

The Port Nicholson Exchange and Public Library: New Zealand's First Public Library

The Port Nicholson Exchange and Public Library was established in Wellington in late 1840 and by May 1842 its affairs had been wound up. In broad historical terms, the brief life of an unsuccessful colonial organization demands little attention. But this particular institution has the distinction of being New Zealand's first public library, it was established comparatively early in the colony's life and it was remarkably unsuccessful. This essay aims to explore the background to the establishment and demise of this library, closely examining the decisions that were made and considering who was the intended audience for this institution, the settlers of Wellington or interested parties in Britain?

Following the establishment of South Australia in 1836, Port Nicholson (Te Whanganui-a-Tara) was the site of the second colony to be proposed under the principles of systematic colonization, as formulated by Edward Gibbon Wakefield, and promoted by the New Zealand Company. In late 1839, Colonel William Wakefield, Principle Agent of the New Zealand Company and brother of the theorist, 'purchased' a large area of land around Port Nicholson from the local Maori for the purpose of establishing a colony for European settlement. Edward Gibbon Wakefield's colonizing theory was a complex and finely balanced self-sustaining strategy for the development of planned colonies. The New Zealand Company scheme was promoted to potential settlers through numerous publications and public meetings in Great Britain. But the gap between the publicity material and reality was evident to the first New Zealand Company settlers, when they sailed into Port Nicholson in January 1840, to find a landscape different from that described and the state of planning less advanced than expected.

Before the first New Zealand Company settlers left Britain a committee was formed for the purpose of establishing public institutions in the colony. Those institutions were described as; literary, scientific and philanthropic institutions for the benefit of the British settlers and native inhabitants of the islands of New Zealand. This parallels an earlier colonial initiative, the 1834 South Australia Literary Association. It was established by intending colonists, whose intention was 'the cultivation and diffusion of useful knowledge throughout the colony'.¹ By 1836 that association had collected two hundred books to form the basis of a library in South Australia.

¹ Carl Bridge, *A Trunk Full of Books: History of the State Library of South Australia and its Forerunners*, Netley, South Australia, 1986, p.1.

In a substantial article, that appeared in the first issue of the *New Zealand Gazette*, published in Britain, the committee bound for New Zealand state:

It is obvious that without [a public library, with a general museum and scientific institution], a high standard of civilization cannot be maintained, and that it is beyond the power of individual settlers to provide for it, on an adequate scale, in the infancy of the undertaking. It is believed also that Governments and public societies, by communicating their official papers and transactions, and noblemen and gentlemen, by giving duplicates of works, will, without inconvenience to themselves, confer an inestimable boon on the Colony by their joint contributions ... it is imagined that there are few individuals acquainted with the subject who will not cheerfully present at least one volume, or one specimen of science or art, to be deposited, as a token of their good will, in the Public Library of the New Zealand Colony.²

The committee promote the idea that these institutions will be ones 'in which all sects and denominations can perfectly agree ; and which may, therefore, with propriety and advantage, be undertaken by the Colonists as a Society'.³ To cast the net for donations wider than just the readers of the first issue of the *New Zealand Gazette*, the text of the article was separately printed as a prospectus and sent to organizations, such as the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, along with a letter asking for contributions or donations.⁴ In effect, the donations that were given in response to the committee's plan form a type of contractual relationship between the people who donated books and other items, and those who took them to Port Nicholson.

In Britain of the 1840s reading and access to libraries was a popular and important part of everyday life, 'all classes read, whether for amusement or instruction, and at all possible opportunities'.⁵ The provision of a library was just part and parcel of the colonial experience. But the inflated language used by the committee and the attempt to promote these institutions as secular, classless and open to all, including the indigenous population, seems unusual when set against the prevailing landscape. In the towns and cities of Britain of the time there was a great variety of libraries such as, penny circulating libraries, Sunday school libraries, mechanics' institutes, proprietary subscription libraries, libraries of gentleman's clubs and the beginnings of national libraries. Some organizations used the word public in their title but this was not a synonym for a free library service. The word public described

² *New Zealand Gazette*, 21 August 1839. The committee was; George Samuel Evans (Chairman), Hon. Henry Petre, Captain Daniell, Dudley Sinclair, Esq., Francis Molesworth, Esq., Edward Betts Hopper, Esq., George Duppa, Esq., William Swainson, Esq., Eden Bowler, Esq.

³ *ibid.*

⁴ T. M. Partridge, 6 September 1839, enclosing the prospectus of the Literary Society and Public Library. Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge Papers, Letters 1827 – 1845, University College, London.

⁵ Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley, 'Introduction: the Changing World of Libraries – from Cloister to Hearth', in Giles Mandelbrote and K.A. Manley eds, *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Vol II, 1640 – 1850*, Cambridge, 2006, p.1.

their theoretical accessibility to the public although entry was often restricted by the necessity of belonging to a particular organization or group.⁶ They were, in the main, financially supported by the subscription of members. The large number and variety of libraries was part of a reading revolution that had taken place in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century where reading habits significantly changed from the intensive reading of a narrow range of texts to the extensive reading of a wide range of formats.⁷

The first year of settler life in the colony of Port Nicholson was not straightforward. The survey of the land was slow and many plans had been disrupted by the decision to change the location of the town from the Hutt Valley to the inner harbour area. Attempting to portray a difficult situation in a positive light is the following editorial.

Our fellow Colonists are now busily engaged in removing to Britannia, and building, and enclosing land there, and we are convinced their labours will not prove unprofitable. We hope ere long they will have some of their time at command, and are sure they will not be slow to undertake the several resources of a public kind, which ought to be brought into active operation. Among them we should mention the Library, School, Savings' Bank, and Temperance Society, as entitled to their earliest attention.⁸

In November 1840 the provision of a library assumes some importance. In the *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator* is an advertisement announcing that a meeting would be held at Barrett's Hotel 'to take steps for the formation of a Public Library and Reading Room' and the 'attendance of those interested in the undertaking is requested'.⁹ At the meeting it was agreed that a library and reading room would be established called the Port Nicholson Exchange and General Library and that a committee of seven formed to write the rules to be submitted at the next meeting.¹⁰

The Barrett's Hotel referred to in the advertisement was owned by Richard Barrett who acted as interpreter during William Wakefield's negotiations for the purchase of Port Nicholson. The hotel was a wooden pre-fabricated building bought to New Zealand by colonist George Evans and originally intended to be used as a school house. Barrett purchased the building for £400 and erected it beside the large house or whare made of local materials, where his family had been living since April 1840. These building sat at the

⁶ Alister Black, *A New History of the English Public Library: Social and Intellectual Contexts, 1850 – 1914*, London, 1996, p.27.

⁷ J.E.Traue, 'Fiction, Public Libraries & the Reading Public in Colonial New Zealand', *Bulletin of the Bibliographical Society of Australia & New Zealand*, 28, 4 (2004), p.85.

⁸ *New Zealand Gazette and Britannia Spectator*, 19 September 1840. The name of the town was soon after changed to Wellington. Note that there are no religious establishments in this list.

⁹ *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator* (NZG), 28 November 1840.

¹⁰ NZG, 5 December 1840. The committee consisted of; Messers. Murphy, Grace, R.R. Strange, Partridge, John Wade, St Hill, and Major Baker.

harbour edge near a beach used for landing waka. Today, this area is called Waititi Landing Park and sits at the foot of parliament grounds, now distant from the sea because of subsequent reclamations. The Waipiro Stream, which began near the Botanic Gardens, entered the harbour at this point and at the time, the area was sometimes referred to as Waipiro Reserve or the Government Reserve where Colonel William Wakefield built his residence on the hill above.¹¹ The grand opening of Barrett's Hotel on 22 October 1840 meant his whare was now vacant. An opportunity to acquire a large existing building may have been one motivation for calling the public meeting to establish a library. Another factor might have been the arrival on 14th November 1840 of Dr Frederick Knox and his family onboard the *Martha Ridgway*.¹²

Dr Frederick John Knox (1794 - 1873) was the younger brother of Dr Robert Knox of the College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, whose reputation as a teacher and anatomist was effectively destroyed by indirect association with the Burke and Hare murders. From about 1829 Frederick was Robert's assistant and curator of an outstanding museum of anatomical specimens. Many of the specimens were prepared by Frederick who was also the principle compiler of two catalogues relating to the collection. In 1836 he published *The Anatomist's Instructor, and Museum Companion : Being Practical Directions for the Formation and Subsequent Management of Anatomical Museums*. Impressive qualifications for the man appointed New Zealand's first librarian.¹³

The committee charged with the task of writing the rules of the library, now called the Port Nicholson Exchange and Public Library, published their report on 19 December 1840. In a long preamble the committee explains their decision to combine the functions of a commercial exchange with a public library.

The want of an Exchange or Reading Room, as a general rendezvous for the transaction of business and perusal of papers and periodicals, and also a Public Library, as a resort for literary recreation after the toils of the day, have been seriously felt in the establishment of all Colonies ... In no Colony has this want been so much felt as at Port Nicholson ; and the anxiety for an Institution of this kind was the greater, as the Colonists were aware that the foundation of a Library had been contributed in England by the friends and well wishers to this Colony and to science ... A Committee was appointed to frame a plan for an Exchange and Public Library,

¹¹ *Parliamentary Library Parliament House: Conservation Values*, Wellington, 1989, p.19. The name Waititi is said to mean shining water. Variant spellings of Waipiro include; Te Wai-piro, Waiperau, Wai Peraro, Wai Perero and Te Wai Pirau, meaning evil-smelling water.

¹² NZG, 21 November 1840.

¹³ Joan Stevens, "Brother Fred" and the Two Cultures: New Zealand's First Librarian', *New Zealand Libraries*, 31, 5 (1968), pp.176-79. M. H. Kaufman, 'Frederick Knox, Younger Brother and Assistant of Dr Robert Knox: His Contribution to "Knox's Catalogues"', *Journal of the Royal College of Surgeons Edinburgh*, 46 (2001), pp.44-56. http://www.rcsed.ac.uk/journal/vol46_1/4610008.htm

sufficiently liberal in its regulations to be open to all classes, and conducted upon principles so economical, as to meet the circumstances of every settler.¹⁴

The organization was to be in two distinct parts, an exchange room and a public library with different subscription rates for each. Members' entrance was £5 with an annual subscription of £2. Subscription to the exchange and library was £2.10s and to the exchange only £1.10s. An offer by Captain Rhodes of a room in his store for the purpose was declined in favour of purchasing Barrett's whare for £30. Dr Frederick Knox was appointed librarian with an impressive annual salary of £75. A large selection of newspapers and periodicals were ordered for the exchange but funds could not extend to the purchase of books and donations were requested. The optimistic words of the committee's report tempered by a small insert on the same page alluding to the proposed location 'it would have been more convenient could a house have been got nearer the head of the Bay, as the present is well situated for less than one-fifth of the town'.¹⁵

The type of library proposed for Wellington was a subscription library combined with a commercial reading room. There are other colonial examples of this arrangement. Sydney, in the 1840s, had a Commercial Reading Room and Library and Montreal had a Merchants' Exchange and Reading Room.¹⁶ In Britain, before the Public Libraries Act of 1850, subscription libraries were numerous. They developed out of the book clubs or reading societies of the second half of the eighteenth century and had a number of distinctive characteristics. They tended to occupy separate premises and aimed to establish permanent collections. They relied on the subscriptions of members for funds and were democratic in nature, in that, a decision making committee was elected from the subscriber base. One particular form, that was popular in England, was the propriety subscription library, 'where a subscriber would pay a capital sum on admission and, additionally, an annual subscription. Shares in such institutions were usually the property of the subscriber and were transferable by sale, gift or bequest ...'¹⁷ These characteristics are strongly reflected in the Port Nicholson Exchange and Public Library with the desire for a stand alone building, a committee established from the members and a subscription structure reflecting that of a proprietary subscription library.

¹⁴ NZG, 19 December 1840.

¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁶ Wallace Kirsop, 'Libraries for an Imperial Power', in Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley eds, *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Vol II, 1640 – 1850*, Cambridge, 2006, p.502.

¹⁷ Geoffrey Forster and Alan Bell, 'The Subscription Libraries and their Members', in Alistair Black and Peter Hoare eds, *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Vol III, 1850 – 2000*, Cambridge, 2006. pp.147-9.

Barrett's whare had cost the committee of management a large amount of money and considerable work was needed to convert it into a public institution. The origin of this building is unknown. It may have been built for Barrett in early 1840 or it may have predated the arrival of the New Zealand Company. What is known is that it was substantial, large enough to hold 100 people. A building of almost warehouse proportions where the size is not truly reflected in the few images that exist. Its style is consistent with a whaler's house, as described by Edward Jerningham Wakefield:

[It] is generally built by the natives. It is either composed of reeds and rushes woven over a wooden frame, - or else the walls consist of a wattled hurdle made of supple-jack (*kareau*) covered inside and out with clay, and the roof is thatched. A huge chimney fills one end of the house ...¹⁸

In early 1841 the question of the suitability of the location of the institution necessitated a committee meeting 'to take into consideration the propriety of altering the site of the Exchange and Reading Room'.¹⁹ The outcome is noted in the journal of William Mein Smith:

I went to a meeting of the Library Committee this afternoon to discuss a proposition about changing the site of the library. We agreed to keep it where it was for the present. We may get a public reserve to build it upon bye and bye, our funds are not sufficient to meet Dr Evan's proposal which is to build a house which we are to rent at 20 per cent of the outlay, paying for the ground at the same rate as he gets from other tenants.²⁰

The question of the location was raised again in April where it was resolved 'that the intentions and views of the original subscribers should be preserved in, the site of the warre [*sic*] on the Wai Peraro reserve ... being for the present unquestionably the most central, and consequently convenient for all parties'.²¹

But in Wellington's more commercial area of Te Aro, where several wharves had been constructed and warehouses built, a rival group opened an exchange room in temporary premises in Waitt's store with a subscription of £2.2s per annum.²² They promoted plans for the erection of an exchange building next to Ridgway's wharf, with the following specifications.

¹⁸ Edward Jerningham Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand from 1839 to 1844: with some account of the Beginning of British Colonization of the Islands*, Vol. 1, London, 1845, p.330. (Facsimile edition)

¹⁹ NZG, 16 January 1841.

²⁰ 18 January 1841, William Mein Smith Journals, qMS-1840-1844, Vol. 2, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

²¹ NZG, 17 April 1841. Agreed on a motion put by R.D. Hanson Esq.

²² NZG, 27 March 1841. Chairman of the Committee was G.B.Earp.

[A] Building, 40 feet in length by 22 feet in front. The front to be lighted with two windows, and decorated with appropriate Architectural Ornaments. One of the sides only to contain four windows; the front to be dressed and panelled with thoroughly seasoned timber, the rest to be weather-boarded with the doors of cedar.²³

By October 1841 an imposing wooden building designed by a Mr Cockburn was completed and opened with a public dinner where tickets cost 30s each. The Exchange quickly became the established venue for auctions, church services, exhibitions, dances and meetings of all types.

Seemingly undaunted by the activities at Te Aro, Dr Knox prepared a catalogue of the books of the Port Nicholson Exchange and Public Library. The committee of management inserted newspaper advertisements announcing the institution was now open for members and the public at Wai Peraro Reserve.²⁴ But things do not appear to be going well for the institution. In August, a general meeting was advertised, ‘for the purpose of appointing a new and acting committee. The unpopularity of the present title, and other matters relative to the laws and constitution of the institution...’²⁵ The outcome of the meeting is unknown and references to the Port Nicholson Exchange and Public Library virtually disappear from the newspaper during the remainder of 1841. But Dr Knox was keeping busy developing a museum. In the *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 4 December 1841 he describes in detail the specimen of a female kiwi which he had dissected and prepared for display in eight separate parts. He concludes the article by stating the specimen was the property of the Port Nicholson Museum and Library. For a meticulous man, the apparent carelessness with the title of the organization that employed him seems out of character. Was the absence of the word ‘exchange’ and the inclusion of ‘museum’ preceding the word ‘library’ a reflection of a change of organisational focus or was this a sign of Dr Knox reverting to what he found familiar, being a curator of a museum rather than a keeper of books?

In February 1842, a letter to the editor of the *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator* from ‘A Constant Reader’ ended the silence relating to the institution. As one of the original subscribers of the Wellington public library, the writer expresses surprise at having just learnt ‘that its prosperity was *not* progressive, and that its ultimate establishment

²³ *ibid.*

²⁴ NZG, 8 May 1841. On this date is the first of a number of run-on advertisements. The catalogue prepared by Dr Knox has never been found.

²⁵ NZG, 7 August 1841.

was even doubtful.’²⁶ Meetings of the subscribers are called in February and March but the proceedings are not reported.

Behind the scenes was an initiative to establish a Mechanics’ Institute. In an all too familiar process, a public meeting was held at a local hotel where over two hundred people attended, a committee formed to frame the rules of the society that would comprise a mechanics’ institute, public school and library.²⁷ In what seems to be an orchestrated series of events, within days, there was a meeting of the subscribers of the Port Nicholson Exchange and Public Library where it was agreed to wind up the affairs of the institution and dispose of the property to defray the liabilities incurred because thirteen of the subscribers had failed to pay.²⁸ Dr Knox was thanked for his efforts in promoting the institution and his unwearied exertions in forming a museum. In regard to the library, it was agreed ‘that the Library having been presented to the Institution as the “First Public Library established in this Colony” the whole of the Books and Periodicals &c. be presented to, the Mechanics’ Institute about to be established in the name of their present proprietors.’²⁹

In their penultimate meeting, the subscribers of the Port Nicholson Exchange and Public Library considered a strongly worded letter received from Richard Davies Hanson the Crown Prosecutor. The letter and response are reproduced in the newspaper under the heading of ‘advertisement’ which tends to cast some doubt on authenticity of the proceedings. Hanson advised the former subscribers that under the authority of Captain Hobson they were,

liable to immediate dispossession by the Police Magistrate without any compensation for the improvements which have been made upon the ground occupied by that Institution. If, however, you are willing to yield up immediate peaceable procession ... you should be allowed a compensation for the building ... If possession is not given up you will be immediately ejected.³⁰

Those at the meeting express ‘surprise and indignation’ at Hanson’s letter but ‘considering the advantages to be derived from the establishment of a Mechanics’ Institute in this settlement, Dr Knox be requested to communicate with their Secretary and offer them the

²⁶ NZG, 19 February 1842.

²⁷ NZG, 13 April 1842. The Mechanics’ Institute rules appear in NZG, 20 April 1842.

²⁸ NZG, 16 April 1842. The non-paying subscribers were; Messers. Guyton, Smith, Duppa, St Hill, Murphy, Molesworth, Lyon, Partridge, Relph, Brown, Durie, Parke and Hort.

²⁹ *ibid.* In NZG, 23 November 1842 it is reported 160 volumes were presented to the Mechanics’ Institute. See Stevens, Appendix C, p. 98 for the books identified as originally belonging to the library that she located in the Wellington Public Library. Also of interest in her article is the reproduction of a book plate and title page confirming their origin.

³⁰ NZG, 27 April 1842.

building with its contents on condition they discharge the liabilities of the late Institution.’³¹ A lot had happened since the previous year when Hanson had voted in favour of the institution remaining on Waipiro Reserve.

The first general meeting of the Mechanics’ Institute took place on 2 May 1842. With about one hundred people in attendance the office bearers and committee were elected.³² Over the next two years the fortunes of the Mechanics’ Institute were mixed and valiant efforts made by some individuals to increase its popularity with lectures and discussion classes. But the original decision of the Port Nicholson Exchange and Public Library to purchase Barrett’s whare proved to be downfall of the Mechanics’ Institute. To discourage the use of raupo and other materials in building construction, because of the associated fire risk, the Municipal Council adopted, An Ordinance for Imposing a Tax upon Raupo Houses.³³ This imposed an annual tax of £20 on existing buildings built wholly or in part of these materials. In early 1844, the Mechanics’ Institute building was removed from the site and even though a plot of land for a new building was granted, it would be 1850 before it was a reality. The final enigmatic reference to the activities of the Port Nicholson Exchange and Public Library is a newspaper notice where ‘Dr Knox requests the Members of the Library and Reading Room, *as originally constituted*, ... meet him in the Mechanics’ Institute ... on business of importance.’³⁴

The most revealing commentary on the short existence of the Port Nicholson Exchange and Public Library can be found in an editorial in the *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator* of September 1842. By this time a rival newspaper, *The New Zealand Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser*, had been established. A letter to the editor published in the *Colonist* asked, where were the literary establishments of Port Nicholson? The reply being, there were none, not even a common circulating library.³⁵ The long response from the editor of the *Spectator* suggests the cause of the demise of the Port Nicholson Exchange and Public Library can be directed at a group of people who ‘laboured ... to destroy an Institution

³¹ *ibid.* According to NZG, 23 November 1842 the debt was £50.

³² NZG, 4 May 1842. Office bearers: President; Colonel William Wakefield, Vice-Presidents; W. Swainson Esq., Mr William Lyon, Treasurer; Mr James Jackson, Secretary; Mr John Knowles. Committee; S.Scott, W.A. Cooper, S. Woodward, G.Fellingham, J. Seed, J. Puckridge, J. Dodd, J. Duck, Dr Featherstone, Dr Knox, W. Langdon, James Hair, John Wade, J. H. Wallace, R. Forster.

³³ *The Ordinances of the Legislative Council of New Zealand*, 1871, pp.116-17.

³⁴ NZG, 12 November 1842.

³⁵ *New Zealand Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser*, 26 August 1842. It is suggested by the *Spectator* that the letter and reply were written by the same person, the editor, R. D. Hanson. Hanson (later Sir Richard Davies Hanson) was a Methodist and had significant involvement with the South Australian scheme. He went there in 1846 and had an illustrious career in the law, politics and as an author.

which had, and indeed could have, no other object than the good of the community'.³⁶ The impact of the establishment of the Te Aro Exchange on the organization is acknowledged but suggests if the subscribers paid in full the institute would not have got into debt. What appears to have caused the loss of support or ill-feeling was the refusal by the committee of management for the building to be used for church services.

The use of it was requested but not granted to the members of the Scottish Church for the purpose of public worship, under a feeling that the management had no power to do so, and also that if they had granted the use of the Institution for such purpose the members of the Episcopalian Establishment had a right to demand the same privilege.³⁷

Before the exchange building was constructed the institute was the only public building in Wellington. The observation is made, 'everyone who will allow themselves to think calmly and dispassionately on the subject will see that Library's and Schools cannot possible precede a Church Establishment of some kind.'³⁸ But the decision not to allow the building for church services was obviously based on strongly held secular principles. The hope, that the establishment of a literary and scientific institute in the colony, would be the catalyst for co-operation amongst the denominations and sects, had, unfortunately, the opposite effect to that desired.

The editorial also refers to the relationship between the Port Nicholson Exchange and Public Library and the Mechanics' Institute suggesting that it was a change in name only. But, perhaps, it should be regarded more as a restructuring than a re-branding. Significant is the absence of Dr Knox whose museum was handed over to the Mechanics' Institute but whose association with that organization became more peripheral. Had he put too much emphasis on developing a museum at the expense of the library or was the large salary just unsustainable? The establishment of the Mechanics' Institute lead one individual to make the following astute comments about public institutions in the colonial environment.

We shall continue as we have hitherto done, to lay before our readers the progress of the Institute considering it, as we do, a sort of experiment on the progress of the settlement, towards the establishment of that state of Society, to which all who have enjoyed the inestimable blessings of it in Britain, must look forward with the greatest anxiety. Experiments have proved that such a state of things cannot be transported; it positively must be created.³⁹

³⁶ NZG, 7 September 1842.

³⁷ *ibid.*

³⁸ *ibid.*

³⁹ NZG, 13 August 1842.

In terms of library history, the establishment of the Port Nicholson Exchange and Public Library simply reflects the popularity of these institutions, as Kirsop states, 'books and libraries followed the flag'.⁴⁰ However, the activities of the New Zealand Company bring another layer of meaning to this analysis. Before the colonists left Britain a plan for a public institution was promoted, and on that basis, donations were received. The pressure was on the leading colonists to quickly fulfil the promise and communicate progress back the Britain. The main vehicles for that communication were the local newspapers and illustrated panoramas showing individually named shops, residences and institutions. The audience for the establishment of the library were the donors of books, those who had invested in the colony, family members of settlers and most importantly potential investors and emigrants. New Zealand Company propaganda did not cease at the British coastline and those with a vested interest in the success of the colony of Wellington ensured it was returned to the source.

⁴⁰ Kirsop, p.494.

Abbreviations:

NZG *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*

NZC *New Zealand Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser*

Appendix 1: Port Nicholson Exchange and Public Library 1840 - 1842

Known associates:

1. Major R. Baker – committee to draw up the rules, forth on the list of subscribers, attended meeting to consider Hanson's letter
2. W. V. Brewer – Hon. Secretary
3. Brown – non – paying subscriber
4. J. C. Crawford – attended first meeting, sixth on the list of subscribers
5. Dr J. Dorset – attended meeting to consider Hanson's letter
6. George Duppa – non-paying subscriber
7. D. S. Durie – non-paying subscriber
8. R. Grace – committee to draw up the rules
9. William Guyton – second on the list of subscribers, non-paying subscriber
10. R. D. Hanson Esq. – moved a motion about retaining the location of the institute, sent letter demanding institute yield possession
11. Hort – non-paying subscriber
12. George Hunter Esq. – third on the list of subscribers, chairman at meeting
13. Dr Frederick Knox – Librarian, attended winding – up meeting, called final meeting
14. William Lyon – non-paying subscriber
15. F. A. Molesworth –non- paying subscriber
16. Michael Murphy Esq. Chairman at meeting to establish the library, committee to draw up the rules, attended second meeting, treasurer, non-paying subscriber
17. Parke – non-paying subscriber
18. Thomas Partridge Esq.– attended first meeting, committee to draw up the rules, non-paying subscriber
19. Relph – non – paying subscriber
20. Samuel Revens Esq. – attended first meeting, attended second meeting
21. Capt. W. B. Rhodes – offered a room in his store, eighth on the list of subscribers, managing committee to prepare Barrett's house
22. Henry St Hill Esq. – attended first meeting, committee to draw up the rules, attended second meeting, non-paying subscriber
23. David Scott – attended meeting to consider Hanson's letter
24. Captain Smith – attended first meeting, attended second meeting, first on the list of subscribers, managing committee to prepare Barrett's house, chairman at the winding-up meeting
25. James Smith Esq. – attended first meeting, seventh on the list of subscribers, attended meeting to consider Hanson's letter
26. John Smith – Chairman to receive the report from the committee to draw up the rules, fifth on the list of subscribers, managing committee to prepare Barrett's house
27. R. R. Strang – attended first meeting, committee to draw up the rules, attended second meeting
28. William Swainson Esq. – attended winding – up meeting
29. H. Taylor – attended meeting to consider Hanson's letter

30. John Wade – attended first meeting, committee to draw up the rules, attended second meeting, chairman at meeting to consider Hanson's letter
31. Watt – attended second meeting,
32. Colonel William Wakefield – attended first meeting

Sources: NZG, 28 November 1840, 5 December 1840, 19 December 1840, 17 April 1841, 16 April 1842, 27 April 1842.

Appendix II: Port Nicholson Mechanics' Institute, Public School and Library 1842 – 1844

Known members

Office Bearers – 1842

President:

Colonel William Wakefield

Vice Presidents:

W, Swainson Esq., F.R.S.

Mr William Lyon

Treasurer:

Mr James Jackson

Secretary:

Mr John Knowles

Committee:

Mr S. Scott

Mr W. A. Cooper

Mr S. Woodward

Mr G. Fellingham

Mr J. Seed

Mr J. Puckridge

Mr J. Dodd

Mr J. Duck

Dr Featherstone

Dr Knox

Mr W, Langdon

Mr James Hair

Mr John Wade

Mr J. H. Wallace

Mr R. Forster

Source: *NZG*, 4 May 1842.

Appendix III: Port Nicholson Mechanics' Institute, Public School and Library

Lectures and debates

Date	Lecturer/Debate	Topic	Source
10 May 1842	Mr J. Woodward	On Education.	<i>NZG</i> , 7 May 1842
?	Mr J Woodward	On Education 2 nd lecture	<i>NZG</i> , 4 Jun 1842.
24 May 1842	G. White Esq.	Political Economy	<i>NZG</i> , 4 Jun 1842
31 May 1842	Mr J. Woodward	On Education 3 rd lecture	
7 Jun 1842	J. T. Hansard Esq, M.DA	General Introduction to the Sciences.	<i>NZG</i> , 4 Jun 1842
14 Jun 1842	G. White Esq.	Political Economy 2 nd lecture	<i>NZG</i> 4 Jun 1842
8 July 1842	Debate	“Has the stage a moral or immoral tendency”	<i>NZG</i> 6 Jul 1842
22 July 1842	Debate	“In circumstances where the mother, wife and child, were in danger would the feelings of the son, husband and father predominate?”	<i>NZG</i> 27 Jul 1842
26 July 1842	G White Esq	Political Economy 3 rd lecture	<i>NZG</i> 16 Jul 1842
2 Aug 1842	G. White Esq.	Political Economy 4 th lecture	<i>NZC</i> 2 Aug 1842
10 Aug 1842	W. B. Mantell	Geology	<i>NZC</i> 9 Aug 1842
16 Aug 1842	G. White Esq	Political Economy concl.	<i>NZC</i> 9 Aug 1842
19 Aug 1842	Debate	“Was Alfred the Great, Robert Bruce, or Washington the greatest benefactor to his country?”	<i>NZG</i> 13 Aug 1842
2 Sep 1842	Debate	“Does the Character of Oliver Cromwell deserve censure or praise?”	<i>NZG</i> 13 Aug 1842
16 Sep 1842	Debate I	“In what way can this Colony be most benefited in a moral, political, commercial and agricultural point?”	<i>NZG</i> 13 Aug 1842

30 Sep 1842 Debate

“By what means may the character and
condition of the Maoris be most effectually and
steadily improved?”

NZG 13 Aug 1842

14 Oct 1842 Debate

“Of which of her great men has England most
reason to be proud?”

NZG 13 Aug 1842

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