Petre (1841) had used weekly averages of temperature recorded at Wellington for the year ending April 1841 to illustrate that the 'winter season is singularly equable' (Petre 1841, 76). Other writers were content to state that the climate was one of the finest and healthiest in the world.

Once it was established that the climate was salubrious the second consideration - that of its suitability for agriculture - was discussed. Pamphlet and newspaper writers were anxious to provide evidence of the suitability of the climate for farming, and the growing of crops in particular. The cultivation of different types of crops, rather than descriptions of climatic features, was used to illustrate the suitability of the climate for agriculture. Many writers instanced the growing of vines at Akaroa and the cultivation of potatoes at the southern extremity of the South
island, as further proof of the excellence of the climate. While
the fertility of the soil was obviously an important consideration,
the climate was used to measure the agricultural potential of
the country. As evidence, writers emphasised that the familiar
crops of Britain could be grown in abundance. As the Emigrant's
Guide of 1848 stated:

Grain of all kinds, fruits, and vegetables, grow
luxuriantly. To an English farmer, it will be
praise sufficient to say that turnips, the
mainstay of British husbandry, grow with a
vigour unsurpassed anywhere, and that beans,
peas, and other leguminous plants, are equally
successful.
(Earp 1848, 8)

Not only was the climate one which favoured the growth of the
traditional crops of Britain, but as further proof of the geniality
of the climate, the growing of the more exotic crops of southern
Europe was often cited. The Westminster Review of 1840 had
emphasised that:

[The] climate is considerably milder; [than
Great Britain] and whilst it has been found
that the soil and climate generally are admirably
adapted to the culture of grain, and especially
wheat, the productions of southern Europe -
the vine, the olive, the fig, and the
mulberry - attain remarkable perfection.
(Westminster Review, June 1840, 171)

While the main reference points were the traditional crops of Britain,
the more favourable nature of the New Zealand climate was further
exemplified by the growth of the crops of southern Europe. The
observations of Dieffenbach (1843) on the climate, and his opinion
that the climate was not one suited to the growing of vines was
rarely, if ever, brought to the attention of the reader. Dieffenbach
had suggested that the climate was not warm enough in summer nor
cold enough in winter to produce good crops of grapes (Dieffenbach 1843).
A further consideration given prominence in some of the pamphlets, particularly those published after the first emigrants had settled in New Zealand, was mention of the more extreme elements of the climate. Wind and the degree of cold were the two elements which were discussed (Terry 1842). Some descriptions of the climate warned the reader that snow was seen in parts of New Zealand. It was, however, a feature only of the interior mountains and one which added to the scenic beauty of the mountains. In 1840, one pamphlet had noted that "in winter there is ice, but it never bears" (Mann, G. 1840, 5). It was the reports of strong winds in certain parts of the country, however, that received further comment. Fitzroy (1846) had noted the violent winds in certain parts of the country. Writers attempted to reassure the reader that although wind was a feature it was one which gave the climate a most invigorating nature. As Martin (1845) had said:

... the gales of wind ... [are] the greatest possible blessing, tending as they doubtless do, by purifying the air, to render the country so extraordinarily healthy as it is. (Martin, S.McD. 1845, 239)

While emphasizing that many of the early reports on the climate had been exaggerated, W. Fox claimed the only defect in the New Zealand climate was that there was too much wind (Fox, W. 1851). Explanations for these reports, by some early settlers, of strong winds in certain parts of the country were offered by many pamphlet writers. As John Wood noted in 1843:

It is really laughable to observe the subterfuges employed by the writers in the Company's interest on this subject. The idea of Port Nicholson being a windy place arises, we are gravely told, from most of the Wellington settlers having come from inland English counties. Their draughtsman is positive that
It is not more subject to boisterous winds
than any town upon the English coast
equally exposed.
(Wood, J. 1843, 29)

Despite the overall praise for the climate of New Zealand,
a few writers did attempt to be more objective in their accounts.
These accounts focused on some of the exaggeration or deception
practised by the New Zealand Company. As John Wood (1843), and
Charles Terry (1842) had both noted, writers for the New Zealand
Company had largely drawn on descriptions of the climate of the
Bay of Islands as their source material. But, as John Wood further
noted "there is a considerable diversity of climate between the
north end of the islands and that of Cook's Straits" (Wood, J.
1843, 28). Terry (1842) emphasised that the climate varied from
north to south and from the coast to the interior and W. Fox (1851)
noted that marked regional, seasonal or diurnal variations were
apparently deliberately overlooked (Fox, W. 1851). Some differentiation
of climates throughout New Zealand was occasionally offered.
Fitzroy attempted a general differentiation by classifying the
coastal climate as wet and windyfavoured by a mild winter and
remarkably equable temperatures (Fitzroy 1846). The interior was
described as being much colder and drier. The least favourable part
of New Zealand in terms of climate was the south west of the South
Island, while the most favourable was considered to be the northern
and eastern parts of the North Island.

With the later settlements of Otago and Canterbury in the South
Island, interest was expressed in the climate of the South Island.
With reports of extensive mountainous areas covered in perpetual
snow, the promoters of the South Island settlements were most
concerned to emphasise that the climate was a most invigorating and
healthy one, if not as warm as that of the North Island. Thus, one of the schemes for the Otago settlement claimed that:

... it would appear that whilst the temperature of the Middle Island is, as was to be expected, less warm than that of the North Island the difference is much less than the difference of latitude might be supposed to indicate. (Lay Association of the Free Church 1845, 35)

The South Island climate was described as being mild and equable. The same scheme for settlement offered the following as evidence of the mildness of the climate:

The extreme loveliness of the weather at Otago in the middle of winter ... the surprising richness of the winter pastures, from the trickling down of the melted snows from the hills - the green fresh growth of the potato-stems at the season answering to the very end of October, or the beginning of November, in this country - the fact of both Europeans and natives growing wheat of the finest quality, far in the interior behind, and to the south of Otago, and also at the Bluff Harbour, at the very southern extremity of the Island, in Foveaux Strait .... are sufficient proofs that no part of the Middle Island ... is severe in point of climate. Its coldest parts are greatly milder than the south of France, which is in the same latitude. (Lay Association of the Free Church 1845, 35)

The pamphlet writers were able in most instances, to explain differences or contradictions without losing their belief in the salubrity or excellence of the climate of the whole of New Zealand.

When considering the images about climate fostered in the more readily accessible literature, it is apparent that the images were of a climate that was most salubrious, and most favourable for the cultivation of crops. The climate of the North Island was almost tropical and likened to that of southern Spain or Italy. The South Island had a more equable and temperate, or mild climate.
In comparison with other countries, the climate of New Zealand was unsurpassed, having the warmth and pleasantness of southern Europe as well as the salubrity and equability of the south of England. As one pamphlet claimed:

To say that the climate is everywhere salubrious, conveys but an inadequate idea of the estimation in which it is held by those who have lived in it. To say that it is one of the finest in the world, seems to partake more of enthusiasm than judgement; but it is rare, indeed, to find a traveller whose judgement does not constrain him to speak of the climate of New Zealand in terms of no common eulogy. (Earp 1848, 5)

For the most part, the images had drawn on limited sources of information. Few attempts were made to define or explain the terms used with writers relying on the emotive emphasis of terms such as salubrious, equable or superior. Descriptions of the climate of Northland and the Bay of Islands were readily used to describe the climate of New Zealand as a whole. Little was known of the variations in climate throughout the country, and most of the accounts implied that the South Island climate was similar to that of the North, but was cooler and more invigorating. Brief mention was also given to extremes of climate such as wind and snow. Despite this, however, the reader was reassured that "the extreme salubrity and excellence of the climate ... is universally admitted" (Knowles 1851, 12),
The Quality of the Soil

Although accounts of climatic features, quality of soil and the nature of the vegetation were all closely interrelated, each of these aspects was deemed worthy of separate examination by the pamphlet writers and speakers at public meetings. Most commonly the three aspects were used as examples in order to illustrate the favourable, or superior, qualities of New Zealand as a place of settlement. Vegetation was used as proof of soil fertility, climate was used to illustrate the favourable features of both soil and vegetation, and soil was used to explain the richness and luxuriance of the vegetation.

Like climate, the soil was a most important consideration for the development of an agriculturally based economy as envisaged by E.G. Wakefield and the New Zealand Company. It was also of importance to intending settlers who would wish to know whether or not they would be able to support themselves and make a living from their allotted piece of land.

As with those physical features already discussed, the pamphlet writers, and even the newspaper articles, relied on the use of general descriptions and emotive terminology. There was little areal differentiation. The soils were generally considered to be rich and/or fertile. That the soil was fertile was an unquestionable fact for many of the pamphlet writers. Their concern then became one of establishing the degree of fertility. Thus, the soil was described as being of "extraordinary fertility" (Lay Association of the Free Church 1845, 3-4), "extremely rich" (Earp 1848, 8), or as "fertile and easy of culture" (White 1839, 12). Others regarded it as being "perfectly wonderful" (New Zealand Circular 1852, 1).
An evaluative assertion analysis (9) was carried out on the statements about soil fertility found in 40 of the pamphlets published between 1839 and 1855 (Table 3). The results of this analysis reflect the promotion of the belief that the soil was of the most fertile nature.

While most pamphlets and newspaper articles were content to use brief descriptions, others attempted some assessment of the qualities thought to prove beyond a doubt that the soil was most fertile. These more detailed accounts were of two kinds. Colour or texture of the soil was used as one measure of soil fertility, while the visible growth of natural vegetation and the reputed growth of crops were also used to evaluate soil fertility. It was the second of these measures that most interested the pamphlet writers and the intending settlers.

(9) Evaluative Assertion Analysis attempts to measure the intensity and direction of the meaning of assertions about a particular phenomenon. In this test each sentence is reduced to a simple statement containing 3 elements:

a) the attitude object - in this example, soil;

b) the verbal connector which determines the degree of authority with which the evaluation is made; and

c) the common meaning term - words that communicate the intensity of the qualitative evaluation of the attitude object - in this example, soil fertility.

Numerical values are assigned to the verbal connector and to the common meaning to provide a quantitative measure. There are 2 steps involved.

1) a) Verbal connector - if a positive association exists with the common meaning term, the verbal connector is assigned a positive value; if the verb tends to disassociate itself with the attitude object, it is given a negative value;

b) Common Meaning term - if the meaning is considered to be favourable, then it is assigned a positive value; if unfavourable it is therefore negative.

2) Numerical values are given to both the verbal connector and the common meaning term. In this particular example, values
TABLE 3

FREQUENCY OF SCORES FROM AN EVALUATIVE ASSERTION ANALYSIS ON STATEMENTS OF SOIL FERTILITY 1839-1855

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Range of Scores</th>
<th>Frequency of Scores</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-9 to -6 (least favourable)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-5 to -2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1 to +1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+2 to +3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+4 to +6</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+7 to +9 (most favourable)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sample size: 40

Source: Pamphlets 1839 - 1855

Observations on the colour or texture were not as frequent as assessments of vegetation, since few of the pamphlet writers knew from experience or reading, what colour or texture was predominant in New Zealand soil. The reports of the early missionaries and their attempts at agriculture were not well known nor available. Since the British reader was most probably familiar with the reputed fertility of the chernozem soils or black earths of Russia from his school texts, adjectives used to describe the soil were black, fat, and rich. These terms were strongly equated with fertility. Johnson described the soil as being of a "light black nature" (Johnson, J.P., 1840, 66), while another said it was "fat and rich" (Mann, G., 1840, 6). In his report on the Nelson area for the New Zealand Company, Heaphy referred to the soils as a "black mould" which he thought was an alluvial deposit (Heaphy 1842). The soil were assigned as: verbal connector - certainty 3; probability 2; possibility 1; common meaning term - extremely 3; moderately 2; slightly 1.

The evaluation score is represented by the product of these two scores. (Summarised from: Osborne and Reimer 1973, 98-99).
on either side of Cook Strait was also described as being a deep black mould of the richest and most fertile nature (Heaphy 1842). Similar descriptions were used by Hodgskin (1841) and E.J. Wakefield (1848).

Texture, like colour, was difficult to detail since few of the writers had examined the New Zealand soil with any degree of scientific knowledge. Most pamphlets described the soil as being light or loamy, alluvial or clayey. In line with other writers, Walton (1839) regarded alluvial soil as being the most fertile. Yate (1835) had represented the soil as being rich and alluvial and found in extensive valleys, while Fitzroy (1846) had described the soil as being a "light sandy loam near the surface but clayey below" (Fitzroy 1846, 3). Dieffenbach (1843) was one of the earliest to admit that the soil was not necessarily alluvial or rich. In talking of the inland plains, Dieffenbach noted that the soil was a "stiff clay, which can scarcely be worked" (Dieffenbach 1843, 367). William Fox (1849) also admitted that the soil varied in texture and quality but, like many writers, he emphasised the favourable qualities of New Zealand soils. His description was as follows:

The general character of the soil of this Settlement,[Nelson] as in most parts of New Zealand, is lightness. No heavy clays or stiff marls are met with, but the light lands we have, when moderately cultivated, break up as fine as garden ground.
(Fox, W. 1849, 12)

The most detailed discussion of soil, as well as being the only one known to be based on a soil profile rather than a visual assessment, was that of Tuckett. After examining soils in the Otago area, he described the soils near Moeraki and claimed that:
Beneath a vegetable mould appears a yellowish loamy clay, ten to fifteen feet in depth. Beneath this a very deep bed of dark substance, probably a bituminous shale, saturated with water, which flows freely beneath the clay, on its surface, and mixed with a large portion of sparkling sand or mineral, which gives it great weight.
(Tuckett 1844, 30)

Areal differentiation of soils was rare. Most pamphlet writers apparently assumed that soil quality was similar throughout the country. One of the few to provide a general areal differentiation was C. Hursthouse in 1849. His classification however favoured the Taranaki settlement. The country was divided into four soil types by Hursthouse. These were "the poorer clay of the northern tracts, the light volcanic soil of the interior, the rich loam of the Taranaki district and the deep alluvial of the valleys" (Hursthouse, C. 1849 b, 6). All of these divisions, however, carried overtones of fertility. In addition, as in most other pamphlets, C. Hursthouse had assessed the soil fertility by the luxuriance of the vegetation. Even the poorest soils were, according to C. Hursthouse, covered with a luxuriant vegetation which gave them an "aspect of unequalled freshness and fertility" (Hursthouse, C. 1849 b, 7).

As in North America and Australia in the early and mid-nineteenth century, soil fertility was consistently measured by travellers, writers and settlers by the height and luxuriance of the vegetation (Cameron, J.M.R. 1974 a; Peters 1972). The higher and more luxuriant the vegetation, the more fertile the soil was thought to be. As J.L. Craik said of New Zealand:
The quality of the soil of this country may be best estimated from the profuse vegetation with which the greater part of it is clothed, and the extraordinary vigour which characterizes the growth of its productions. (Craik, J.L. 1830, 168)

In 1807, Savage had suggested that the soil of the Bay of Islands area was rich and fertile. He noted that the soil was a "light vegetable mould, but rich, as it would appear by the vegetation it produces" (Savage 1807, 7). That the luxuriance and richness of the vegetation cover were the major measures of soil fertility is apparent in the following extract from Petre:

The favourable impression of the soil, which had been created by the richness of the vegetation, was confirmed during the three months of my residence on the Hutt .... the hills around Port Nicholson are covered with the richest verdure to their summits, which are level, so as to be susceptible of cultivation. The soil of the hills is extremely rich. (Petre 1841, 44-45)

Luxuriance of the vegetation was the major measure of soil fertility, but the height of the vegetation cover was used as a finer measure of the richness of the soil. Trees and forests of gigantic size were apparently seen as proof of the very fertile nature of the soil. As Nicholas claimed about the Southern Alps area:

... from the astonishing height of the trees found growing upon it, as well as from their great abundance, it would seem that the soil must be rather fertile than otherwise ... (Nicholas 1817, 11, 230)

When viewing the same area, Cook had thought the landscape looked mountainous and barren (Wharton 1893).
The visual assessment of the soil fertility from the height and luxuriance of the vegetation encouraged the development of some misconceptions and confusion. In general, forest land was considered to be more fertile than fern land. Fern land was further subdivided in terms of possible fertility on the basis of the height of the fern. Areas covered in tall fern were more fertile than those with stunted growth. Grassland was often considered to be the least fertile and classified as bog or marsh. As one pamphlet suggested:

The soil of New Zealand is in many parts extremely rich, but ... it varies considerably. Without doubt, that which is thickly timbered is the best, though that covered with fern and scrub, apparently unpromising in fertility, is found to produce excellent crops as soon as the fern roots are thoroughly rotted, and the soil consolidated. (Earp 1848, 8)

The contention that timbered land was more fertile than fern land was widely accepted as later excerpts from the London Journal of 1848, and the report of W. Fox to the New Zealand Company illustrated (Fox, W. 1849; London Journal 196, 1848). The reputed differences in soil quality under fern were known to W. Fox who emphasised that fern land was good for agriculture "when the fern grows strong and high" (Fox, W. 1849, 9). Some writers thought that fern land had been harshly judged in comparison with forested areas. Hodgskin cautioned that:

You must not suppose that because a good deal of the land is overrun with fern, the soil is poor and sandy, for it is no such thing. Wherever I saw the fern growing the soil was invariably of a dark mouldy nature ...
(Hodgskin 1841, 17)
Others felt that the fern land was not as good as forest land but could become as fertile with the use of manure and careful cultivation. Of much of the fern land considered worthless by some writers, W. Fox thought that "it only requires proper culture to make it good land" (Fox, W. 1849, 9), able to produce from thirty to thirty-five bushels of wheat per acre. Not only was the less fertile soil able to be improved by management and manure, but it was thought by some, that once the land was cleared the climate was such that even the poorest soils would improve with cultivation. Brodie (1845), Earp (1848) and the London Journal (1848) all suggested that soil "which might in itself be supposed almost barren, seems to be rendered productive by the climate" (London Journal 196, 1848, 117). In 1850 Sidney Smith claimed that the soil of New Zealand was of variable quality but with the assistance of the climate "even poor land produces abundantly" (Smith, Sidney 1850, 11, 8).

Once the fertility of the soil under forest and fern land had been established, some writers commented on the grassland areas (Fox, W. 1851). The native grassland was not evaluated very highly, despite the fact that it generally occurred on the extensive tracts of level land in the interior - thought most suitable for agriculture in terms of relief. One writer claimed that New Zealand had no natural grassland and that grazing and pastoral pursuits could only be carried out if artificial grasses were sown (Campbell, E, 1840). Cruise (1823) had thought that New Zealand had little natural grassland, while Yate (1835) claimed that native grasses flourished throughout the year. Petre (1841) suggested that the native grasses grew well once land had been cleared and that these grasses provided excellent pasturage for cattle. This confusion in the attitudes towards grassland encouraged writers about the
Canterbury settlement to reassure their readers that the Canterbury plains, which at first sight appeared to be a "bog-bare, brown and barren", were in fact:

... a great extent of level land, fertile as the plains of Lombardy. He, who takes heart ... finds it lighter at every step; he soon perceives the land ... [is] a good dry soil, covered with a vegetation of fern, flax and grass; he takes up a handful of earth, and sees it is a rich loam. (Saunders Monthly Magazine 1852 a, 472)

Some notice of areal differentiation did occur but it was in terms of the general vegetation cover rather than in terms of regions or differences in relief. There was little attempt made to assess the relationship between soil fertility and different tree species. That trees grew was sufficient evidence of the fertility of the soil. Tuckett (1844) was one of the few who considered that trees such as rimu, totara and manuka were indicative of an inferior soil. His comments however, were not widely used by other pamphlet writers. The other major reassurance offered to readers was the reported assessment of all visitors to New Zealand before 1839. Many of the pamphlets merely stated that all visitors to New Zealand from Cook onwards had spoken of the soil in the most favourable terms. Although Cook had commented on the profuseness of the vegetation and on the potential fertility of the soil, he was more cautious in his assessment than the pamphlet writers had realised. Cook had stated that the soil of the "valleys and plains appear'd to be rich and fertile and such as we had an opportunity to examine we found to be so" (Wharton 1893, 216),

A further consideration about soil fertility, and one especially important to intending emigrants, was whether or not the soil was suitable for cultivation, and how well crops would grow in New Zealand.
As with the questions raised about the suitability of the climate for agriculture, the main reference point was Britain and the crops familiar to the intending emigrant. The *Chambers Edinburgh Journal* had claimed that the soil at Wellington was superior to the best soils of Kent (Chambers 1841). In its prospectus the New Zealand Colonization Company stated that the soil in both islands was extremely fertile and capable of the highest degree of cultivation (New Zealand Colonization Company 1838). The Scots New Zealand Land Company prospectus suggested that all crops would grow well in New Zealand, but that the soil and climate favoured the growing of "all the grains and fruits of Europe in great perfection" (Scots New Zealand Land Company 1839, 2). In keeping with the discussions of climate and agriculture therefore, it was suggested that the traditional crops of Britain, in addition to the more exotic crops of Europe, could be grown in abundance. The volcanic nature of the North Island soil was considered by E.J. Wakefield to indicate that the country was well adapted to the cultivation of the vine (Wakefield, E.J. 1848). White (1839) claimed that all kinds of European vegetables, fruits and grain grew with astonishing rapidity in New Zealand soils. With a little attention to cultivation, E. Campbell (1840) thought that the rich soils of the northern part of the North Island would yield abundant crops of wheat, maize and potatoes, all vegetables, melons, grapes, peaches, nectarines and other fruits. Not only could these more familiar crops be grown, but the soil and climate favoured the cultivation of such crops as corn, olives, tobacco, vines and specialised fruit items such as strawberries.

In most instances no areal limitations were imposed on the cultivation of these crops. The soil, according to the accounts, was fertile from water's edge to hill summits throughout the country.
The Plymouth Company prospectus suggested that the soil of New Zealand was very rich and that there was little doubt that vines and corn could be grown to the summits of hills (Granville 1840 b). Heaphy provided a personal example of his observations on the fertility of the soil:

To prove the extraordinary productiveness of the soil even in places where it should be least expected, I need only mention the circumstance that on the day of my departure from Wellington, I saw in the garden ... on the beach, strawberries with ripe fruit, growing in the sand, within ten paces of the sea.
(Heaphy 1842, 32)

The soil was portrayed therefore as one favouring the cultivation of both familiar and more exotic crops. In addition, the fertility was such as to ensure that returns for crops would be exceptional. Two or even three crops of potatoes a year, good pastures all year round carrying double the number of sheep of the best English pastures (Fox, W. 1850), and exceptional yields of grain were regularly cited as examples of soil fertility. White (1839) used the following example to comment on the productivity of the soil:

The following facts ... will afford satisfactory proofs of the capabilities of the soil; the author, with his own hand, stuck in peach cuttings in the month of June, the size of a goose quill, the growth of which has been so rapid as to bear fruit in the space of 18 months.
(White 1839, 32)

The New Zealand Circular cited returns from an unnamed area of New Zealand as further proof of the extraordinary fertility of the soil:
The soil is generally exceedingly fertile; in some districts the yield of wheat is occasionally from 40 to 60 bushels per acre— even cropped four years successively .... In one district, where the soil is reputed to be poor, the average yield for land on which manure has not been used, is:- Wheat, 30 bushels; Potatoes, 6 tons; Oats, 40 bushels; Barley, 30 bushels; and other crops in proportion. (New Zealand Circular 1852, 1)

Such reputed returns were considerably higher than those experienced by settlers in the Nelson area. In discussing the Nelson area, William Fox (1849) cited the 1845 Government returns for crops. This report stated that returns were: wheat 24 bushels, oats 21 bushels, barley 25 bushels and turnips 24 bushels.

Little comparison with areas or settlements within New Zealand occurred in the pamphlets, and statements of fertility were used to cover the whole country. Some areas, particularly the later settlements, did receive more detailed description although still couched in general terms. In a later and less well known pamphlet (Brees 1851) it was suggested that the soil quality varied markedly throughout the country and that the fertility had been over-rated by many of the earlier writers. The scheme for the Otago settlement claimed that the Otago soil was the finest in New Zealand (Lay Association of the Free Church 1845). In his pamphlet on Otago, Earp quoted from one of the early settler's comments and noted that:

It is a remarkable fact, that whilst the soil on these hills, and all around generally, is remarkably rich, consisting of dark vegetable mould, varying from one, one and a half, to two and three, and in certain places to six and seven feet deep, if you ascend to the tops of these hills, instead of finding, as you would in Scotland, little else than rock and heath, you
would have here the same soil as at the bottom of the hills, viz. black earthy mould, with a subsoil of good strong clay. (Earp 1848, 202)

Having searched the more accessible literature for information on soils, an intending emigrant would have been encouraged to believe that the soil of New Zealand was extremely rich, and extraordinarily productive. The height and luxuriance of the vegetation, particularly the forested areas, were undeniable proof of the fertility of the soil. As far as the reader was informed, the rich and fertile soil extended throughout New Zealand, from the coast to the summits of the hills or mountains. Crops would be produced in abundance and even the poorest soils, with a little management, would provide ample returns. This was particularly so for the traditional crops of Britain, but was also true for the more exotic crops of southern Europe. Few accounts assessed soil quality on other than visual impressions, either in terms of colour or in terms of the luxuriance of the vegetation. The similarities apparent with the assessments made of soil quality in Australia and North America for the same period suggest, however, that such assessments were an accepted norm.

That the accounts of soil fertility were general and promotional seems unquestionable. Deliberate exaggeration of crop yields occurred and few writers could offer substantive proof about soil fertility. An intending settler could be excused for the confidence he seems to have placed in these written reports, since the images promoted were of a soil of the most fertile nature.
Characteristics of Vegetation

While much of the discussion of climate and soil incorporated the relevant ideas about vegetation, some additional information was occasionally given in the literature. As seen above, the accounts of vegetation were primarily concerned with the evaluation or assessment of soil fertility. Most pamphlets did not expand on this except in the most general terms. Where further description occurred, it was often as further exemplification of the romantic beauty of the landscape, or as further proof of the geniality of the climate.

Like the discussions on landscape features, climate and soil, the reader was reassured that, despite the obvious differences in colour and luxuriance, he would feel at home with the New Zealand vegetation. Some writers even suggested that the planting of English trees and shrubs, especially the oak and the hawthorn, would soon transform the New Zealand landscape into a more familiar one. Dieffenbach (1843), with his usual honesty, had emphasised that the vegetation was the one feature of New Zealand that the emigrant would perceive as being most different from that of his homeland:

... when he looks around him he can almost fancy himself in England instead of at the Antipodes, were it not that in his adopted country an eternal verdure covers the groves and forests, and gives the land an aspect of unequalled freshness and fertility.

(Dieffenbach 1843, I, 4)

As Angas (1847) suggested, the descriptions of vegetation had emphasised the charm and beauty of an almost tropical vegetation rather than commenting on the differences likely to be perceived.
Since pamphlet writers were not eager to present New Zealand in terms unfamiliar to the reader or likely to dissuade him, discussions of vegetation focused on one major characteristic. This was the luxuriant nature of the vegetation. Major indices used to measure this luxuriance were growth, size, and colour.

In the general descriptions of vegetation it was the immense forests, with trees of stupendous size and luxuriant foliage, that captured the imagination of the writers (Plate 1). The Westminster Review (1840) remarked on the vegetation and claimed that the luxuriance had been noticed by every visitor to the country (Westminster Review June 1840). Heaphy mentioned the hills "covered luxuriantly with foliage to the water's edge" and the "most splendid growth of forest, many of the trees in which are really of stupendous size" (Heaphy 1842, 2).

This luxuriance was assumed to be evidence of a climate that favoured growth and productivity. Growth was thought to be continuous throughout the year, without any noticeable change in colour or appearance. As Yate noted:

In spring, and summer, and autumn, and winter, there is no visible change in the appearance of the woods: they are as beautiful in the depth of winter as in the height of summer...
(Yate 1835, 18)

Writers claimed that there was perpetual growth of vegetation. White (1839) thought that growth was "rarely if ever suspended" (White 1839, 32) and Heaphy claimed that "every stage of yearly vegetation ... [appeared] at the one time; the leaf, bud, flower, fruit and decayed leaf" (Heaphy 1842, 25). Not only was growth continuous or perpetual, but it was also vigorous and profuse. The plan for the Canterbury settlement described the vegetation as being of a vigorous nature, and, in quoting from Dieffenbach, suggested
PLATE 1

KAURI FOREST WAIROA RIVER, KAIPARA

By Charles Heaphy

Reproduced with permission of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
that "the moistness of the climate meant that even in those places where only a thin layer of vegetable earth covers the rocks", or in "sandy places, which in any other country would be quite barren are covered with herbage in New Zealand" (Dieffenbach 1843, I, 177). As with the fertility of the soil, or the salubrity of the climate, however, many writers regarded the luxuriance of the vegetation as an unquestionable fact.

The general comments of vegetation often failed to differentiate between types or species of vegetation. Forested and fern lands were often discussed as one, and little areal differentiation occurred, except when mentioning soil fertility. While flax growing had attracted the attention of several early writers, it was regarded generally as a natural resource, comparable with coal, rather than as a form of vegetation (Brown, W. 1845). Flax was used on rare occasions to emphasise the height and luxuriance of the fern or tree cover. White (1839) had represented the vegetation as "altogether luxuriant. The fern grows from five to eight feet in height - the flax to the same gigantic dimensions" (White 1839, 12).

It was the forests however, rather than the fern land or other vegetation types, which were of most interest to the pamphlet writers. Walton claimed that:

No object in New Zealand excited my admiration more than its forest which for magnificence and splendour I have never seen equalled in any country which it has been my lot to visit. (Walton 1839, 14)

Angas (1847) was another visitor impressed by the magnificence of the New Zealand vegetation. Of the forested areas he wrote:
The lofty forest - filled with noble trees of gigantic growth, clothed not only with their own evergreen foliage, but with innumerable parasitical plants, ferns, mosses, and orchidaceae, climbing up to their very summits - presents a scene of luxuriant vegetation not to be surpassed in the tropics. 
(Angas 1847, 1, 245)

A few writers did attempt to differentiate major tree species and discuss their characteristics. The "immense forests" were "truly magnificent" in Yate's eyes and his descriptions of the various species were detailed (Yate 1835). In discussing the totara tree he wrote:

**Totara (Taxus)** - This tree, when full grown, is about twenty feet in circumference, and from fifty to sixty feet high in the trunk. It has a coarse, light-coloured bark, very thick and heavy; and has the appearance of having been chopped through, at small intervals, with an axe. It flourishes in dry soil and on rising ground; but is sometimes found on the banks of rivers. The wood is inclining to red ... its foliage forms a thick handsome crown at the top of the tree ...
(Yate 1835, 39)

Yate (1835) was more interested in the vegetation cover than most of the pamphlet writers. His account attempted not only to present details of the different species of tree, but also to provide some details about fern land, and the differences between the English and New Zealand forests in terms of undergrowth. While admitting to luxuriance, few of the writers were experienced enough, or familiar enough, to admit that the major difference was the dense, thick undergrowth of the New Zealand forest. One pamphlet mentioned that some of the forests were "almost impassable and render travelling exceedingly fatiguing" (Campbell, E. 1840, 17).

Colour was referred to in a somewhat oblique manner, by the emphasis on the evergreen rather than deciduous nature of the trees.
That the vegetation was evergreen was again assumed to be further evidence of the remarkable luxuriance of the vegetation and the geniality of the climate.

As in the case of soil fertility and climatic differences, areal limits were rarely defined. Most pamphlets drew on observations and experiences in the Bay of Islands or, infrequently, on the descriptions of the dense vegetation cover of the west coast of the South Island. More commonly descriptions suggested that in terms of areal coverage, the luxuriant vegetation grew from coast to coast and from water's edge to hill summits. On viewing Queen Charlotte Sound and the vegetation of the neighbouring land, Petre noted the luxuriance of the foliage and the vegetation and stated that:

The hills of which D'Urville's Island is composed are covered with trees from the water's edge to the very summits. On landing and rambling among the hills, this richness is even more striking, chiefly by reason of the variety of plants which meet the eye. (Petre 1841, 43)

Likewise, the Plymouth Company prospectus of 1840, claimed that the mountains were covered to the very highest points with timber and brushwood (Granville 1840 b), while the pamphlet, Popular Account of New Zealand (Lumsden and Son 1839), limited the extent of the vegetation cover to the snowline. The same account described the vegetation as being perennial and of the most gigantic size. Such areal limitations gave little information about the location of forests, and questions of open land were ignored.

Few accounts considered the vegetation in more than general terms, no doubt since much of the relevant information had already been covered in discussions of soil and climate. Many of the accounts
were not consistent in their descriptions of each of the features discussed. For example, descriptions of immense forests in the interior contradicted many of the accounts of inland areas of level land. Later work, published after the period studied, was often more detailed in its description of vegetation (Fitton 1856; Hursthouse, C. 1861), emphasising features such as the thickness and darkness of the New Zealand forest and the sombre rather than bright green appearance of many of the shrubs.

The general images promoted by the literature, therefore, were of a land covered from the summits to the coast with a luxuriant and vigorous evergreen vegetation. Not only was the vegetation luxuriant, but it was also of immense or stupendous size. Many considered the forest to be almost tropical. The pamphlet writers emphasised the luxuriance of the vegetation. Like features of relief, the vegetation was immediately visible once the ships came within sighting distance of the coast. It was therefore, important to ensure that the readers were prepared, before arrival, for the astonishing luxuriance of the vegetation.

The Images

In examining the four aspects discussed above, the emigrant would have learnt that New Zealand was a country almost without parallel in the world. Here were most of the best features of Britain, in addition to many of the features of other countries admired by writers and scholars. However, the major reference point or yardstick against which the features of New Zealand could be compared, was Britain. The familiar nature of these aspects was then compared with more exotic features such as the snowcapped mountains of Switzerland, the warmth of Spain, and the tropical
luxuriance of the vegetation.

The physical appearance of New Zealand was dominated by the mountains of the interior. Similar in size to Great Britain, New Zealand was a country of considerable romantic beauty in terms of mountainous scenery. The harbours, alluvial valleys, and reports of extensive inland plains suggested that the country was one most suited to agriculture and to settlement. The climate and soil were such as to allow the growing of traditional and exotic crops. The climate was characterised by its salubrity and mildness. The mild winters were compared with those of the south of England and the warm summers with those of southern Spain. The mountainous nature of the country ensured that there was sufficient moisture for the growing of crops. While there had been some misgivings over reports of strong winds in certain areas, the climate was a most invigorating and healthy one, promising longevity and vigour.

The soil was represented as being a black, rich alluvial loam of extraordinary fertility. It compared favourably with the soils of Kent and supported the growth of immense forests. The gigantic size of the vegetation cover, both forest and fern, was undeniable proof of the fertility and richness of the soil. The vegetation was most luxuriant and covered New Zealand from hill summits to water's edge, with forests of stupendous size.

These then were the images fostered in the literature, especially in the cheaper pamphlets, guides and handbooks of the period, from which sources, emigrants, agents, and other public speakers largely drew their information.

An intending emigrant, who had either attended public meetings about New Zealand and/or who had been interested enough to read some of the readily accessible literature on New Zealand, would
have gained considerable general information about the physical features of the country. This information was characterised by its generalities, a lack of specific detail, and little attempt at areal differentiation. It was promotional in character. That some exaggeration occurred is obvious, as the reports of the crop returns illustrated. Specific information for small local areas was used to describe extensive areas, particularly the case in discussions of the vegetation cover and aspects of relief. Favourable information made about certain features was selected for emphasis and unfavourable information was often not mentioned. A good example was the lack of promotion given to the observations by Dieffenbach on the possibilities of growing vines in New Zealand. While the literature was obviously useful to those who could read, if more than one pamphlet or handbook had been consulted, some discrepancies and confusion in the information would have been apparent to a discerning reader. It is interesting to speculate on how the intending emigrant assessed any discrepancy or contradictory information and how this affected his image of his new homeland. The activities and statements of the local agents would have reinforced the impressions gained from the literature. Perhaps it was at this point that knowledge gained by personal contact from emigrants already in New Zealand, was most highly evaluated. In general terms, the overall impact of the information available, either by word of mouth or from the literature, was that New Zealand was a most favourable country for emigration. An intending emigrant could be excused for believing, that in many respects, New Zealand appeared to be an "Eden of the Southern Seas" (Thomson, C. 1867). Whether the emigrants obtained such an impression from the accessible literature, or directly from the agents, cannot be established except by implication. As will be shown in the next chapter, the appraisals
of the emigrants suggested a strong relationship between the images as outlined above and the emigrants' expectations.

After having decided to emigrate, presumably partly on the basis of information gained from sources such as the public dissemination channels, from personal sources and partly on the expectation of a different and probably better life, the emigrant travelled to ports such as Gravesend to board ship for New Zealand. Before leaving the shores of England, the emigrants were addressed by well-known speakers on the wisdom of their decision. Such addresses underlined the images created in the accessible information, as the following extract from one of these addresses illustrates:

New Zealand is nearly as large as Great Britain, but in soil and climate is far superior, neither too hot in summer, nor severe in winter. In this fine country ... vegetation is luxuriant, and verdure almost perpetual. The valleys produce fern of the utmost luxuriance, and every thing that meets the eye conveys an accurate idea of the richness of the land and the mildness of the climate. Those who have explored the interior, give a most favourable account of the beauty of the scenery, and the capability of the soil. (Rudge 1840, 49)

As Miller (1958) suggested, it was with "great expectations" of a better life, that 15,000 emigrants left Britain for New Zealand in the period 1839 to 1855.
PART III

APPRAISALS OF NEW ZEALAND
CHAPTER SIX
ARRIVAL IN NEW ZEALAND: THE EMIGRANTS' APPRAISALS

As several writers concerned with the appraisals of new environments have suggested, emigration or movement from one area to another, often leads to the recording of observations and impressions about new and novel features (Tuan 1974a). Like the twentieth century tourist, emigrants tend to view new environments through eyes familiar with other scenes. In particular, differences or similarities with the place of origin are often noticed, and scenes or features thought noteworthy are described. The present day migrant, or tourist, is able to use modern photographic methods to capture the features or scenes which he thinks would be of interest to other people.

Nineteenth century emigrants to North America, Australia, and New Zealand recorded their observations and impressions of the new environment, often doing so in considerable detail. Observations and impressions were recorded in two main forms - in written form in letters to relatives and friends, and in journals and diaries kept while travelling to and settling in new areas; and in artistic or pictorial form in sketches or paintings of the new landscape. Such observations, like twentieth century photographs, captured what the writer or artist considered noteworthy enough to be so recorded. William Kennaway noted in his journal as the ship 'Canterbury' approached New Zealand that:
At length the evening closed in with a most beautiful sunset and the clouds clearing off the long and irregular range of hills was thrown out in fine and bold relief against the clear sky. I took a rough sketch of the shore knowing that these little drawings are as interesting as any description can be. (Kennaway, William 1851, 73)

Small sketches and pencil drawings often accompanied written observations as writers attempted to record the outline or profile of the new and often unfamiliar landscape features. The keeping of daily records in the form of diaries or journals was an established feature of the nineteenth century tradition of observing nature. It was also a well known feature of the British middle class (Houghton 1957; Smith, B, 1960). Many of these observations and comments provide valuable insights into the perceptions and appraisals of the new environment.

For the most part, journals and logs kept by the emigrants to New Zealand commenced with the departure of the emigrant ships from the ports, such as Gravesend or Plymouth, on their four month voyage to the "ends of the earth" (Millar 1972). As the ships actually left Britain, a sense of adventure and excitement combined with a dawning realisation of the implications of emigration, particularly emigration to the Antipodes, often overcame many of the emigrants. In describing the departure of one shipload of New Zealand emigrants, the Chambers Edinburgh Journal wrote:

Some were buoyant with hope and already enjoying the anticipation of employment and plenty. Others were altogether as downcast and made but a sorry picture in the attempt to put a courageous face on the matter. (Chambers 1848, 353)
All contacts with Home became important. Journals and letters were often the only means of communication with Home, and many of the writers therefore, described in detail, their impressions and reactions in order to enable relatives and friends to visualise the new scenes or conditions.

The long journey to New Zealand taxed the enthusiasm of some of the journal writers (Lyon 1840; Taylor, J.M. 1840-41). In some cases, detailed descriptions of life aboard ship changed into mere catalogues of weather and location. The first journals, or travel journals, ended for the most part once the emigrant arrived in New Zealand and became involved in the process of settlement. Some writers continued their journals or started new ones, on arrival in the colony. These journals, like many of the letters written after arrival, recorded both the initial perceptions and the later, more considered, assessments. The length of time covered by the journals varied. Some contained detailed records of activities for several years. Others finished after some months when the newness of colonial life had become submerged in the routine activities of the individual.

In addition to these logs and journals, observations and impressions of the voyage were also described in letters written to relatives and friends in Britain. Often kept in journal form while aboard ship, the letters were hastily finished once ports of call were reached, or when vessels returning to Britain were met en route. Details of activities on the ship, accounts of their companions, and descriptions of the various ports were the main features of these letters. It is interesting to note that the letters and journals written during the voyage to New Zealand, while providing many careful observations about personalities and activities, contain little or no anticipatory comment on the
destination ahead. There is only a rare reference to books read, or conversations held with other passengers about the prospects of the new colony (Hursthouse, J., 1842). During the voyage therefore, logs and journals were major sources of day to day observations, with letters and sketches providing further impressions of the voyage and arrival.

On arrival in New Zealand, letters became the major form of recording observations and impressions. One of the first tasks of the emigrants, both male and female, was to write and reassure family and friends of their safe arrival and to describe, in varying degrees of detail, the main features of their new homeland. With the arrival and settlement of the emigrants came the first appraisals and evaluations of the new environment. It was the first opportunity the emigrants had to begin to assess for themselves what the climate was like, whether or not the land and soil were suitable for agriculture, and whether New Zealand lived up to the promises of the New Zealand Company. Appraisals, whether of New Zealand as a whole, or of a particular settlement, or of a noteworthy feature such as soil fertility, were significant for only a short period. After some time in New Zealand, usually several weeks, the observations and comments became more concerned with daily activities and family matters. Once the emigrants had become settlers, the novelty of the New Zealand environment wore off as the place became known and familiar and the letters contained little detail about the physical landscape. The major exceptions to this occurred when a visit was made to a new area, or settlers arrived with news and accounts of other places. At such times, settlers often commented on the progress of their settlement in contrast to the other settlements.

Care was often taken in these descriptions and observations to ensure that readers in Britain were able to visualise the New Zealand
environment. That this was not always an easy task is obvious in the following statement from Arnold who visited New Zealand in 1848 and who discredited the notion that New Zealand resembled Britain:

You will wish to know what this place is like and I will try to describe it, though as I know of no part of England at all like it, it will not be easy to give you a clear notion of it.
(Bertram 1966, 40)

A further source of written observations and appraisals made on arrival, is contained in the memoirs or reminiscences of early settlers, and in some biographical works written at later dates. In these accounts, the arrival in New Zealand and the conditions found at the time, were major events and recalled with some detail. Although given a different perspective by being written many years after the event, they do provide a valuable source of information about early appraisals of the New Zealand environment.

The New Zealand Company Directors were quick to realise the importance of the early observations as a source of information for potential emigrants (Wakefield, E.G. 1850). Many letters from settlers found their way into the hands of the New Zealand Company, often at the letter writer's displeasure. Some annoyance was expressed by J.R. Godley whose private letters had been shown in confidence to 'interested parties' (Godley, J.R. 1851). Of the letters received by the New Zealand Company, many were published. In pamphlet form, with titles such as Letters from Emigrants (Trelawney Saunders 1850), these were sold to intending emigrants and other interested individuals from 1841 onwards. Some editing had obviously occurred and italics were used to emphasise comments about
the activities of the New Zealand Company. In some cases, observations about New Zealand were a significant part of the letter but received little promotion. The Company directors were more interested in the comments about the voyage to New Zealand, conditions aboard ship and on arrival, and the attitudes expressed towards the Company. In keeping with the quality of information disseminated by the Company, and in contrast to most of the letters written to private individuals, many of the published comments and observations were general, vague and non-specific:

We were all delighted with the appearance of the country; and, as far as we have experienced, find the climate, the land, and the prospects of the settlements, fully equal to our expectations and in some points surpassing them. (Hursthouse, C. 1850 b, 7)

I must now give you an account of New Zealand. It is a very mountainous country, well watered and very fertile. You see, I could stand at my own door, and see the river, the woods, the sea, and the mountains, some of them so high that they are covered with snow all year. (Boddington 1843, 89)

Not only were these letters published in pamphlets, but some also appeared in newspapers such as the New Zealand Journal, the Otago Journal, and, occasionally, in The Times. Letters were also published in early New Zealand newspapers, such as the Nelson Examiner and the Otago Witness. This publication of letters was not always well received by the settlers. Revans, writing to Chapman in 1840, cautioned him to be more careful in his use of letters, since some Wellington families felt they had sufficient grounds to bring a charge of deception against the New Zealand Company (Revans 1841).

Other letters, often written to friends or associates of the New Zealand Company, were read at public meetings. Such letters
were primarily used to substantiate statements made about the benefits of travelling to New Zealand under the care of the Company, or as proof of the satisfaction felt by settlers already in New Zealand. In writing to Lord Lyttelton, E.G. Wakefield commented on the "private letters from all sorts of colonists" that had been read at one meeting, and noted that:

The general complexions of all the letters is favourable. I have seen or heard of a great number, not less than from 15 to 20, but I have neither seen nor heard of any which speaks evil of the Association. There are some complaints, of course, but none that appear at all serious ... (Wakefield, E.G. 1851, 80)

Private letters and journals, not used by the New Zealand Company, but sent, instead, to relatives and friends in Britain, were generally more specific, both in terms of areal descriptions and of detail. Locations were generally clearly defined. Descriptions also often attempted some comparison with locations in England and Scotland. An early Nelson settler who travelled over much of the interior of the South Island, compared other parts of New Zealand with Nelson (Barnicoat, J.W. 1842). His journal contained many careful and detailed observations about the New Zealand landscape. For example, of the Port Cooper area, J.W. Barnicoat wrote that:

The land is of a less mountainous character than that to the northward but is still high. It is agreeably varied between bush and open land, and presents a series of most inviting slopes ... Judging from what we saw of the land around Port Cooper, though lofty and occasionally steep and rocky, is on the whole immediately valuable on account of the large amount of pasture it affords and will no doubt be ultimately very valuable as an agricultural district. By far the greater portion is open land with here and there a woody glen. The grass is generally dry
and yellow and grows in tufts. There is besides intermixed a thick growth of small fern, tute, toi-toi, flax, aniseed etc. but grass everywhere prevails.

(Barnicoat, J.W. 1844, 46-47)

The recipients of letters containing the first appraisals and observations would have gained some exact and detailed information. The journals of settlers such as J.W. Barnicoat, Thomas Ferens, Sarah and Felton Mathew, the papers of Charles Torlesse, and the letters of the Deans family are all excellent examples of the detailed geographical information written about New Zealand at this time.

While written observations provided the most obvious form of appraisal there were also some pictorial or artistic appraisals made during the period. Artists, journal and letter writers attempted to portray the attributes of New Zealand in watercolours, oils and pencil drawings. Despite many handicaps - such as the lack of equipment in some cases, the unfamiliarity of the colours and shapes (for example, the greenness of the vegetation and the cone-like shape of Mount Egmont), and often a lack of previous artistic experience - the early paintings and sketches contain useful visual impressions of the landscape. The first sight of New Zealand as a bold and rugged outline in the distance, encouraged a few letter and diary writers to attempt to sketch a profile of the new landscape. Necessity made artists of many of the settlers. Once in New Zealand, art was an accepted and important means of observation. Many of these artists are little known today. Though the work varied in quality, several of the artists were highly skilled and the paintings provide a record of early impressions of New Zealand. Some paintings however, strongly reflected the tradition and features of landscape painting in Britain.
Early Appraisals

Once it was known that the emigrant ships were in sight of New Zealand "every person hurried on deck to get a glimpse of their adopted country" (Webster 1840, in Bolitho and Mulgan 1939, 92). The diaries and letters often recorded some of the anxiety and hope felt by the emigrant, as the 'long-wished-for-shores' were viewed for the first time. As Hepburn wrote in 1850:

This morning at 8 o'clock the cry of land in sight was made, when very soon... all were on deck to see if they could, a small speck in the distant horizon like a white cloud or tent, said to be the top of Mount Egmont. (Stewart 1934, 86)

The emigrants were anxious to see for themselves the shores of the country which had been represented to them as "a sort of earthly paradise - a smiling land, the very sight of which was at once to have banished away all our cares and all our sorrows" (Marjoribanks 1846, 11). After four months at sea, the first views of New Zealand aroused considerable interest and excitement among the emigrants. Ferens recorded his frustration when, after just a brief view of a long chain of land, it was shrouded in mist (Ferens 1848). Adams, in commenting on his arrival, claimed that after so long at sea the "country... seemed like a scene from fairy land" (Adams 1853, 14).

Surprisingly perhaps, few of the emigrants mentioned their hopes or fears about settling in a new colony. Many of the emigrants were not aware of the name of their intended settlement until they reached New Zealand (Thompson, T.J. 1842). While it is impossible, therefore, to directly evaluate with any certainty what the expectations of the emigrants were, it is reasonable to suggest that the early appraisals made of the new environment did, by implication, reflect the emigrant's expectations as established by the images
contained within the literature. Some colouring of the images had no doubt occurred. The length of time spent at sea and the life aboard ship would have influenced the initial appraisals. As J.R. Godley wrote in 1850, he "could have almost cried with delight" at finding himself on dry land again "even if it had been a desert" (Godley, J.R. 1850 a, 24). This experience would have been common to all the emigrants however, and therefore the only variable component in the reactions of the emigrants was the colouring given their expectations by their own imagination.

The initial perception and appraisal of the new environment was often discussed in some detail in the diaries and letters of the emigrants. After so long at sea there was, as Arnold suggested, "a singular charm ... in the first glimpses of a country, which has for so long had a subjective existence in one's imagination" (Bertram 1966, 31). The detailed comments attempted to give some dimensions to this subjective image. One of the Kennaway brothers recorded daily the first views of the coast as the ship approached New Zealand. By the time the ship was at anchor he had made several pages of notes on his observations:

After dinner the cry of 'land' soon called us upon deck and our delighted eyes saw at last the long grey and hilly part of the Southern part of New Zealand .... a bold rugged shore seemingly within \( \frac{1}{2} \) a mile of the ship but which was in reality 11 miles distant. It was clothed in trees to the very shore, but in some places seemed to have been cleared of timber and in others was covered with short scruffy looking stuff .... The shore was extremely undulating and hilly and sloped down to the sea very abruptly. (Lamb and Gormack 1973, 97-105)

While the initial appraisals were obviously influenced by the relief felt at being close to land again, it was the first opportunity that the emigrants had to evaluate their own images or expectations
of New Zealand. These personal images, based largely on New Zealand Company information as the most accessible source, their own imagination, and their own evaluation of all sources of information, could be tested against the reality of the new landscape as they perceived it. The accounts and descriptions of New Zealand found in the various letters, diaries, and journals, therefore, mirrored some of the components (or cognitive constructs) of the individual's personal image or expectation of New Zealand. As was suggested above, this personal image was composed of many variables, one of the most important being information. Thus, when faced with the reality of the New Zealand landscape, many of the observations made, referred, in an implicit manner, to the discrepancies found between the expectation and the reality of the situation. While the emigrants viewed New Zealand from different personal backgrounds and experiences, the appraisals captured the emigrants at similar times, reacting to the same experience, and having just undergone similar stressful conditions aboard ship.

Although little research has as yet been carried out on the backgrounds of the emigrants, several writers have suggested that the emigrants had much in common (Marais 1927; Miller 1958). Despite E.G. Wakefield's aim of reproducing a cross-section of British society, those who came, and, more especially, those whose records remain, appear to have come from what could be called the lower middle class. These people were often members of families with little capital, who emigrated to New Zealand with a view to improving their lot. Some were labourers hoping to become small landowners in the future (Marais 1927). In 1850, J.R. Godley suggested that the length and expense of the passage had acted as a restraint on emigration and had protected "the character of our [New Zealand] population by
winnowing the emigrants" (Godley, J.R. 1850 a, 11). The very poor were most often excluded from emigration unless granted a free passage. Of the poor, few would have been educated. Many of the emigrants, while commenting on certain features of the new landscape, did suggest that their opinions and impressions were the general feelings of most of the emigrants. Greenwood (1840) noted that most of the emigrants were pleased with the appearance of the settlement at Wellington. Ferens (1848), J.W. Barnicoat (1844) and Edward Ward (1951) all mentioned the reactions of other emigrants in their area.

While the emigrants were from many different parts of Britain, some of the comparisons made do cast faint glimmers of light on the experiences and origins of the emigrants. The most important features of the appraisals, however, were firstly, that the stimulus was common to all the emigrants, and secondly, that the emigrants viewed New Zealand with images and expectations largely drawn from similar sources of information.

In examining the appraisals more carefully, it is apparent that the initial perceptions (or first impressions) of New Zealand were predominantly observations about the landscape. While later appraisals contained more comment on these first impressions, they also focused more on individual elements within the landscape. Two themes were commonly expressed in these appraisals. The first of these was a romantic view of New Zealand. The new environment was described in terms of scenic beauty and the romantic tradition of wilderness in nature (Plate 2). The second view was a more utilitarian one characterised by a practical concern with the suitability of the country for settlement and agriculture. The initial perceptions and early appraisals were, for the most part,
PLATE 2

TARANAKI, NEW ZEALAND, 1860

By Charles Emilius Gold

A watercolour by C.E. Gold

Reproduced with permission of and acknowledgement to the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington
expressed in romantic terms and were specifically descriptions of the luxuriant vegetation and the mountainous appearance of the land (Stapleton 1851). As T.J. Thompson recorded his first impressions, he noted that he had had:

... a splendid view of the first New Zealand land .... The fine cliffs, and high wooded hills rising towards the interior were all a delightful prospect.  
(Thompson, T.J. 1842, 60-61)

The scenic beauty of the landscape had surprised some of the emigrants. Of the Otago area, J.R. Godley had written:

We were most agreeably surprised by the beauty of the scenery as we had not heard much about it. The hills are not very high but the outline of them is picturesque & the harbour is indented & dotted in every direction with woody Headlands & Islets. The cliffs are nearly perpendicular and clothed with the most luxuriant foliage which is just "set off" by the occasional Cottage ...
(Godley, J.R. 1850 a, 23)

The perceptions and appraisals made on viewing the land from the emigrant ships, as they sailed along the New Zealand coast, were most often couched in romantic terms, perhaps in part symptomatic of the pleasure at being near land, and also in justice to the undoubted beauties of the rugged mountainous scenery, alien, for the most part, to the experience of the emigrants. Once on land, and facing the realities of establishing themselves in the new colony, a more utilitarian view was often expressed by many of the emigrants. While in romantic tradition the mountains were seen as elements of grandeur and sublime beauty, the more practical settlers regarded them with some apprehension since they were likely to provide major obstacles to the progress of farming and settlement.

As Alfred Saunders recalled in 1903:
By 3 o'clock, I was on deck looking anxiously for level land, but none was to be seen, only mountains coming down close to the water's edge.
(Saunders, A. 1903, 306)

Frederick Hunt, used to the plains of Lincolnshire, saw "the prospect [as] ... anything but inviting, hill upon hill, mountain upon mountain, frowned down upon us from their lofty heights" (Hunt, F. 1865, 1). He claimed that "if this is the country we are to sow and reap from it will tire many a poor ploughman" (Hunt, F. 1865, 1). Weekes (1841) recorded the disappointed silence of many of the emigrants as they gazed anxiously at the mountains of the South Island and noted that:

The appearance of the land, especially on the Southern Island is very mountainous, the lower hills being wooded to the edges of the cliffs. Port Underwood (or Cloudy Bay) has at present a very forbidding aspect, the hills being quite brown from a scarcity of rain. This united to their great steepness and height (from 2000 to 4000 feet) has thrown a damp on the spirits of our agricultural passengers.
(Weekes 1841, 20)

While the first impressions of the emigrants expressed predominantly a romantic view of the landscape, once on shore, the emigrants quickly became immersed in more practical assessments of specific features of the landscape. Thus, assessments of relief features, the climate, the quality of the soil and the nature of the vegetation cover became most important in their appraisals of their new homeland.
Relief Features

As has been shown, the pamphlets and literature of the New Zealand Company had fostered an image of a country similar in size to Great Britain but with grand and beautiful mountain scenery. A chain of mountains ran through the centre of each island but extensive plains were reported to exist in the interior. The coast had many safe and capacious harbours, which provided access to these inland plains. The two major themes expressed in the literature were also expressed in the emigrants' appraisals. In the literature the romantic theme had been most obvious in the descriptions of scenic beauty and in the emphasis on the mountains. The utilitarian concern was apparent in the details of size, location and extent, the harbours and the inland plains.

In the emigrants' appraisals there is a less obvious distinction since the landscape was more often viewed as a whole. The utilitarian view was predominant while the romantic theme was confined, for the most part, to early descriptions written before the settlers had cause to travel long distances or to attempt to establish agriculture. The indented coast and the rugged mountains featured in the more romantic accounts of relief. Richmond (1851) described the coast of New Zealand as a "most romantic coast, with lofty and sometimes precipitous banks" (Scholefield 1960, 78), and a later emigrant described the Otago harbour as being "surrounded by picturesque ranges of mountains" (Coote 1854, 9). The descriptions of romantic scenery are common to all the early settlements. Since the New Zealand Company settlements were sited at coastal locations, it is not surprising that it was the coastal scenery and the interior mountains which caught the attention and imagination of the settlers. In commenting on the southern coast of the South Island in 1851, Edward Ward wrote:
The coast with cliff and forest, was most romantically beautiful - high lands, thickly wooded, undulating in every curve, interspersed with patches of sward of a delicious green. A variety of cavernous indentations marked the cliffs ...
(Ward, E. 1951, 80)

After five weeks in New Zealand, Jane McGlashan commented in her journal on the dusky appearance of the landscape and noted that "on every side, as far as the eye can reach, are hills; the higher ranges clothed with trees to the top" (McGlashan 1853, 47). Travelling a short distance inland from Wellington, Hepburn (1850) commented that the road "was through a pass or glen all the way, more romantic and sublime than anything I ever saw in Scotland" (Stewart 1934, 106).

The romantic appraisal became less common as the time after arrival lengthened. After some months in New Zealand, Browne thought the country was almost impenetrable, being "mountain and flood, forest and fernhills, streams and swamps" (Browne 1842, 3). The major concerns of the settlers were whether or not there was enough level land to settle on and whether the land surrounding the settlements was suitable for agriculture. Some of the settlers described the problem in terms of the mountainous nature of the landscape. The mountains were regarded as obstacles to the progress of settlement and not as objects of sublime beauty. As Cullen said of Nelson in 1843:

... there is some very good land here, but it is very hilly, and the hills are so steep that a person standing on one side of them, would be afraid to look to the top, lest he should break his neck at the bottom. (Cullen, W, 1843, 76)
In 1851, Edward Ward commented that his impressions of the Canterbury area "were certainly not favourable. High (very high) and irregular hills clothed to appearance with a brown grass, seemed monotonous and scarcely relieved enough by the shadows cast in their undulation" (Ward, E. 1951, 82). After some months in the Wellington area, Frederick Hunt was not impressed with his new homeland and noted that his impressions had not improved with time (Hunt, F. 1865). He stated that everything "seemed sterile and rugged in the extreme" and thought that:

... this land may do very well for cattle and sheep and as pastoral country perchance become valuable, but it will require the transition of ages to render it available for plough or harrow.
(Hunt, F. 1865, 2)

Others expressed their concern about the mountainous nature of the landscape by questioning the whereabouts of the extensive level plains. Despite the occasional letter to the New Zealand Company which suggested that there was abundant level land suitable for cultivation (Fellingham 1843), it was soon obvious to most of the settlers that the inland plains were not immediately adjacent to the settlements or harbours. Bayly, who spent two weeks in Wellington before travelling to Taranaki, noted that he had "travelled for days and found nothing but mountains for miles which could not be cultivated whatsoever" (Bayly, W. 1843, 14). The comments of W. Bayly were published by the New Zealand Company. It was his comments about the "tens of thousands of acres of level land" in New Zealand, however, that were italicised in the published accounts (Bayly, W. 1843, 14). Whether Bayly truly believed both his comments is not clear. The confusion perhaps suggested a strong belief in the New Zealand Company propaganda and that, despite the evidence, he
still believed in the idea of extensive plains somewhere in the interior.

The mountainous appearance of the land also caused some apprehension on the part of the emigrants as to the possible extent of level land. Buller, an early missionary in Northland, emphasised that the appearance of the land was "exceedingly mountainous [with] extensive ranges of high hills ... everywhere succeeding each other" (Buller 1837, 2), and that travelling in the interior was most difficult. Such comments cast grave doubts on the existence of extensive inland plains. Those more adventurous settlers and visitors who travelled into the interior did find large tracts of open land. These writers emphasised, however, that the interior was little known to most of the settlers. In writing of his travels in the North Island in 1843, John Johnson suggested that the interior was little known even to settlers who had been resident in New Zealand for several years (Taylor, N. 1959). John Johnson described the hills bordering the sea coast as the "walls of an immense central basin of comparatively level land" (Taylor, N. 1959, 128). Revans was another who commented on the general lack of knowledge of the interior North Island (Revans 1840). By 1850 and the beginnings of settlement in Canterbury, several settlers had travelled across the plains of the South Island and explored much of the interior (Barnicoat, J.W. 1844; Tuckett 1844). There was therefore, general belief in the existence of plains in the interior but with some reservations. Certainly these plains were not to be found in close proximity to the settlements and there was some doubt as to their extent and accessibility. In writing to the New Zealand Company, Carrington commented that all the harbours were surrounded with hills and mountains "too steep, even to the water's edge for cultivation" (Carrington 1842, 6).
Although the pamphlets and newspapers had suggested that the land was most suitable for agriculture, and particularly for cropping activities, the settlers' appraisals tended to express a rather different view. In 1840, A. Russell noted of the Taranaki area that:

The country ... looks well, with every appearance of being well watered, from its undulating form. Some on board considered it from the whinstone appearance to be an excellent soil for pasturage.  
(Russell, A. 1840, 280)

Of the Wellington area, T.J. Thompson suggested that "most of the land round the Harbour seems to be too hilly for anything except sheep pastures" (Thompson, T.J. 1842, 63). Greenwood (1840) was another settler who thought the hills around Wellington to be better adapted for pastoral activities rather than cropping. Several writers, for example Weekes (1841), thought the land had an unpromising appearance in terms of agricultural potential. It was only those who visited the interior who considered the land suitable for agricultural use. The Waikato area was visited by John Johnson in 1843. His assessment was that the land was most promising for agriculture and he described the area as follows:

The whole of the ground we had passed over in the previous part of the day, both from soil and outline, is well suited for cultivation - the slopes of the hills, with few exceptions are gentle, and the summits are often perfect plateaus, of many hundred acres in extent.  
(Taylor, N. 1959, 123)

The settlers' appraisals of relief features, therefore, differed from the images fostered in the literature about the appearance and suitability of the land for agriculture. The mountainous nature of the landscape suggested to the settlers that the land was more suited to pastoral activities than to cultivation. Initial observations
also suggested that most of the settlers knew little of the plains in the interior of the North Island. The heavy bush country of the Wellington and Taranaki areas discouraged many of the settlers from travelling far inland. The later settlements of Otago and Canterbury encouraged some exploration of the South Island and the Canterbury plains and the inland areas of Otago and Southland became better known. Like the inland plains of the North Island, however, the South Island plains were, for the most part, not easily accessible nor adjacent to harbours. With time, therefore, the initial perception of a rugged and mountainous country changed into a realisation that some areas of level land did exist in the interior.

A major characteristic of the settlers' appraisals was their attempt to compare or contrast the New Zealand landscape with that of Britain, or other areas well known to the observer. On arrival in New Zealand J.R. Godley described the reactions of his family to the New Zealand landscape as:

All of us almost simultaneously, began to compare it with a favourite landscape. I declared it was like Killarney (which it is not, speaking coolly, it is not unlike Glengariff though). Charlotte said it reminded her of the vale of Llanrwst and Powles said it was the Lake of Como in miniature,

(Godley, J.R. 1850 a, 24)

The scale of the New Zealand landscape was different to that familiar to most of the emigrants. Many emphasised this by comparing New Zealand with the more rugged and hilly areas of Britain. For the most part such comparisons were with localities in the Scottish Highlands, the Lake District, Wales and Devonshire, and the Isle of Man. A German visitor in the 1840s, compared the Nelson area with
the area with which he was most familiar - the Harz and Thüringer mountains and the Swiss Alps (Wohlers 1843 b).

In a recent monograph on European reactions to New Zealand, Shepard (1969) regarded the New Zealand landscape as combining for new arrivals, both the exotic and the familiar. Old associations with Britain were compared with the different size and scale of scenery in New Zealand. In contrast to the descriptions in the promotional literature, the settlers described their new homeland in terms they knew, and in a form comprehensible to relatives and friends still in Britain. Edward Ward (1851) noted in his journal that other emigrants on the ship "agreed with me it [the coast of New Zealand] was very like the Isle of Man coast from Castletown to Douglas, only that the low hills and precipitous cliffs along the shore are densely wooded" (Ward, E. 1951, 79). Whether such comparisons were based on personal knowledge of areas such as the Welsh mountains or the Scottish Highlands, or whether they were more a comparison with areas known by reputation for scenic and romantic beauty is difficult to determine. Some of the writers such as Hepburn (1850) and J.R. Godley (1851) clearly had visited the areas they mentioned.

Some of the emigrants described the relief features in terms of the exotic areas mentioned by the literature. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, when visiting Canterbury, said with some surprise that it was "less Italian and more English than I had expected" (Wakefield, E.G. 1853, 120). In a letter to his mother, Young, after having talked with Colonel Wakefield, considered the Nelson scenery to be most Italian (Young, W.C. 1842). In her autobiography, Mrs Fulton described her arrival at Port Chalmers in 1848. She commented that she and other emigrants had considered Port Chalmers to be "as beautiful as the
Bay of Naples” (Fulton 1915, 3). Monro saw some similarity between the New Zealand scenery and the Tyrol area of Switzerland (Monro, Dr. Sir D. 1842). Such comparisons were not the norm however.

The comments and observations of the settlers were generally specific in terms of area and detail. Richard Nicholson (1842), in writing to his brother, emphasised that he was familiar only with certain areas around Wellington and therefore could not speak with any authority about other parts. He gave a detailed description of the areas of Karori and Hutt with only general observations about the rest of the Wellington area. Other writers gave general areal descriptions followed by more specific mention of the area in which they had settled. As Wallace wrote of Wellington:

The whole surface of the land is more like the northern parts of Yorkshire and Lancashire, Cumberland and Westmoreland; and this very place is as like as possible to Keswick Lake, and the valley of the Hutt is much more extended, more level ... (Wallace 1843, 13)

Some of the settlers did have an opportunity to travel to other parts of New Zealand. Descriptions of these areas were often compared with known parts of New Zealand as well as Britain. The Deans brothers, who travelled between Nelson, Wellington and the Canterbury settlement, provided many detailed comparisons of the areas they visited (Deans, W. 1937). Once the settlers had become used to the New Zealand landscape their comparisons of new areas reflected their knowledge of the New Zealand features as well as their familiarity with the relief features of Britain.
The appraisals of the relief features by the emigrants differed, therefore, in some respects from the images created by the literature. While a romantic theme was present in the early perceptions, it was the utilitarian aspect that was more important and which coloured the settlers' appraisals. Unlike the pamphlets, the settlers' descriptions were mostly comparisons with areas and locations in Britain. These appraisals were also limited in terms of area. Locations were clearly identified and few generalities mentioned. The settlers appeared to have been more aware of the relationships between elements in the landscape, seeing it as a whole rather than its parts. Their assessments differed from the pamphlet descriptions in this respect.

For most of the settlers details of size and location were never considered worthy of comment. It was the general appearance of the land, particularly the mountainous and rugged nature of the landscape, and the suitability of the land for agriculture that most concerned them. While admiring the romantic beauty of the mountains, many also expressed disappointment at the mountainous appearance of the land which was assessed to be more suited to pastoral activities than to cropping. Thus, while some differences occurred, particularly with details about relief features, the appraisals did bear a close relationship to the images promoted by the literature. This is most clearly seen in the descriptions of the romantic beauty of the country. It was in the more practical considerations of settlement that the major differences between images and appraisals occurred.
Characteristics of Climate

Features of the climate have been regarded by writers concerned with appraisals of new environments as being one of the most easily and readily experienced aspects (Moon 1969; Thompson, K. 1969 a). While the term climate has been used by both present day writers discussing perceptions and appraisals of new environments, and by emigrants to new areas, and is used herein, most such observations are, in fact, of weather not climate. It must be remembered therefore that most comments about climate refer to prominent features of daily weather.

The literature available about New Zealand had characterised the New Zealand climate as being equable and salubrious, congenial to British constitutions, and most suitable for agriculture. The climate had been favourably compared with that of southern Europe and promised health, longevity and the cultivation of both traditional and exotic crops.

Like the pamphlet writers' descriptions the initial appraisals of the settlers were characterised by general comments about weather. The observations of the settlers were references to specific areas however, in marked contrast to the more general descriptions of the pamphlet writers. More detailed observations occurred when features of the climate were described. In particular, the settlers commented on the amount of rain, the range of temperature experienced, and the windiness of some localities. The apparent lack of detailed comment in the very early appraisals is not surprising. Time was needed for the settlers to be able to assess the main features of the climate. At least some months had to pass before the settlers could comment on whether or not the climate was salubrious. In terms of agriculture, at least one growing season would need to have
passed before evaluations as to the suitability of the climate could be substantiated for that particular year. Several years were needed before the settlers could authoritatively speak about the climate in detail. The early lack of detailed comment was, perhaps, also a reflection of the fact that other features, such as landscape or vegetation, were more obvious and different from that in Britain, thereby favouring comment. In addition, since most of the emigrants arrived in early spring or early autumn, extremes of weather had not been experienced until the settlers had been in New Zealand for some months. The comments of Churton (1845) and D. Harris (1843), two early emigrants, expressed some of the difficulties experienced in assessing the features of the New Zealand climate in comparison with that of Britain. Harris described the climate as "not too hot, nor yet very cold" (Harris, D. 1843, 53-54).

Early appraisals made soon after arrival were often succinct. William Deans (1840) in his first appraisal of the climate claimed that it was "capital" (Deans, W. 1937). William Kennaway noted in his journal that "the weather was most beautiful ... [and] gave us all the most favourable idea of the climate of New Zealand" (Kennaway, William 1851, 78). Several later settlers were equally brief in their first appraisals, although occasionally referring to a specific feature. Richardson described the climate as "genial and healthy ... with a fair share of rain equally distributed" (Richardson, J.L.C. 1854, 12), while another settler wrote that the climate was "bright and lovely ... with the exception of more wind than was agreeable" (Trelawney Saunders 1850, 9-10).

While the initial appraisals were couched in general terms, more detail was often given after the settlers had had time to experience the vagaries of the weather of at least their local area.
After twelve years in Canterbury, Thomson claimed that the settlement:

... has its fierce "sou'westers", which, however, are supposed to contribute to the healthiness of the place, and in summer it has occasionally "nor'westers", which parch up the vegetation for a time. The winds do not blow harder, perhaps, than they frequently do in England, but they certainly blow oftener and more continuously.

(Thomson, C. 1867, 7)

Weekes had commented on the heavy rain, in his journal and claimed that "the rain fell more heavily at times than I ever recollect observing it in England" (Weekes 1841, 45). The idea that the southern hemisphere was cooler than the northern, as mentioned in the literature, was not a feature of the settlers' appraisals. Temperatures were more often compared with those experienced in Britain. Richard Nicholson, concerned to describe the climate at Wanganui, for his family, emphasised the differences he had experienced in terms of temperature:

The climate here, is very delightful, and at the same time very equible (sic), and now our winter is approaching the thermometer ranges between 60 and 70 degrees during the day, but falls in the evenings, which are very fine here, as it generally gets far cooler in comparison than those in England - You may think it would be very hot, with the Thermometer between 60 and 70, but it is seldom higher even in the height of summer.

(Nicholson, R. 1842, no pagination)

It was features such as temperature, wind and rain that received more detailed comment once the settlers had become familiar with the New Zealand conditions. Climatic features were also mentioned when the climate or some feature of it, had failed to live up to the expectations of the emigrant. Dillon was disappointed with the lack of warmth of the New Zealand summer (Dillon 1844), while an early
Otago settler was surprised at the strong winds he had experienced (Earp 1848). The first winter also often encouraged some comment by the settlers. Ferens, who arrived in Dunedin in March 1848, was most impressed with the late summer weather. By May, and the onset of winter, he wrote that "the atmosphere is thick, misty, windy and wet" (Ferens 1848, 63), and commented on the numbers of settlers who were dissatisfied with the winter climate of Dunedin and who were moving to Wellington. After a winter in Wellington, one settler was pleased to be able to note that the winter months were nearly over and that no snow had fallen (Reading 1841). Uriah Hunt wrote that "the climate is similar to England, but not so much winter by a great deal" (Hunt, U. 1841, 13). After a month in New Zealand, spent mainly at the Otago settlement, J.R. Godley commented that it was impossible to draw any conclusions from such limited observations but he did emphasise that:

"... though we have now been just a month in, or on the coasts of, New Zealand, at the end of autumn, we have only had one wet day, and not above three or four that were showery or otherwise unpleasant. In general, the sky has been almost cloudless, and the temperature pleasant - quite warm and summery in the day-time, and cool at night, with heavy dews.

(Godley, J.R. 1850 a, 68)"

As in the case of observations made about the physical appearance, similarities or dissimilarities with the climate of Britain were the major reference points for most letter and diary writers. A few of the settlers appeared to have been familiar with the more exotic comparisons of the literature and appraised the climate in terms of southern Europe. Ferens thought "the air is most delightful - a sultry, ethereal sky, quite of the Italian character" (Ferens 1848, 52). Of Canterbury, Paul thought it was "a mixture of the climates
of the South of France and the Shetland Islands, the former predominating" (Paul 1857, 36). Nelson was compared with the south of Spain (Fell 1926), while the Wanganui climate was thought to be unequalled in any part of the world (Churton 1845). Churton's praise for the climate was that it was "never too hot, nor too cold, too wet nor too dry, nor too calm, yet sometimes too windy" (Churton 1845, 11).

In examining the observations made about climate more closely, the images promoted in the literature seem also to have been a part of the expectations of the emigrants. The literature on New Zealand had characterised the climate in two ways. The first had suggested that the climate was a most salubrious one, pleasant to live in and congenial to British constitutions. The salubrious nature had been measured in terms of general good health and longevity. The second consideration was that the climate was one favouring the pursuit of agriculture. Proof of this was offered in the range of exotic crops that could be grown in addition to the traditional crops of Britain. Further evidence of the genial climate was the obvious luxuriance of the vegetation.

As suggested in the examination of the images about climate promoted in the literature, the salubrity of the climate was a difficult aspect to define or measure. It was a term with a strong emotive appeal rather than a specific reference. The salubrity of the New Zealand climate was, however, a feature about which several of the settlers commented.

Many of the settlers mentioned that the climate was a pleasant one. Greenwood (1840) noticed that in comparison with England, the same degree of heat was not as oppressive and the climate was a more exhilarating one. More particularly, the settlers' appraisals
were on the healthiness or otherwise of the climate. One emigrant, in a letter published by the New Zealand Company, went so far as to claim that the climate was the most healthy one in the world and offered as proof the fact that "the doctors are compelled to turn either farmer or publican, as they have nothing to do but attend upon lying-in women" (Bradey 1843, 1-2). The reputed healthiness of the climate was often expressed in letters to Britain. Hursthouse noted that "everyone we met with bore evidence in their robust & ruddy looks of the salubrity of the climate" (Hursthouse, J. 1843, no pagination). One settler, who thought the climate most delightful, wrote that the climate "agrees so well with me that I am about twice as thick as when I left England" (Britain 1841, 7). Another instanced the fact that although there were frequent sudden changes in temperature he had never succumbed to a cold (J-‘s Letters 1850, 90). A later settler, who arrived in 1862 after several years experience in Australia, was well informed of New Zealand’s high reputation for salubrity (Glasson 1862). Glasson noted that the climate was salubrious and mentioned the more equable features of mild winters and sudden changes of temperature.

While the healthiness of the climate was evidently generally undisputed, the longevity and vigour mentioned by the pamphlet writers was rarely discussed. The situation was not always as good as many of the letters would have suggested. One of the Deans brothers wrote in 1842 that:

Of the climate, I will not say much. There have been a great many deaths, I believe about eighty since the first ship arrived, which is not much more than a year. I think this unhealthiness is caused by the swamps which cover a good deal of land near the town. And also by the excessive heat which is sometimes very great.
(Deans, J. 1964, 11)
Another settler in the Nelson district noted that:

One or two of us complain (and the complaint has been almost universal at Nelson) that any slight accidental injury such as a scratch invariably fester and takes a long while to heal. (Barnicoat, J.W. 1842, 2)

In a recent study of disease and mortality rates, Ng (1972) confirms that the literature available on New Zealand had deliberately emphasised and exaggerated "the medical-climatological advantages of the environment often on the basis of very limited data" (Ng 1972, 8-9).

While several of the settlers noted the salubrity of the climate, the suitability of the climate for agriculture also received some mention. Like the assessments of salubrity, time had to pass before the settlers could see the fruits of their planting. This being so, often the newness or novelty of New Zealand had worn off by the time they were able to assess the suitability of the climate for agriculture. Most often the assessments of climate commented on the influence of both soil and climate in affecting the agricultural potential of the land. As William Deans had noted in 1840:

The climate is capital, vegetation most luxuriant, and the land the finest I have ever seen. Indeed it will grow anything. Cucumbers, melons, vegetables, marrows, potatoes, maize, Indian corn, pumpkins etc., etc., are most luxuriant. (Deans, W. 1937, 19)

As the pamphlet writers had promised, the climate was found to be one that allowed growth throughout the year. Bevan (1841), commenting on the arrival of autumn in Taranaki, was surprised to discover that the produce in the gardens was as plentiful as if
it had been spring. He claimed that "they tell me they plant
and sow the same all the year round, regardless of times and
seasons: indeed no one would believe it if they did not see it"
(Bevan 1841, 8). A few writers alluded to the ideas promoted
by some of the literature that the climate made the soil more
fertile, in assessing the agricultural potential of the Wanganui
area, Churton wrote:

Such however is the extraordinary nature of the
climate, that, for my part, I should not be at
all particular about the quality of the soil,
as I believe that by a little management, you
might get a good crop of wheat out of pumice
stone or sand.
(Churton 1845, 10)

Cleveland, familiar with the Bay of Islands area, thought that the
soil was of an indifferent character "though from the moist state
of the climate I dare say it will produce something remunerating"
(Cleveland 1840, 125).

With experience and time, the settlers became more aware of the
limitations of the climate, and the influence of climate and soil
on the cultivation of food crops. A later emigrant, who had spent
some years in Australia, and who possessed a keen knowledge of
agricultural practices, thought that the New Zealand climate,
particularly that of the North Island, was a suitable one for
agriculture, but noted that:

I dont think the summers are ever too dry
for wheat, although they are sometimes rather
too dry for potatoes and rye grass and white
clover, generally, are well scorched by
February.
(Glasson 1862, 152)

Observations about the influence of climate on the production of
specific crops were rare. This, too, was a feature that became
more obvious with time. The range of vegetables grown by the settlers was mentioned by J.M. Taylor (1843), but there was little mention of the growth of vines or strawberries. More frequently, the production of crops was assessed in terms of soil fertility. It would appear that the settlers were more concerned with the general suitability of the climate for everyday agricultural production. As suggested above, it was many years before the settlers could speak with authority about the influence of climate on particular crops.

While some of the discussions about climate were brief, most were limited to the area known to the settler. Occasionally the writers inferred that the climate of New Zealand as a whole was similar to the area with which they were familiar. There was however, some awareness of the differences in weather throughout New Zealand. After several years in New Zealand, settlers such as J.W. Barnicoat and the Deans brothers were well acquainted with differences in temperature experienced at various locations in the South Island.

As for the climate [at Otago] being better any one who has spent a year there can contradict that statement. Mr Tucket (sic) himself acknowledged that the spring and summer weather were boisterous and cold, but it was fine calm weather in winter. (Deans, W, 1937, 98)

With the establishment of each of the settlements, prominent features of weather at these settlements became known. Wellington early gained a reputation for strong winds, while the Otago settlement was generally considered to have colder winter temperatures than the settlements in the North Island. Such features were mentioned in the observations of later settlers. For the most part however, many journals had ended by the time settlers could have assessed the climate in detail. Letters occasionally referred to unusual weather
conditions, but like the assessments of relief features, observations about climate often ceased once the settlers had become used to New Zealand conditions.

In reviewing the appraisals of climate therefore, it is obvious that, in general, the settlers initially found little that they could say about the climate. Many settlers kept brief accounts of the daily weather (Godley, J.R. 1849; Jolliffe 1851). After some months in New Zealand their comments became more detailed and more specific. Many of the features of climate were incorporated into discussions about the vegetation and the soil quality. Climatic features were more often identified and discussed if the writers considered particular aspects, such as temperature or wind, to be extreme enough to merit comment. While several settlers compared the climate of New Zealand with those of southern Europe, such references were not common. The main reference for most comparisons was Britain. The settlers obviously were aware that the climate had a reputation for salubrity. Several settlers did find ways of suggesting that the climate was a healthy one. There was some mention of the suitability of the climate for agriculture but references to the growing of the more exotic crops of southern Europe were rare. The appraisals of climate changed over time. It was several years before settlers could realistically assess the climate in terms of agricultural production or salubrity. Thus, the initial appraisals were often brief. This was in marked contrast to the descriptions of the pamphlet writers who often had difficulty in limiting their eulogies about the climate.

The appraisals made by the settlers contained many of the ideas suggested by the literature. Some differences were apparent however. In particular, the settlers' appraisals were limited in areal extent
and were details about specific features of daily weather. The examples used by the settlers to assess the climate were most often comparisons with Britain, and not the more exotic climatic features of southern Europe as contained in the literature. Settlers were not concerned with understanding the reasons for certain types of weather, being more concerned with everyday conditions.

**Soil Quality**

The quality of the soil was the major concern of many of the emigrants. Like their contemporaries in Australia and North America, the emigrants' assessments of soil, climate and vegetation were closely intertwined and carried connotations of fertility, beauty and utility. In the descriptions of soil published in the literature and promoted by the New Zealand Company, the soil was described as being rich and fertile. The richness of the soil was measured in terms of colour and texture, with dark loamy or alluvial soil being considered the most fertile. Fertility was consistently measured by the height and luxuriance of the vegetation. Forested areas were therefore thought to be the most fertile, followed by areas covered in tall fern. Fern land was less fertile than forested areas but more fertile than open grassland. The soil was also mentioned as being one suited to the growing of both traditional and exotic crops.

Since many of the emigrants were agricultural labourers and hoped to establish themselves on farms in New Zealand, the major consideration was the fertility or otherwise of the soil. Some initial evaluations of fertility began as soon as the emigrants were close enough to the land to perceive the vegetation cover. As Monro wrote "certainly to see the wonderful amount of vegetation
which the soil supports is proof of its great fertility" (Monro, Dr. Sir D. 1842, 15). Nichol had described the soil as being of the most extraordinary richness (Nichol 1863). This opinion was based on the rich vegetation which covered the land. Richard Nicholson was another who was in no doubt about the fertility of the soil. Like Nichol, he based his assessment on the thick vegetation which covered the Wellington area from the hill summits to the water's edge (Nicholson, R. 1842).

Areas with little vegetation cover, were assessed as barren and sterile. Martin (1852), viewing part of the Northland coast from the sea, was disappointed in the appearance of the land since "the hills we have been coasting along do not seem to have food enough on them to graze a rabbit" (Martin, A. 1852, 25). Collinson (1846) and Richmond (1851) were two settlers who expressed disappointment with their first impressions of the Auckland district. Collinson (1846) thought the Auckland area was like a barren moor, while Richmond thought the lack of vegetation gave the area a barren and desolate appearance (Scholefield 1960).

The assessment of soil fertility in terms of the vegetation cover - particularly the taller and thicker the vegetation, the more fertile the soil - was a common occurrence. Ashwell, who spent some time travelling in the interior of the North Island, described it as the "most desolate country", which looked like a "complete wilderness without anything to indicate a living creature near - Barren rocks and brown stunted grass only met the eye in every direction" (Ashwell 1840, 44). While Ashwell measured the sterility of the soil by the poor growth of grass, Empson (1837) assessed the soil of the interior North Island by the height of the fern cover. To him the soil appeared to be of poor quality since only fern grew upon it,
but he thought that the areas covered with tall fern would be more fertile. After several days of travelling through the fern covered country, Empson recorded that he had begun "to wonder where the boasted fertility of New Zealand was to be found" (Empson 1837, 116). Having heard reports of extraordinary soil fertility and extensive inland plains suited to agriculture, observers naturally expressed some astonishment at the barren appearance of much of the interior.

While some observers, such as Empson, were sceptical of the supposed fertility of New Zealand soil, others, particularly those who had settled in the more heavily wooded areas, remained convinced of its fertile nature. The Reverend Thomas Burns was one settler who commented on the fertility of the soil around the Otago harbour. Burns admitted, however, that his assessment was largely based on what others had told him, rather than from the experience of having cultivated the soil (Earp 1848). Newland (1841) and Dillon (1843) also mentioned the fertility of the soil in the forested or wooded areas. Churton (1845) noted that the soil of the Taranaki district changed as one moved away from the coast. He considered the soil of the coastal fern land to be a poor quality clay or sand. The grassland was more fertile than the fern covered areas, but the best soil, a dark vegetable mould, was to be found under the wooded or bush covered areas (Churton 1845). John Deans (1845) was one of the few settlers who could make a more objective assessment about the soil. After three years in New Zealand, he wrote that

... even the wooded land has not the depth of soil and vegetable mould that one would expect from the fine timber that grows on it. I have seen large trees growing where there was not two inches of good soil on the surface and the sub-soil was so impervious that a person could scarcely dig it with a strong spade. (Deans, W. 1937, 93)
Early assessments of soil however, relied on the appearance and height of the vegetation cover as a measure of the fertility of the soil.

That the soil was considered to be fertile is well illustrated in Table 4. The settlers' appraisals showed less extreme assessments in comparison with the descriptions contained in the literature. The soil was generally considered to be fertile, but few of the settlers were prepared to describe the soil in terms of extreme or extraordinary fertility.

**TABLE 4**

**SCORES FROM AN EVALUATIVE ASSERTION ANALYSIS TESTING STATEMENTS ABOUT SOIL FERTILITY 1839-1855 (10)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Range of Scores</th>
<th>Frequency of Scores</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pamphlets</td>
<td>Manuscripts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-9 to -6 (least favourable)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-5 to -2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1 to +1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+2 to +3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+4 to +6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+7 to +9 (most favourable)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sample Size: Pamphlets 40
Manuscripts 24

Source: Pamphlets and Manuscripts 1839 to 1855

The texture and colour of the soil were occasionally mentioned. The richness and blackness of the soil was noted by several settlers. Often assessments which used colour and texture as indices of fertility had relied on more than the visual evaluations suggested by the vegetation cover. Many settlers had had cause to dig or plough the soil, thus their assessments, though often still visual,

(10) Refer footnote (9) above (pages 149-150) for a discussion of this technique.
were more concerned with the soil than the vegetation. After some time in Auckland, one emigrant described the local soils as having "all that rich black appearance which the well manured market gardens have near London" (Martin, A. 1852, 30). Weekes, who settled in Taranaki and who wrote to the New Zealand Company, considered the soil to be a dark vegetable mould of excellent quality (Weekes 1841). The rich brownish black colour of the soil at Auckland was noted by Monro who described it as "a clay which pulverises readily, in many places mixed with volcanic earths" (Monro, Dr. Sir D. 1842, 30). On a closer inspection of the soil at the Bay of Islands, Bennett (1842) decided it was a stiff clay "utterly unfit for cultivation" (Bennett 1842, 72).

After some months in New Zealand a more specific and realistic assessment of soil fertility could be made. Appraisals still continued to use height and luxuriance of vegetation as the major measures of fertility. Two practical concerns arose out of these assessments however. In agreeing with the pamphlet writers that the wooded areas were the most fertile, John Deans also noted that the land would therefore have to be cleared before it could be used for agriculture (Deans, J. 1964). Dillon, commenting on the Nelson soil, considered the wooded land to be more fertile than open land but also noted that it was the most difficult and most expensive to clear (Dillon 1843). This belief in soil fertility being indicated by the height and luxuriance of the vegetation, forced some of the settlers to criticise the New Zealand Company, since the cost of clearing the land was an aspect about which they had not been forewarned. The fern land was generally not regarded as fertile, but at least it could be cleared and ploughed.

The second concern was the measurement of soil fertility by the
agricultural returns. After a year in New Zealand, William Deans wrote in 1841:

I still continue to entertain a very high opinion of the productiveness of the soil, and everybody seems to be of the same mind, but the story of my friend's wheat and barley having weighed 70 and 71 lbs. per bushel is most likely one of the many exaggerations that people are guilty of to make things appear better than they are.

(Deans, W. 1937, 37)

One settler, whose letter was published by the New Zealand Company, instanced the size of the produce he had seen as proof of the fertility of the soil. Cabbages four feet in diameter and weighing over twenty pounds, and oats seven feet high were mentioned (Taylor, J.M. 1843). For the most part, the settlers' appraisals were concerned with the growth of the traditional English crops, some of which were thought to grow wild (Newland 1841). In assessing the fertility of the soil, one settler wrote that:

Myrtles and other of our choice English plants and shrubs here flourish in wild luxuriance, and attain gigantic size, while many of the culinary vegetables, turnips, radishes, onions, carrots, etc., of excellent quality spring up when we clear the land of scrub, and are apparently indigenous to the soil.

(Barton, R.J. 1927, 437)

There were few settlers who reported the growing of the more exotic crops of southern Europe. On arrival in Wellington, Greenwood (1840), thought that the soil appeared to be well suited to the growth of vines, although he had not noticed any vines or olives being cultivated. Several settlers mentioned the numbers of fruit trees bearing fruit, but one settler noted in his journal that the fruit was not as sweet as that grown in England (Jolliffe 1851). Monro noted that "almost every vegetable of value to man" could be
grown in New Zealand and mentioned the growing of "English vegetables, as well as pumpkins, melons and other vegetables of warmer climates" (Munro, Dr. Sir D. 1842, 30-32).

Some disappointment was expressed by the settlers, particularly with the practicalities involved in establishing agricultural settlements. The Deans brothers suggested that the New Zealand Company had tried to hide the difficulties involved in clearing and cultivating land, as well as exaggerating the fertility of the soil. In 1843, John Deans wrote about the disappointment of some of the Nelson farmers:

> From many letters in the New Zealand Journal you will see a very different opinion of Nelson. I think they are written by parties deeply interested, or people who know nothing about it. Any of those who have commenced farming the fern land have been very much disappointed; their crops look miserable. (Deans, W. 1937, 59)

While many of the settlers expressed some satisfaction with crop returns, other observations suggested that not all settlers were having success with their attempts at agriculture. The letters of the Deans brothers cited several examples of disappointed farmers, and J.W. Barnicoat reported that there was some dissatisfaction among the early Nelson settlers. Not only were some of the settlers disappointed after several months in New Zealand, but New Zealand Company employees also expressed some feelings of disappointment and deception. Tuckett admitted in a conversation with J.W. Barnicoat, that he had been deceived by the promises of abundant fertile soil in New Zealand and that he was "disappointed here at the general barrenness of New Zealand" (Barnicoat, J.W. 1842, 25).

Settlers were also disillusioned when it was realised that the soil fertility was not standard throughout the country. The appearance of the vegetation cover was again the main measure of
this. Disappointment was often expressed at the extensive areas covered in low fern or grass. While one settler, who had some botanical knowledge and who was somewhat carried away by the luxuriance of the vegetation, claimed that the soil was so fertile that "Caterpillars falling off the trees, take root and a shoot springs out of their foreheads" (Collinson 1846, letter 2, 2), others were not so impressed. After a year in the Nelson settlement, Bell argued for a more cautious approach to the assessment of soil fertility. He suggested that a better knowledge of seasonal fluctuations, soils, and cultivation methods would create "a greater confidence in the productive properties of the land" (Bell 1844, 3).

In summarising the appraisals of soil fertility therefore, several observations can be made. It is apparent that the initial perceptions of soil fertility were primarily influenced by the type and luxuriance of the vegetation. The wooded and forested land was thought to be the most fertile, but as the settlers soon realised, this land was also the most difficult and most expensive to clear. Fern land, initially thought to be less fertile than forested areas, was regarded with more favourability when it was found to be easier to clear. Even as late as 1862, areas of native grassland were considered infertile and often not settled. Glasson, in describing the bush land of the Karaka district, wrote that:

(11) Perhaps a reference to the work of Wade (1842), who had talked of plants whose "stem grows from the head of the caterpillar, which is always found upwards. Some of my specimens, when first dug up, showed the exterior of the caterpillar so perfect that you might clearly distinguish the hairs over the body and the sharp hooked claws on the foremost legs" (Wade 1842, 45).
... there are many people who settle on this land much rather than on the open land, and it certainly offers considerable advantages, especially to those who have but small capital. The soil is generally much better than in the open land ...

(Glasson 1862, 153)

Where the colour of the soil was mentioned, the darkness or blackness of the soil was seen as indicative of extreme fertility. Assessments of texture varied. Many of the settlers realised that the soil differed throughout the country and was not necessarily volcanic, alluvial or of a loamy texture. Clay soils were frequently mentioned. It was only with time and the need to cultivate the soil that evaluations became more objective. The time needed to make an objective and realistic assessment of the soil meant that many of the more experienced appraisals about soil fertility and crop returns were made after the emigrant had become established and familiar with New Zealand conditions. Such assessments did not appear in the early observations.

In examining the appraisals in light of the images promoted in the literature, it is clear that the settlers used the same measures of fertility as had the pamphlet writers. For the most part, the expectations about the soil fertility were realised in these early perceptions and appraisals which were made on the basis of the visual appearance of the vegetation cover. As with the appraisals of the relief features, differences between the image and the reality occurred when more practical issues arose. Wooded areas, though initially not considered to be fertile, were soon found to be most difficult to clear. Fern land became more valuable when it was realised that this land could be cleared more easily and with less expense. A few settlers expressed some disappointment with crop returns and soil fertility. It was several years however, before
more detailed assessments of soil productivity were made. The literature had suggested a soil of extraordinary fertility throughout New Zealand. Few of the settlers found this to be true and some surprise was occasionally expressed when the soil was found to be anything but uniformly fertile.

For this early period, however, most assessments of soil fertility relied on the visual appraisals of the vegetation cover. The initial perceptions and early appraisals of soil quality therefore show a close relationship to the images promoted in the literature. It was not until settlers began the process of clearing and cultivating the land that more objective assessments of soil fertility were made and differences between the literature and the reality became obvious.

**Vegetation Cover**

Like the physical appearance of the country, the vegetation was immediately visible to the emigrants once the ships reached New Zealand. Assessments of soil fertility, agricultural potential, and, indirectly, climate, had rested on the appraisals of the vegetation cover, and because of the dearth of scientific information the early pamphlet writers had limited their discussions on vegetation to the visual appearance of the cover. Descriptions of luxuriance and height therefore dominated the pamphlet writers' descriptions of vegetation. New Zealand was reported to be covered in luxuriant verdure from water's edge to hill summit throughout both islands. These descriptions had concentrated on two types of vegetation cover - the immense forests and the fern land.

Appraisals of vegetation began once the ships were close enough for the emigrants to perceive height and luxuriance. As
the ships sailed along the southern coast of the South Island, Edward Ward wrote in 1851 that:

Great disputes were rife as to whether the wood was forest or not. It seems to me that there are large trees in the interior, far up the hillsides, dwarfed gradually as they approach and line (as they do) the water's edge. (Ward, E. 1951, 79)

On viewing the vegetation of Taranaki, A. Perry was lost for words at the beauty of the extensive areas of forest (Perry, A. 1843).

In a similar manner to the appraisals made of relief features, both a romantic and a more utilitarian view were expressed. The romantic theme was most obvious in the descriptions of the beauty and luxuriance of the vegetation. As Monro wrote in 1842 the magnificence and richness of the vegetation far exceeded "anything which my imagination had ever pictured" (Monro, Dr. Sir D. 1842, 15). The beauty and luxuriance of the vegetation was often thought to be similar to the vegetation of the tropical regions, as John Johnson wrote in 1846:

The luxuriant beauty of the New Zealand forests, almost equals those of the tropics, indeed the presence of the graceful fern trees, and elegant nikau palms, give them quite a tropical aspect. There is scarcely a bare stem to be seen, even the tallest are embraced by a variety of twining plants, parasites and creepers. (Taylor, N. 1959, 121)

The pamphlet descriptions had suggested that the vegetation covered the land from the coast to the hill summits and this was largely substantiated by many of the emigrants' appraisals (McGlashan 1853). Others, perhaps with different images of the vegetation cover, were disappointed. In writing of her arrival in Nelson, one emigrant wrote that "there is an absence of trees on the hills of
Nelson that surprised us having heard of the forests of New Zealand growing to the water's edge" (Earp 1848, 230). This appraisal differed markedly from that of another emigrant who wrote that the country appeared to be "all mountain and vale, and trees - trees, everywhere trees" (Chambers 1848, 355). Despite some disappointment expressed about the extent of the vegetation cover, the romantic view remained a common one throughout the period. Browne was in raptures over the ample range for botanical research in New Zealand being particularly enthralled by the immense forests (Browne 1839). Collinson was more amazed at the variety and quantity of the ferns (Collinson 1846), and Empson noted that:

But splendid as these Trees undoubtedly were, they were all in my opinion far surpassed as far as beauty is concerned, by the graceful and elegant Fern, which in these waste regions attain a height of 40 or 50 feet and partake in every respect of the nature of a Tree. (Empson 1837, 118)

The vegetation was undoubtedly, as Dieffenbach (1843) had suggested, the feature of the landscape most different from that to which the emigrant was accustomed. Most of the emigrants regarded the luxuriance as tropical since it could not be easily compared with the vegetation of Britain. As one emigrant wrote:

... you, who have only seen the English forest, can have no idea of the grandeur and sublimity of these solitudes. Just imagine immense trees 30 feet in girth and 40 or 50 feet in height, before you see a branch. Magnificent fern trees, exactly resembling the palm of tropical climes, stately trees, with dark green foliage and leaves resembling the laurel. (Trelawney Saunders 1850, 102)

While comparisons were made with tropical areas, the unfamiliarity with such luxuriance, colour and growth was often mentioned. Weekes (1841) emphasised the "bright green appearance" of the vegetation
(Weekes 1841, 41). Arnold (1848) had felt that there was a "certain stiffness in the appearance of a New Zealand forest, which contrasts unfavourably with the fresh tender green of an English wood" (Bertram 1966, 40). The luxuriance was seen by several writers as the wildness of nature as compared with the garden like scenery of England (Saunders Monthly Magazine 1852 a; Shepard 1969). One of the emigrants considered the plants of New Zealand to be very similar to those of England - it was only the evergreen nature of the shrubs which made them appear to be different (Bremmer 1843).

The very luxuriance of the vegetation and the obvious differences in the woods and shrubs often made description of vegetation difficult. One response to this was the use of the word 'bush' to describe the vegetation. The word bush, of Dutch origin, was often used to describe uncleared or untilled districts in the British colonies. The word appeared to have taken on a special meaning and the phrase 'New Zealand bush' or 'bush land' was often used to describe certain types of vegetation. Gillingham, in writing to his father, noted that "bushland, as it is here called, [is] composed of the most beautiful shrubs from five to twenty feet high, filled up with fern of the same height" (Gillingham 1843, 155). Whether the term bush was a response to the vegetation of the new colony or whether it had a particular meaning, comparable to heather or thicket in Britain, is not clear. The term was frequently used in the settlers' descriptions from 1840 onwards. In answering queries about the vegetation in the Nelson area, Dillon wrote that:
When I said this was a treeless plain I was perhaps wrong to a certain extent for about a mile and a half from us is a forest of many thousands of acres but it stops suddenly short and from that to the sea about five miles there is no trees except for the banks of the river which has little woods which the settlers call bushes ...

(Dillon 1844, 32)

Such comments would suggest that the term was specifically used by the settlers to define a certain type of the New Zealand vegetation with which they were unfamiliar. Whether it was adopted in the first years of settlement and gradually became accepted, or whether it was a term introduced by writers familiar with the vegetation of Africa and Australia is not known. Kingsbury (1968) regarded it as a term adopted by the settlers for a specific type of vegetation. The term bush or bushes differed from the use of words such as woods or forests. Bush was not as thick or dense as forest, although the undergrowth meant that it was not like British woods (Plate 3). Hopper (1840) had emphasised that New Zealand bush was not like the "scrubs or woods in England", since it "is next to impossible to work your way through without cutting your way" (Hopper 1840 a, 45). Others used the term to mean small forested areas (Trelawney Saunders 1850). By 1851 the term appeared to have been widely known and accepted by the readers. Newland (1841) had talked of dining in the bush and Godley (1850 a) had noted the Taieri plains had areas of bush. Edward Ward described a walk in the Canterbury district in 1851 and wrote that:

We descended by another path to the town, and in our way passed through a small specimen of New Zealand bush. It was but a patch of scrub, but inside the path lay under or through trees, and the beauty of the underwood, the smell of flowers & scented leaves was incomparable. (Ward, E. 1951, 85)
PLATE 3

A ROAD THROUGH BUSH

By William Mein Smith

A watercolour by W.M. Smith probably of the area between Petone and Taita Gorge, 1842, when the road was being made, or Karori or Porirua area.

Reproduced with permission of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
Glasson, a later settler who had spent several years in New South Wales before settling in the Karaka district, provided a detailed description of 'New Zealand bush' for his Australian friends:

> In thinking of New Zealand bush you must imagine the trees to be about ten times as thick together as they are at Bathurst, with a thick undergrowth consisting of saplings and various kinds of creepers which climb to the tops of the trees and hang across from one tree to another forming a network, which no man could possible penetrate except on foot. (Glasson 1862, 152-153)

The term bush appeared therefore to have had a peculiarly New Zealand quality. It described small forested areas with some undergrowth. Having talked of the small forested areas, Sarah Low admitted some confusion as to how to describe them. Her description of New Zealand vegetation therefore was of "vast wastes of Flax and Fern", with small clumps of forested areas which she called "Bush" (Low 1849, 1).

Not only was the luxuriance of the vegetation noteworthy but the height and thickness also received some comment. Hepburn (1850) in describing the vegetation of the Wellington area noted that "from the bottom of the glen to the highest summit it was covered with wood so thick and high that it must have stood from the flood" (Stewart 1934, 106). The pamphlet descriptions had suggested that the trees were of an immense and gigantic size, words obviously inferring exceptional size. In comparison with that in Britain the vegetation was exceptionally thick and tall. Hopper (1840) in explaining the location of his place of settlement said it was:
... shaded with beautiful Laurel Trees, these trees are of the richest foliage and bear a fruit the natives are very fond of. Higher up the river the timber assumes the majestic form you have heard of in the accounts of New Zealand. (Hopper 1840 b, 3)

A settler at Otago regarded all the vegetation as being of "gigantic size", with many trees "so high that we cannot tell what the leaves are like" (Low 1849, 1). While impressed with the luxuriance of the vegetation, Monro expressed some disappointment at not having seen any great number of large trees (Monro, Dr. Sir D. 1842). Thompson too, was disappointed that he had not been far enough inland to see "the immense trees we have heard tell of" (Thompson, T.J. 1842). Even visitors to New Zealand remarked on the exceptional height of the vegetation. Wohlers, visiting the Nelson area, described the uncultivated areas and said that:

On the other side of the river we found primal forests of great extent; it contained gigantic trees, mostly gymnosperms .... From the canopy, rising sometimes to a height of eighty feet hung a multitude of creepers and lianes, ... some of them as thick as human legs. (Wohlers 1843 a, 93)

Several emigrants regarded New Zealand as a vast unbroken forest with patches of bush and cultivated areas (Godley, J.R. 1850 a). For the most part however, some differentiation was given to types of vegetation although few areal limitations were suggested. Richmond (1851) identified fern, toi-toi, and grasslands as well as forested areas, while Markham noted forest, flax and fern (Markham 1834). Areal limitations were rarely imposed. Since few settlers travelled far from the settlements in the first years of colonisation, the limitations were those of the pamphlet writers - extending from hill summit to water's edge.
Like the assessments of soil fertility and relief features, it was when forced into travelling across the country or when clearing land for agricultural use, that the settlers' views of vegetation lost much of their romanticism. The vegetation was found to be impenetrable to the eye, as well as being exceedingly difficult to walk through. In a letter to his wife, Betts complained bitterly of the thick undergrowth which had hindered his journey through the North Island (Betts 1844). Jolliffe (1851) was amazed at the impenetrable nature of the forest and wrote that he and his companions had travelled:

... scarcely ... a dozen yards in advance in a quarter of an hour, so perfectly impenetrable was the underwood and grass fern, by the middle of the day we had quite lost each other. (Jolliffe 1851, 116)

Hopper, aware of the difficulties involved in travelling through the forested or bush areas advised the use of a Billhook when travelling through such areas (Hopper 1840 a). The difficulties involved in travelling quickly disillusioned many settlers and visitors. Empson, who had earlier admired the "splendid forest", wrote that:

It was amusing to see how soon our admiration expired, and how all our love of the picturesque was absorbed in the hope of getting out of the wood, which seemed interminable ... (Empson 1837, 118-119)

Cooper (1851) and Power (1849) were two who were pleased to find their way out of the forested areas. Cooper considered travelling through the New Zealand forest to be "dull and uninteresting to anyone except a botanist" (Cooper 1851, 110). His reason for such an evaluation was that once inside the forest the traveller's view was limited to trees, trunks, mosses, ferns and the thick
undergrowth.

Many of the settlers realised that while the thick and luxuriant vegetation added to the scenic beauty of the landscape, it was also a major hindrance to the development of agriculture. In his reminiscences, Cooke claimed that "it seemed endless work clearing these heavy forests and there seemed no land but heavy forest land and bare topped hills" (Cooke 1850, 111). Letters to the New Zealand Company occasionally referred to the costs involved in clearing the land. Many of the settlers felt that they had been deceived, not as to the fertility of the soil, nor to the luxuriance of the vegetation, but with reference to the costs of clearing the land. As Godley commented with some astonishment, bush land cost '£30 an acre! to clear' (Godley, J.R. 1850 a, 28). Rochfort (1853) wrote that "farming here is preposterous. If you buy timbered land ... it costs you twenty pounds per acre to clear it. Fern and flax land is also expensive to get into good working order" (Rochfort 1853, 26). As a result, later pamphlets published by the New Zealand Company occasionally included estimates for the cost of clearing land while emphasising the returns expected (Wakefield, E.J. 1848; Burton, J. 1851). Thus, a more utilitarian view of vegetation, one concerned with the practicalities of travelling and working in New Zealand, became predominant once emigrants had become settled, although the romantic view of the luxuriance of the vegetation persisted for several years.

While several of the settlers expressed disappointment at finding the land so heavily wooded, others were pleased since there would be plentiful supplies of timber for all purposes. John Hursthouse was most impressed with the appearance of the Hutt valley, but especially with the timber since it was of a size and quality
most useful for construction purposes as well as for export
(Hursthouse, J. 1843). Browne, in writing to a friend in England, claimed that:

Timber of various kinds and suitable for a variety of purposes is abundantly produced. The tree called the Kauri is of the greatest value. It grows to an immense height, and frequently measures from 6 to 10 feet in diameter, its wood is of a firm texture and much of it is normally exported.
(Browne 1842, 4)

With the realisation that wooded areas were fertile but difficult to clear, many of the settlers became interested in locating level land that was fertile but which was not covered in dense vegetation. William Fox, a New Zealand Company surveyor, wrote in his private journal that the land of the Wairarapa district was suitable for immediate settlement since it consisted mainly of bush and fern land, as well as "grass plains of the best soil", but added that "the great beauty of the valley however consists in the quantity of land which might at once be occupied without the expense of either clearing or draining"(Fox, W. 1843, 44).

The settlers' appraisals of the vegetation cover were therefore similar in most respects to the images promoted by the literature. As was common in all new settlements, assessments of soil fertility were based on the visual appearance of the vegetation cover. Height and luxuriance were obvious features worthy of comment. The romantic appraisal of vegetation was a persistent one in both the literature and the emigrants' appraisals. While the emigrants admired the almost tropical luxuriance of the vegetation, there was also some realisation of the problems involved in clearing and developing a country covered in forests with trees of stupendous
size. The New Zealand vegetation, particularly the thick undergrowth, was very different from that of Britain and the descriptions of bush were a response to these differences. The emigrants' appraisals were very similar to the images suggested in the literature. The romantic view was a common one. The thick undergrowth, the evergreen appearance and the bush cover were the features most frequently mentioned. As with assessments of the relief features, it was in the more practical considerations of clearing land and travelling through the forest that the settlers' appraisals differed most markedly from the images.

The Appraisals

In considering the emigrants' appraisals as a whole, several important observations can be made. The appraisals, unlike the descriptions of the pamphlet writers, were specific in terms of detail and in terms of locality. Letters and journals clearly identified location. Few of the emigrants attempted to describe areas other than those with which they were most familiar. Two general themes, similar to those of the pamphlet writers, were expressed. A romantic theme was often the typical initial reaction to the New Zealand environment. Influenced by the long and uncomfortable sea voyage, and some feelings of homesickness, the first perceptions and appraisals of relief features, vegetation and soil fertility were often couched in romantic terms. These were predominantly visual assessments. Later appraisals, based on some experience of clearing the vegetation, travelling through the rugged and thickly wooded areas, and the attempts at growing crops and vegetables, were characterised by the more practical concerns of living with the new environment. The more obvious and
different features of New Zealand - the mountainous landscape and the luxuriant vegetation - received more comment than either climatic features or soil fertility, both of which could only be assessed realistically over time. The emigrants' appraisals did change over time as the New Zealand conditions became more familiar. Most often, the romantic view became submerged in the more utilitarian.

In contrast to the images of the pamphlet writers, the emigrants' appraisals made more use of comparisons with familiar features of Britain. The main reference point for all emigrants was Britain and comparisons with other countries were rare. For the emigrant it was enough to be able to compare New Zealand in favourable terms with features he knew and could assess. When considering the appraisals in terms of the images, a close relationship is apparent. The appraisals often reflected the main ideas contained in the pamphlet descriptions. Features such as the luxuriance of the vegetation, the mountainous nature of the landscape and the salubrity of the climate were often mentioned by the settlers. Vegetation and soil in particular, were evaluated in terms similar to the descriptions of the pamphlet writers.

While there was a strong relationship between the appraisals and the images, some differences also occurred. Areal limitations, the specific detail, the predominance of comparisons with Britain and the more utilitarian views were the main differences. Whereas the pamphlets had relied on general statements and exotic comparisons, the emigrants' appraisals were of particular settlements and specific features. Pamphlet writers often relied on heresay and secondary sources. The emigrants' appraisals were drawn from experience and personal judgement.
In view of the close relationship between the images and the appraisals, one further question remains to be answered. This was whether or not the emigrants were satisfied with their new environment, and whether the reality of New Zealand had matched up to their expectations.
CHAPTER SEVEN

EDEN OF THE SOUTH SEAS?

While, as has been noted, the appraisals of the settlers differed in some respects from the images fostered or created in the literature, there were obvious links with these ideas and images. A fundamental question was, therefore, whether or not New Zealand lived up to the expectations of the settler, and to what extent the promises of the New Zealand Company and the literature were fulfilled. Was New Zealand the smiling land of Marjoribanks (1846) or the Eden of the Southern Seas of Thomson (Thomson, C. 1867)? While few of the emigrants had mentioned any hopes or expectations regarding their new homeland, the subsequent appraisals bear a strong resemblance to the images fostered in the literature, and it is suggested that the expectations of the settlers were principally conditioned by these images.

An examination of the images promoted (largely by the New Zealand Company, its literature and advertising campaigns) would suggest that the expectations and hopes of the emigrant about his new homeland must have been high. The promises of New Zealand had been sufficient to attract emigrants to a country at the ends of the earth, accessible only after a four month journey by sea and about which some information, largely of a promotional nature, was available to the emigrant. New Zealand Company personnel and most of the published literature had represented the country as being an Eden or paradise - a land with abundant fertile soil, luxuriant tropical vegetation, a healthy and congenial climate, and a landscape of scenic
beauty - unequalled in any part of the world. In his book of 1845, Brodie had warned that every emigrant was "doomed to be disappointed" in some form since, "like the pictures of hope, the anticipations of the emigrant ... [were] too beautiful and bright to be realized" (Brodie 1845, 112). The lack, or inaccessibility, of detailed factual information, the distance separating New Zealand from Britain and the anticipation of a better life had coloured the expectations of the emigrants. In addition, there was often a complete lack of awareness of the possible hardships involved. Few indeed realised that they themselves were establishing the colony of New Zealand. As William Deans wrote in 1843:

... having come to the colony at first with over high opinions regarding a new country, they [the settlers] are disappointed that they do not find it more resembling the old settled country. (Deans, W. 1937, 64)

In 1850, after some weeks at the Otago settlement, J.R. Godley noted that "many people emigrate with the most erroneous ideas of what they are to meet with, probably with exaggerated hopes of all kinds" (Godley, J.R. 1850 a, 39).

In discussing the Wakefield theory of settlement in practice, Turnbull (1959) had emphasised the limitations in the knowledge about New Zealand possessed by the directors of the Company. The first emigrants had had even less knowledge. Later emigrants arriving at the settlements of Otago and Canterbury also appeared to have had little factual or detailed information (Marais 1927; Turnbull 1959). Some of the settlers, among them employees of the New Zealand Company, sailed to New Zealand without any firm knowledge of the nature, or even the location, of their intended settlement. In 1841, after being anchored in Cook Strait for three days, Weekes recorded with
some annoyance that:

The "Brougham" has just sailed for Port Nicholson taking our surveyors to the place they have chosen for a settlement, which we now learnt was Taranaki. Our disappointment at this intelligence was at first great, knowing that no harbour existed there; but on everyone stating that it was quite a paradise we were comforted ...
(Weekes 1841, 20)

In June 1842, a settler writing to England expressed some disappointment at finding, on his arrival at Wellington, that Nelson was in the South Island. Similarly, Thompson noted in his account that on arrival the "question of greatest extent is 'Where is Nelson'?!" (Thompson, T.J. 1842, 62).

Both Marais (1927) and Turnbull (1959), whose major works have been primarily concerned with the colonisation and settlement of New Zealand, suggested that the emigrants were generally not well informed of the true state of affairs in the new colony. The emigrants were, for the most part, seemingly satisfied that "they were going to a country of great harbours and navigable rivers, grassy plains, [and] forests of valuable timber" (Turnbull 1959, 38).

This lack of knowledge about New Zealand was also reflected in the unawareness of the probable hardships involved in colonial life. The recent work on the Holman family (Keene 1972), letters of the Deans brothers (Deans, W. 1937), and published accounts of the lives of early pioneer women (Appleton 1958; Drummond 1966), well illustrate this lack of awareness. As Browne wrote in 1839 "you who live in England with all its domestic comforts, the pleasures of intellect and the familiar intercourse of friendship ... cannot amidst all these blessings form any right idea ... of the way of life ... in a wild unexplored country" (Browne 1839, 2). In talking of the emigrants'
expectations, Weld (1858) suggested that many had envisaged life in the colonies to be like a "perpetual pic-nic" (Weld 1858, 23). "Alas", noted Paul, "the reality was soon found to be of a sterner type" (Paul 1857, 23). Paul listed some of the hardships with which he was most familiar:

Long wearisome rides and walks in search of truant sheep or cattle, bivouacs night after night on the damp cold ground, mutton, damper, and tea (and that colonial tea!) at breakfast, dinner, and supper, day after day, week after week, and month after month.
(Paul 1857, 24)

The Saunders Monthly Magazine for all India also captured some of the lack of awareness and subsequent disappointment of many of the early settlers in its account of the Canterbury settlement:

Is it surprising then that an untravelled Englishman beholds with dismay his new home? Can he look with delight on these grand hills, on this wide extent of waste land, when his dreams were of green meadows, of hawthorn fences and gorse covered hedges, of daisies and buttercups, and all the beauties of his native soil.
(Saunders Monthly Magazine 1852 a, 472)

After twelve years among the settlers at Canterbury, Thomson was convinced that many of them had not thought about the consequences of emigration, or the implications of such a move to the other side of the world (Thomson, C. 1867). One wonders how many of the settlers would have agreed with the sentiments expressed by William Golder in the stanzas written while en route to New Zealand:
'Tis true, the country we have left behind
Has fields less fertile, less propitious skies;-
Though oft shall scenes frequented, now resigned,
Be drawn by fancy - as before our eyes;
And friendship's love, - a painful sacrifice -
At parting, as on earth to meet no more:
May no sad feeling in our bosoms arise,
At disappointed hopes, or change deplore -
But rather bless the time we reached New Zealand's shore.

(Golder 1852, 37)

Despite the lack of detailed knowledge about their new homeland and the lack of awareness of the consequences of emigration, the settlers often expressed some degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Some, especially those who arrived during wet or windy weather, were not at all pleased with anything they saw. As one female emigrant wrote "we all landed the next day and were not long in finding out what a wretched place we had come to" (Chambers 1848, 355). Others were more disappointed with some particular feature. Cullen wrote that "there is some good land here, but it is very hilly, and the hills are so steep" (Cullen, W. 1843, 76), and Thompson claimed of the Nelson area that "the little I have seen of the country pleases me much more than the neighbourhood of Wellington - the only drawback seems the entrance to the harbour, which could admit of much improvement" (Thompson, T.J. 1842, 60).

Many of the letter writers failed to mention whether or not they were satisfied with their new homeland. Such observations made by these letter writers could be called 'passive perceptions', since they carried no hint of expectation or prior knowledge. Even with those who did mention some degree of satisfaction or dismay, it is most difficult for the present day researcher to comment on these, since the settlers rarely discussed their reactions in any detail. Unlike the observations made in answering present day questionnaires structured
to test certain ideas or attitudes, the settlers comments were their own personal observations about whatever took their fancy. It could be suggested however, that fear of 'losing face' with relatives and friends still in Britain, and a possible feeling of initial uncertainty about their new homeland, may have encouraged some general comments rather than detailed accounts. Such passive perceptions admitted little, or may even have made conditions appear better than they were. It was noted, with some surprise, by J.R. Godley that Otago was "by no means what one usually imagines at home. There is no rude plenty at all and nobody appears to live on the produce of his land" (Godley, J.R. 1850 a, 26). For most of the settlers there was little chance of returning to Britain although as Dieffenbach (1843) had emphasised, many came with the thought of eventually returning to Britain. The realisation that there was little opportunity for returning to Britain, coupled with some feelings of homesickness, may have encouraged them to 'make the best' of their situations.

With time, some of the initial appraisals changed. Settlers became accustomed to the New Zealand environment, and adjusted to it. After three years, one settler who had been adamant about returning to Britain as soon as possible, wrote to friends enjoining them to come to settle in New Zealand (Chambers 1848). After six months, Ferens claimed that were it not "for so many friends and relatives being there I should contentedly repose and not trouble Old England again" (Ferens 1848, 73).

Not all emigrants did remain. Some travelled either to Australia, back to Britain, or occasionally to South America (Barnicoat, J.W. 1844). There is little information available on this early emigration from New Zealand apart from the allusions and references cited in some of the letters and journals. Bishop Selwyn noted when writing to a
friend in England:

You will judge from this [letter] that there are still pleasures and enjoyments in New Zealand though many dark & dismal reports, and many disconsolate remigrants will be reaching England at the time you receive this.
(Selwyn, G.A. 1845 b, 4)

This lack of comment about re-migration may also have been a result of the New Zealand Company's wish to suppress non-favourable information (Miller 1958). Some settlers, while mentioning their own personal satisfaction, indicated that other emigrants were not always as satisfied. The dissatisfaction of many of the settlers in the Nelson area was mentioned by J.W. Barnicoat. According to J.W. Barnicoat, one settler had sold his land with a view to emigrating to Valparaiso, while others had left the Nelson area to settle in other New Zealand settlements (Barnicoat, J.W. 1844). Ferens (1848) mentioned the numbers moving to Wellington after having experienced the severity of their first Otago winter. While "disappointed in no single particular", Jane Maria Richmond wrote that:

You find people calling the climate execrable because the sun does not shine perpetually, and because when it does blow or rain it does it in good downright style; you find also people who don't see any beauty in the place because there are not country lanes, hedges, pretty little villages with church spires dotted about.
(Scholefield 1960, 1, 132)

Thus, as in any group of people selected at random, some were satisfied and others were not so pleased. No doubt the differences in the New Zealand landscape, feelings for Home and family, and the realisation that for many they had no choice but to stay, encouraged many to write only of the more favourable aspects. Certainly this appeared to be the case in the letters written and published by the
New Zealand Company. These letters express satisfaction and contentment with life in New Zealand. For some, New Zealand not only lived up to their expectations, it surpassed them:

We were delighted with the appearance of the country; and as far as we have experienced, find the climate, the land, and the prospects of the settlements, fully equal to our expectations, and in some points surpassing them.
(Hursthouse, C. 1850 b, 7)

Another wrote that they had found "it quite the same as we heard in Birmingham and no deceit whatever" (McKewan 1841, 9). Little hint of dissatisfaction appeared in the early published letters. By 1850 however, some hint of discontent and deception was apparent in the letters published in London. The following examples of letters from the Otago settlement illustrated the deception:

I cannot say that we are disappointed in the country, though it is very different to what we expected: it is absurd to think that all the 'Otago Journal' says is true, for everyone can see that it is only a puff.
(J-'s Letters 1850, 89)

I like Dunedin more and more, the more I see of it: there is no denying it is a pretty spot, though the gammon that the first comers wrote home, and which is come back here in the New Zealand Journals is dreadfully absurd exaggeration, nonsense and foolishness.
(R-'s Letters 1850, 92)

Some of the more private letters, that is those not sent to the New Zealand Company or used for promotional purposes, often showed a different picture. Several examples of some dissatisfaction have already been cited but there were others. Goodall (1845) was disappointed that New Zealand had not lived up to his expectations, and Betts, in writing to his wife, claimed that the more isolated settlers "did not appear to much like it [their life] in New Zealand" (Betts 1844, 1). Dillon Bell, although associated with the New Zealand
Company, wrote in the first of his circular letters to England:

I have now been in the colony some months; and although I cannot say that the sanguine expectations under which I left England have been realized, yet I cannot but look forward with confidence to the eventual prosperity of the settlement.
(Bell 1844, Letter 1, 1)

In a later letter, Bell was more precise stating that "I found the state of things entirely different from what I had conceived" (Bell 1844, Letter 2, 8). Several examples of unfulfilled expectations could be cited but the following are typical. In writing his wife's memoirs, Mieville Richardson (1913) claimed that the family had been encouraged to emigrate to New Zealand by the "glowing descriptions" of a family friend who "did indeed praise up New Zealand and gave such descriptions of the lovely country ... all of which, when we arrived, we found to be a myth" (Richardson, M. 1913, 2-3). In a letter from England to William and Mary Douglas in New Zealand, the writer expressed sympathy that New Zealand had not lived up to its reputation (Douglas, W. and M. Douglas 1843).

Occasionally the settlers were quite particular about their dissatisfaction, isolating some particular feature with which they were displeased:

... such glowing accounts of Otago harbour as are given in all hand books about the settlement and now it turns out that a ship of 600 tons cannot go up the length of Port Chalmers ...
(Brugh 1853, 18)

John Deans (1842) claimed that "the place is not all like what it is represented to be ... the land certainly does not come up to my expectations" (Deans, W. 1937, 48), and accused the New Zealand Company of the "most notorious deception" (Deans, W. 1937, 48). William Deans also confessed in 1840 that he was "much disappointed" in the
country. In particular, he noted that the country was more mountainous than he had expected (Deans, W. 1937).

Although some settlers expressed general disappointment, others found favour with certain aspects. Greenwood was well satisfied with the appearance of Wellington and wrote in his diary that:

> What has been said as to the beauty, fertility, and magnificent Scenery of New Zealand has by ... no means [been] exaggerated (sic), it far exceeds the most sanguine expectations of some of the settlers ... I confess it far exceeds in scenery and magnificent landscape anything I ever before beheld.

(Greenwood 1840, 150)

Greenwood, like many other settlers such as Edward Ward and J.W. Barnicoat, felt that they were expressing the general reactions of all the emigrants. While Edward Ward had noted that "the Emigrants seem enchanted with the appearance of the country" (Ward, E. 1951, 82), Greenwood mentioned that "the Yorkshire emigrants [were] all well and in good spirits, and gave very flattering accounts, as to the climate, soil and capabilities of the place" (Greenwood 1840, 146).

Many of the observations were general, and only alluded to preconceptions held of New Zealand. Ferens found "everything ... far exceeds the printed accounts I read in England" (Ferens 1848, 54).

After commenting on the steepness of the roads, the large numbers of birds and the luxuriance of the vegetation, he considered that no comparison could be made with Britain "for advantage is in every respect due to this" (Ferens 1848, 73).

The letters published by the New Zealand Company and the letters of private individuals portray different reactions to New Zealand on the whole. As the Richmonds (1851) insisted in their correspondence with their family, there were both favourable and unfavourable features about New Zealand. Just as the emigrants possibly believed
what they wanted to believe, so it was possible to perceive the environment in a number of ways. Jane Maria Richmond thought the rain was most unpleasant but was also well aware of the serenity and calm of a sunny day (Scholefield 1960). In most cases however, the letters published by the New Zealand Company, or used at public meetings, presented a picture of satisfied and contented settlers.

That the New Zealand Company was guilty of some deception or distortion seems obvious. Miller (1958) and Marais (1927) both cite several examples of the deliberate suppression of information by the New Zealand Company. While Edward Gibbon Wakefield suggested that a letter from J.R. Godley should not be published "as it is so very open to misconception" (Wakefield, E.G. 1850, 56), the letters do suggest some selection in the promotion and publication of information. Within the New Zealand Company correspondence there are several letters which, beyond doubt, arraign the Company. Meadows, an artist employed by the Company to draw panoramas for exhibition, was persuaded not to display a painting he had done of the Wellington earthquake since "it was the wish of the Company to keep it silent" (Meadows 1850, 1). According to Miller (1958), Dieffenbach, one of the scientists who accompanied an early expedition to New Zealand and who wrote for the Company, had complained that "his researches on behalf of the Company were not faithfully reported and that only those parts that suited the New Zealand Company's purposes were published" (Miller 1958, 7). Dieffenbach had made many detailed and careful observations about New Zealand in his book published in 1843. From this work however, only isolated and selected excerpts were publicised.

The distortion practised by the New Zealand Company was primarily the suppression of some information and the exaggeration of favourable comments. This was a form of distortion common to all literature on
colonial promotion during the mid-nineteenth century. The withholding or suppression of information was perhaps the most obvious form of distortion. The reason for this suppression of unfavourable information was expressed in the following comment by E.G. Wakefield:

The very first arrival of settlers in a body is always a critical event; for the impressions which they receive from all circumstances together, becomes the general impression at home, and determines the future emigration. (Wakefield, E.G. 1850, 50)

Some of the settlers were later aware of the distortion practised, in particular the exaggeration of the promises of New Zealand. Hobbs thought that the accounts of Wellington had been most exaggerated (Hobbs 1839) while Paul (1857) talked of the mischief created by the romantic stories told to intending emigrants. Governor Hobson accused the Company of deliberate deception (Somes 1841). His main representations were that the descriptions of land at Wellington and the nature of the soil had been exaggerated, and that the suitability of the harbour had been misrepresented.

Complaints, hints of discontent, or even reproaches were dismissed by the Company as being "mere expressions of dissatisfaction at some temporary inconvenience or disappointment" (Wakefield, E.G. 1850, 58), or the writers as "persons evidently not adapted to an infant colony" (Wood, J. 1843, 7).

Although the New Zealand Company and its agents were guilty of a certain amount of information distortion, some of the disappointment expressed must also have been due to the overbright or unrealistic expectations of the emigrants, and the effect of conjecture or imagination. For the most part however, the descriptions and images of New Zealand promoted by the New Zealand Company, became the
expectations and images of the emigrants before arrival. The initial perceptions and the later appraisals reflected strongly the informational component of these promotional images. From the differences expressed in these appraisals, the discrepancies between the image or expectation and the reality were observed. While most of the settlers were seemingly satisfied with their new homeland, there were few who considered New Zealand to be an 'Eden of the South Seas'.
PART IV

CONCLUSION
CHAPTER EIGHT
CONCLUSION

The period 1839 to 1855 was one of the most significant in the history of New Zealand. It witnessed major changes in landscape, in population in terms of both numbers and composition, and in political structure. It was a time of burgeoning interest in the South Pacific and of emigration to the British colonies. Information of both an objective and a subjective nature about these colonies became available. By 1855, the major urban settlements of New Zealand had been established, extensive sheep runs had opened up parts of the interior such as the Wairarapa and the Canterbury Plains, reports of gold discoveries in the South Island were being circulated, and the European population had reached almost 40,000. Of this total, 15,000 were emigrants from Britain under the New Zealand Company settlement scheme.

The present research has considered in detail a very small, though hitherto largely ignored, part of this change. The arrival of large numbers of emigrants to New Zealand was a major historical fact. While the number of emigrants and results of emigration have been studied elsewhere, there have been few studies which consider the emigration process itself, despite the pleas for this kind of research. In this work, the role of information in the emigration process was studied in terms of how information about New Zealand was disseminated to intending emigrants, the promotion and development of images about New Zealand, and how the emigrants later appraised the new environment.

Although the study of perceptions and appraisals of new environments
is not a recent academic concern, it is only in recent years that
research has concentrated on the importance of these appraisals
to emigration and to settlement (Cameron, J.M.R. 1974 b; Moon 1969).
Sources and origins of different images about new environments,
popular and official appraisals of both physical and cultural
features, and the role of imagination and myth in discovery and
settlement have all been considered elsewhere (Bowden 1969;
Heathcote 1965; Harreens 1969; Powell 1972; Watson 1969). In looking
particularly at research in the antipodes, it is apparent that con-
siderable attention has been paid to images and attitudes of
nineteenth century Australia. Despite this, little interest has
previously been shown in the perception, images and appraisals of
the New Zealand landscape.

In assessing historical geography in Australia and New Zealand,
the writers of a review article commented that while geographers could
"claim some success both in exemplifying the themes of historical
geography generally and in furthering our understanding of how
particular parts of the earth have been shaped by man" (Heathcote
and McCaskill 1972, 166), many historical geographers have
remained:

... sheltered in their archival basements, pain-
stakingly poring over their maps and documents,
or have surfaced to become caught up with the
eddies of contemporary issues and the study of
short-run processes.
(Heathcote and McCaskill 1972, 167)

Much work on New Zealand's past landscape has been completed. In
terms of areal coverage, most of New Zealand has been studied. Without
this background of research and knowledge, a study of early emigrants'
appraisals would be almost impossible. This present study, therefore,
building on the substantial work of historical geographers and
historians in New Zealand, has focused on some of the ideas developed elsewhere in geography and has applied them to the geography of early New Zealand.

Emigration to the antipodes was a major upheaval in the lives of the people involved. To even glimpse at what this movement may have meant to them, some understanding of their expectations and appraisals is vital, since we have few other ways of 'knowing' the people involved. Before commenting on the appraisals made by the early settlers some analysis of the way information was disseminated and promoted was necessary. A schematic model was drawn up to organise and facilitate the analysis (Figure 2).

From this analysis it was shown that the emigrants had access only to limited sources of information. Although many sources of information on New Zealand were available, most of these were largely inaccessible to an intending emigrant both in terms of cost and in terms of the form or nature of the material. Much of the limited information accessible to intending emigrants was further distorted since it was subjected to exaggeration, emphasis of favourable aspects and to the suppression of unfavourable items of information. From these limited sources, the images of New Zealand were created. These images combined, for the purpose of analogy, the familiar and known features of Britain with the features, known by reputation, of more exotic places such as the tropics and southern Europe. The New Zealand Company was guilty of some deception, as many of the settlers' appraisals suggest.

The images or expectations of the early settlers appear to have been based, for the most part, on the information disseminated by the New Zealand Company. Imagination, personal evaluations of information and distance all influenced these images as well, and
coloured the anticipations of the emigrants as has been suggested. The appraisals reflected much of the information accessible to the emigrants and promoted in the literature. The model (Figure 2) therefore has proven to be most useful in the organisation of subjective material, illustrating the dissemination of information and the development of images in a migration process. It is of particular importance in historical studies, since it allows a more objective reconstruction of the development of an image and the role played by the informational component in that image.

This model therefore enables a somewhat more rigorous and objective analysis when dealing with material that is predominantly subjective, but where the people concerned cannot themselves be subjected to any objective tests. Much of the subjective data remaining from the past cannot, and should not, be subjected to quantitative analysis. To establish some rigour, a qualitative ranking schema for assessing the evaluation of information was used. From this it was suggested that the most highly evaluated sources of information were also the least accessible, either because of their personal nature or because of the cost of the literature. The most influential source of information was therefore that disseminated by the New Zealand Company.

The images of New Zealand were considered in two ways. The general themes established within the images were studied by identifying the major elements within these images. Two general themes were identified - a romantic theme and a more utilitarian concern. The major elements, or sub-images, examined were features of physical relief, climate, soil and vegetation. In terms of relief features therefore, the romantic theme was expressed in the discussions of beauty, while the utilitarian theme was apparent in the question of land suitable for agriculture. A similar approach was adopted in the
discussion of the appraisals. While largely descriptive, the approach did isolate the major themes and concerns of both the image-makers and the emigrants.

In contrast to much of the present work on historical images, which has been concerned with sources and origins, or popular versus official appraisals, the approach adopted here was solely concerned with the popular appraisals and isolated four aspects of the new environment for further consideration. This examination of general features of relief and climate, the fertility of the soil, and the nature of the vegetation cover, emphasised that the images of New Zealand, promoted by the New Zealand Company and the literature, were consistently the same, changing little over the time period concerned. This suggested that the role of feedback into the information network was a minor one, although this did occur through personal communication. By 1855 there was a considerable amount of both popular and official information available on New Zealand, but that found in pamphlets and guide books was still predominantly the promotional literature of the early 1840s.

The settlers' perceptions and appraisals of their new environment were found to differ in some respects from the images promoted by the New Zealand Company. Although there are obvious links as a result of the dissemination of information, the settlers in their appraisals, were more utilitarian. On arrival, the major concern of most of the settlers was whether or not their new homeland would provide viable habitation, rather than whether or not it was an Eden in the South Pacific. While general satisfaction was expressed, some discontent was also apparent, the deception being practised by the New Zealand Company being a focus for this criticism. This discontent, in part induced by homesickness, mirrored the discrepancies found
between the prior image of New Zealand and the reality as the settler perceived it.

In terms of the New Zealand case study, therefore, five major conclusions have been reached.

i) although much information was available about New Zealand for the period 1839 to 1855, little of it was readily accessible to the intending emigrants;

ii) the emigrants' images of their new homeland were largely drawn from limited sources, distorted by suppression and exaggeration. Thus, their image was often selective, and based on few facts and a great deal of imagination;

iii) the appraisals made by the early settlers tended to reflect these distorted information sources, often explicitly correcting the errors they found;

iv) personal knowledge, gained from letters, journals and diaries was more accurate and more detailed than that gained from other sources; and finally

v) the New Zealand Company was the major disseminator of information and largely dominated the emigration process, and continued to dominate it by 'editing' the information.

Being one of the first studies to delve into the more subjective source materials available in manuscript form in New Zealand, this research has suggested large areas worthy of further study. Certainly there is a considerable quantity of valuable and ancillary material waiting to be read and researched. As one recent review has suggested, it requires only "pioneers equipped and eager to take up these tasks" (Heathcote and McCaskill 1972, 167). One of the most important areas of research would be to try to trace individuals and families within the emigration process, capturing them before leaving Britain, en
route for New Zealand, and later established at one of the settle-
ments in New Zealand. Not only would this prove whether or not
the ideas expressed within this present research are substantiated at
the individual level, but it would also enable differences in terms
of time and area to be studied. While some manuscript material is,
no doubt, still in private hands in Britain, there is sufficient
available in New Zealand and Australian archives and on microfilm
to provide useful leads and to suggest other possible detailed
studies.

A second large source for future research is contained within
the New Zealand Company records, correspondence and miscellaneous
files now available along with the Colonial Office records, on
microfilm. From these, a more detailed reconstruction of the
New Zealand Company policies, decision making, and behaviour could
be achieved. Not only would it be possible to study the New Zealand
Company in this manner, but it may also be possible to trace
individuals through the New Zealand Company records. Applications
for free passages, referees' reports on the applicants, records kept
by the local agents, some shipping lists and details of finance and
expenditure offer fruitful areas for later study. Research along
these lines would give a more detailed understanding of the process
of emigration to New Zealand in the period 1839 to 1855.

The social side of emigration has been ignored in this study.
Diaries and letters contain many pertinent insights into the society
of the time and the feelings of the individual. Life aboard the
emigrant ships was recorded in detail by several writers, not only by
the better educated people. Research into the changes in cultural
values brought about by emigration and the society established by the
emigrants on arrival in New Zealand, would provide a most useful
counterpart to this study. The early art forms offer scope for further research, having been used, for the most part, as illustrative material in this and other studies. While studies using art as sources of data have been few, recent work has indicated that landscape paintings in particular provide much information about early appraisals and perceptions of environment (Heathcote 1972; Rees, R. 1973).

The research has also suggested that subjective forms of data can be used in historical studies. Care, as many researchers have warned, must be taken when using subjective impressions as a source of data. Interpretation is no easy task. Little or no knowledge of people and their backgrounds has limited interpretation in this study. The comments in journals, letters and diaries often raise more questions than answers. The researcher is often left wondering what the people really believed or thought. As Berkhofer (1969) said:

Since time is irreversible, the historian knows the past only by the remains left over. These traces are presumed valid evidence of the past, although just what they indicate is interpreted variously and disputed vigorously by historians. (Berkhofer 1969, 11-12)

While the focus of the case study contained with this research has been on the role of information in image development and the relationship of these images to the later appraisals of the New Zealand landscape, several more philosophical and methodological questions were also considered.

A major question has been the relationships between information and image, and between image and appraisal. It is suggested that information is a most, if not the most, significant component in both images and appraisals. How information is received, stored and evaluated - in short, an understanding of the cognitive processes -
is essential to comprehending the images involved, whether it be in terms of decision making or behaviour. Working with the appraisals of past people, the role and importance of information has been isolated and emphasised. Since the historical geographer has major problems in reconstructing details of imagination, socio-economic variables, and individual assessments or evaluations of information his main contribution to the present concern with images or cognitive maps, decision making and behaviour, could be to establish some of the relationships or links between information and image as well as between image and appraisals. Obviously this is an enormous area of research but it is suggested here that one of the most useful future studies would be one concerned with the relationship of information evaluation to image development. A further contribution that historical geographers can make is to study in some detail the simpler specific sub-images about the physical or social environment, where such records are available. This is particularly pertinent for studies of perceptions and appraisals of new environments. As the recent book edited by Downs and Stea has emphasised, there is much that is not yet known about perception, cognition and behaviour (Downs and Stea 1973).

One of the most important issues raised in this study has been the question of the use of behavioural concepts within historical geography, without losing the rigour and objectivity of the historical method. As stated previously (Johnston, J.A. 1972), the cognitive-behavioural approach does have much to offer the historical geographer in his concern with past people and their behaviour. Perhaps the most significant contribution is that it opens up areas, which for many years, historians and historical geographers have been hesitant even to consider. The more subjective manuscript material can be incorporated into the reconstruction of the behaviour and ideas of
past people. How they looked at their environment, evaluated it, and acted in it, may give new perspectives to much of our present history and provide further insights into understanding our cultural heritage. Knowledge of images held about environments and the appraisals made, allows the behaviour and decisions of past people to be seen in a new, and often more meaningful, way.

As Lowenthal wrote:

Landscapes are formed by landscape tastes. People see their surroundings through preferred and accustomed glasses and tend to make the world over as they see it. Such preferences long outlast geographical reality. (Lowenthal 1968, 61)

As has been said above, the more subjective elements of the past have often been ignored. While arguing that the cognitive-behavioural approach has much to offer the historical geographer, there is no reason to cast aside the traditional methods. Rather the cognitive-behavioural approach adds yet another facet to the task of the historical geographer and the historian. Although R.C. Harris (1970) warns against the compiling of compendia of different approaches and suggests that researchers should be attempting syntheses which incorporate the relevant ideas, he emphasises that:

... to understand a particular region, place or landscape, or to treat a theme which itself embraces a complex set of relationships bearing upon the character of a particular place .... [a] geographer may have to understand the thought, spread perhaps over centuries, lying behind a great many human actions ...
(Harris, R.C. 1970, 28)

The recent popularity of the concepts of perception, image and behaviour should not be the main reasons for their adoption by
historical geographers. Neither should they be regarded as a 'way out' for historical geography which, according to one reviewer, could become "trapped in a kind of limbo, neither sheep nor goat, merely mule, possessing neither pride nor hope of posterity" (Koelsch 1970, 202). As Wrigley wrote in 1965:

> Progress lies in rejecting conceptions which are no longer fruitful in favour of those which can help understanding .... Intellectual development is a continuing process of modification, rejection, addition, and replacement of conceptual tools. (Wrigley 1965, 19)

The cognitive-behavioural approach has little to offer the historical geographer without a prior knowledge and understanding of what has been termed the objective phenomenal world. Traditional methods need not be scorned, merely adapted to allow the incorporation of some behavioural concepts where relevant. A new terminology need not be adopted. Clarification of meaning and use of terms and concepts is essential throughout geography in order to avoid the confusion apparent today. A constant re-evaluation of what new approaches have to offer, and how they can be used in weaving together the threads which make up the fabric of the past, is essential.

In conclusion therefore, two main ideas are emphasised. While there are many inherent difficulties involved in using behavioural concepts within historical geography, the rewards offered in the better understanding of people, ideas, and events in the past, exceed the problems involved. As Tuan suggested in 1967, man's world is a "fabric of ideas and dreams some of which he manages to give visible form" (Tuan 1967, 17), whether it be in the past or the present. In light of the current pessimism and anxiety surrounding the future of historical geography, particularly in New Zealand, a critical evaluation of current concepts being adopted offers the historical
geographer a chance of catching up with the rest of the geographical fleet (Perry, P.J. 1969 a), and of emphasising the continued "fertility of the historical geographical mule" (Harris, R.C. 1970).
APPENDIX I

SOME COMMENTS ABOUT DATA SOURCES
DATA SOURCES

In any geographical study which uses historical material as data, the nature, quality, availability and reliability of these data sources strongly influence the character of the research. This essay has been added to the dissertation to provide some guide to the major sources of relevant data and to indicate some of the problems involved in the search for, and use of, the data. This may help later workers in a similar field.

Since people of the past recorded what to them was significant, the records may often appear to be fragmentary and difficult to interpret. Studies which are concerned to establish images and appraisals of past landscapes depend on such records however. This material has not often been used extensively in the more traditional historical research, and the problems likely to be encountered are new and unfamiliar. Personal observations and impressions, as well as paintings and sketches, carry implicit difficulties for present day interpretation. Many historical geographers have been hesitant to use personal records since they may highlight the strange and unusual, or appear merely to catalogue the routine and commonplace. As this particular study has been primarily concerned with images and appraisals of New Zealand during the major era of early settlement - 1839 to 1855 - the observations and comments made by the early emigrants in diaries, journals and letters are, thus, most important sources of data. Such observations highlight and emphasise the features of the New Zealand environment that the observers themselves thought noteworthy. The traditional
hesitation mentioned above has therefore, here been set aside.

There are two general problems involved in an historical study of images and appraisals. The first of these is actually locating the source materials. The main collections of manuscript material about early New Zealand are found in the Hocken Library in Dunedin and the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington. The National Archives in Wellington, the Australian National Library in Canberra, and the Mitchell Library in Sydney also house major collections of both manuscript and published materials. Other institutions such as the Tasmania State Archives, the Auckland Art Gallery and the Auckland Public Library contain much additional material. A more practical aspect of the problem is that of locating sources which are legible as well as pertinent, particularly crucial to any research concerned with original manuscripts. The problem is thus a question of finding material that is relevant, legible and, in the physical sense, not too fragile. The second general problem is that of interpreting and understanding the material. Of these two general problems, the first is perhaps the most significant for further studies. The second is a problem each researcher must himself resolve.

In this particular research, several types of data were consulted. The major manuscript material, primarily used in Chapters Three, Four, Six and Seven is found in the major archival collections in New Zealand and Australia. The bulk of this manuscript material is composed of journals kept of the voyages to New Zealand, letters written to friends and relatives in Britain, and diaries of many early settlers. Some reminiscences and autobiographies, also located in these manuscript collections, were examined. Manuscripts for the period 1835 to 1860 were located and read in order to provide a
broad range of information and to locate as much material as possible.

The actual finding of manuscript material involved several approaches. While bound catalogues to material in libraries such as the Hocken and Mitchell Libraries were useful initial guides, the major and most comprehensive listings of manuscripts were the chronological catalogues of the Alexander Turnbull Library and the Hocken Library. While the Turnbull collection of manuscripts is catalogued both chronologically and by author, the Hocken collection of manuscripts is by accession number. The chronological index of the Hocken Library is for all material located in the Library, not merely for manuscripts. Unfortunately, New Zealand material in Australian collections is not catalogued chronologically, merely being classified under New Zealand in the manuscript collections.

To supplement the chronological listings, the subject catalogues were also used to locate material. Headings such as 'Emigration and Immigration', 'Letters', 'Pioneer Life', 'Settlement', and 'Colonisation' often yielded further manuscripts. Passengers' names mentioned by journal and letter writers were also checked through the author catalogue. Some further manuscripts were available on microfilm from collections in Britain and Australia. The recent Australian Joint Copying Project Handbooks (AJCP) provide indices to the microfilms of papers held in the British Colonial Office and to miscellaneous collections of manuscripts in Britain. These handbooks were most useful in locating relevant microfilms. Other manuscript material was found in miscellaneous form in such collections as Flotsam and Jetsam in the Hocken Library and in uncatalogued collections of material in both the Mitchell and Hocken Libraries.
Published observations and reminiscences were also used, as were letters printed in newspapers such as the Otago Witness and the Sydney Morning Herald. Books about early settlers (Rutherford and Skinner 1940), and histories of settlement (Waite 1940) provided further detail.

Some manuscript material was also used in reconstructing the dissemination of information as discussed in Chapter Four. Letters, diaries, and the material in the Flotsam and Jetsam collection, as well as the Colonial Office papers available on microfilm, were invaluable in tracing many of the sources and flows of information. Newspapers held in Australian archives provided considerable detail on early accounts of New Zealand. Such material has recently become available on microfilm in the Hocken Library. Early British newspapers and collections of newspaper clippings were also used to further detail the dissemination process. In many cases, articles published in newspapers were listed in the chronological index of the library guides, as were the reports of such organisations as the Aborigines Protection Society and the various missionary societies.

Information on the activities and decisions of the New Zealand Company was available both in primary and secondary form. The major collection of this material is found in the AJCP collection of microfilms. A complete collection of these microfilms is housed at the Australian National Library, Canberra, while most material relevant to New Zealand is also found in Wellington at the Alexander Turnbull Library and the National Archives. Some of the original New Zealand Association and New Zealand Company papers, as well as those of the Canterbury Association, for example minute books and letter books, were examined in association with the correspondence and despatches of the Governors of New South Wales,
evidence heard before the various parliamentary committees in Britain, and some parliamentary debates. These manuscripts are found in the National Archives, the Alexander Turnbull Library and the Mitchell Library.

Miscellaneous items such as posters, advertisements and circulars are largely found in collections such as Flotsam and Jetsam in the Hocken Library and in the uncatalogued miscellaneous collection of both the Hocken and Mitchell Libraries. Sketches and paintings held in the various New Zealand archives as well as those in the Auckland Art Gallery and the Rex Nan Kivell Collection of the Australian National Library provide further information on appraisals of the New Zealand landscape. The recent publication, New Zealand's Heritage (1971) reproduces many of the early paintings.

Material about New Zealand published before 1840, especially the accounts of voyages and travels to New Zealand, published histories and some manuscripts, were the major sources of data for Chapter Three, concerned with establishing the total information available on New Zealand at the time. Later editions of the journals of Cook and Tasman were consulted (Mueller 1965; Wharton 1893), as were edited translations of the voyages of Crozet and D'Urville (Roth 1891; Wright, O. 1950). Some manuscript material on voyages to New Zealand is available and was located through the chronological catalogue of the main libraries (Lawry 1822; Shepherd 1826). Books and pamphlets published before 1855 were located from various sources. The chronological listing of the Hocken Library and the separate pamphlet catalogue of the Alexander Turnbull Library were the major means of finding such material. Further pamphlets were often found listed under 'New Zealand' or under 'Emigration' in such libraries as the Mitchell and the Australian National Library.
The bibliographies of writers such as Beaglehole (1936), Gorrie (1955), Marais (1927), Miller (1958), and Turnbull (1950), well documented the published and unpublished material of early New Zealand.

Once the material is found, a major problem is that of reading many of the manuscripts. Early letter writers, whether to save space or postage, often wrote across the page and then length-wise along the same page. This practice makes the reading of the manuscripts awkward and difficult. To overcome this problem somewhat, it was found that Xeroxed copies, where available, often were easier to read, since, in the Xeroxing process the underneath set of writing became less dominant. The lack of sentence construction, the flowery style of writing, the lack of pagination in some cases, and the fragile nature of many of the manuscripts meant that some letters were most difficult to fully understand.

The second more general problem is one of interpreting the data. In order to obtain some feeling or empathy for the period several works were consulted. Major British newspapers such as The Times and Chambers Edinburgh Journal, Australian newspapers, for example the Sydney Morning Herald and the Courier, in association with early New Zealand newspapers, such as the Nelson Examiner and the Otago Witness, all provided pertinent information on relevant issues and topical interests of the period. The more recent works of writers such as Houghton (1957), Seaman (1973) and G.M. Young (1934) on Victorian Britain allowed some understanding of the social and cultural conditions, while the research of Miller (1958), Shepard (1969), and Turnbull (1959) on early Victorian New Zealand were also most important sources.

While much of the material used as data is subjective, some
interpretation could be suggested through the identification of major themes apparent in both the images and appraisals. Much of the data, because of its fragmentary and subjective nature could not (and should not) be subjected to quantitative tests. Such techniques as content analysis, evaluative assertion analysis and simple frequency counts may emphasise certain aspects in a more objective manner or may merely underline the obvious. Frequency counts and an evaluative assertion analysis have been used in this study on some of the data.

The quality and availability of the material allows a wide range of subjective impressions to be considered and perhaps reflects the range of ideas and reactions to the new landscape. The bias in the nature of much of the manuscript material is one that cannot be overlooked or resolved. The literate and educated emigrants were those who kept diaries and journals and who wrote letters, although many letter writers felt they were speaking for all the emigrants. Many manuscripts have doubtless been lost, destroyed, or are still held in private hands.  

(1) What remains of these early impressions is therefore invaluable to the present-day researcher.

Considerable quantities of valuable material are available for use by researchers interested in this particular time period or in this form of research. While problems of locating, reading, and interpreting the material may be major obstacles, the results from such effort, patience and time certainly exceed the difficulties encountered. To be permitted a glimpse of what emigration meant to the people involved, and to see their new homeland through their

---

(1) While much material is thought to be held in private family papers in Britain, recent advertisements by the Hocken Library to trace such material revealed little.
eyes, provides a deeper understanding of our cultural heritage and gives one more than a glimpse of the early geography of New Zealand.
APPENDIX II

NOTES ON THE BIBLIOGRAPHY
The Harvard system of referencing has been used throughout this dissertation in order to provide a convenient and consistent guide to the sources consulted. Since the Harvard system was not primarily designed for ease in referencing manuscripts, several adaptations have had to be made. These adaptations attempt to provide a consistent form of referencing in order that any work cited may be found alphabetically in the bibliography. The adaptations fall into three main areas - author, year, and title.

Author

The major adaptation concerning author has been the inclusion of the first names of the authors of all manuscript material, where such information is available. This provides more detail on the individuals and identifies these individuals with more accuracy for those wishing to further consider such material. Since several authors had the same surname, it also enables correct identification.

Where no author is known for published works the publisher or society for whom the work was published has been used. Square brackets have been used throughout the bibliography to identify such adaptations, for example:

\[\text{Mann, G.} \quad 1840 \quad \text{New Zealand Described; Together With a Few Words of Advice on the Subject of Emigration, in a Letter to the Labouring Class. London.}\]

Where no author or publisher is known, as for example in the case of anonymous manuscripts, the work has been identified by a shortened version of the title, for instance:
[Naval Officer] 1836-45 Private Journal and Log of a Naval Officer. Original Ms. [ANL]

Articles in newspapers and periodicals, where no specific author is cited have also been identified by the name of the paper:


Date

The only adaptation made was for manuscripts which covered several years. In this instance the period covered has been identified, for example, 1836-1845. In quotations cited from such sources, the date refers to the actual date the comment was made. Thus specific references fall between the dates mentioned.

Title

The standard form of reference for the title and place of publication has been followed for all published material. For manuscript sources, the title of the manuscript given by the institution in which it is housed, has been used, for example:

Hunt, Frederick 1865 Twenty-Five Years in New Zealand and the Chatham Islands. An Autobiography. Original Ms. [ATL]

Manuscripts and unpublished material can readily be identified in this system by the absence of underlining. To further identify the form of the manuscripts the following classification system was adopted:

Original Ms.
Typescript Ms.
Xerox Ms.
Microfilm Ms.

For those manuscripts on microfilm the reference system suggested by the Australian Joint Copying Project Handbook has been used. This system
details the exact location of the original manuscript and also notes the Australian Joint Copying Project (AJCP) Microfilm Reel number. Such references have been cited as follows:

Marsden, Samuel 1765-1938 Marsden Family Papers. [In Private Hands]; AJCP microfilm M 382-383. [ANL]

A further addition has been made to the bibliography. This has been in the location of all manuscript material and rare published items. The location of these has been included by the use of square brackets and an abbreviated version of the name of the institution, at the end of the reference, for instance: Original Ms. [ATL]

The following abbreviations have been used:

[ANL] Australian National Library, Canberra
[ATL] Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington
[H] Hocken Library, Dunedin
[ML] Mitchell Library, Sydney
[NA] National Archives, Wellington
[OESM] Otago Early Settlers' Museum, Dunedin
[TSA] Tasmanian State Archives, Hobart
[TSL] Tasmanian State Library, Hobart
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&amp; P. Gould</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ackerman, E.A.</td>
<td>1846</td>
<td>On the British Colonization of New Zealand.</td>
<td>London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[ML]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[ATL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam, James</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>Emigration to New Zealand: Description of the Province of Otago.</td>
<td>Edinburgh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Description of the Province of Otago.</td>
<td>Edinburgh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[ML]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Twenty-Five Years of Emigrant Life in the South of New Zealand.</td>
<td>Edinburgh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adams, R.L.</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>'Uncertainty in nature, cognitive dissonance, and the perceptual</td>
<td>Economic Geography, 49, 4,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>distortion of environmental information: weather forecasts and New</td>
<td>287-297.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>England beach trip decisions', in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1839-40</td>
<td>Journal of Rev. J. Aldred: Passenger on the 'Triton'.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aldred, Rev. J.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1839</td>
<td>Ships, Colonies and Commerce: a Correct Report of the Speech</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Delivered at the New Zealand Colonization Dinner at Glasgow,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22nd October, 1839.</td>
<td>London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[ML]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alison, Sir Archibald</td>
<td>1839</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Appelton, M. 1958 They Came to New Zealand. London.


---

Arnold, Thomas 1847-50 Letters from New Zealand and Tasmania. Original Ms. [ATL]


Ashworth, Edward 1842-44 Papers of Edward Ashworth 1842-44. Journal of a Voyage to New Zealand, Australia, and China. Microfilm Ms. [ML]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baker, N.</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Tales of Pioneer Women. Collected by the Women's Institute of New Zealand, Wellington,[ed.A.E.Woodhouse]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bambridge, William</td>
<td>1841-43</td>
<td>Diaries 1841-48. Original Ms. [ATL]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bannister, S. 1838 'An account of the changes and present condition of the population of New Zealand', in Journal of the Statistical Society of London. 1, 1, October, 362-376. [H]


1972 'History: the muse and her doctors', in The American Historical Review, 77, 1, 36-64.

Bayly, Captain G. 1831-42 Journal 1831-1842 of Voyages to various parts of the World. Original Ms. [H]


Beecham, John 1838 Colonization: being Remarks on Colonization in general, with an Examination of the Proposals of the Association which has been formed for colonizing New Zealand. London, 2nd edition.


Bell, Dillon 1844-46 Circular Letters 1844-46. Typescript Ms. [ATL]

Bennett, G.H. 1838-45 Journal of Lieutenant George Bennett 1838-45. Original Ms. [ATL]


Betts, John 1844 Journal of John Betts of Sydney, 1844. Three Letters to his Wife, 1844. Original Ms. [H]
Bevan, Thomas 1841 Narrative of a Voyage from England to New Zealand, in Letters from Mr Thomas Bevan, Late of Whitchurch, Shropshire, and Another New Settler, with Some Account of the Country and Prospects of the Settlers. London.


Bigge, J.T. 1821 Report of May 1821. Evidence given before Commissioner Bigge. Original Ms. [ML]


Bolitho, H. 1934 'Early Journeys to New Zealand', in Blue Peter, 14, 152, November, 495-499.


1970 'Reviews in historical geography', in Economic Geography, 47, 2, 202-203.


Bremmer, T. 1851 A Key to the Colonies; or, Advice to the Millions Upon Emigration for the Use of all Classes. London.


Bridges, W. 1844 Letter from J. Bridges to the New Zealand Company, June 1839. Original Ms. in Flotsam and Jetsam, 1, Item 2. [H]


Bright, J. 1841 Handbook for Emigrants and Others, being a History of New Zealand, its State and Prospects, Previous and Subsequent to the Proclamation of Her Majesty's Authority; also Remarks on the Climate and Colonies of the Australian Continent. London.

Britain, W. 1841 'Letter to his parents', in Letters from Emigrants, Published by the New Zealand Company for the Information of the Labouring Classes, [G. McKewan], London, 7-8.

Brodie, W.  1845  Remarks on the Past and Present State of New Zealand, its Government, Capabilities and Prospects, with a Statement of the Question of the Land Claims, and Remarks on the New Zealand Land Company, Also a Description (Never before Published) of its Indigenous Exports and Hints on Emigration. London.

Broek, J.O.M.  1941  'The relations between history and geography', in Pacific Historical Review, 10, 321-325.


Brookes, E.S.  1892  Frontier Life, Taranaki, New Zealand. Auckland.


Brown, Rev. Alfred N.  1829-33  Letters to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society. May 27, 1829 to May 31, 1833. Typescript Ms. [H]

———  1835-46  Journal of Reverend Alfred Brown. Typescript Ms. [H]

Brown, C.A.  1841  Log Book Kept on Voyage to New Zealand, 1841. Copy Ms. [ATL]


Brugh, Jas. 1853 Diary, Kept on the 'Rajah', October 1853. Typescript Ms. [OESM]


1835-37 Extracts from the Journal of James Buller 1835-1837. Original Ms. [H]

1857 New Zealand. The Future England of the Southern Hemisphere; or the Natural Advantages of New Zealand Compared with those of the Australian Colonies. Wellington.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bunbury, Major Thomas</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Reminiscences of a Veteran; Being Personal and Military Adventures in Portugal, Spain, France, Malta, New South Wales, Norfolk Island, New Zealand, Andaman Islands, and India. In three volumes. London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burns, Thomas</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>Letter to Gilbert Burns, Dunedin, 5 December 1848. Xerox Ms. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busby, J.</td>
<td>1832</td>
<td>Authentic Information Relative to New South Wales and New Zealand. London. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>The First Settlers in New Zealand. Auckland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butler, Rev. John</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>Journey from Whangaroa by whaleboat, October-November 1820. Transcript by G. Mair, 1956. [ATL] Typescript Ms. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byrne, J.C.</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>Twelve Years' Wandering in the British Colonies from 1835-1847. In 2 volumes. London.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1974 'Information distortion in colonial promotion. The case of Swan River colony', in Australian Geographical Studies, 12, 1, April, 57-76.


Campbell, E. 1840 The Present State, Resources and Prospects of New Zealand. London. [ATL]


[Canterbury Association] 1848 Plan of the Association for Founding the Settlement of Canterbury in New Zealand. London. [H]


1850 Brief Information About the Canterbury Settlement; With Some Account of the Sources From Which Full Information May beDerived. London. [H]


__ 1851 Report from the Committee of Management. Covent Garden. [H]

__ 1853 Copy of Correspondence between the Colonial Office and the Canterbury Association 1849-1852. Colonial Office, London. [ML]


Carrick, R, (ed.), 1903 Historical Records of New Zealand South, Prior to 1840. Dunedin.

Carrington, F.A, 1840-1845 Journal of Frederick Carrington. Original Ms. [H]


Caverhill, T, 1843-48 Journal and letters to his wife. Typescript Ms. [ML]

[Chambers, W, & R. Chambers] 1841 'Emigration to Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand', in Chambers Information for the People, 20, April, 305-320. [ML]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>Chapman, H.S. (ed.)</td>
<td>The New Zealand Portfolio; Embracing a Series of Papers on Subjects of Importance to the Colonist. London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>Cholmondeley, Thomas</td>
<td>Ultima Thule; or Thoughts Suggested by a Residence in New Zealand. London. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Churton, Henry</td>
<td>Letters from Wanganui, New Zealand. London. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Invasion of New Zealand by People, Plants and Animals. New Brunswick.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td></td>
<td>Three Centuries and the Island: A Historical Geography of Settlement and Agriculture in Prince Edward Island, Canada. Toronto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark, K.</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Landscape into Art. London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>'Dunedin at the turn of the century', in New Zealand Geographer, 18, 1, 93-115.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarke, George</td>
<td>1818-75</td>
<td>Letters 1818-1975. Original Ms. [ATL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1822-49</td>
<td>Letters and Journals 1822-1849. Original Ms. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland, William</td>
<td>1838-1842</td>
<td>Journal of William Cleveland. Original Ms. [ML]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coleman, William (ed.)</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>A Short Sketch of Some Incidents in the Colonial Life of Mr Thomas Hancock. Auckland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colenso, William</td>
<td>1836-42</td>
<td>Day and Waste Book. Typescript Ms. [ANL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1844</td>
<td>Excursion in the Northern Island of New Zealand, in the Summer of 1841-42. Launceston. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collins, David</td>
<td>1798</td>
<td>An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales ... to Which are Added Some Particulars of New Zealand. Sydney. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collinson, T.B.</td>
<td>1846-7</td>
<td>Letters of T.B. Collinson. Original Ms. [ATL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Colonial Land and Emigration Commission]</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Colonization Circular. Number 10, March 1850. [ML]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Colonial Office]</td>
<td>1840-43</td>
<td>Copies or Extracts of any Correspondence Relative to Emigration. (New Zealand pages 181-192.) Copy of Ms. [ML]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Colonial Times]</td>
<td>1839</td>
<td>'New Zealand News', in The Colonial Times, November 26, 4. [TSA]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>'New Zealand', in The Colonial Times, June 23, 4. [TSA]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Colonization of New Zealand]</td>
<td>1839-40</td>
<td>Colonization of New Zealand. Original Ms. [ML]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooke, J.G.</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Reminiscences 1759-1850. Typescript Ms. [ATL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooper, G.S.</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>Journal of an Expedition Overland from Auckland to Taranaki, by Way of Rotorua, Taupo, and the West Coast. Undertaken in the summer of 1849-50, by His Excellency, the Governor-in-Chief of New Zealand. Auckland. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coote, Rhoda C.</td>
<td>1853-67</td>
<td>Extracts from her Diary January 1st 1853 to August 26th 1867. Typescript Ms. [H]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Copping, Richard
1840-62
Extracts from his Reminiscences. Original Ms. [H]

Courage, S.A.
1898
'Lights and Shadows' of Colonial Life. By a Settler's Wife. Original Ms. [H]

[Courier]
1844
'New Zealand', in The Courier, August 9, 3. [TSA]

Cowan, J.
1940
Settlers and Pioneers. Wellington.

Cox, Charles P.
1915

Cox, K.R.
1972

Cox, K.R., & R.G. Colledge (eds)
1969
Behavioral Problems in Geography. Studies in Geography, 17, Department of Geography, Northwestern University. Evanston.

Craig, G.M, (ed.)
1955
Early Travellers in the Canadas, 1791-1867. Toronto.

Craik, [John Lillie]
1830
The New Zealanders. London. [H]

Craik, K.H.
1968

Crawford, J.C.
1838-75
Papers. [In Private Hands.] AJCP microfilms M600-601, M687-688. [ANL]

Crawford, James C.
1880
Recollections of Travel in New Zealand and Australia. London.

Crawford, John
1840
Letter to the Governor and Directors of New Zealand Company. Original Ms. in Flotsam and Jetsam, 1, item 18. [H]

Craymer, A.W.
1862
Diary of a Voyage from England to New Zealand. Original Ms. [ATL]

Creed, Rev. Charles
1845
Extracts from the diary of Rev. Charles Creed. Typescript Ms. [OESM]
Creed, Rev. Charles 1845  Letters of Rev. Charles Creed to the Wesleyan Mission Secretaries in London. Typescript Ms. [OESM]

Cross, R.D. 1973  'How historians have looked at immigrants to the United States', in International Migration Review, 7, 1, 4-13.


——— 1950  'A land despoiled: New Zealand about 1838', in New Zealand Geographer, 6, 1, 13-34.

——— 1954  "'Jimmy Grants" and 'Mihaneres': New Zealand about 1853', in Economic Geography, 30, 1, 70-89.


——— 1956  'Middle Island ascendant: New Zealand in 1881', (Part II) in New Zealand Geographer, 12, 1, 51-74.

Cunningham, A. 1826  Diary 1826. Original Ms. [ML]
Dalrymple, A., & B. Franklin


Darby, H.C.

An Historical Geography of England Before 1800. Cambridge.

The Medieval Fenland. Cambridge.

'The regional geography of Thomas Hardy's Wessex', in Geographical Review, 38, 426-443.


'On the relations of geography and history', in Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 19, 1-11.


'Darwin, Charles R.

Journal of Researches Into the Natural History and Geology of the Countries Visited During the Voyage of H.M.S. Beagle Round the World. London.

Deans, John

Pioneers on Port Cooper Plains: The Deans Family of Riccarton and Homebush. Christchurch.

Deans, William

Letter from William Deans to John Deans, Port Nicholson, 30 October, 1840. Typescript Ms. [ATL]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Despard, Colonel</td>
<td>1846</td>
<td>'Narrative of an expedition into the interior of New Zealand during the months of June and July 1845', in Colburns United Service Magazine, No 213, August, 567-583, No 214, September, 31-46, No 215, October, 251-267, No 216, November, 371-388. [H]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dicks, T.R.B.</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>'Network analysis and historical geography', in Area, 4, 1, 4-9.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dieffenbach, Ernst</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>'First report to the New Zealand Company, Appended to Supplementary Information Relative to New Zealand, by John Ward, London, 72-110.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1843</td>
<td>Travels in New Zealand; with Contributions to the Geography, Geology, Botany, and Natural History of that Country. In two volumes. London.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dillon, C.A.</td>
<td>1843-53</td>
<td>Letters 1843-1853 from Nelson. Typescript Ms. [H]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglas, W., &amp; M. Douglas</td>
<td>1843-47</td>
<td>Letters 1843-47. Original Ms. [ATL]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downs, R.M.</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>'The role of perception in modern geography', Seminar Paper, Department of Geography, University of Bristol.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duncan, J.S.</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Married and Gone to New Zealand: Being Extracts from the Writings of Women Pioneers. Auckland.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
[Earp, G.B.] 1848 The Emigrant's Guide to New Zealand Comprising Every Requisite Information for Intending Emigrants Relative to the Southern Settlements of New Zealand. (By a late resident in the Colony.) London. [H]


East, W.G. 1933 'A note on historical geography', in Geography, 18, 282-292.


1932 The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden, 1765-1838. Dunedin.

Elliott, T.F. 1845 Progress of Emigration. n.p. n.p. [ML]

Empson, A.J. 1837-38 Journal of John Empson 1837-38. Section dealing with his travels in Australia and New Zealand. Typescript Ms. [H]


Fairfowl, Dr Geo. 1821 Evidence of Dr Geo. Fairfowl in J.T. Bigge's Report 1821, 4538-4568. Original Ms. [ML]


Ferens, Thomas 1847-48 Extract from Diary November 1847 - July 1848, Kept on Board the 'John Wickliffe' and at Waikouaiti. Typescript of Ms. [H]

——— 1848-49 Journal No. 2. July 1848 - May 1849. Typescript of Ms. [OESM]


Fitton, E.B., 1856 New Zealand: Its Present Condition, Prospects and Resources; Being a Description of the Country and General Mode of Life Among New Zealand Colonists, for the Information of Intending Emigrants. London. [H]

FitzRoy, Robert 1843-45 FitzRoy Correspondence. Letters from Admiral R. FitzRoy and Mrs Robert FitzRoy 1843-1845. Original Ms. [ML]

——— 1843-46 Letters 1843-1846. Original Ms. [H]
Fitzroy, R. 1846 Remarks on New Zealand. London. [ATL]


[Flotsam and Jetsam] 1836-1912 Miscellaneous Collection of Early Manuscripts Kept by Dr T.M. Hocken. I 1836-1909, II 1836-1906, III 1838-1843, IV c1847-1912. [H]


——— 1965 'Otago during the goldrushes', in Land and Society in New Zealand, ed. by R.F. Watters, Wellington, 80-100.

Forster, George 1777 A Voyage Round the World in His Britannic Majesty's Sloop 'Resolution'. In two volumes. London. [ML]

Fox, E. Charlton 1879 'Shall we emigrate to New Zealand', in Cassell's Family Magazine, 5, 526-528. [H]

Fox, Sir William 1842 Colonization and New Zealand. London.

——— 1842 Journal of a Voyage in the 'George Fyfe' ... to Wellington. Original Ms. [H]

——— 1843 Journal of an Expedition to Wairapa (sic). Original Ms. [H]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>The Six Colonies of New Zealand. London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin, S.H.</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>'The village and the bush: Wellington Province, New Zealand', In Pacific Viewpoint, 1, 2, September, 143-182.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuller, F.</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>Five Years Residence in New Zealand. London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulton, Mrs James</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>Autobiography written in 1915. Typescript Ms. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>'English novels and geography', in Adhandlungen des Geographischen Instituts der Freien Universitat, (Berlin), 13, 47-54.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Glacken, C.J.
1956
'Changing ideas of the habitable world', in Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth, ed. by W.L. Thomas, Chicago, 70-92.

Glasson, John
1828-62
Glasson Family Correspondence. Typescript Ms. [ML]

Godley, Charlotte
1936

Godley, J.R.
1849-53
Letters to his father December 1849 - January 1853, Vols I and II. Typescript Ms. [H]

1850
'Extract from Mr Godley's private journal', in Canterbury Papers, 7, 189-196.

Golder, William
1852
'Stanzas written while on the voyage out to New Zealand on board the "Bengal Merchant", January 14, 1840', in New Zealand Minstrelsy: containing songs and poems on colonial subjects, Wellington, 33-37.

1852
New Zealand Minstrelsy: containing songs and poems on colonial subjects. Wellington.

1867

Golledge, R.G.
1974

Golledge, R.G., L.A. Brown, & F. Williamson
1972
Goodall, D. 1841-79 Letters from his family. Original Ms. [ATL]


1969 'Methodological developments since the fifties', in Progress in Geography, International Reviews of Current Research, 1, 1-49.


Graham, Robert 1842 Journal of a Passage from Greenock to Auckland, New Zealand, on board the 'Jane Gifford', 18 June - 16 November 1842. Typescript Ms. [H]


1840 Prospectus of the Plymouth Company of New Zealand. London.

Greenwood, J.D. 1839-40 Diary 1839-40 in Greenwood Papers. Original Ms. [ATL]

Grimstone, S.E. 1847 The Southern Settlements of New Zealand; Comprising Statistical Information from the Earliest Period to the Close of the Year 1846. Wellington.


Hanson, R.D. 1846 Extracts from a Letter to Captain Fitzroy. Adelaide.


1965 'Farm fences in pioneer New Zealand', in New Zealand Geographer, 21, 2, 144-155.


1967 'The mapping of New Zealand to 1900', in New Zealand Surveyor, 25, 399-405.


Harper, H. 1844-45 Manuscript on North Island. Original Ms. [ANL]


Hartshorne, R. 1939 The Nature of Geography. Lancaster, Penn.

1959 Perspective on the Nature of Geography. Chicago.


Hayward, R. & B.S. Osborne

1973

'The British colonist and the immigration to Toronto of 1847: a content analysis approach to newspaper research in historical geography', in The Canadian Geographer, XVII, 4, 391-402.

Heale, T.

1842


Heaphy, C.

1842

Narrative of a Residence in Various Parts of New Zealand; Together with, A Description of the Present State of the Company's Settlements. London. [H]

Heathcote, R.L.

1965


———

1972

'The visions of Australia 1770-1970', in Australia As Human Setting, ed. by A. Rapoport, Sydney, 77-98.

———

1972

'The artist as geographer: landscape painting as a source for geographical research', in Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, (South Australian Branch), 73, 1-21.

Heathcote, R.L. & M. McCaskill

1972

'Historical geography in Australia and New Zealand', in Progress in Historical Geography, ed. by A.R.H. Baker, Newton Abbot, 144-167.

Higgins, Sarah

1920

Autobiography. Typescript Ms. [ATL]

Hill, R.D.

1965

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author/Editor</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Hobart Town Courier]</td>
<td>1832</td>
<td>'Settlement of New Zealand', in The Hobart Town Courier, November 2, 1832, 4. [TSA]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Hobart Town Gazette]</td>
<td>1826</td>
<td>'New Zealand', in Hobart Town Gazette, September 23, 4. [TSA]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobbs, John</td>
<td>1839</td>
<td>Extracts from the Original Records of the Journal of John Hobbs. Original Ms [ATL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hochberg, J.E.</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>'Perception: towards the recovery of a definition', in Psychological Review, 63, 6, 400-405.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hodder, E.</td>
<td>1862</td>
<td>Memories of New Zealand Life. London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hodgkinson, Samuel</td>
<td>1842-1902</td>
<td>Papers 1842-1902. Original Ms. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hodgskin, R.</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>A Narrative of Eight Months' Sojourn in New Zealand, with a Description of the Habits, Customs, and Character of the Islanders; the Climate, Soil and Productions of the Country, Including Timber for Ship Building; with a Brief Account of Birds, Fishes, etc. etc. in a Series of Letters. Coleraine. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holman, J.</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>Travels in China, New Zealand, New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, Cape Horn etc. London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>Letter from Port Nicholson May 1840. Typescript Ms. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunt, Frederick</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Twenty-Five Years in New Zealand and the Chatham Islands. An Autobiography. Original Ms. [ATL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunt, Uriah</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>'Letter to Mr C. Hunt', in Letters from Emigrants, Published by the New Zealand Company, for the Information of the Labouring Classes, [G. McKewan], London, 13-14.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A Lecture on New Zealand; Shewing Its Capabilities and Advantages as a Field for Emigration; with Letters from Settlers in the Colony, and Other Information. London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Letter to the Editor of the New Zealand Journal', bound with Canterbury Papers, [Canterbury Association], 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hursthouse, C. (Jr)</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>New Zealand the Britain of the South. London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hursthouse, John</td>
<td>1841-43</td>
<td>Diary: A Record of the Last Year in England, and of the First Years in New Zealand. Original Ms. [ATL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>Journal of Voyage from England to New Zealand. Original Ms. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Independent]</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td>'Who is for New Zealand', in The Independent, October 26, 2. [TSA]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J-'s Letters</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>'Extracts from J-'s Letters', in Emigrants' Letters: Being a Collection of Recent Communications from Settlers in the British Colonies. [Trelawney Saunders], 87-90.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

James, P.E., & C.F. Jones 1954 American Geography: Inventory and Prospect. Syracuse.

James, Rundall 1843 Emigration to New Zealand. London. [ATL]

Jameson, R.G. 1841 New Zealand, South Australia, and New South Wales; A Record of Recent Travels in These Colonies, With Special Reference to Emigration and the Advantageous Employment of Labour and Capital. London.

Jeans, D.N. 1972 An Historical Geography of New South Wales to 1901. Sydney.


Johnson, J.P. 1840 Plain Truths Told by a Traveller, Regarding our Various Settlements in Australia and New Zealand. London. [H]


Johnston, W.B. 1961 'Pioneering the bushland of lowland Taranaki - a case study', in New Zealand Geographer, 17, 1, 1-18.

Jolliffe, John 1851-56 New Zealand Journals (in 5 vols.). Original Ms. [ML]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kappa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kappa [see John Ward]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keene, F.M.</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>With Flags Flying. Whangarei.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kendall, Rev. T.</td>
<td>1814</td>
<td>Journal of a Voyage from Port Jackson to New Zealand Commencing March 7th, 1840. Typescript Ms. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennaway, L.J.</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Crusts: A Settler's Fare Due South. London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennaway, Walter</td>
<td>1852</td>
<td>Journal of Walter Kennaway on Board the 'Canterbury', 1852. Original Ms. [ANL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennaway, William</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>Journal Kept on Board the 'Canterbury', 1851. Original Ms. [ANL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kent, John R.</td>
<td>1823</td>
<td>Journal of the Proceedings of H.M. Colonial Cutter 'Mermaid'. Xerox Ms. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingston, W.H.G.</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>How to Emigrate: Or the British Colonists. London. [ML]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Citation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawry, Walter</td>
<td>1822</td>
<td>Letter to Father and Mother. Original Ms. [ATL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawson, R.A.</td>
<td>1854</td>
<td>Diary of a Voyage from England to Australia. Original Ms. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Lay Association of the Free Church]</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Scheme of the Colony of the Free Church at Otago, in <em>New Zealand</em>. Glasgow. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewthwaite, G.R.</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>'The population of Aotearoa: its number and distribution', in <em>New Zealand Geographer</em>, 6, 1, 35-52.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, P.H., &amp; D.A. Norman</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Human Information Processing: An Introduction to Psychology. New York.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linge, G.J.R.</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>'Manufacturing in Auckland: its origins and growth 1840-1936', in New Zealand Geographer, 15, 1, 47-64.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>'Manufacturing in New Zealand; four years in a century of growth', in Land and Society in New Zealand, ed. by R.F. Watters, Wellington, 139-159.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low, Sarah</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Letters of Sarah Low from Dunedin. Typescript Ms. [OESM]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>'Not every prospect pleases: what is our criterion for scenic beauty', in Landscape, 12, 19-23.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowenthal, D. (ed.)</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Environmental Perception and Behaviour, Research Paper No. 109, Department of Geography,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>University of Chicago, Chicago.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>'English landscape tastes', in Geographical Review, 55, 2, 188-222.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Lumsden and Son]</td>
<td>1839</td>
<td>Popular Account of New Zealand As a Field for British Colonization, Compiled from various</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>authors: with an introduction and appendix. Glasgow. [ATL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyon, William</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>What Time is This Place? Cambridge, Mass. and London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MacDonald, Archibald</td>
<td>1847-48</td>
<td>Journal of a Voyage to New Zealand. Typescript Ms. [OESM]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Maning, F.E. 1844-1917 Forty-Five Letters Concerning F.E. Maning and his Brothers. Typescript Ms. [H]

[Mann, G.] 1840 New Zealand Described; Together With a Few Words of Advice on the Subject of Emigration, in a Letter to the Labouring Class. London. [ATL]


Mann, W. 1839 Six Years' Residence in the Australian Provinces, Ending in 1839; Exhibiting Their Capabilities of Colonization, and Containing the History, Trade, Population, Extent, Resources, etc. etc. of New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, South Australia and Port Phillip; With an Account of New Zealand. London. [H]


Marjoribanks, A. 1840 'New Zealand', in Sydney Morning Herald, May 4, 1.

1846 Travels in New Zealand, With a Map of the Country. London. [H]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Markham, Edward</td>
<td>1834</td>
<td>Transcript of New Zealand, or Recollections of it. Original Ms. [ML]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marsden, Henry</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>Diary. Original Ms. [ANL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marsden, Samuel</td>
<td>1765-1938</td>
<td>Marsden Family Papers 1765-1938 [In Private Hands]. AJCP microfilms M382-383. [ANL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin, Dr S.McD.</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>New Zealand in a Series of Letters Containing an Account of the Country. London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin, W.</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>Letter to S. Hodgkinson. Original Ms. in Flotsam and Jetsam, 1, 49. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathew, Felton</td>
<td>1829-31</td>
<td>Letters of Felton Mathew 11 August 1829 - 4 November 1831. Original Ms. [ML]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathew, Sarah</td>
<td>1840-48</td>
<td>Journal of Sarah Mathew 1840-1848. Typescript Ms. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew, P.</td>
<td>1839</td>
<td>Emigration Fields. North America, The Cape, Australia and New Zealand, Describing these Countries and Giving a Comparative View of the Advantages They Present to British Settlers. Edinburgh and London. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Publication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>'The goldrush population of Westland', in <em>New Zealand Geographer</em>, 12, 1, 32-50.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCrae, Alexander</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td><em>Diary and Notes on New Zealand</em>. Typescript Ms. [ATL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCrae, Lieutenant A.</td>
<td>1821</td>
<td><em>Evidence of Lieutenant A. McCrae in J. Bigge Report (1821)</em>, pp.4475-4537. Original Ms. [ML]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
McGlashan, Jane 1853 Journal of Jane McGlashan on Board the 'Royal' to New Zealand, June 14 - December 3, 1853. Typescript Ms. [OESM]

McKewan, G.] 1841 Letters From Emigrants. Published by the New Zealand Company for the Information of the Labouring Classes. London. [H]


Meadows, W.I. 1850 Letter to the New Zealand Company. Original Ms. [H]


1965 'Historical geography and early American history', in William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Series, 22, 529-545.


Meyer, Herbert 1849-67 Memoirs of Herbert Meyer. 1849-1867. Typescript Ms. [H]

Midwood, J.W. 1847 Diary of J.W. Midwood of the 'William' in New Zealand, March 24 - May 12, 1847. Original Ms. [ML]


Monro, D. 1841 Diary of a Voyage From England in the Ship Tasmania. Original Ms. [ATL]

Monro, Dr Sir David 1842 Journal of Dr Sir David Monro, on the Coast of New Zealand. 1842. Typescript Ms. [ATL]


Moon, K. 1969 'Perception and appraisal of the South Australian landscape 1836-1850', in Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (South Australian Branch), 70, 41-64.


Mulgan, A. 1946 'Literature and landscape in New Zealand', in New Zealand Geographer, 2, 1, 189-206.


[Naval Officer] 1836-45 Private Journal and Log of a Naval Officer. Original Ms. [ANL]


[New South Wales Governor] 1830 Despatches from the Governor of New South Wales to the Secretary of State. Transcript (1927). [ML]
[New South Wales Governor] 1839
Despatches of the Governor to New South Wales. Bound Ms. Volume. [ML]

[New Zealand Association] 1837
Letterbook of the New Zealand Association. Original Ms. [ML]

1837-38
Minutes of the New Zealand Association. Original Ms. [ML]

1837-38
Letterbook of New Zealand Association. Original Ms. [ML]

[New Zealand Circular] [1852]
New Zealand. London. [H]

[New Zealand Colonization Company] 1838
Resolutions Adopted as the Basis of the Company. In Flotsam and Jetsam, Vol. 3, 1. [H]

[New Zealand Company] 1837-40
New Zealand Company Minutes, Committees. 1837-40. [Colonial Office 208/185]. AJCP Microfilm 1442. [ANL]

1838-45
Minutes 1838-1845. Original Ms. [NA]

1839
The first Prospectus of the New Zealand Company, 1st June 1839, in Papers Relating to New Zealand Company, 1847, 7-8. [ML]

1839
Regulations for Labourers Wishing to Emigrate to New Zealand, in Flotsam and Jetsam, 3, 4, 33. [H]

1839-40
New Zealand Company Board of Directors Minutes. [Colonial Office 208/180]. AJCP Microfilm 1441. [ANL]

1839-50
New Zealand Company Agents. [Colonial Office 208/280]. AJCP Microfilm 1481. [ANL]

1840

----------

1840-58 Scrapbook of Newspaper Cuttings and Various Printed Matter, [Colonial Office 208/292]. AJCP Microfilm 1484. [ANL]

----------

1842-50 Miscellaneous Posters Advertising Emigration to New Zealand. Original Ms. [H]


----------

1849 Arrangements for Passenger Ships. Edinburgh. [ML]


----------


Bound also in Flotsam and Jetsam, Vol. 3, 2. [H]

----------


----------


----------


Newland, John 1841-72 Diary of John Newland. Typescript Ms. [H]


Nichol, Adam 1863 Diary of Passage from London to Dunedin in the 'Albert William'. Original Ms. [H]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas, J.L.</td>
<td>1817</td>
<td>Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand, Performed in the Years 1814 and 1815 in Company with the Rev. Samuel Marsden. In two volumes. London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholson, Maria</td>
<td>1859-61</td>
<td>Nine Letters from Maria Nicholson, New Plymouth and Nelson, to her Cousin. Typescript Ms. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholson, Sir Richard</td>
<td>1842-44</td>
<td>Ten Letters to his Father, Mother and Brother, from Wellington. Original Ms. [ATL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nihill, William</td>
<td>1841-54</td>
<td>Letters to his Family in England. Original Ms. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oliver, R.A.</td>
<td>1852</td>
<td>A Series of Lithographic Drawings from Sketches in New Zealand. London. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olsson, G.</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>'Distance and human interaction: a migration study', in Geografiska Annaler, B47, 1, 3-43.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parkinson, S.</td>
<td>1784</td>
<td>A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas in His Majesty's Ship Endeavour. Transcribed from the Papers of Sydney Parkinson. London. [H] 2nd ed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Author(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>Report From the Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed to inquire into the Present State of the Islands of New Zealand, Ordered by the House of Commons, to be printed, 8 August 1838. London. [ATL]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>A Corrected Report of the Debate in the House of Commons; 17th, 18th and 19th June on the State of New Zealand and the Case of the New Zealand Company. London. [HL]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847-48</td>
<td>Account of his First Few Years in Otago. By a Passenger on the 'Phillip Laing'. Typescript Ms. [H]</td>
<td>Paterson, J.H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>'The novelist and his region: Scotland through the eyes of Sir Walter Scott', in Scottish Geographical Magazine, 81, 146-152.</td>
<td>Pattison, W.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>'The four traditions of geography', in Journal of Geography, 63, 211-216.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>New Zealand, as it was and as it is. London.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851-56</td>
<td>John Pearse Album 1851-56. Index to Paintings. Original Ms. [ATL]</td>
<td>Pearse, J.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Perry, P.J. 1969 'Twenty-five years of New Zealand historical geography', in New Zealand Geographer, 25, 2, 93-105.


Polack, J.S. 1838 *New Zealand, Being a Narrative of Travels and Adventures During a Residence in That Country Between the Years 1831 and 1837*. In two Volumes. London.

——— 1840 *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*. In two Volumes. London.

[Porteous Brothers] 1875 *All About New Zealand: Being a Complete Record of Colonial Life*. Glasgow. [ML]


——— 1973 'Medical promotion and the consumptive immigrant to Australia', in *Geographical Review*, 63, 4, October, 449-476.


Pownall, L.L. 1956 'The origins of towns in New Zealand', in New Zealand Geographer, 12, 2, 173-188.


[Pratt, W.T.] 1877 Colonial Experiences in New Zealand; or Incidents and Remembrances of 34 Years in New Zealand. By an Old Colonist. London.


______ 1971 'Real, imagined and abstract worlds of the past', in Progress in Geography, International Reviews of Current Research, 3, 4-86.

Puseley, D. 1857 The Rise and Progress of Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand. London. [ML]


R.R. (ed.) 1839 Australia, Van Dieman's Land and New Zealand: Their History and Present State; With Their Prospects in Regard to Emigration Impartially Examined. London. [ATL]


Reading, J.B. 1841 'Letter to his father', in Letters from Emigrants, Published by the New Zealand Company for the Information of the Labouring Classes, [G. McKewan], London, 5-7.


Rennie, G., & Dr A. Aldcorn 1842-57 Letters of G. Rennie and Dr Aldcorn. Original Ms. [H]

Revans, Samuel 1839-65 Copies of Manuscript Letters From Samuel Revans to H.S. Chapman. Typescript Ms. [H]


Richardson, Fanny S. 1851-65 Diary of Fanny Stokes Richardson. Original Ms. [ANL]


Richardson, Mieville 1913 Memoirs of Fanny Stokes Richardson, by her husband. Original Ms. [ANL]


Ritter, C. 1842 The Colonization of New Zealand. (Translated from the German, Smith, Elder and Co.), London.


Roth, H. Ling (trans.) 1891 Crozet's Voyage to Tasmania, New Zealand, the Ladrone Islands and the Philippines in the Years 1771-1772. London.


1843 'Progress of discovery in the Middle Island of the New Zealand Group', in Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, 13, 344-354.

Rudge, J. 1840 'An address to the New Zealand emigrants delivered at the Depot, Deptford, October 11, 1840', in London Gazette, November 24, 1840, 49.

Rundall, J. 1843 Emigration to New Zealand. London.

Russell, A. 1840 A Tour Through the Australian Colonies in 1839. Glasgow. [ML]


Saunders, A. 1903 Family Record of Alfred Saunders. An autobiography written in his 83rd year. Original Ms. [ATL]


Savage, Dr 1853 'The Canterbury settlement dream', in Saunders Monthly Magazine for all India, III, 4, 894-899. [H]

Savage, J. 1807 The Mutual Relations Between the Canterbury Association and the Purchasers of Land in the Canterbury Settlement. London. [ML]


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Searancke, W.N.</td>
<td>1847-48</td>
<td>Letters of William N. Searancke. Original Ms. [ANL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbell &amp; M.J. Herskovits</td>
<td>1831-74</td>
<td>Papers Relating to Bishop Selwyn, C.J. Adam and Sir William Martin. [Selwyn College Library, Cambridge]. AJCP Microfilm M590. [ANL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selwyn, G.A.</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Letters from the Bishop with Extracts from His Visitation Journal 1842-43. London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Letter to the Curate of Windsor England. 24 May 1845. Original Ms. [ML]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selwyn, S.H.</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Reminiscences of Mrs S.H. Selwyn 1809-1867. Typescript Ms. [ANL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewell, Henry</td>
<td>1852-57</td>
<td>Journals of Henry Sewell. Typescript Ms. [ATL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shepherd, J.</td>
<td>1822-25</td>
<td>Journal of J. Shepherd, (or Missionary Work in New Zealand), November 24, 1822 - January 5, 1825. Original Ms. [ML]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1826</td>
<td>Journal and Collection of Views. Original Ms. [ML]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Title and Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Sidney's Emigrant Journal]</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>'Blind guides to New Zealand', in Sidney's Emigrant Journal, 2, 5, 252-266. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>'New Plymouth in New Zealand', in Sidney's Emigrant Journal, 2, 4, 169-180. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smales, Rev. Gideon</td>
<td>1843-45</td>
<td>Letterbook of Gideon Smales. Original Ms. [ANL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, S.</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Domestic Scenes in New Zealand. London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Sidney</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Whether to Go, and Whither? or the Cape and the Great South Land. London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Rev. Thomas</td>
<td>1804</td>
<td>The Wonders of Nature and Art; or a Concise Account of Whatever is Most Curious and Remarkable in the World. London. [ML]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somes, J.</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>Correspondence of J. Somes to Lord John Russell, in New Zealand Company Minutes Correspondence for 1841. Original Ms. [NA]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spoehr, A.</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>&quot;Cultural differences in the interpretation of natural resources&quot;, in Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth, ed. by W.L. Thomas, Chicago, 93-102.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Spottinwoode, A.]</td>
<td>1839</td>
<td>Colonization of New Zealand. (Extracted from the Monthly Chronicle, August, 1839), London. [ATL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sprout, H., &amp; M. Sprout</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>The Ecological Perspective on Human Affairs with Special Reference to International Politics. Princeton, New Jersey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stapleton, Bryan</td>
<td>1852</td>
<td>Journal of a Voyage from Deal to Port Nicholson 1852. Original Ms. [ANL]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


1849  Notes on New Zealand: Being Extracts from Settlers in the Colony Affording General and Useful Information for Intending Emigrants. No. 4, December. London. [ML]


Stokes, Captain J.L. 1850  'Letter from Captain J.L. Stokes to His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor', Wellington, September 1, 1850, in Further Papers Related to the Affairs of New Zealand. [ML]

Stones, W. 1858  New Zealand (the Land of Promise) And Its Resources. London.


Strode, A.R.C. 1848-50  Letters from Dunedin. Original Ms. [H]


Sutch, W.B. 1941  Poverty and Progress in New Zealand. Wellington.

Swainson, Mary Frederica 1840-50  Letters to her Grandparents in England. Original Ms. [H]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author/Editor</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swainson, W.</td>
<td>1839-49</td>
<td>Family Correspondence. Original Ms. [ML]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swainson, William</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>Observations on the Climate of New Zealand, Principally with Reference to its Sanative Character. London.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylor, J.M.</td>
<td>1840-41</td>
<td>Diary of a Cabin Passenger on Board 'Sir John Falstaff'. Original Ms. [ATL]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terry, C.</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>New Zealand, its Advantages and Prospects, as a British Colony. London.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thompson, T.J.</td>
<td>1814-1900</td>
<td>Letters of the Thompson Family. Original Ms. [H]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thompson, Thomas</td>
<td>1841-42</td>
<td>Voyage to Nelson. Diary Written on Board the Barque 'Lord Auckland', during a Voyage from England to Nelson, New Zealand, from September 1841 to February 28th, 1842. Hand written copy Ms. [H]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tiffen, Frederick John 1839-1911 Diary. Typescript Ms. [H]


[Trelawney Saunders] 1850 Emigrants' Letters: Being a Collection of Recent Communications from Settlers in the British Colonies. London. [H]

Tuan, Yi-fu 1966 'Man and nature', in Landscape, 15, 30-36.

1967 'Attitudes towards the environment: themes and approaches', in Environmental Perception and Behavior, ed. by D. Lowenthal, Chicago; 4-17.


1974 'Space and place: humanistic perspective', in Progress in Geography, International Reviews of Current Research, 6, 211-252.

1975 'Place: an experiential perspective', in Geographical Review, 62, 2, April, 151-165.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tuckett, Frederick</td>
<td>1841-91</td>
<td><em>Letters of F. Tuckett.</em> Original Ms. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1844</td>
<td>'Diary of F. Tuckett', in <em>Documents Relating to the Purchase of the Otago District for the Site of the Scotch Settlement in New Zealand</em>, 23-55. [Hocken Library Pamphlet Vol. 29, 3].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tylee, J.T.</td>
<td>1848-49</td>
<td><em>Diary of a Voyage to New Zealand in the Ship 'Mariner', February 1848 to June 1849.</em> Typescript Ms. [H]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Wakefield, Edward (Sen.) 1837-54 Wakefield Family Correspondence. Typescript Ms. [ML]

Wakefield, E.G. 1837-39 Letters to the Earl of Durham. Typescript Ms. [ML]

Wakefield, E.J. 1850-54 Letters to Lord Lyttelton. Typescript Ms. [ML]


Wakefield, Felix 1852 'Land agent's report upon the Canterbury settlement', in The Mutual Relations Between the Canterbury Association and the Purchasers of Land in the Canterbury Settlement, by Dr Savage. London.

Wakefield, Colonel William 1839 Tory Diary. Typescript Ms. [H]

Walton, John 1839  Twelve Months Residence in New Zealand Containing a Correct Description of the Customs, Manners, etc., of the Natives of that Island, with Other Information Valuable to Emigrants. Glasgow.


1840  Supplementary Information Relative to New Zealand; Comprising Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition and the First Report of the Directors. London.


Watkin, Rev. J. 1840-44  Journal of Reverend J. Watkin. Original Ms. [ML]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author/編集者</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Webster, John</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Reminiscences of an Old Settler in Australia and New Zealand. Christchurch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weld, F.A.</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>On Sheep Farming in New Zealand. London. [NA]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[West of England Board of the New Zealand Company]</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>Latest Information from the Settlement of New Plymouth on the Coast of Taranaki, New Zealand, Comprising Letters from Settlers there; with an Account of its General Products, Agricultural and Commercial Capabilities. London. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[White, Rev. William]</td>
<td>1839</td>
<td>Important Information Relative to New Zealand Intended to be an Answer to all Inquiries Made by Those who are Interested in the Occupancy of that Country by British Subjects, Especially with Respect to its Geography, Soil, Climate, Natural Resources, and the Validity of Titles to Land Purchased from the Native Chiefs by Foreigners. (By a Gentleman Resident in Hokitika 14 years). Sydney.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White, W.B.</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Reminiscences 1821-1908. Typescript Ms. [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams, H.</td>
<td>1821-64</td>
<td>Letters of Henry Williams. Original Ms. [H] (Bound in Missionary Letters &amp;c.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams, John B.</td>
<td>1842-44</td>
<td>Stay in New Zealand, 1842-44. Photoprints Original Ms. [ML]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams, Rev. Thomas</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>Journal of the Voyage of the Triton (4 - 23 May, 1840). Original Ms. in Whittell Papers. [ML]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Willis, A.; Gann &amp; Co.]</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>The New Zealand Emigrant's Bradshaw or Guide to the 'Britain of the South', London.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wilson, Rev. John A. 1833-65 The Letters of the Reverend John A. Wilson, Missionary at Opotiki, Tauranga, Auckland, and Puriri. Typescript Ms. [H]

Wohlers, J.F.H. 1843 Wohlers Papers: (translated from German). Typescript Ms. [ATL]

1843 General Diary No. 3, 17 June to 9 August, written for the Worshipful Committee of Administration of the North German Munster Society, Hamburg. Typescript Ms. [ATL]


Wood, Lieutenant John 1843 Twelve Months In Wellington, Port Nicholson; or Notes for the Public and New Zealand Company. London. [H]


Wright, H.M. 1959 New Zealand 1769-1840: Early Years of Western Contact. Cambridge, Mass.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wright, O.</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>The Voyage of the Astrolabe in 1840. An English Rendering of the Journals of Dumont D'Urville and his Officers of their Visit to New Zealand in 1840. Wellington.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yate, W.B.</td>
<td>1835</td>
<td>An Account of New Zealand and the Formation and Progress of the C.M.S's Mission in the Northern Island. London. [ATL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young, W.C.</td>
<td>1841-43</td>
<td>Young Correspondence. Typescript Ms. [ATL]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>