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"THE GARDEN OF NEW ZEALAND"
A history of the Waitangi Treaty House and Grounds from pre-European times to the present.

by

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for

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PREFACE

The Waitangi Treaty House is one of New Zealand's oldest surviving buildings. It is also the only surviving example of a prefabricated structure made in Australia and in New Zealand.

The house, as home of the first British Resident in New Zealand was the venue for most of the significant political events until 1840.

The land around the Waitangi Treaty House is also of high significance as a centre of pre-European Maori activity and later as the site of James Busby's garden.

As part of the ongoing programme of archaeological investigation into the Waitangi estate and particularly as a part of the 1990 celebrations, celebrations, funding was provided by the Lotteries Board, Waitangi National Trust and the Department of Conservation, for a programme to restore the house back to the Busby era. Archaeological investigation and a series of historical studies were included as part of this programme.

This report involves a detailed study of the structural history of the house and the development of its grounds from pre-European times to the present. This involved research through manuscript and pictorial sources, as well as a synthesis of other published or unpublished work on the topic.

INTRODUCTION

The following report is a contribution to the overall programme of archaeological survey, investigation and historical study of the Waitangi National Reserve and its environs, as well as a background report for the archaeological investigation of the Treaty House. The origins of this report were in Dr Susan Bulmer's submission to the Draft Management Plan for the Waitangi Reserve in 1987. The amount of reliable information concerning the archaeological resources on the Reserve was extremely limited, and yet it was essential to manage the Reserve sites effectively and prevent them being damaged or destroyed through a lack of awareness of their existence or location.

The Waitangi National Trust and Department of Conservation agreed in 1987 to jointly fund a project of at least two stages to complete a formal site survey of the estate. Stage 1 was carried out in 1988, resulting in Fredericksen's preliminary report on the Waitangi National Reserve (Fredericksen 1988). The second stage was deferred for approximately a year, because of the higher priority given to archaeological investigations to be carried out as part of the 1990 Treaty House restoration programme.

As a sign of the continued importance of the Waitangi Treaty House for New Zealand's cultural and political history, the Waitangi National Trust decided to restore the Treaty House as part of the 1990 sesquicentennial celebrations. It was decided that a conservation analysis and draft conservation policy was needed to provide a structure for the conservation and interpretive programmes. The Australian conservation architects, Clive Lucas, Stapleton and Partners were commissioned to produce this and then oversee the restoration project afterwards. It was recommended that the restoration and interpretation of the Treaty House focus on the Busby period, in particular 1833-40. It was felt that archaeology should be used to answer specific questions put by the architects concerning the structural history of the house, as part of the continuing archaeological investigation into the Waitangi estate. The Regional Archaeology Unit in Auckland was contracted to perform these investigations.

As part of the Regional Archaeology Unit's input into the restoration project, a historical study was performed in conjunction with the archaeological investigations. The brief set up for this history requested a detailed study of the structural history of the Treaty House, as well as an investigation of the physical features and changes in the grounds surrounding the house. An exhaustive search was made through documentary evidence in the Auckland Public and Museum libraries, the Alexander Turnbull library in Wellington and the Hocken library in Wellington, as well as other places such as the Waitangi Treaty House archives. Following discussions with Dr Challis, Northland Property Officer of the NZ Historic Places Trust, and other historians working on the Waitangi projects, especially Claudia Orange and Mary Louise Ormsby, unpublished reports on Waitangi were examined in order to complement the research these people were carrying out. Other unpublished reports used were those by Ruth Ross, Barbara Fill, Jack Lee and Clayton Fredericksen. Many of the works are concerned with only one facet of the history of the house or grounds and this report is an attempt to provide an effective and complete overview.

The report is presented in three chapters covering Maori contact, the house from Busby to the present, and the grounds from 1800 to the present. In taking this approach it is hoped that the report will show the historical evidence for the type and placement of archaeological remains both within and around the Treaty House, as a background for their management and investigation.

This report is not a study of the Treaty of Waitangi, or a history of the Bay of Islands, but focuses very specifically on the Treaty House and its grounds. However, it will be useful to give a very brief synopsis of the events that made the House and grounds so important to New Zealand history, since this rests not solely on the fact that the Treaty House is one of New Zealand's oldest surviving houses. The Bay of Islands and Waitangi were areas of prime importance to the pre-European contact northern Maori tribes. The area was also involved in virtually all the significant early Euorpean contacts with James Cook, Marion du Fresne, and Dumont all stopping there. From the turn of the century the whaling industry expanded and was based at Kororareka and carrying out a lively trade with the local Maori. Isolated European settlement began about this time also. In 1815 the first Mission Station was set up at Rangihoua by Samuel Marsden, with Thomas Kendall, William Hall and John King settling there. For a useful synopsis of early Bay of Islands and Waitangi history, Jack Lee's "I Have Named it the Bay of Islands" (Lee 1983), is an excellent example.

The house itself is of major significance for other reasons than its age and structural history. The Treaty House, in the years immediately after its construction, was the venue for virtually all the major political events until the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The first was the selection of New Zealand's first flag. Busby promoted this to help trade with Sydney and as part of his plan to form a united body of tribes to act collectively in international transactions (Ramsden 1942:64). On 30 March 1834, 25 northern chiefs and some Europeans met at Waitangi to choose a flag. The one chosen was the one already used by the Church Missionary Society at the Bay of Islands (Fill 1987: 21).

Following this, in 1835, came the Declaration of Independence. This was a reaction to the impending arrival of Baron Charles de Thierry who maintained he had bought approximately 40,000 acres of land in the Bay of Islands (Fill 1987: 29). This caused a panic among Europeans and Maori alike. The chiefs met at Waitangi on 28 October to draw up a document opposing de Thierry's aims.

The final major event at Waitangi was the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. On 29 January 1840 William arrived at Waitangi aboard HMS "Herald" to announce he would be taking up his duties as Lieutenant Governor. It was decided a formal assembly of chiefs would be held on 5 February at Busby's home (Orange 1987:35). The Treaty was then drafted, mainly by Busby and Henry Williams, and then Williams and his son translated it into Maori. A large marquee with a frame of ships' spars and a covering of ships' sails was put up on Busby's front lawn.

> It stood on what Mr Colenso has called 'the centre of the lawn' in front of the Residency, upon the sloping ground then 'neatly planted with native and exotic shrubs which shaded a verdant turf, more pleasing to the eye from its strangeness and contrast with the brown fern mantle of the country'.
>
> (Buick 1914: 115/6)

On the morning of the 5th, Hobson landed at Waitangi, proceeded to the House where he was greeted by local dignitaries, and then went to the tent (Orange 1987:43, 45). The Treaty was read out in English, then Maori, and then debated for five hours in open meeting. Many chiefs spoke against the Treaty, but some of the most influential, including Hone Heke, Temati Waka Nene and Patuone, supported it and swung the mood of the meeting Hobson's way. On 6 February the meeting reconvened and the Treaty was signed by those present. This marked the end of Busby's and the Treaty House's importance in political affairs, as it settled into the role of family home, but during the period 1833 to 1840 it was undoubtedly the pivotal location of New Zealand politics.

Chapter I

MAORI CONTACT WITH THE WAITANGI ESTATE

This first chapter covers physical evidence of contact by the Maori people on the Waitangi estate from the time of the first reference to Waitangi in Maori oral tradition, around A.D. 1650 -A.D. 1700, to the present. There are two main reasons for taking this approach. Firstly, and obviously, in a purely chronological sense it seems most sensible to cover this first as Maori tribes were leaving their mark on Waitangi hundreds of years before the arrival of the European. Quite apart from the 19th century period, which is the main focus of the present investigation, evidence of earlier Maori occupation is also present in the Reserve and has legal protection under the Historic Places Act.

The second reason for this approach attempts to counterbalance the way Maori occupation of Waitangi has been approached in the past. Since most of the work done on Waitangi and the Bay of Islands has been researched and written by Europeans, it has, naturally enough, had a European bias, with the history of Maori occupation included piecemeal through the various texts. As this report is yet another researched by a European, the author wanted to try to avoid this trap and to give the Maori occupation of Waitangi a logical, coherent depiction within the general history of the occupation of the estate, rather than a series of postscripts.

Certain points within this chapter will be referred to again in the following chapters to indicate their relationship to the European oriented accounted of the Busby occupation.

Traditional evidence concerning Maori contact with Waitangi consists of information obtained from several reports and publications of the last few years; in particular by Sissons, Wi Hongi and Hohepa (1987); Jack Lee (1988); Clayton Fredericksen (1988).

The Waitangi Reserve is to the north of the Waitangi River, as it is known today, beginning at near Lake where the Waitangi and Pateretere Streams begin their trip to the sea. Figure 1 is taken from Fisher (1969) and shows the Waitangi River and other localities which will be referred to later in the text. Below Waimate there are numerous other streams and rivers which join form the Waitangi River which flows 12 miles to the coast at Haruru where, plunging over the falls, it enters the Bay of Islands. However, traditionally the name Waitangi referred only to the tidal stream created from the joining of the river and ocean and for the land around it (Lee 1988:4).

There is evidence of prehistoric Maori occupation in the Treaty House grounds as well as in the Waitangi National Reserve to the north (Lee 1988:4). Included in these are a pa on the present golf course as well as many other Maori sites of unknown age or association. The earliest reference to Waitangi in Maori tradition is the legend of Maikuku, daughter of Uenuka and Karearekí a Ngaitohuhu, who lived at Pourua pa (Sissons *et al.* 1987: 65-67). The legend is that, because her tapu was so great, she was confined in a cave at Waitangi called Rangirua. This cave was supposedly near the present canoe house (Lee 1988:4). It is likely that this close relationship between the Pouerua pa and Waitangi continued, particularly in the period from 1770 -1820 (Sissons

et al. 1987: 38, 84, 128). The Ngati Rahiri were in occupation in both places during this period, and, in Marsden's visits 1815 -1819, the Ngati Rahiri occupied pa at Waitangi, Te Aute, Pakaraka and Pouerua.

> The picture which emerges from this evidence is one of a number of kin-affiliated settlements stretching from the entrance of the Waitangi River inland to the region of Lake Owhareiti. The Waitangi and Waiaruhe Rivers would have formed a major communications route, linking the inland and coastal areas.
>
> (Fredericksen 1988:9).

Contact between Maori and European in the Waitangi area in the period from 1800 until Busby's arrival was very sporadic and often marked by conflict due to a variety of reasons. The most important of these were the tribal movements and conflicts involving Waitangi at this period which the Europeans became unwittingly involved in, often never realising the real reason for their problems. The second reason was confusion and misunderstanding arising out of some of the Europeans' land purchases at Waitangi. Initial contact between European end Maori of the Waitangi area was with the sealers and whalers. They began visiting the Bay of Islands in about1800 and, in most cases, relations between the two parties were fairly harmonious (Lee 1988:5).

> The whalers rested and refitted here, [Bay of Islands] trading for pork, fresh vegetables, fish, spars and the favours of Maori women. In return they gave iron, European clothes, manufactured goods, and later muskets and powder, as the demand for these became clamorous.
>
> (Lee 1938:29)

Both parties were happy with the exchanges as this trade became more common. Some of the whalers were notorious for their mistreatment of the Maoris and there were occasional outbursts of violent Maori retaliation for this mistreatment, such as the burning of the 'Boyd' in 1809 at Whangaroa (Lee 1983:72).On the whole, however, relations between the seamen and Maoris were very friendly. While the sealers and whalers came to use Kororareka increasingly as their anchorage there is little doubt that they would have had some contact, particularly in the way of trade, with the village at the southern side of the Waitangi river mouth.

In 1814 Samuel Marsden decided to establish his long planned mission in New Zealand. On 22 December the 'Active' arrived at the Bay of Islands and anchored at Oihi cove under the Rangihoua pa, Ruatara's home (Lee 1983:64) (Fig. 1). Marsden brought three missionaries with him to set up the mission, Thomas Kendall, William Hall and John King and their families. A mission station was built at Oihi and then Marsden returned to Sydney leaving approximately 25 European settlers behind. However, this settlement soon proved to be unviable in longterm and the missionaries began to look elsewhere for mission sites.

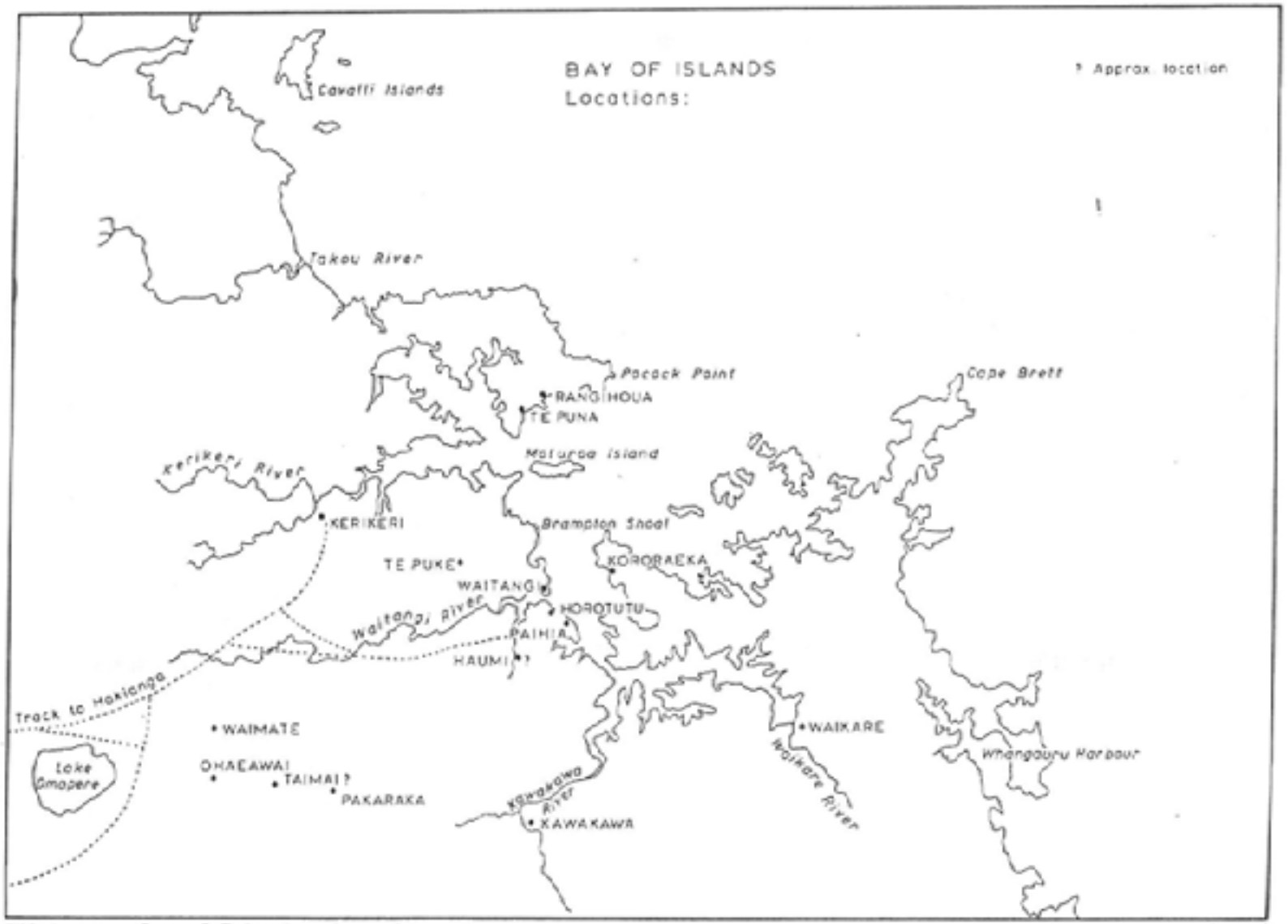


FIG.1. Bay of Islands. Locations of pre-European settlements. After Fisher (1969)

> Knowing that it was the society's particular request that we should cultivate land and endeavour to support ourselves as soon as possible, and seeing we were entirely prevented from doing anything of this kind at Tippoonah, on account of the steepness of the hills and the shallowness of the soil, and after Duaterra died we had no more protection than at any other place, which made us come to a determination to remove to the Wythangee.
>
> (William Hall Papers, March 1815)

In July 1815 this plan was put into action as Thomas Kendall wrote to Samuel Marsden. He felt that the settlement at Te Puna was going nowhere and the sawyers Conroy and Campbell were being underused, so purchased 50 acres at Waitangi (Kendall to 6 July 1815). He confirmed this in another letter on the same day and for the first time gave some indication of the Maori attitude towards the new settlers.

> Went over the bay to Whitangi in company with Mr Hall where we met with the chief Warrakkee and purchased off him a parcel of land for the Society containing by Ad. measurement fifty acres being the most eligible spot in the Bay of Islands for a settlement. Warrakkee expressed, as several other native chiefs had done, his fears that the English should in a little time increase their force and drive the Natives into the Bush away their land from them. We endeavoured to convince him to the contrary. He replied to our observations 'that it was very good for a few white people to live at New Zealand but not for so many'.
>
> (Kendall to Marsden, 6 July 1815)

So in 1815 the first European settlers moved to Waitangi, to be met with violence and confusion. Unwittingly Conroy, Campbell and Hall had walked into the climax of a political situation that had been developing for some years. Waraki, the chief from whom the land had been purchased, was a Ngatipou or Ngatirehia, who had been under increasing pressure from the encroaching Ngapuhi (Lee 1983:73). The balance of this situation altered radically when Waraki died, just after the land purchase had been completed. Waraki's death gave a large impetus to Ngapuhi's designs on Waitangi and was the signal for a series of taua muru, or plunder raids, an early one of which affected Conroy and Campbell. They were attacked and looted and it took Hongi Hika's intervention to help them (Ross 1975:17). They abandoned their saw pit and dwelling, but Hall decided to stay on. This proved to be a disaster as on 25 January 1816 his house was attacked by another Ngapuhi taua muru party seeking iron, tools and guns (Kendall to Marsden, 6 July 1815).

> No doubt this aggressive party consisted of Ngapuhi from the eastern side of the Bay, from where they had quite recently evicted the Ngare Raumati people after protracted warfare. And, as it turned out, within a few years they, with their Chief Kaiteke (or tareha, or Kemara) had certainly taken possession of Waitangi too.
>
> (Lee 1988:6)

During the attack Hall's house was stripped of bedding, iron, tools and two guns and Mrs Hall was struck on the face by a serious blow from a war club, which cost her the sight of one eye for some time. The raiding party were eventually driven off by the arrival of the local people. Hall and his family left Waitangi, although he continued to farm it until he left New Zealand in 1824 (Lee 1988:74).

In the 1920s there are several references to Maoris livin at Waitangi, and presumably thses were the Ngapuhi from the east, replacing Waraki's people, since this area was part of the general increase of Ngapuhi influence through the north.

In 1822 the ship 'Vansi Hart' was in the Bay and sent a boat to pick up a load of potatoes. The boat overturned by a heavy sea and five of the six men aboard drowned (J. R. Elder 1934: 226).

> One man kept upon the bottom as she floated bottom up, it is said, for nine hours, until she drifted upon the Wythangi shore and was broken amongst the rocks; the man was saved by some natives that knew him and conveyed to the ship in a canoe.
>
> (J.R. Elder 1934:226)

This would tend to indicate that there were Maori living at the pa at Waitangi. The following year Marsden returned to Waitangi with Henry Williams as part of a quest to buy land to set up a third mission station. While there,

> We had some conversation with the inhabitants on the subject, and told them what our intentions were, but could come to no arrangements with them as the principal chiefs were absent at the wars. We crossed the Wytanghee River and examined the ground upon the opposite side, which appeared very good also. There is a large population at both of these places and a number of very fine children, who continually surround us. The head chief of this place was also gone to the wars, so that we could not come to any final determination this day and therefore returned on board in the evening.
>
> (Letters end Journals of
> Samuel Marsden [Elder 1932]
> 5 August 1823)

Therefore it can be seen that the Waitangi area was occupied by Maori repeatedly until Busby's occupation, and after that, although the tribal affiliations of the inhabitants changed in the period from 1816 to the early 1820s. The settlement at Waitangi was not permanent:

> Waitangi was the site of Ngati Rahiri's main and perhaps only coastal settlement. For three months each year people moved out from the interior to this place to fish and gather shellfish.
>
> (Sisson *et al.* 1987:38)

When James Busby moved to Waitangi there were Maori settlements in existence on and around the land he was to buy as his home. In fact, there were three identifiable village or pa sites. One was on the Paihia side of the river mouth on the sandspit known then as Taumata Mohi, and is shown on a sketch of Sarah in 1840 (Plate 1, OLC 251). This sketch, drawn on 6 September 1840, shows the mouth of the Waitangi River end the land immediately on either side of it, looking across the harbour to Kororareka. The village is surrounded by a rectangular wooden fence and covers quite a large area. Inside the fence are what look like up to eight dwellings as well as some vegetation. The fence is built right next to the shoreline. The village, referred to in Sissons *et al.* above, was a seasonal fishing camp.

The second was on the other side of the river on the beach under Busby's house and was described by Durmont D'Urville during his visit in 1840:

> But as my only purpose was to have a walk, I stopped there and walked about on the beach for shells. A few yards away, I found a wretched empty hut, and further on, the village of Wai-Tangee, surrounded by a high fence like Korora-Reka.
>
> (Wright 1955:79)

This would either have been on the beach in front of the house, or around the point towards the Paihia side, as states that he was feeling unwell and had not walked very far before returning to his boat where Flint took him to the Treaty House. Also the 'wretched hut' may well be Conroy and Campbell's hut.

The third comes from oral tradition and was situated behind and to the north-west of the house. This was approximately half a kilometre away from the house and is mentioned in Ngapuhi tradition, although physical evidence of its existence has disappeared (Fredericksen 1988:19). The approximate locations of these three sites are shown as Fig. 14 below.

As well as these settlements there were also individuals living in huts dotted around the property, as indicated by comments made in passing by people visiting or living on the grounds during the early years of Busby's residence. When Dr Ross's house was attacked in 1833, as described earlier, Ross complained that Busby would not do anything about

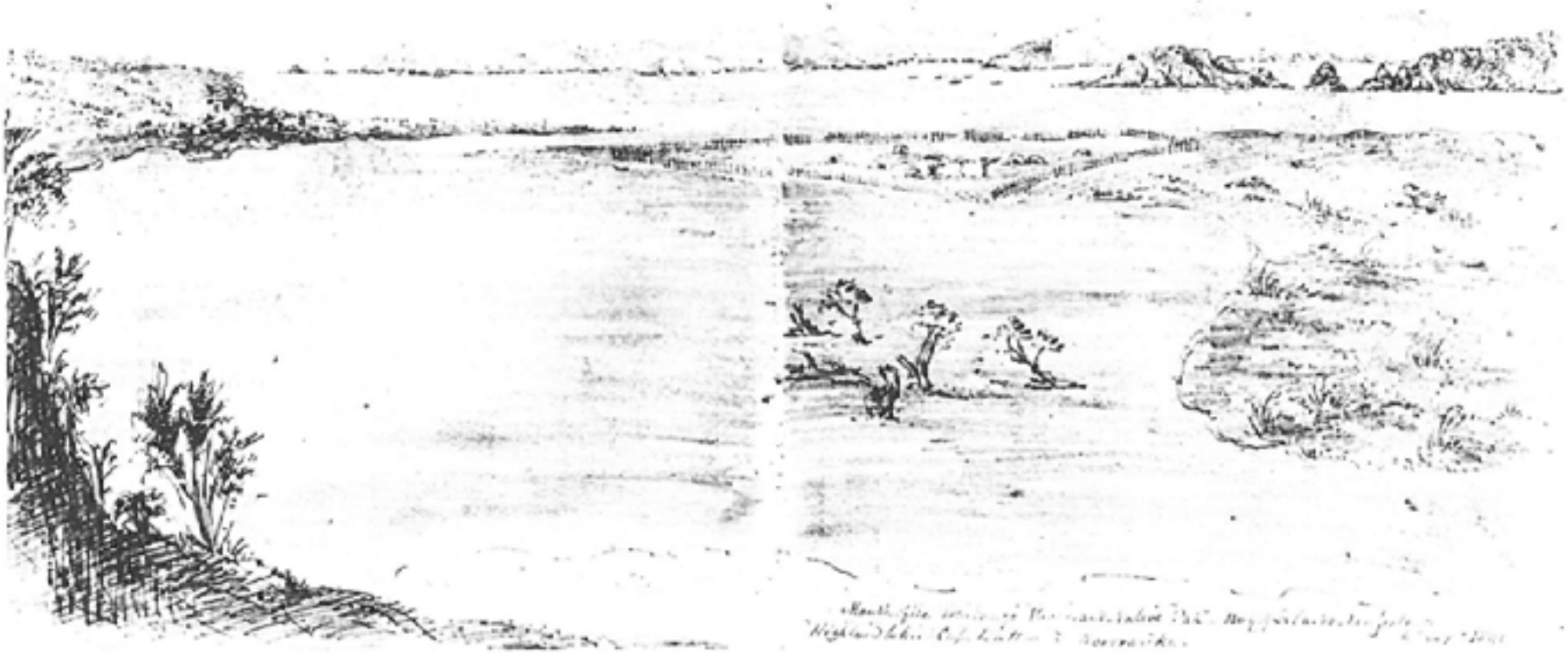


PLATE 1. Mouth of the "Waitangi" River and Native "Pah", Bay of Islands, New Zealand. High land behind Cape Brett - Kororarika. 6th Sept 1840. Sketch by Sarah Mathew. Reproduced by permission of Auckland Public Library.

the perpetrator, "although Mrs Ross, myself and the servant told him [Busby] that he [the robber] was in a hut not thirty yards distant from our house". Given that Ross had said that his own house was about 200 yards distant from Busby's, this indicates that the Maori hut was about the same distance from the Treaty House. A second comment about individual Maori living on Waitangi occurred after the attack on the Treaty House in 1834. It has been stated that when it was discovered that Rete was the culprit he was banished from Waitangi. However, within a year he had returned.

> When Busby found that Rete had again squatted on Waitangi he burnt his whares. When he had purchased Waitangi it was agreed that the Maoris should not abandon their dwellings and they were given the right to use them when fishing.
>
> (Ramsden 1942:85)

Busby wanted to rescind this in case and also that of anyone who associated with him. This caused such resentment that he eventually had to drop the idea. What it does show is that there were Maori living in whares separated from the village on the beach when Busby arrived. According to oral tradition there were also supposed to be some dwellings by a grove of trees about two hundred yards to the north-west of the house, in between it and the pa, and these were there for quite a large part of the 19th century (John Cookson, pers. comm.). There are almost no references to the number of Maori living around Waitangi in the 1830s and 1840s, the only major reference being in the journals of George Clarke, the missionary. On numerous occasions he mentions going to Waitangi to conduct a service there and often mentions numbers of between one hundred and one hundred and fifty attending the service.

> Sunday after morning service visited the natives of Waitangi a tribe called Nate Wiu upwards of a Hundred were assembled for service. They were very attentive during the whole service.
>
> (George Clarke Journal:
> January 5, 1834)

Having established that there were various Maori living in various places on the property on his arrival, how did Busby's relationship with them work out? As we have seen, earlier European attempts to settle Waitangi had foundered on their ignorance of local tribal political battles and problems over land rights. Hall bought the land off Waraki when his hold on it was very slender and others were begining to lay claim. He and other settlers, like Dr Ross, consistently fell into the common trap for Europeans of thinking that if he paid one owner of the land for its title this extinguished all other claims to the land. In fact many of the problems that beset early settlers at Waitangi were caused by other tribes or individuals who held joint ownership over the land becoming angry at Europeans for inhabiting their land without compensating them. This was a particular problem at Waitangi as there were two or three hapu of Ngapuhi settled in the area. Unfortunately, Busby also fell into this trap and his early land dealings

with the Maori were very badly handled, leading, in large part, to the attack upon the Residency.

> It is not surprising therefore that due to Busby's ignorance of tribal movements in the area and the Maori attitude to land ownership, he suffered the same fate as the previous European tenants at Waitangi - Hall, Conray and Campbell and Dr Ross.
>
> (Fill 1987:5)

Busby met William Hall as early as 1826 in Sydney and had undoubtedly discussed Hall's experience in New Zealand with him, as before he left to take up his mission at the Bay of Islands he bought Hall's deed to Waitangi, although it is unknown how much he paid for it (Ross 1975:18). It is from this that Busby's problems originated.

> Perhaps Busby might have experienced the chiefs 'friendly aid' if he had been honest with them from his arrival. Hall had advised him that he would need to make the natives some 'accompensation' for the land, advice which Busby initially ignored although he did pay off the Europeans who had built houses at Waitangi.
>
> (Fill 1987:3)

Busby told neither local chiefs, nor, later, the Land Claims Court of his purchase from Hall, which further confused the issue. Busby trod a dangerous path by delaying settling the ownership of his land and this was emphasised by the attack on his house by Rete, who was one of the chiefs whose ownership of Waitangi had been ignored in the original sale (Fill 1987:5). After this attack Busby heeded Hall's advice and arranged for the repurchase of the original two hundred and seventy acres of the Waitangi estate off the Maori owners. This was done on the 30th June 1836 when Busby and Henry Williams met with the various Maori parties involved and organised the formal purchase of the land. The importance of this is of great significance, as, after it was settled, there was never again serious difficulty between Busby and the local Maori over land issues. Indeed they supported him in his battles with the land courts in later years, which would tend to indicate that fury over European land buying practices were at the centre of much of the early conflict at Waitangi. The fact that Busby may have come to realise this is indicated by the care in which he transacted this, and later, land sales. The purchase of the two hundred acre block was concluded in three stages, firstly on June 30 1834 paying Hone Heke and his party for their portion of the land and then on November 22 paying Hepetai and his party for their portion (Busby Account Book: A). Later on April 29th 1835 he made Heke an extra payment of five pounds for the wahi tapu, which he had already done for Hepetai (Busby Account Book: I).

These then were Busby's relationships with his neighbours as regards land. What was the nature of the contacts between local Maori and Busby when it came to official, personal or social business? Busby's official relations with the Northland Maori tribes began badly, with much antagonism being created over his handling of Rete's

banishment (Ramsden 1942:85), but, on the whole, steadily improved over the term of his residency. When he arrived Busby knew next to nothing of Maori language and custom in general, much less the local scene, and had to rely almost completely on the missionaries to conduct translations for him. However, this improved as he gained an understanding of Maori language and became aware of the ramifications of local tribal movements. So much so that by1840 he was taking a hand in the drafting of the Maori version of the Treaty. Although limited, official contacts went fairly smoothly, more so than with local European settlers, the high point for Busby undoubtedly being the setting up of the United Federation of Tribes. In fact, Busby took the Maori side in war in the saying the latter had been forced into his actions by the government's lack of faith in the land question (Ramsden 1942:285).The Maori chiefs seemed to build up a fair degree of confidence and trust in Busby over the years of their dealings with him, even though he did not impact on their lives in any significant fashion.

The true extent of Maori contacts with Busby and Waitangi can be from Busby's account book. In this he kept a record of the government blankets and clothing he distributed over the years of his term in office. These were used for a whole variety of reasons in Busby's dealings with the Maori. When the chiefs met together to discuss Rete's actions in attacking Busby's house, he gave out one blanket each to the 39 chiefs attending the meeting as a gift (Busby Account Book: 20). As well blankets were used as payment for the steward and secretary, for eight pigs for the feast, and for messengers sent to chiefs who could not attend the meeting (Busby Account Book: 20). Busby also used the blankets as payment for services rendered to him by various Maori. For example in March 1836 he went to the Hokianga and gave Hone Heke a blanket for keeping his house when he was gone (Busby Account Book: 21). In 1836 he paid Diro one shirt for services, Wiki a pair of trousers for delivering a letter to the Hokianga and Aperahama a shirt for services (Busby Account Book: 18). As well as this, Busby also used the blankets as payment for goods and food purchased off the Maori. For example on December 2, 1834, he paid Haki two blankets for twenty four baskets of potatoes and another for a pig (Busby Account Book: 17). On December the first he paid Rawiri one blanket for his cow (Busby Account Book: 17). Apart from these uses there are literally hundreds of names of Maori chiefs and individuals from throughout the north who Busby gave blankets to for unspecified reasons. Apart from anything else this shows the extent of Busby's contact with the local Maori community by 1839.

Busby's personal contact with the local Maori seemed to centre around his position as a senior representative of the European community and often involved a ceremonial aspect, particularly with the Maori of the mission at Paihia. One particularly unpleasant example is related in Edwin Fairburn' s Maharatanga (Maharatanga:1830s-1840s). A beautiful young Maori girl from the mission had rival suitors, but was to be married to the one from the mission. On the morning of the wedding Fairburn records that,

> Just as I got to that point I noted the vestry door at the back of the Church building cautiously opened, then a cluster of people surrounding the Bride came out headed by the tall figure of Mr Busby hatless. Then from behind the carpenters and smiths shops came rushing 7 or 8 men of the opposing party with himself leading-the newly wed bride was seized by the attacking party

> who attempted to drag her away while the other side seized her also -one pulling one way and the other the other way - the first rush she was born to where I was standing and I was jammed up against the wall of the building there -the girl was being carried face upwards and Mrs Busby had hold of her right arm being the person next to me, Then a great number of the mission party natives who had not expected the attack behind the building and who had just before been made aware of it were pouring in and rescued the girl but not before she had been badly injured.
>
> (Fairburn n.d.: 12-13)

In another incident, Sir Charles Darwin recounted a trip with Busby and a local guide the latter had procured for him.

> He appeared to be on very cordial terms with Mr Bushby, at various times they quarrelled violently. Mr Bushby remarked that a little quiet irony could frequently silence any one of these natives in their most blustering moments. The chief has come and harangued Mr Bushby in a hectoring manner, saying 'A great chief, a great man, a friend of mine, has, come to pay me a visit -you must give him something good to eat, some fine presents, & c'. Mr Busby has allowed him to finish his discourse, and has quietly replied by some such answer as 'What else shall your slave do for you?' The man would then instantly, with a very comical expression, cease his braggadocio.
>
> (Darwin and Fitzroy 1839: V3 503)

Another interesting event happened just after Busby had concluded the first purchase of his land. The chief and tohunga, Tohetapa, died and his body was placed in a box daubed with red ochre and raised on poles above the ground, where it was to remain for a year, after which his tribe would hold his hahunga, death feast, and hide his bones in a place safe from thieves (Busby Family History:449). Since this was to take place in close proximity to his house, Busby was in despair and consulted with Henry Williams to see if any solution could be reached (Busby Family History: 449).

> and after a tremendous amount of negotiation and utu paid to the Chief's relatives, and they seemed legion, the body was removed to some other quiet spot, and James began his Residency. But for all the time he was at Waitangi he was obliged to pay utu for the wahi tapu
>
> (Busby Family History: 449)

The site is marked on the Wyld chart inset of 1840 as “tabooed ground", so it seems that Busby was keeping his end of the bargain. The site is now underneath the THC Hotel at Waitangi.

All of these are merely isolated examples of Busby's contacts with local Maori and there are others that could be found if needed. What they do show is that, although probably of a more formal nature than most Europeans of the time, Busby had wide ranging and usually amiable contacts with a huge variety of Maori people with whom his job brought him into contact.

During the later period of Busby's occupation of Waitangi up to the time of Lord Bledisloe's purchase in 1933 there is virtually no evidence to tell us to what extent Maori occupation in and around Waitangi was kept up. The village on the sandspit, where there is now a marae, was probably inhabited the longest of the three discussed earlier, possibly well into the 19th century (Orange 1987:196). It is unlikely that the other two were inhabited long after Busby's habitation commenced. The upsurge of interest in the Treaty House and grounds caused by Bledisloe's gift to the nation was met by a similar upsurge of Maori interest in a site that was so important to their history. When the Waitangi National Trust Board was set up representatives of some of the Maori chiefs such as Tamaki Waka Nene, Kawiti, Pomara and Hone Heke, who had been integral in the signing of the Treaty, were included, as well as other Maori representatives (Reed 1957:22). Tau Henare, the M P at the time for the Ngapuhi and another member of the Board, offered his tribe's services in providing the kauri shingles for the reconstruction of the house (McComb 1965:5). From this time Maori groups became increasingly involved in the upgrading of the Waitangi Treaty House and its environs, taking a leading part in all the major celebrations held on the land and providing structures which emphasise the historic value of Waitangi's past.

The first major celebrations were held at Waitangi in 2939 when Maori from all over the North Island came to the Ti Point marae to be welcomed by the local Ngapuhi. The Bledisloes and other guests were met by up to fourteen hundred Maori from various tribes welcoming them (Reed 1957: 54). The following day a ceremony in honour of the Treaty was conducted. After this Lord Bledisloe laid the foundation stone for the Whare Rununga (Reed 157:55).

> This Maori meeting house is unique by the fact that it contains on its walls carvings representative of all Maori tribes, showing its national character. The carvings were produced in the Maori settlement of Motatau, under the direction of Tau Henare, M P, representing the Northern Maori district.
>
> (Reed 1957: 92).

The carver was Pene Taiapa, a Ngatiporou from the East coast. The carving was done from totara from the Motatau block. All the material and labour were Maori (Reed 1957:92).

On the other side of the dividing lawn a huge Maori war canoe was given, and housed inside an artistically designed building. This was built for the 1940 celebrations and the principal builder was Peta Heperi, a descendant of Patuone (Reed 1957:92). Three kauri logs from the Puketi Forest ware felled for the construction of this one hundred and seventeen foot canoe. The canoe house which covered this canoe during its construction in 1942 has since been removed (Challis 1988: 40). Maori ritual played a vital role in the centennial celebrations in 1940, including the sailing of the canoe, Nga-toki-matawhaorua, up to the beach (Reed 1957:96).

Since then, all events connected with Waitangi have been staged with full Maori participation, culminating in the magnificent spectacles that were part of the 1990, 150th anniversary celebrations.

Chapter II

THE TREATY HOUSE IN BUSBY'S OCCUPATION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will the Treaty House as it was originally constructed in 1833 and then go on to consider the additions and renovations that have been undertaken in the intervening years between then and the present. An attempt to research a structural history of the Treaty House is a project with several inherent problems. The first is that there is very little direct comment on the original Treaty House in contemporary sources. From occasional snippets we know that Busby was very proud of the way his house and grounds developed, but he made very few specific comments about it. Visitors to the house also rarely gave much in the way of construction details. Even at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi there was not a contemporary sketch of the event or any comment on how the house looked on the day. It is impossible to know whether these gaps occur because the comments about the house were never written, or whether they have been lost, since there are fleeting references to many of Busby's papers being burnt, as, for example, in the Busby family history, but no definite proof of this. Also, even if Busby's letters were not burnt, the people he wrote to may not have kept his letters. The former possibility seems a bit unlikely as the early 19th century was a time when many journals are packed with comments on people's houses and gardens. It does make detailed research on the house more difficult than it would ordinarily be.

A further problem in restoring the house is that because there were so changes to the house over the period we are examining, the time periods of each occupation tend to blur a little bit into each other. Allied to this is the fact that since the house degenerated so badly in the latter part of the 19th century, much of the original material has disappeared. However, despite these problems there are pieces of information to be found in the private papers of Busby and his contemporaries in published sources end particularly in photographs.

This study has attempted to gather as many of these sources together as possible to give a complete history of the Treaty House. The report should be used alongside the archaeological reports on the investigations made of the house. The projects were designed to be complementary, provide cross-referencing of information, and give possible avenues for further work.

THE TREATY HOUSE IN BUSBY'S OCCUPATION

The history of the Waitangi Treaty House begins in 1831 when the 30 year old James Busby, during a visit to London, contacted the Colonial Secretary, Lord Goderich. He had written a number of documents on various subjects during the voyage to England and one of them was "A Brief Memoir Relative to the Islands of New Zealand" in which he discussed the appointment of a British representative in New Zealand(Ross 1975:2). Added to pleas from settlers in New Zealand for some show of British authority, this was enough to impress the Colonial Office sufficiently to offer Busby the appointment as British Resident in New Zealand, which he duly accepted (Ramsden 1942:35-7). During this visit Busby also toured Europe and collected many cuttings from European vineyards, along with other plants, a result of his longstanding interest in viticulture and

horticulture (Fill 1987:43).

Busby arrived back in Australia in October 1832 to begin preparations for his move to New Zealand. He arrived in an atmosphere of animosity from the newly appointed Governor Bourke and the Sydney press, due to a variety of internal political problems and conflict between Bourke and Busby's father, which severely limited his options while in New Zealand and also affected the construction of his Residency. Whilst appointed as Resident, Busby was given no power to act a magistrate, nor any constabulary force to maintain law and order. Thus his effective power was extremely limited during his time as Resident. His instructions told him to prevent further acts of violence against Maori and European settlers, to encourage trade and to represent Britain's authority with the chiefs. He was to rely heavily on the advice of the missionaries. He was not allowed to arrest British citizens, but had to send reports back to Sydney, where warrants might be issued (Ramsden 1942: 46-7).

Thus it can be seen that Busby's tenure began in controversy as regard to his duties and political aims. Alongside this, the construction of his home was the subject of, possibly, even greater controversy, creating a raft of acrimonious correspondence between Busby and the New South Wales government.

When Busby suggested the idea of a representative to New Zealand in his his correspondence with the Colonial Office, he also stated that the Church Missionary Society had informed him that it would be next to impossible to construct a house there himself, as well as being prohibitively expensive due to the shortage of labour. Busby felt that the ideal solution was to have a house built for him in Sydney and broken down into its frame. Then the ship's carpenters could easily construct it for him before the ship left New Zealand. With this scheme in mind, Busby contracted John Verge, Sydney's most prestigious architect, to design a house for him. This Verge did, presenting Busby with the plan shown in Plate 2. Verge's estimate of the cost of constructing and erecting the house was five hundred and ninety-two pounds fifteen shillings and four pence, which Bourke regarded as far too expensive (Ross 1975:6). He took the position that the instructions from England entitled Busby to the frame of a house, not a house in frame, and ordered Ambrose the Colonial Architect, to redesign Verge's plan. This proceeded to do, altering Verge's plan and reducing the size of the house by approximately 50%, leaving it as a structure of two main rooms with a large passage which could be used as a third room, if needed (Ross 1975:7-81). Figures 2-7 show the progressive structural designs of the house from 1834 to 1989 and are from Clive Lucas, Stapleton & Co., Draft Conservation Policy for the house (Lucas 1989).

The cost for design was two hundred and seventy-eight-pounds. To this Busby objected strenuously.

> In reply I beg to state that I am much concerned to find that the explanations contained in my letter to you of the 4th current-with its enclosure seems to have failed in convincing H.E. the 'frame-work of a house' as used in reply to my request of a 'house in frame' was intended to mean nothing else than the

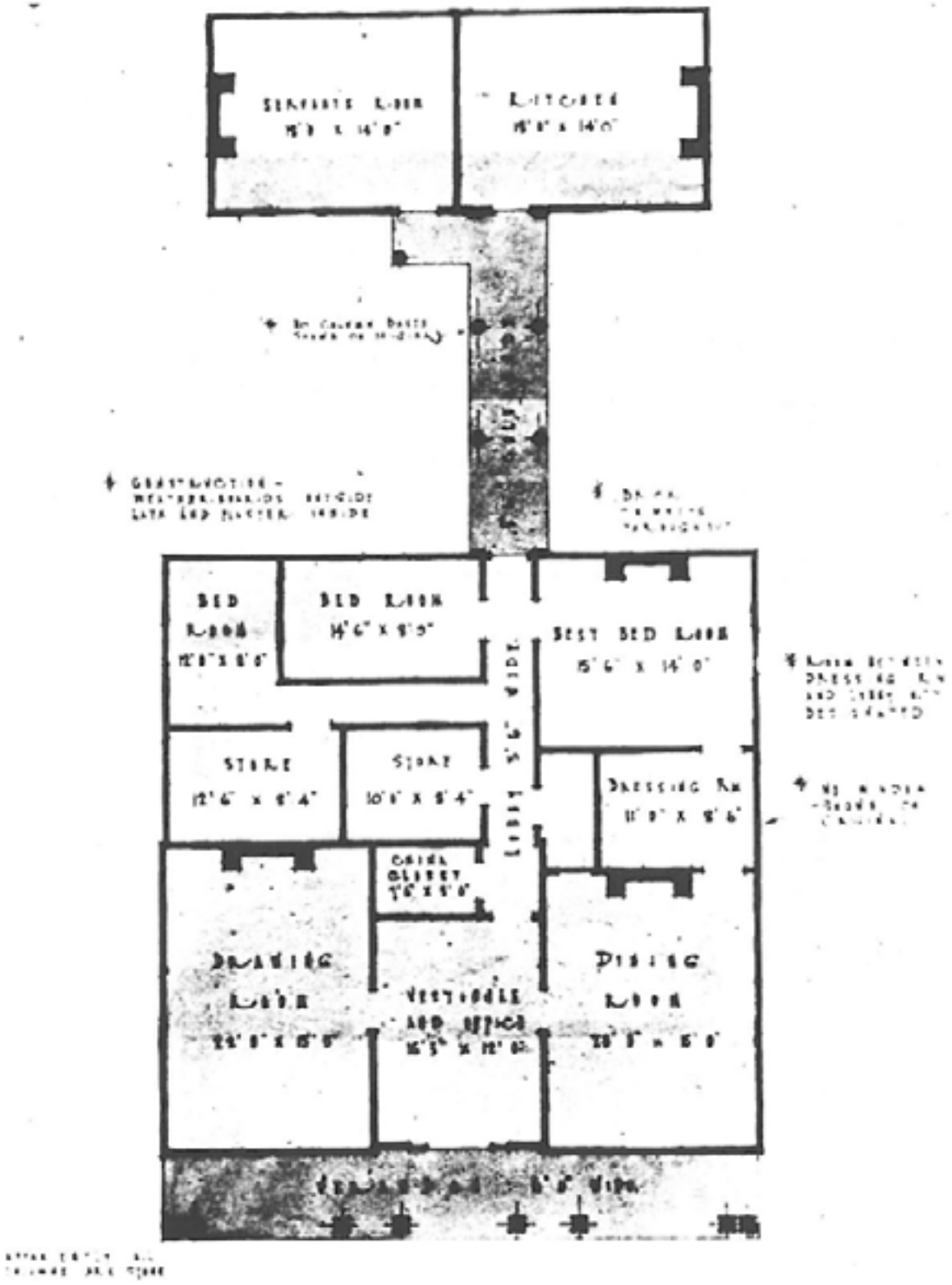


PLATE 2. The Treaty House as designed in 1832 by John Verge.
Reproduced by permission of Alexander Turnbull Library.

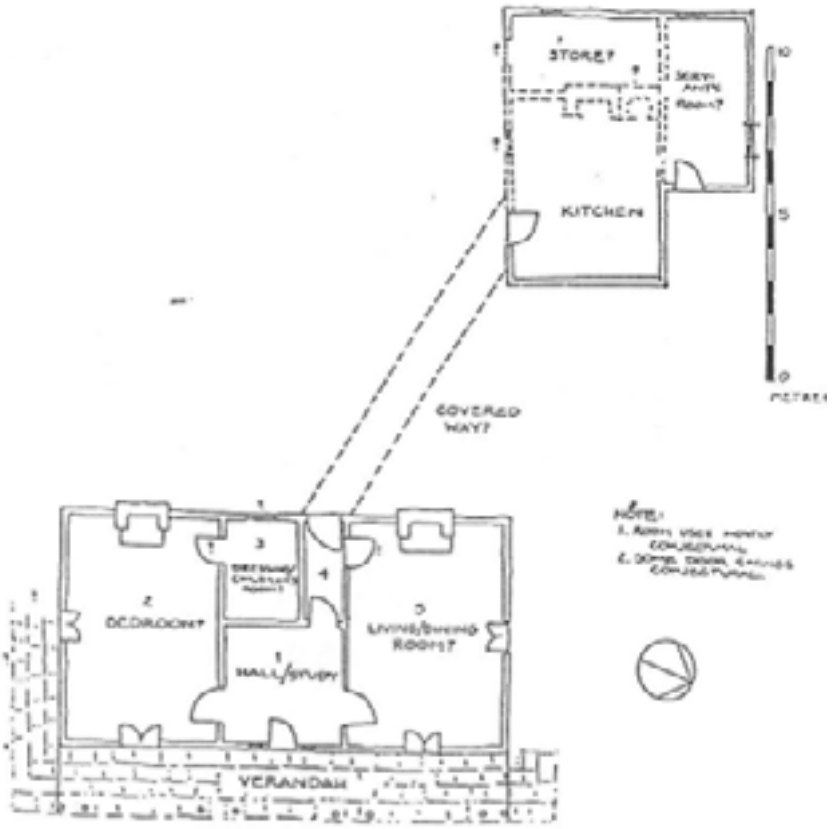


FIG.2. Waitangi Treaty House configuration in 1834. After Lucas (1989).

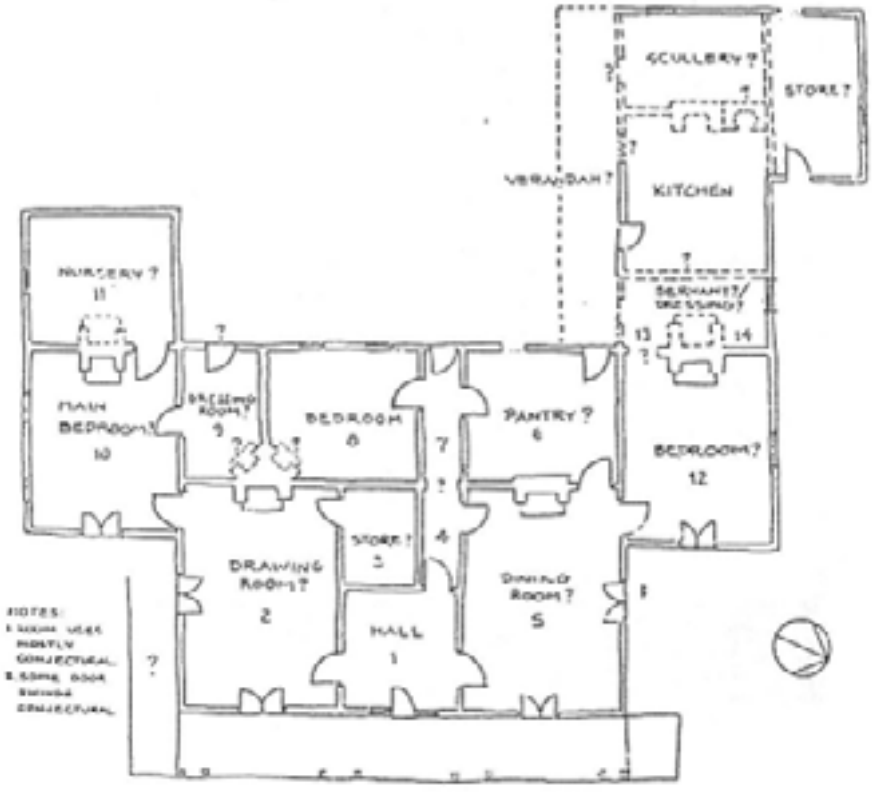


FIG.3. Waitangi Treaty House configuration c.1840-1859. After Lucas (1989).

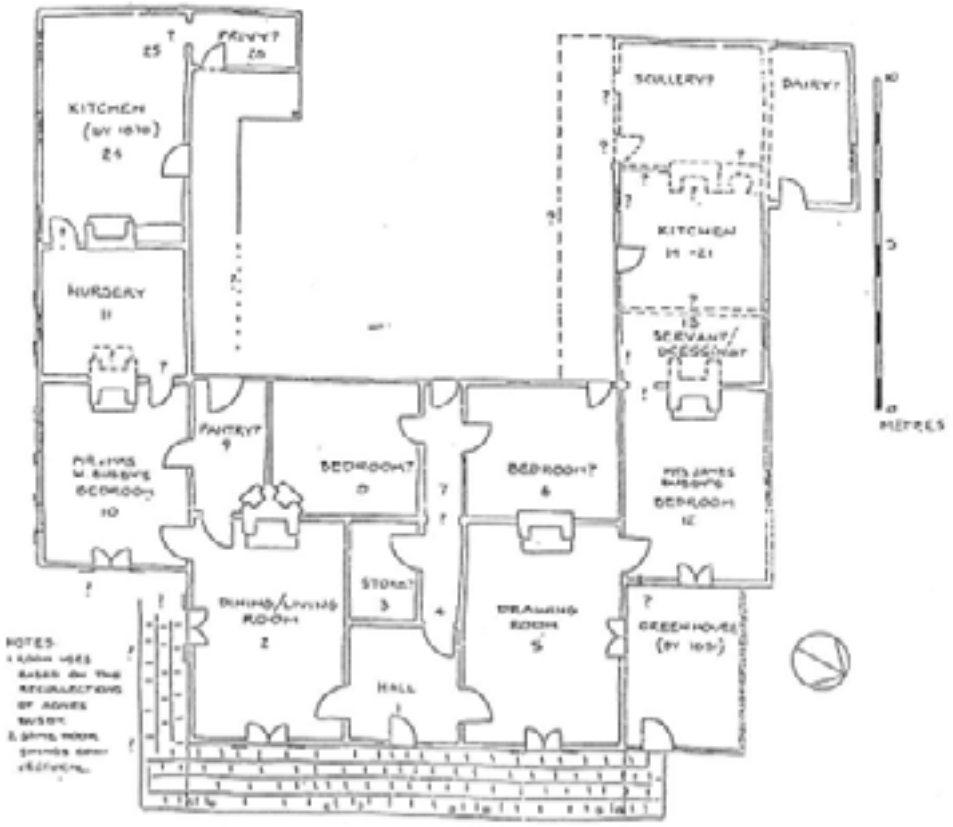


FIG.4. Waitangi Treaty House configuration c.1860-1900. After Lucas (1989).

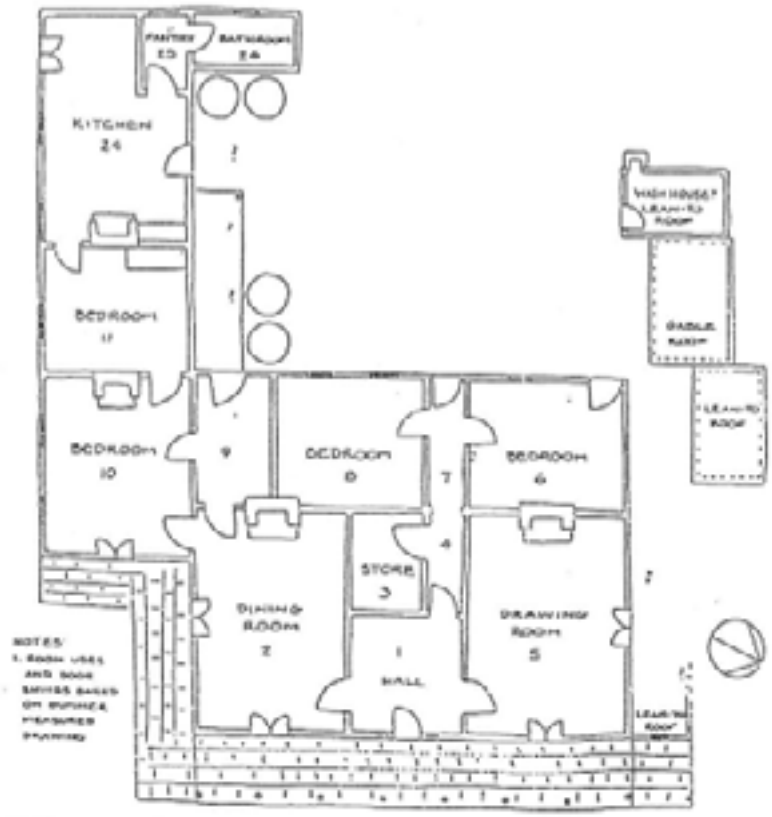


FIG.5. Waitangi Treaty House configuration c.1900-1932. After Lucas (1989).

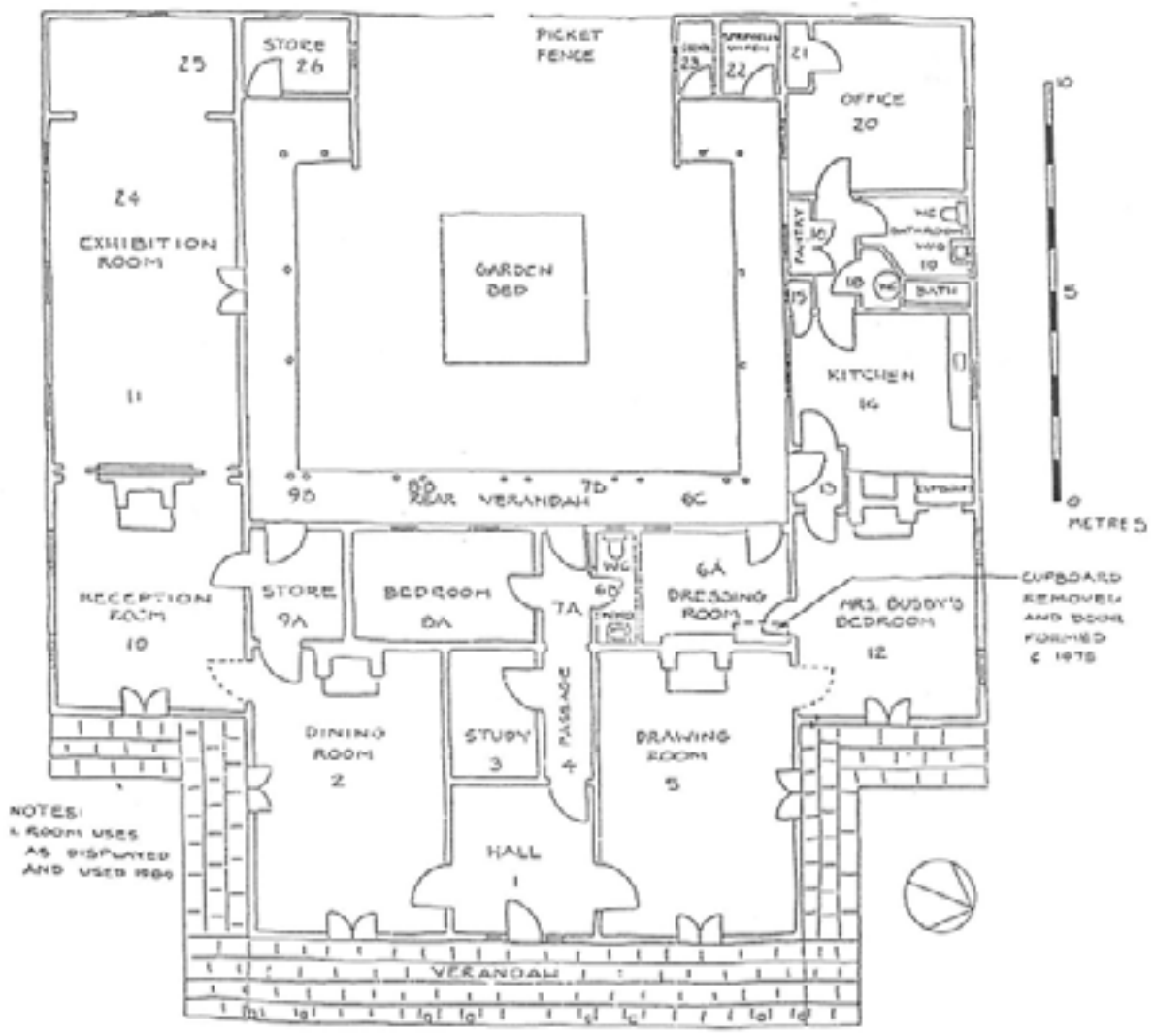
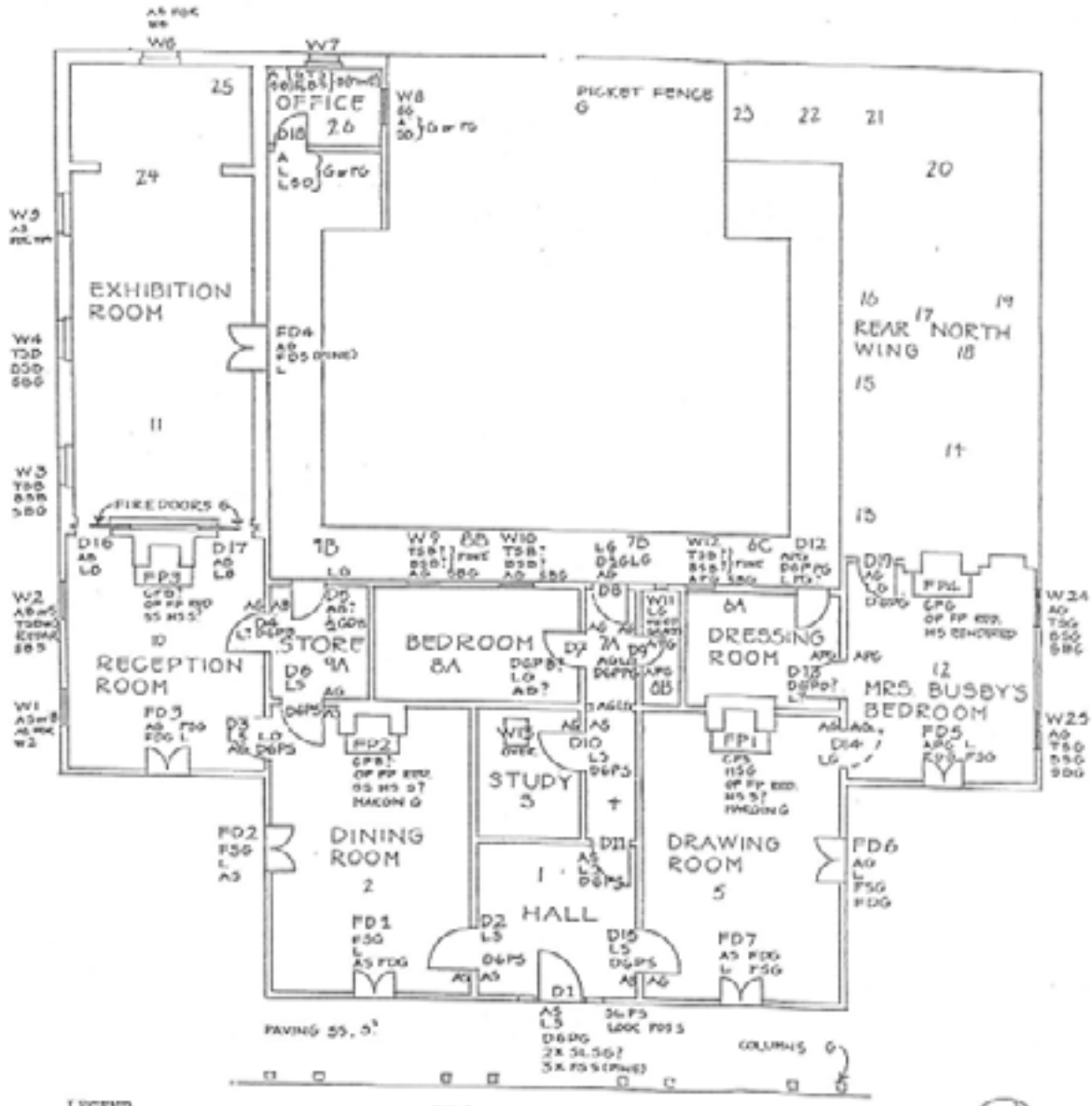


FIG.6. Waitangi Treaty House configuration c.1933-1989. After Lucas (1989).



LEGEND

FS	Fanlight sash
L	Lining
A	Architrave
FD	French door
6P	Six panels
SL	Sidelight sash
SLP	Sidelight panel
TS	Top sash
BS	Bottom sash
SB	Sill board
1/2GD	Half glazed door
CP	Chimney piece
FP	Fireplace
OP	Opening
HS	Hearth stone
SS	Sandstone
D	Door leaf
MS	Mantel shelf
RED	Reduced

PERIODS

S	Sydney
B	Busby
G	Gummer
PG	Post Gummer

NOTES:

1. IN GENERAL SOME MOULDINGS TO DOORS ARE ALL P.G. PERIOD
2. SIDE LIGHT PANEL MOULDINGS ARE S PERIOD
3. REAR NORTH WING ALL G. PERIOD
4. ROOM USES ARE AS OF JANUARY '89.

FIG.7. Waitangi Treaty House. Survey of building features January 1989. After Lucas (1989).

uch a state that the Carpenter of a ship of war could put
t up during the stay of the ship at the Station.

ut as this is a question which involves to a certain
xtent, the credit of the British Nation, and is of
ssential importance to some of the chief objects of my
ppointment, and not a matter affecting merely my private
omfort I feel myself justified in soliciting H.E.
econsideration of the subject. —

(Colonial Office Papers:
Busby to Colonial Secretary:
20 February 1833)

r, despite many protests and alternative schemes, such as
ng a brick house out of local materials (Colonial Office Papers:
to Colonial Secretary: 29 January 1833), by Busby, Bourke
d to countenance anything more than the structure designed by
.

Busby arrived in the Bay of Islands on H.M.S. "Imogene" on 5 May
He officially came ashore on the 16th, when he was given a
ion by the local Maori and by European settlers and
naries. He then moved in with Rev. Henry Williams and stayed in
tudy while his own home was being built. The material for his
arrived from Sydney later in May aboard the schooner "New
der". The consignment included scantling, boards, laths and
s in Australian timbers, and bricks and sandstone paving from
(Challis 1988:14).

nd 20 June local Maoris, using eight canoes, transported the
g material from Paihia to Waitangi, for which Busby paid them
unds fifteen shillings and two pence (Ross 1975:19). Eighteen
of scantling and 98 feather edged boards out of 250 were
ive on arrival (Colonial Office Papers:Busby to Colonial
ary: 3 June 1833). In July building started on Busby's house.

nanwhile, on Waitangi point the holes were being dug for
e posts of the Residency.

(Busby Family History n.d.:453)

s time Busby also ordered and received from the merchants,
and Stephenson, a quantity of timber to build the kitchen and
t the back of the house.

appears that the 3000 shingles and 7000 laths ordered from the
natives would have been for this building, as well as the
ng, lathing, plastering and carpentry done by the Mission
(Ross 1975:37). During July and August work continued on the
The firm of Mair and Powditch was supplying the tools and
and two retired seamen, Ramsay and Cole, were supplying the
along with a Maori called "Rongier". The carpenter was a man
J. Barker. The uprights for the walls were now in place, but
slow going as many tools and extra building materials had to be
d from Sydney (Busby Family History n.d.:460). During

September work on the house accelerated, as did the problems associated with it. On 20 September Henry Williams reported in his journal that Cooper, Busby's servant, had disappeared taking with him various things from Busby's store and also some of Williams's (Henry Williams Journal Sept. 20 1833). On 21 September he recorded:

> Mr Busby in much trouble; his workmen leaving and the natives stealing their property; the prospect of a long residence with us.
>
> (Henry Williams Journal
> Sept. 21 1833)

However, on 24 September he records the fact that he went to Waitangi to see Busby's chimney, so there must have been some significant progress on the pace of the work (Henry Williams Journal Sept. 24 1833). In December Williams also refers to the commencement of plastering.

> Sent over five boys to Mr Busby's new home to commence the plastering.
>
> (Henry Williams Journal,
> Dec. 23 1833)

The next reference we have to the house is again in Henry Williams's diary on 27 January 1834.

> Mr and Mrs Busby removed to their residence at Waitangi, and I had the pleasure of again possessing my study, which had been occupied by them for these many months gone.
>
> (Henry Williams Journal
> Jan. 27 1834)

The house was unfinished when the Busbys moved in. Busby had married Agnes Dow in Sydney on 1 November 1832. She had not sailed to New Zealand with him, but arrived later in July 1833 9Ramsden 1942:51). When the Busbys moved into Waitangi, Agnes was already some months pregnant. On 29 April Agnes gave birth to the Busbys' first son, John Dow. Just after midnight the next day a group of local Maori launched an attack on the Residency in an attempt to steal guns and supplies. At this stage the house appears to have consisted of two main rooms and a hall in between. Busby had set up a bed in the hall after keeping vigil with his wife while she gave birth. Agnes was asleep with the baby in one room, while Busby's three workmen plus William Moore, his servant, were sleeping in the other, which was still incomplete (Ramsden 1942:77). In a letter to the Colonial Office and also in one to his brother, Alexander, Busby described the attack in some detail and in doing so gave some specific hints as to the construction of his house.

> About midnight on the 30th ult. I was awoke by my servant knocking at window and telling me that two men were attempting to break into the Store-room, which, with the kitchen and other offices forms a Separate Building. I immediately sent him to the end of the verandah in front of the house, from whence the Store-room could be seen, and on our appearing there two shots were fired, but I am of opinion they were blank shots.
>
> We immediately returned into the house and called up three European workmen who were asleep in an unfinished room in the house; but so little was I prepared for an occurrence of this kind, that I had no arms in the house with the exception of a fowling piece, and had even left my shot belt in the Store-room which were breaking into.
>
> (Colonial Office 209/1 1834: 237-8)

Busby carried on with his description later in the letter:

> Shortly after this my wife, who had been confined only 36 hours before, having required the immediate assistance of a female servant who was in the kitchen, I went to the back door to call her, where on putting my head out another shot was fired, and I felt, more from the blood trickling down my neck, than the pain, that I had received part of the contents of it in my face. Another shot was fired into the kitchen, but without effect.
>
> (Colonial Office 209/1 1834:237-8)

Busby finishes his description of the attack by saying:

> In the morning we found two bullet-holes in the wall of the house. One of the bullets had entered the weather boards in the direct line of my head, and had been intercepted by the door-post; and it was by some of the small splinters of the weather-board that my face had been struck.
>
> (Colonial Office 1834: 209/1 1834:237-8)

Busby amplified on some factors in a letter to his brother, Alexander:

> They [Moore and the three workmen] all went to the kitchen - several shots were fired at them none of which however took effect -It appeared that though they [the attackers] had demolished the corner sash of the Store window they had not entered it – But had gone round to the other side and end – And plundered the Servants sleeping room of everything it contained.
>
> (Busby to Alexander Busby:
> 17 May 1834)

The bullet holes that Busby described were, according to oral evidence, visible well into the 20th century and certainly during the 1933 restoration programme, although they have disappeared now. In letters give us information about the kitchen/storeroom complex at the back of the house. If the store could be seen from the end of the veranda, it must surely have been at the northern end of the back building and must have projected beyond the line of the north-west wall of the house (Ross 1975:43).

The other information that Busby's descriptions of the attacks gives us is a depiction of the shape of the kitchen/storeroom complex. In this Ruth Ross, Barbara Fell and Aiden Challis all seem in basic accord, with a few minor differences. Ruth Ross makes the point that:

> To the Secretary of State he [Busby] said the workmen 'all went to the kitchen, which commanded the window of the Store-room', which surely suggests the kitchen was at right angles to the store.... I have therefore abandoned the idea of a 2-roomed rectangular building and have tried to work out a plan for a 3-roomed L-shaped (or T-shaped) block which could have been built with the timber Busby had ordered in July 1833 and which would also fit in with his two accounts of the attack on April 30.
>
> (Ross 1975:43-6)

Barbara Fill agrees with the placement of the servant and store rooms and reverses them, since the servant Moore did not have to come from behind the building to get to the house. She also feels the back wall was straight, with two windows, not slightly indented as on the Ross sketch (Fill 1987:7). The Mundy photograph of 1870 tends to back up Fill and Challis's interpretation (Plate 10 below). In the recent archaeological excavations conducted in the Treaty House this area was examined, but it was found that the ground had been so heavily modified that no trace of the original structure remained (Johnson 1990:7).

There are a few other points of interest about the 1834 structure which can be deduced from photographs and other sources. Challis lists these in his report (Challis 1989:15). Of particular importance is that the veranda posts were spaced as in the Verge plan, not the regular spacing of the 1933 reconstruction. From a find that Ralph McCoomb, the 1933 builder, made in some rubbish in the yard, it appears that the original veranda columns were turned, as he recovered a piece of one (McCoomb 1965:3). Also the two main rooms were of equal size, which differs from the original Verge design. Another factor that McCoomb discovered in 1933 was that the sides of the main rooms originally had windows and later French casements were added to these (Challis 1988:15). In the same rubbish pit as the front column was found, McCoomb also found remnants of the original Venetian window shutters (McCoomb 1965:3). These may not have been in place when the house was attacked, as it was still unfinished, but if not, could have been added soon after. There was a door at the back leading from the hall/children's bedroom area. The hatch from the hall ceiling to the roof void also dates from 1834 (Challis 1988:5).

These then are the facts that have been discovered about the original house from descriptions of the 1834 attack. What other facts do we know of the original structure? During the recent investigations by the Sydney architects, the builders working on the restoration project and the Department of Conservation archaeologists, it became obvious that much more of the original structure had survived than had been expected. During these investigations all the wall and roof linings were removed as well as the floorboards in the skillion area at the back of the house. In this way framing was exposed, permitting a detailed examination of the materials and building methods used in the original house. All of the framing was of Australian hardwood, and much of this was still standing (Johnson 1990:2). The framing was very carefully constructed with the studs being mortised and tenoned to the top and bottom plates (Plate 3).

These joints were also pegged with hexagonal wooden pegs (Plate 4). The studs and plates of the framing were all marked with Roman numerals cut into the wood to facilitate the reconstruction of the house. Thus a stud marked V would be matched up to a plate marked V and the two pieces mortised and tenoned together (Plate 4) (Johnson 1990:12).

The joinery, door frames and architraves were in cedar as was confirmed by the missionary, Rev. Charles Cotton, during a visit in 1842 when he commented that Busby

> ... has the best house in this part of the world. His rooms are capitally proportioned and plastered inside, which makes them very comfortable. The window frames are all of cedar, and all come from 'the Colony' as everybody here calls Sydney.
>
> (Cotton Journal 1841) (Fig. 12)

As can be also seen from this comment, the interior of the house was also plastered, but there is no record of what colour was used (Plate 6). The same also applies to the exterior, as no reliable evidence has been uncovered to suggest a colour. Aidan Challis has uncovered a reference suggesting it may have been painted cream, but, as Challis states, this is unreliable and unsubstantiated, so must remain as a possibility only (Challis 1988: 16).

The bricks for the chimney were made in Parramatta, Sydney, and transported with the timber (Plate 7). The two chimneys were in the middle of the two main rooms at the back of the house (Ross 1975:34). The chimney in the room on the south of the house has long been demolished, probably in 1905 or 1933. However, the chimney in the northern main room was bricked over at some stage. When the newer bricks removed during the recent restoration, it was found that the original fireplace was still in place and in fairly good condition (Johnson 1990:2). There was also a chimney in the kitchen servants' quarters' block, and this was probably also constructed from the Parramatta bricks as there is no record of Busby buying extra bricks locally. The remaining bricks were used to line the walls of the house to an approximate height of six feet, after which the bricks presumably ran out (Northern 11.4.1951).

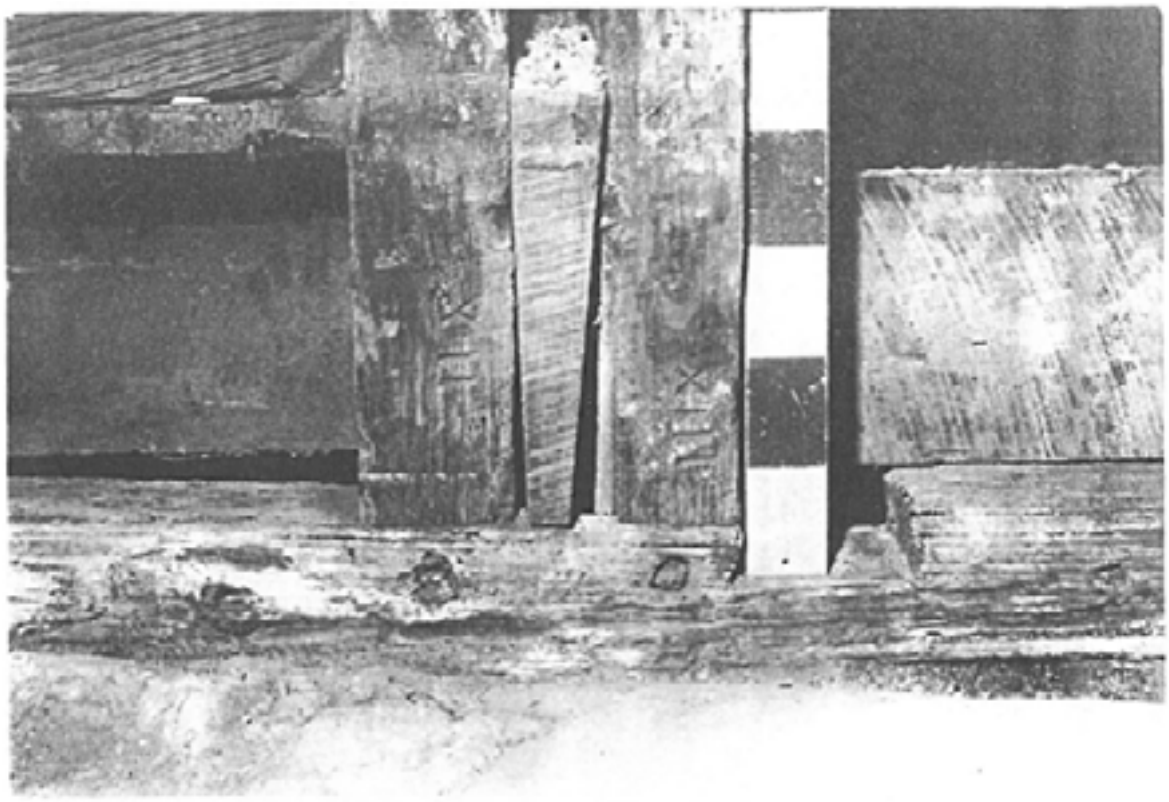


PLATE 3. Waitangi Treaty House skillion interior showing mortice and tenon pegs, Roman numerals and timber framing.

PLATE 4. Waitangi Treaty House skillion interior showing peg holes and Roman numerals.

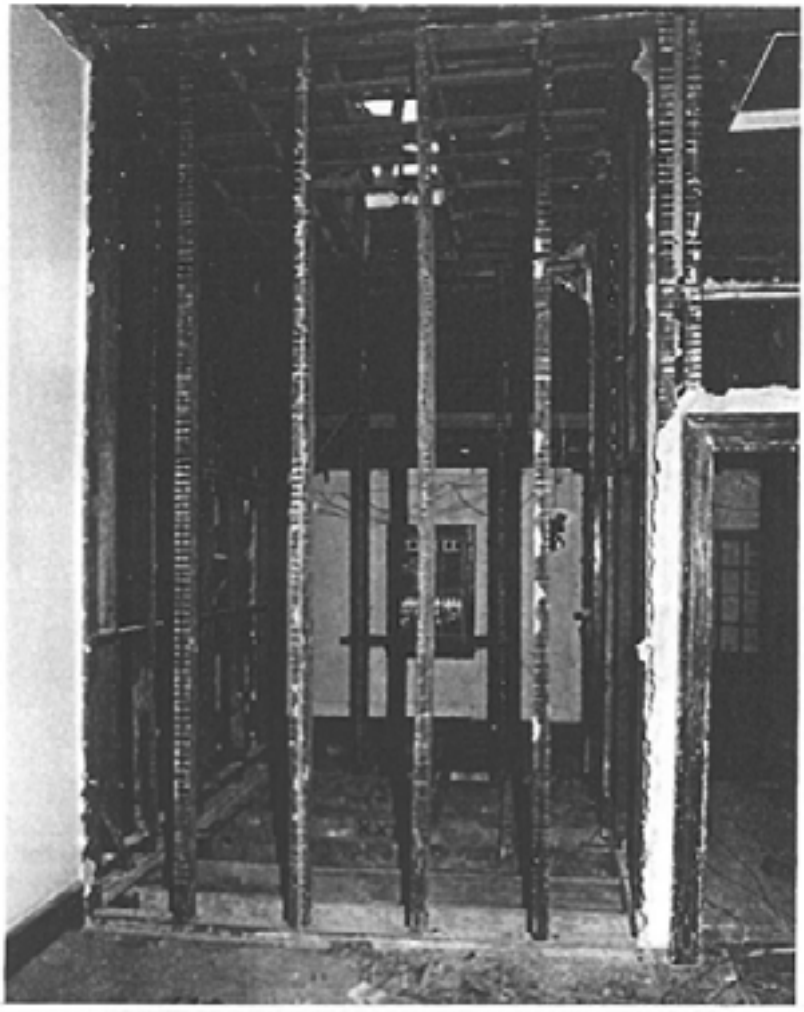


PLATE 5. Waitangi Treaty House skillion interior showing the cedar framing.

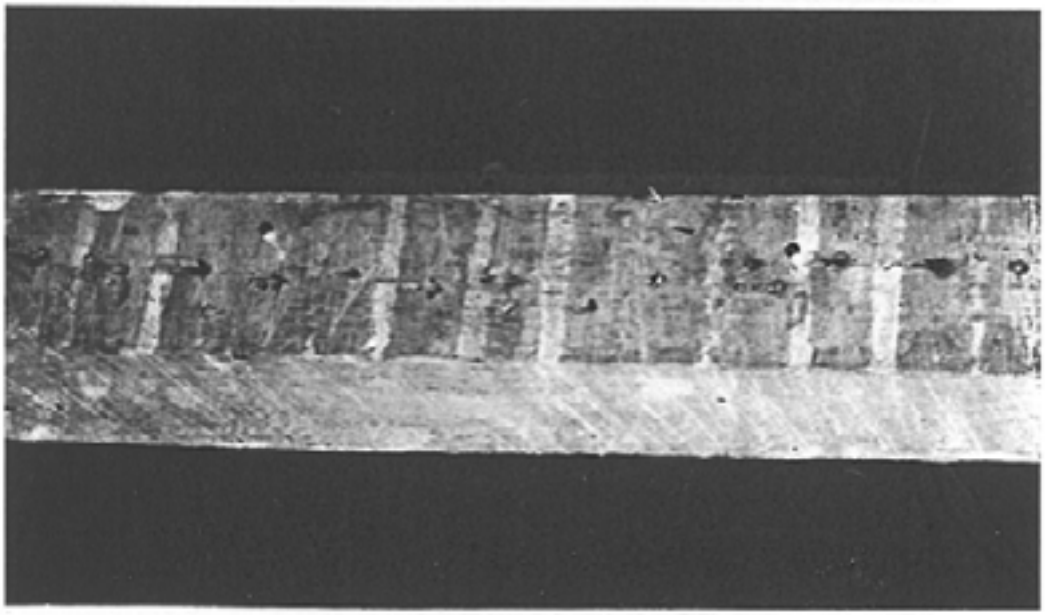


PLATE 6. Waitangi Treaty House skillion interior showing plaster marks and nail holes from various construction periods.

PLATE 7. Waitangi Treaty House skillion interior showing the 1833 Parramatta brick chimney.

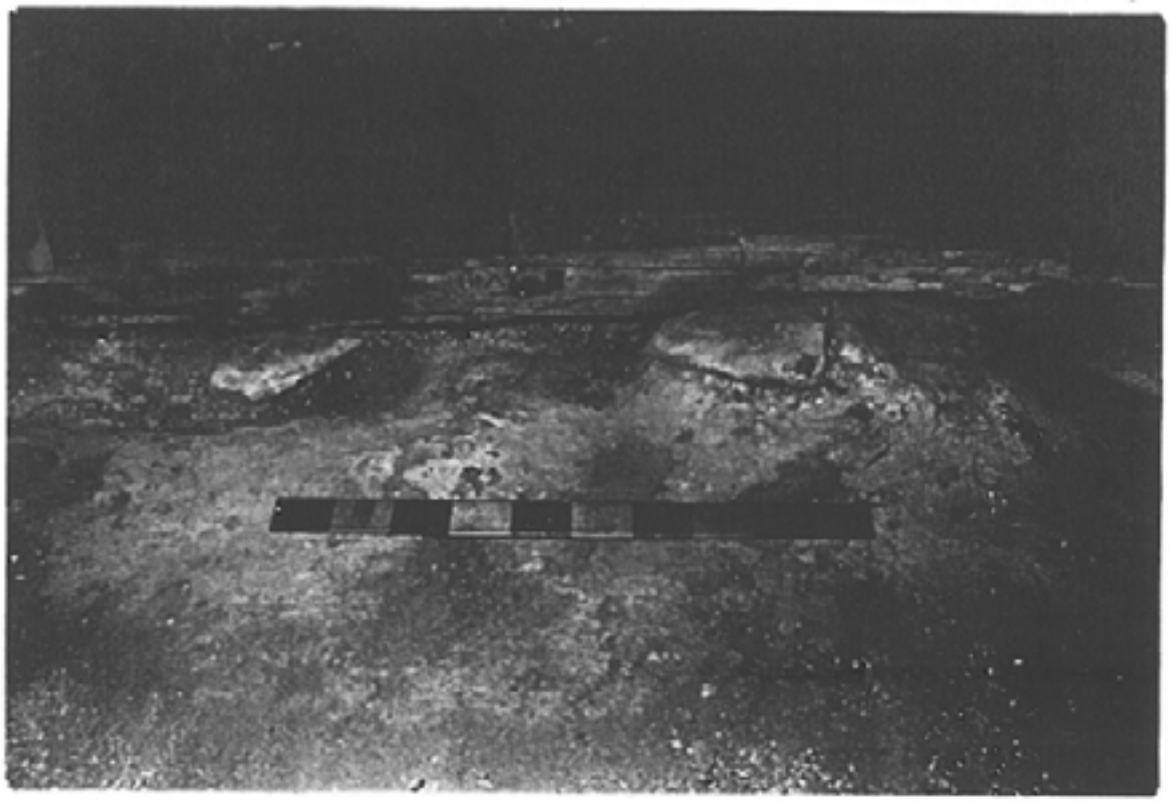


PLATE 8. Waitangi Treaty House skillion interior showing foundation boulders, Roman numerals and tenon pegs.

The paving for the surrounds to the house was Sydney sandstone imported in quite large blocks. During the archaeological investigations in1989 it was found that these had Mason's marks on their undersides (Johnson, pers. comm.). An interesting fact concerning these came to light in 1933 when Ralph McCoomb reported that:

> There are four blocks of sandstone on the beach at Waitangi and visible at low tide. The story told to us is that the stones were capsized from a canoe when the building materials for the building of the Treaty House were being taken ashore and have lain there for a hundred years. The stone appears to be the same as that used for paving the verandah. We are to have the blocks hauled up and make some use of them.
>
> (R. McCoomb to T. Lindsay Buick: 23 May 1933)

The foundations upon which the wooden framing was set were large basalt boulders from the local area (McCoomb 1933-4 28.3.33 & 29.3.33; see Plate 8). These again were visible when the wall linings were removed during the recent restoration.

Busby's account book gives some interesting information about the construction of the house, although it is difficult to use and the figures given here must be taken as approximate (Busby's Account Book 1828-1839 -A.P.L. A.B. Chappell). Busby had a number of men working for him on the construction of the house, the ones named being: Ramsay and Cole, two retired seamen who acted as labourers, Rongier (sic.), a labourer, Callender and Gracey, labourers, M O'Brien, a plasterer, J. Barker, William Lilliko, J. Lowden, Hugh McLiver, carpenters. Together these men put in somewhere in the vicinity of 455 days of work into the house. In this figure I have not included work done on the grounds or for labour involved in making furniture and such like (Busby Account Book). For this labour Busby paid approximately seventy-five pounds (Busby Account Book). In addition to this he had groups of Maoris from the mission stations, particularly Waimate and Paihia, working on his house for which he usually paid them in goods. The account book also gives some idea of the material that Busby bought locally for his house, as well as goods he purchased for the day to day running of his household.

This then was the structural history of the Treaty House as it was first built in 1833/34.

The next major construction period in the Treaty House's history was in 1841-42. With his official duties over Busby had time to concentrate on his family and other interests. Between 1834 and 1843 James and Agnes had six children, John Dow, Sarah, James, George Alexander, William and Agnes. James and Agnes both died young, James in 1840 aged three, while the family were in Sydney, and Agnes in 1847 aged four, from an attack of whooping cough (Fill 1987:18). Even with these personal tragedies it was obvious that the house was far too small to cope with the demands of a large and growing family. With this in mind Busby had been planning his additions probably since 1838, but had been unable to follow through on them until after February 1840.

> Early in 1839 Busby ordered timber to construct a wing room, a skilling room and a stable, but was unable to employ carpenters and labourers.
>
> (Challis 1988:16)

In a letter to his brother, Alexander, he again stresses this.

> It is nearly three months since I purchased timber to add a couple of rooms to our Cottage -but I have not yet been able to get a carpenter. I have now put up an advertisement at Clendon's and Mair's for 2 carpenters and 4 labourers -but I have no applications yet.
>
> (J. Busby to A. Busby: 9 April 1839)

As it turned out Busby was not able to get labourers to begin his renovations and nothing was done until 1841. On 25 March 1840 Busby sailed for Sydney with his wife and family, where one of his intentions was to purchase prefabricated timber to put up houses at the township he planned to develop at Victoria (Ross 1975:59). While in Sydney, Busby wrote a number of letters back to Gilbert Mair, his partner at the Ngunguru saw mill, about his plans for Waitangi. On 8 October he wrote saying,

> I am glad to learn that the materials required for extending my cottage will be landed there by the time they are wanted, I trust this will be the case with the shingles too.... I hope you will be able to have all the material required for building at Waitangi landed there and Mr Flatt will be able to get the Natives to carry them up including shingles and laths, I forget whether I mentioned the laths to you.
>
> (Busby to Mair: 8 October 1840)

In a later letter he again mentions plans for building at Victoria and also his plans for building a store.

> I intend bringing down 4 or 5 carpenters so that it will be a great disappointment if they have no timber to work on.
>
> (Busby to Mair: 4 November 1840)

When Busby's business was concluded in Sydney he sailed for the Bay of Islands aboard the "Thomas Laurie" on 22 November 1840, planning to begin the additions to his house as soon as he arrived (Ross 1975:61).

When Busby returned to Waitangi the first problem he faced was with the timber that had been delivered while he was away.

> I have not before today been able to measure the unsound timber which was landed here from Maunganui. I now send you an account of it which I took down with great care myself from one of the carpenters measurement. Large as it will seem I have no doubt to you I believe I am still a great sufferer, as rotten pieces of board and scantling have been lying about and been destroyed by the natives and a good deal also has been used in storing the goods - the carpenter wished to reject a good deal more -I wish very much you would reexamine it yourself -It seems incredible that anyone in his senses should take the trouble to saw such stuff.
>
> (Busby to Mair: 19 1841)

The shoddy state of the timber in the rear skillion area tends to support the idea that the timber referred to above, was, at least in part, used in the construction of this addition (Ross 1975:63; Challis 1988:17). Ralph McComb's examination of the in 1933 also showed the large difference in the quality of the wood in this part of the house from the rest,

> Whereas the lean-to is constructed of very inferior timber mostly sap and all completely rotten with borer.
>
> (McCoomb 1933-4: 5/6/1933)

The skillion extended the house backwards, adding three rooms to the house, one a bedroom and the others possibly a dressing room and a pantry (Lucas Plate 5). The hallway to the back door was also extended. This meant that the original children's bedroom lost its window, becoming very dark, and was converted to a store (Challis 1988:17). At some stage, although the exact date is unknown, a back veranda was built off the skillion.

> Mr Gummer examined timber supposed to be one of original back veranda posts, also marks of rafters on weather boards, assisted Mr Gummer to take measurements for front veranda.
>
> (McComb 1933/4: 15/4/33)

The construction of the north and south wings is the subject of a fair degree of confusion, as there is very little documentary evidence left. What we do have are two plans. The first is the inset on the Wyld chart of 1840, showing the subdivision of Victoria (Fig. 8). This shows the Residency as a plain rectangular building. Also, in the blow up of the house in Sarah sketch, the house is shown without wings (Plate 9). However, on Busby's own sketch plan of 1848, again of Victoria, the Residency is

PLATE 9. Mouth of the "Waitangi" River and Native "Pah", Bay of Islands, New Zealand. High land behind Cape Brett - Korcrarika. 6th Sept 1840.

Enlargement from sketch by Sarah Mathew, reproduced by permission of Auckland Public Library.

VIC

FIG.8. The Wyld chart inset of 1840.

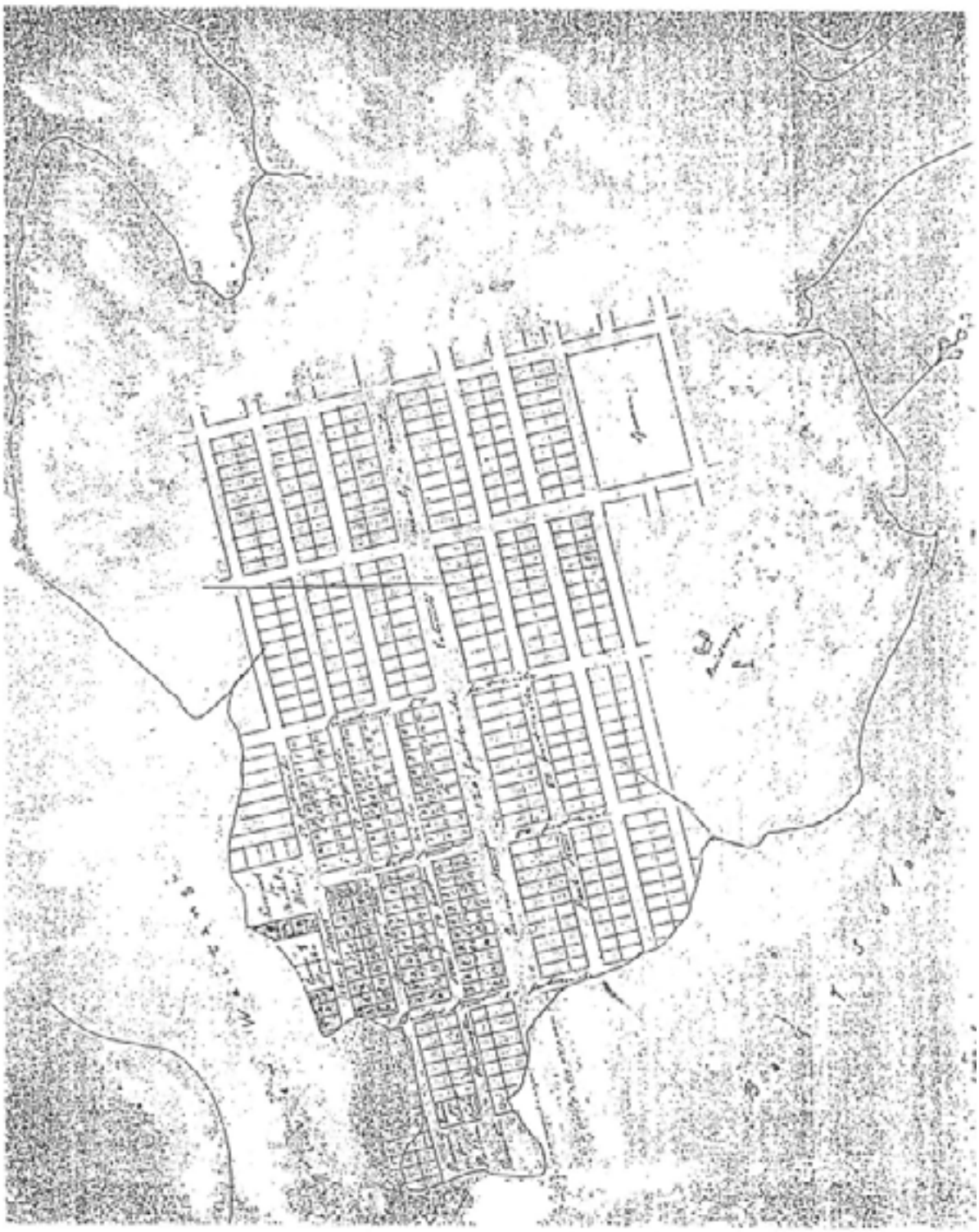


FIG.9. James Busby's sketch plan of the Waitangi Estate in 1840. After Challis (1988).

shown definitely with two basically equal wings in place (Fig. 9). This would tend to indicate that both wings were built during this period, particularly as there is no evidence of Busby buying significant amounts of timber after this. The two most likely dates are firstly that the wings were completed with the rest of the 1841 additions. Secondly, and perhaps more likely, since the wood in parts of the south wing was different from other areas, it may have been in 1846 or 1847. It is known that the army occupied the Residency in 1845 and left the grounds and house in a poor state (Challis 1988:19). Busby may have taken this opportunity to complete his additions then, since he had also overcome some of his financial difficulties at this time (Ross 1975:71). The north wing, over the period 1841-48, connected the house to the kitchen storeroom complex, adding a bedroom and what may have been a servants' dressing room (Challis 1988: 17,18).

When it comes to the south wing evidence is more contradictory. All parties seem to agree that at least part of it was built in 1841. However, as stated above, there may have been several construction phases during this period (Challis 1988:18). At the very least, a new main bedroom was added where the exhibition room is now and another room which may have been a nursery. There was another kitchen and a small room, which was probably a privy, added before 1848.

The east front French casements on the north and south wings ... appear to match, and are thought to be original to these structures. It is thought likely that the side windows of the original house main rooms adjacent were converted to French casements at the time the wings were added.

(Challis 1988:18)

Ralph McCoomb stated that part of this wing had been constructed out of pitsawn kauri and finished in a different manner, which also supports the idea that the south wing had been built in two slightly differing periods (McCoomb 1965:8). McCoomb also gives another detail about this wing when he states that the skirting was 9" deep (McCoomb 1933-4: 15/4/33). A final point to note is that at some stage during Busby's occupation a glasshouse was constructed at the front northern corner of the house. Photographs show it being there in 1870 (Plate 10), but there is no final date for its construction. However, given Busby's interest in horticulture it would seem safe to assume that he built it as soon as he could, perhaps some time in the 1840s.

After the 1841-42 additions changes to the Treaty House were minimal for the rest of the century. James Busby lived in the house until his death in 1871, but much of his time was taken up with fighting the Land Courts and Government over his land claims. His wife lived in the house for about 10 years after his death, leaving in 1882. However, there were some changes and renovations to the house in this era, mainly concentrating on repairs. In 1844 Busby found himself in serious financial difficulties. He had over-committed himself in Sydney and had been unable to sell stock and merchandise to clear off his debts to the bank and others. Therefore in June 1844 he boarded an American whaler returning to America, taking with him 30 tons of kauri gum with which he hoped to clear his debts (Ramsden 1942: 282). This he was able to do, but he did not return home until March 1846. While he was away war broke out in the Bay of

PLATE 10. Waitangi Treaty House by D.L. Mundy, c.1867-1870. Reproduced by permission of Auckland Institute and Museum Library.

Islands. In March 1845 Agnes and the children left for Sydney. In April the house was plundered by local Maoris.

> Lead was stripped from the roof. Henry Williams removed doors and windows and stored them at Paihia.
>
> (Challis 1988: 19)

In January 1846 the house was occupied by army officers with Busby's permission. In March the Busby family returned and in July the troops left (Challis 1988: 19). In this period the house and particularly the grounds suffered badly. Apart from being ransacked by Maori war parties, the house also suffered from having a large number of people living in it in war conditions.

Between 1846 and 1870 there was very little work done on the house for the reasons outlined above. In 1859 Bushy purchased 3,600 shingles, probably to make roof repairs as there is some possibility that he did some repairs on his chimneys at this time also (Challis 1988:20). Also in 1868 some repairs were carried out, including new window sashes (Challis 1988:20).

Agnes Busby returned home in 1872 from London. William Busby and his family were now living in the Treaty House and farming at Waitangi and Ross suggests that the return of his mother was the impetus for some changes to the house (Ross 1975: 83).

> To give grandmother a bit of peace a new bedroom was built for her on the sunny side of the house and at the same time the old kitchen-store block was pulled down and replaced by one or two rooms behind the new wing room.
>
> (Ross 1975: 83)

A second chimney was added in this wing in the room behind Mrs Busby senior's bedroom.

> And in front of Mrs Busby's bedroom a conservatory was built, with French doors opening into the drawing room, on the right side of the hall.
>
> (Ross 1975: 84)

Ross feels that the 1870s would have been the heyday of the house architecturally and in terms of general upkeep (Ross 1975: 84; see Plates 10-13). From here on we see a major decline for the next 25 years.

PLATE 11. Waitangi Treaty House side view by T.S. Williams, June 1881.
Reproduced by permission of Auckland Institute and Museum Library.

PLATE 12. Waitangi Treaty House front view by T.S. Williams, June 1881.
Reproduced by permission of Auckland Institute and Museum Library.

PLATE 13. Waitangi Treaty House, c. 1882.
Reproduced by permission of Hocken Library.

THE HOUSE 1880-1932

From the early 1880s until 1900 the house fell into serious disrepair. Agnes Busby lived at Waitangi until 1882 when the house and land were sold. She then went to live with her daughter, Sarah, at the Williams' estate at Pakaraka where she died on 12 October 1889 (Fill 1987: 19). At this stage John Hyde Harris bought 9,374 acres of the Waitangi estate including the house, to run as a farm (Lee 1988: 41). Over the next 20 years Harris farmed the land, taking out a number of mortgages over the period. A series of photographs taken of the house over this period, as well as a few comments which have survived, give a very good picture of just how badly the house did deteriorate during this period (Plates 14-17). When the house was sold in 1902 to Mr Gordon Hewin, his wife recalled him describing it as terribly run down. "Sheep had been camping in the house, its roof and ceilings were falling down, sacks replaced glass in the windows and altogether the house was very dilapidated". Said Mrs Hewin.

> Actually, it would have been more economical to pull the place down and rebuild, but sentiment prevented my husband from taking this step.
>
> (*Northern Advocate:* 11/4/51)

Vernon Reed, who was one of the leading instigators of the Bledisloe gift of Waitangi, wrote that

> the front rooms of the house had been used as a shearing shed and a shelter at night. The roof and ceilings were falling down, and sacks replaced glass in the windows.
>
> (V. Reed 1957: 11)

From the comments it would appear to be very unlikely that the house was lived in during the last two decades of the 19th century. In a photograph taken by Russell Duncan in 1903 we see that the glasshouse has collapsed, the shingles on the north wing are partly off, two verandah posts have gone, and the shutters are missing apart from one awry on the east front French casement of the south wing (Plate 16).

Another photograph from the Kirk Album, held in the Auckland Museum and Institute Library, which was probably taken about 1895, shows that on the south side of the south wing sacks have covered a window and the spoutings are collapsing (Plate 14). The kitchen/storeroom complex at the end of the north wing appears very run down (Challis 1988:21). A third photograph held in the Waitangi Treaty House collection, dating from about 1900, shows more sacks on the windows and the worsening state of the spoutings on the south wing. It also shows damage to the top of the dining room chimney (Challis 1988Another pointer to the rapid deterioration in this period is a comment by Ralph McComb in 1933,

PLATE 14. Waitangi Treaty House, from the Kirk Album, c. 1895.
Reproduced by permission of Auckland Institute and Museum Library.

PLATE 15. Waitangi Treaty House by C. Harris, c. 1890.
Reproduced by permission of Auckland Institute and Museum Library.

PLATE 16. Waitangi Treaty House by Russell Duncan, C. 1903.
Reproduced by permission of Hocken Library.

PLATE 17. Waitangi Treaty House from the Walker Album, C. 1900-1903. Reproduced by permission of Auckland Institute and Museum.

> Levels taken showed that there was a variation in the floors of over nine inches. This gives some indication of the state of the building.
>
> (McComb 1965:3)

On 21 September 1900 John Hyde Harris's land was put up for auction at a mortgagee sale and John Dow Busby and William Busby were the highest bidders so the land was conveyed to them by the Registrar of the Supreme Court (Lea 1988:35). Mrs Hewin remembers that,

> Back in 1900 William Busby, son of the British Resident, James Busby, had decided to dismantle the house and erect a shack for a caretaker of the property to live in.
>
> (*Northern Advocate*: 11/4/1951)

However, this plan changed within a couple of months. Eustace Gordon Hewin had been sheep farming near Wanganui and decided to look at moving to the Bay of Islands. He met William Busby at Paihia and inspected the property (*Northern Advocate*: 11/4/1951). Then on 17 December 1900 he purchased 9,278 acres of the Waitangi estate (Lee 1988:35). For about five years Hewin did very little with the house, but in 1905, after he had met and become engaged to Clarissa Williams, he decided to renovate the house so it could be used as a family home and gave the contract to L. Fuller and Mr Bullen of Russell (*Northern Advocate*:11/4/1951).

Because of the state of the house, renovation necessarily involved major changes to the original structure (Plates 18-21). As a start the shingles were removed from the roof and were replaced with corrugated iron, since, although most were in a reasonable state, the house leaked badly.

> Mr Hewin told me he had, years ago, replaced the original shingles with corrugated iron and at that time, the majority of shingle nails were still holding well.
>
> (McComb 1965: 2,3; see Plate 22)

Secondly,

> The northern wing had deteriorated to such an extent that restoration was not considered worthwhile.
>
> (*Northern Advocate*: 11/4/1951)

The remnants of the glasshouse at the northern front corner were removed. With the removal of the north wing,

PLATE 18. Waitangi Treaty House by Darby, c.1912.
Reproduced by permission of Alexander Turnbull Library.

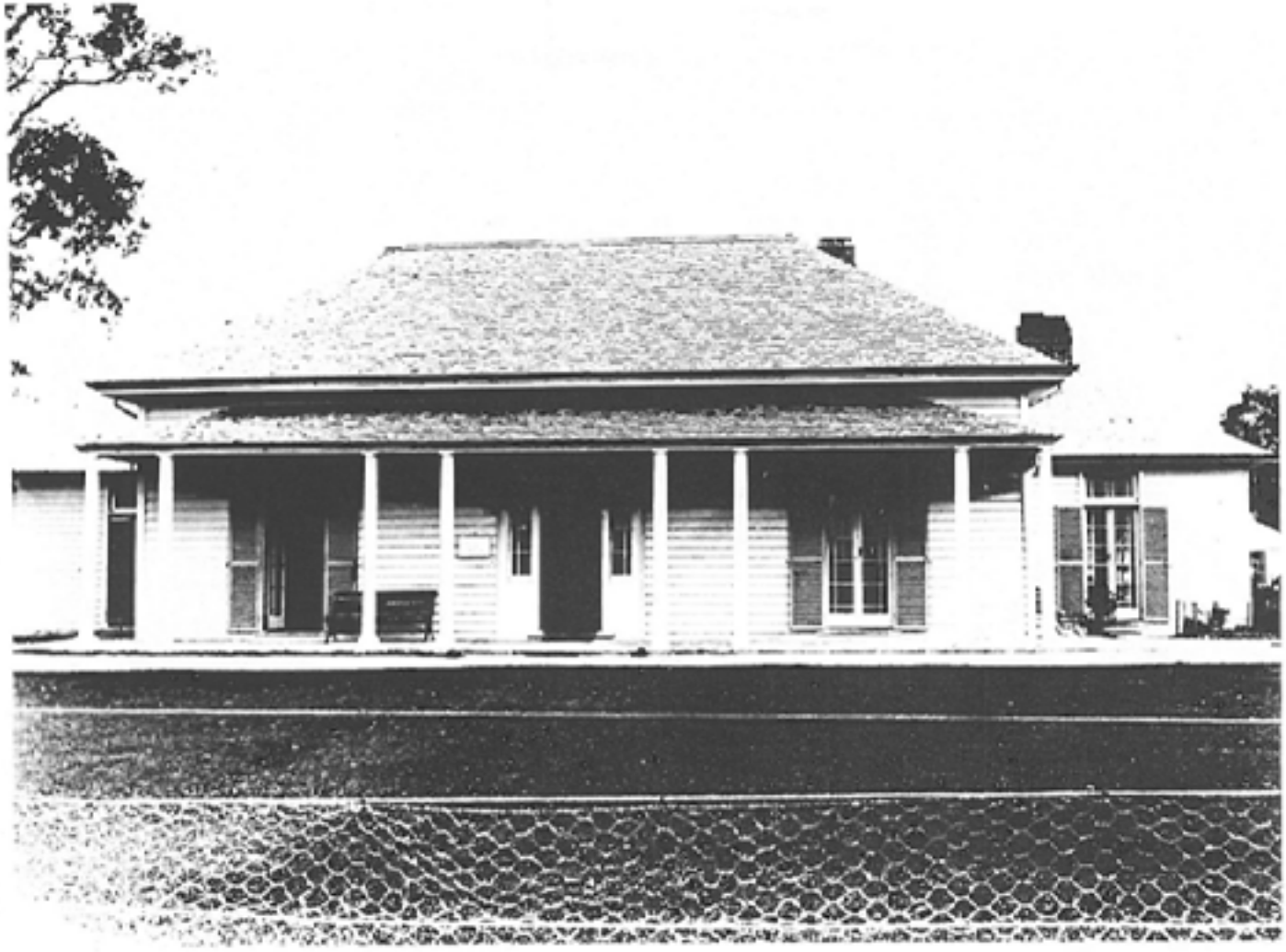


PLATE 19. Waitangi Treaty House front view, by Northwood Brothers, c.1900-1910.
Reproduced by permission of Alexander Turnbull Library.

PLATE 20. Waitangi Treaty House north side view, by Northwood Brothers, c.1900-1910. Reproduced by permission of Alexander Turnbull Library.

PLATE 21. Waitangi Treaty House north side view, by Northwood Brothers, c.1900-1910. Reproduced by permission of Alexander Turnbull Library.

PLATE 22. Waitangi Treaty House, from the Godber Collection 1905.
Reproduced by permission of Alexander Turnbull Library.

> The north facing side walls of the main house and skillion became a continuous outside wall.
>
> (Challis 1988:21)

Ruth Ross feels that probably with timber left over from the demolition of the north wing,

> Hewin seems to have tacked on several rooms or sheds on the north-west side of the main block. One little room was built where the conservatory had been, its front wall, with a small window in the middle, in a line with the front wall of the house. Apparently to shade this room, the veranda had a lean-to roof added on.
>
> (Ross 1975: 84/5)

A new veranda was constructed at the front on eight equally spaced square posts with ornamental fretwork above them (Challis As far as the south wing was concerned, new French windows were placed on the eastern end of this wing (Northern Advocate: 11/4/51). The chimney stack in the southern room of the main building was lowered to preserve it, and the remaining shutters were removed. The exterior architraves, doors, corner boxing and veranda posts were painted a dark colour and three-small buildings were added at right angles to the back of the house on the northern side. One was a washhouse with a chimney and another possibly a garage. The purpose of the other is unknown, but it may have been a tool shed (Challis 1988: 22). Nothing is definitely known about any renovations inside the house, except for the fact that it was relined and plastered (*Northern Advocate*: 11/4/1951).

> When the inside lining was removed from the front walls, it was discovered that the frame had been filled up with bricks to about 6 ft from floor level.
>
> (Northern Advocate: 11/4/1951)

It may have bean at this stage that the bricks were removed. After this the made virtually no changes to the house, except for the lean-to at the north front end discussed earlier.

THE HOUSE AFTER 1930

During the last few years of the tenure in the house, it began to deteriorate again (Plates 23, 24). They had tried to sell at several times during their stay but had been unable to do so. Vernon Reed of Paihia had tried to convince the Government to buy it and set the house up as a national monument, but also to no avail. However, in 1932, the then Governor-General, Viscount Lord Bledisloe of Sydney, and his wife bought and gifted to the nation 1002 acres and seven and and three-tens perches of the Waitangi estate (Challis 1988:22).

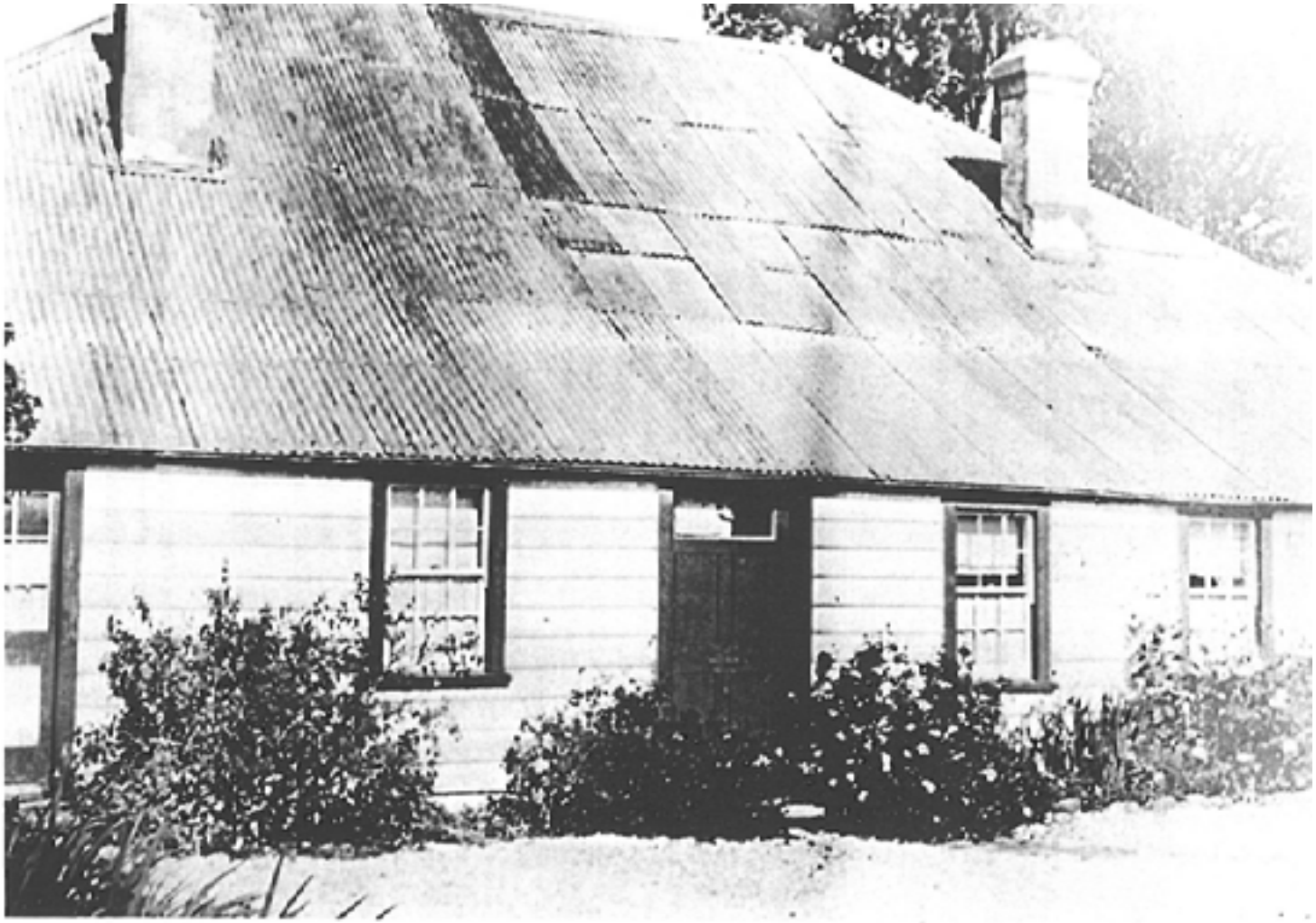


PLATE 23. Waitangi Treaty House view of the rear,
by Norman Powley, c.1932.
Reproduced by permission of Margaret Carless.

PLATE 24. Waitangi Treaty House by Norman Pouley, c.1932.
Reproduced by permission of Margaret Carless.

> For the previous fifty years (before 1932) Pakeha interest in the Treaty and the Waitangi site had been minimal. By the 1930s, both had almost gone out of the public mind, according to Vernon Reed, who had tried unsuccessfully since 1908 to stimulate government and public interest. Reed encouraged the Bledisloes to purchase the Waitangi property, which was to be made ‘a national memorial'. They added another 1300 acres to the original gift and launched an appeal for funds for restoration by donating Five hundred pounds. More than any other single factor, these actions contributed to a renewal of Pakeha interest in Waitangi and the events of 1840.
>
> (Orange 1987: 234)

In 1932 under the Waitangi National Trust Board Act a Trust was set up to administer the Bledisloes' gift as a national memorial in perpetuity. The Trust membership was set up to represent as many of the interested parties as possible, with Maori groups, the government, local people, and representatives of the families whose history was linked to that of the Reserve, all being represented (Buick 1914:366).

One of the Trust's first priorities was to begin a restoration project on the Treaty House aimed at bringing it back to the condition of its heydey in the Busby era and preserving it as a national monument (Challis 1988:3; see Plates 25, 26). Celebrations were planned for 5 February 1934 and it was hoped to have the work finished by this time. To this end two honorary architects were appointed by the Trust Board to oversee the restoration project, Mr W.H. Gummer of Auckland and Mr W.M. Page of Wellington. Gummer appointed Mr Ralph McCoomb of Auckland as builder for the project and by early March had instructed him to begin work. Both Gummer and McCoomb have left a large quantity of papers and notes on the restoration project which provide some pieces of very detailed information about the nature of the alterations performed on the house. In particular McCoomb’s papers are of great use as he was constantly on the site for the duration of the restoration project. At this stage the were still living in the house, but left shortly afterwards (McComomb 1965:1). On 22 March McCoomb and two other builders returned to Waitangi to begin work on the house, after he had been there earlier with Gummer to have a look at the condition of the house and what would need to be done (McCoomb 1965: 22).

In their original trip to the house to assess it, McCoomb end Gummer had found the house in a sad state. The floors were sunk, plates rotten, the roof leaking and doors and windows awry.

> We could not get under the house as it was built very close to the ground, and in places the ground plates had disappeared into the ground.... We found that the kitchen chimney was offset and half carried on the ceiling joists. It was almost a miracle that the place was not burnt down as the brickwork was loose and rotten.
>
> (McCoomb 1965:1).

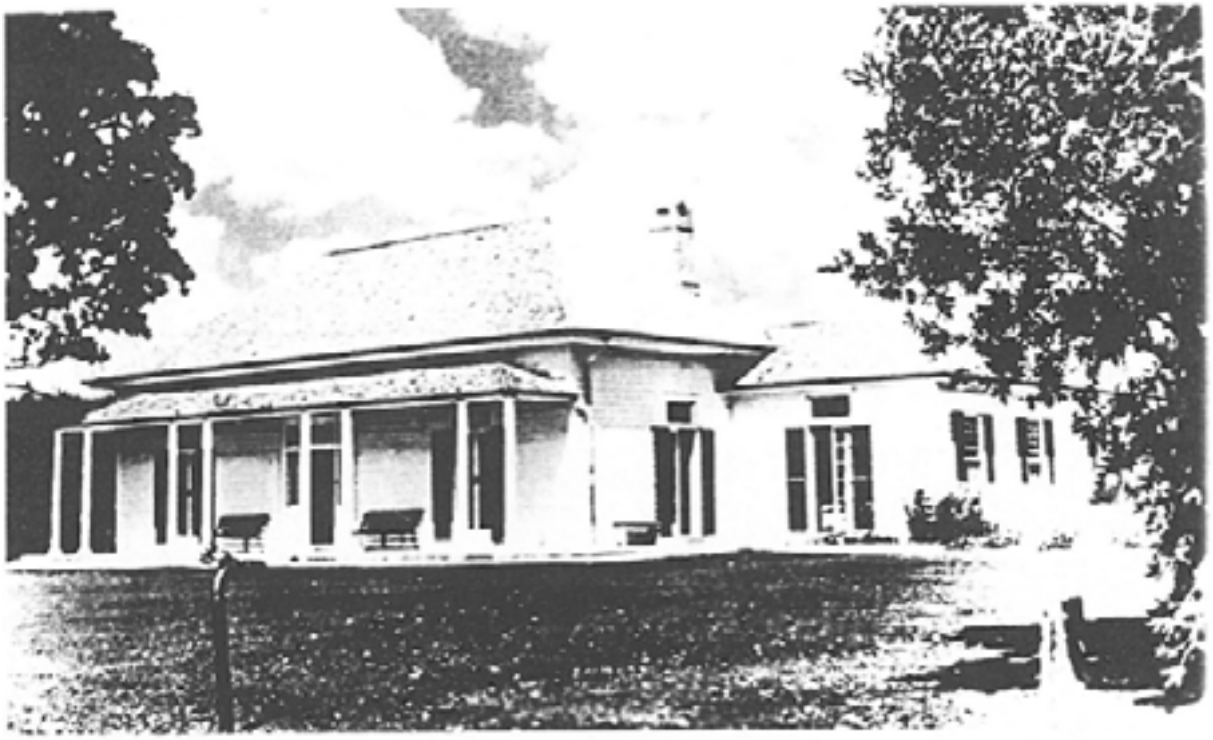


PLATE 25. Waitangi Treaty House, c.1935.
Reproduced by permission of Hocken Library.

PLATE 26. Waitangi Treaty House by E. Bradbury, 1935. Reproduced by permission of Auckland Institute and Museum Library.

Later McCoomb reinforced this point,

> Completed clearing of site of westwing, a great amount of rubbish under old wash-house but nothing of any interest. Carted large stones for foundations. Took rough levels, floors vary about 9". The N.W. corner being approx. 9" higher than rear of existing kitchen. Will need to remove15-18 yards earth from site.
>
> (McCoomb 1933-4: 25/3/33)

The builders work involved all three sections of the house, north and south wings and the main block, but they started with the north wing.

As stated earlier the Hewins had removed the north wing during their renovation, so in 1933 it had to be completely rebuilt. They began by dismantling the washhouse and two smaller rooms at the back that the Hewins had added (McCoomb 1965:2). They than built a new wing, a kitchen and lobby nearest the main house, a bathroom and a bedroom at the back with a storeroom off the side of it facing into the back courtyard.

> Preparation of the site for the new wing turned up boulders thought to have been from the foundations of the old north wing, the approximate location of which was apparent.
>
> (Challis 1988: 24)

The new wing was symmetrical with the south wing and an attempt was made to recreate the earlier north wing (Challis 1988: 24).

> On the south exterior wall of the 1834 main house, the western end of the drawing room north wall, studs with lath and nail and evidence of plaster were found under weatherboards. This indicates that the eastern end room of the pre-1900 north wing had been lathed and plastered.
>
> (Challis 1988: 24)

To a large extent this was the easiest aspect of the programme as the north wing simply had to be rebuilt, not restored using existing timber.

The restoration of the main block of the house was much more complicated and involved two separate areas, the original 1834 block at the front of the house and the later area behind it. As far as the chimneys went in the main block, the one in the drawing room was retained to ceiling level, but the brickwork was grouted and plastered. The one in the dining room was demolished as it was in a sad state. It had no bonding, parging, or foundations set into the ground and the roof timbers were charred (Challis 1988:20). In fact, McCoomb stated that,

> Three existing chimneys had to be demolished, two rebuilt in new brick.
>
> (McCoomb 1933/4: 30/3/33)

The other two chimneys to be demolished were in the south wing. The front veranda was demolished. New columns set in new foundations in equally spaced pairs were erected.

> On Saturday, at the request of Mr Wallace I inspected the Jarrah timber to be used for these columns [veranda] but would not pass it as it was full of cracks and other flaws. Mr Wallace assured me that this was the best Jarrah available, so that alternately I arranged for him to make the shafts of the column in best Kauri with the cups at the bases only in Jarrah.
>
> (Waitangi National Trust Papers:
> Gummer to McCoomb: 29/5/33)

It was debated for quite some time whether to use new paving blocks, but eventually the original sandstone was lifted and relaid. During the 1989 archaeological investigations the trench laid out directly in front of the front door of the house turned up some interesting information.

> ... the most interesting feature of this trench was a row of 1833 bricks partially extending under the relaid sandstone flags. It would appear that these bricks formed the lowest level of a flight of two steps from the original front veranda onto the front lawn. This would suggest that the original paving across the front of the house consisted of two rows of sandstone flags rather than the present three. The position of the original brick step paving also indicates that the lawn has been raised from its original level to meet the present edge of the veranda paving.
>
> (Johnson 1990:4)

The floors were in a very poor state due to bad ventilation and water damage.

> ... it is found that the rotting of the timber is much more extensive than anticipated, due to water from surrounding ground flowing under the house and the absence of ventilation, the time taken in restoration is increased chiefly by the difficulties encountered in cutting away and renewing in most confined and inaccessible places.
>
> (Waitangi National Trust Papers:
> Gummer to Vernon Reed 2/8/33)

The kahikatea floors in the dining and drawing rooms were both replaced. The studs and plates were also replaced in both rooms, but the joists in the dining room were retained. A new hardwood floor was laid in the hall (Challis 1988:124). With the walls and ceilings, the wood lining, scrim and paper were removed and framing replaced as necessary. The interior surfaces were replaced with Ten Test Insulating Building Board with a single coat of plaster. All cornice mouldings renewed. The framing for a window was found at the back of the dark room, the original children's bedroom (McComb 1933/4). Weatherboards on the outside were replaced when necessary from pit sawn kauri. The main roof was dismantled and the corrugated iron dispensed with. The rafters were re-used, but braced and refixed. New sarking, soffits, fascia and shingles were added (Challis 1988:25). A new shingle roof was constructed from Mototau kauri and two and one-quarter inch shingle nails were used (McCoomb to Gummer 12/4/33). A new front door was made, using existing locks and new handles. The French casements were also new, with new fittings, and both these and the door were from the Kauri Timber Company (Waitangi National Trust Papers: Gummer to McCoomb 29/5/33). All the shutters were new.

As stated earlier the timber used in the original expansion was thought to be of very inferior quality and found to be in very poor condition and so it was demolished and redesigned with narrower rooms, allowing for a back veranda (Challis 1988:25). Thus a new back wall with new weatherboarding, set on new foundations, was constructed inside the position on which the old one had stood. The northern room was intended as the custodian's room. The skirting board was mixed, partly kauri and partly mahogany (Challis 1988: 25). McCoomb makes several comments on the skillion that were of interest.

> Renewed ground plate under the N.W. wall of lean-to very rotten. G.P. of main block sound. Started trimming floor joists, excavated for chimney foundation.
>
> (McCoomb 1933/4:5/4/33)

Then later he says,

> Upon stripping weather boarding from N.W. wall of main block, find studs with lath nail and indisputable evidence of plaster, proving that at some time it was an interior wall.
>
> (McCoomb 1933/4:6/4/33).

All the framing and foundations were replaced. The north end exterior door was repaired and repositioned as the exterior door to the storeroom at the south end (Challis 1988:25). The actual back door was replaced.

> The skillion doors on 6 x 2 inch kauri joists, were in good order, and were thought to be Hewin repairs.
>
> (Challis 1988: 25)

The back veranda was newly constructed and its floor concreted.

The south wing was not altered to such a drastic extent. Although the plates, joists and rafters were in a poorer condition than had been expected, and were substantially replaced, the style of the wing was not altered (Challis 1988: 26). The two chimneys were in dreadful condition and were demolished, one being replaced in new brick (Challis 1988: 26).

> On the south and west end walls, seven existing double hung sash windows were reconditioned and placed in new frames. One French casement from the south wall was repositioned on the north wall leading to the courtyard.
>
> (Challis 1988: 26)

The weatherboards were generally sound and were re-used on the new framing, while the roof was rebuilt, although making use of existing rafters and plates in good enough condition (Challis 1988: 26).

From this rebuilding process until the present, repairs were usually piecemeal and in response to an immediate problem. In 1937 it was discovered that the roof was leaking, although nothing major was done about this for some time. In 1950, 5000 split kauri shingles were put onto the roof to effect repairs. In 1957 the base of the third verandah column from the south end was replaced and spliced, probably because of deterioration to the jarrah wood that McCoomb had complained of in 1933 (Challis 1988:26). In 1967 the exterior of the house was repainted and in 1972 the roof was again subject to re-shingling. In 1974 stone plastering was performed on the walls and ceilings inside the house. In 1975 an extensive maintenance programme was carried out with a new exterior guttering system and alterations to the drains and sub-floor vents. Some weatherboards on the north wall of the drawingroom and elsewhere were replaced and the rear veranda posts were re-spliced. The exterior was repainted and new ceilings put in all the front rooms.

> Mrs Busby's bedroom and adjacent dressing room created by removal of custodian's cupboards, use of new framing, flooring, interior and exterior doors and relining.
>
> (Challis 1988:27)

The study skylight and front door frame were also repaired. Finally in 1984/85 the drainage and subfloor ventilation was again repaired (Challis 1988: 28).

Chapter III

THE WAITANGI TREATY HOUSE GROUNDS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will deal with the immediate surrounds to the Waitangi Treaty House. Some attention will also be paid to the wider area of what is now the Waitangi National Reserve, particularly in the 1990 period. However, the focus will be on the grounds of the house and the area down to the beach, river, and where the Visitors' centre is now situated. The various European habitations of the land will be defined, as well as the uses made of it in the way of agriculture and horticulture. Other structures on the land, apart from the Treaty House, will also be defined.

From a historical, botanical and archaeological point of view, the Treaty House grounds are an area of huge interest and importance, particularly in the Busby era. As will be seen through this chapter, Busby was a man with a consuming interest in all aspects of horticulture. Within the grounds Busby developed one of the first producing vineyards in New Zealand and was himself one of the earliest two or three experts on vintnering techniques in the Pacific. He corresponded with leading botanists throughout Australia and Europe, and built up a garden, the envy of all who saw it. He also developed one of the earliest and most exotic orchards in the North from cuttings he had brought from Australia.

It is not yet known how much archaeological evidence of Busby's work still remains but, through archaeological investigation as well as using the information in this report, it should be possible to go a long way towards reconstructing the grounds to the Busby era, if it is decided to take the project to this stage. Also there has never been an attempt to make a detailed evaluation of the grounds, so, from a historical point of view, it was decided to concentrate on them in this part of the report. Although there were many maps and plans of the area, Figure 10 being an example, none gave details about the Treaty House grounds.

The early European visits to the Bay of Islands have been covered in the Introduction and it was not until 1815 and the arrival of the missionaries that the first European settlement of Waitangi took place. It soon became evident that Rangihoua was a far from ideal spot for the mission. The weather was inclement and timber was not readily available, so Hall and Kendall decided to expand their activities elsewhere.

> When we perceived we do no good in procuring spars, deals, etc. in our situation at Tippoona, and that Conroy and Campbell must have been generally unemployed, I with Mr Hall thought it would be very advisable to try what could be done on the other side of the Bay. I had not you to advise with. In Mr Hall's opinion the River Whitange was preferable to any other place in the Bay for the rafting and securing of timber as the adjoining land certainly was for rearing and keeping cattle. I therefore thought it would be the best to purchase fifty acres for Society rather than it should be purchased

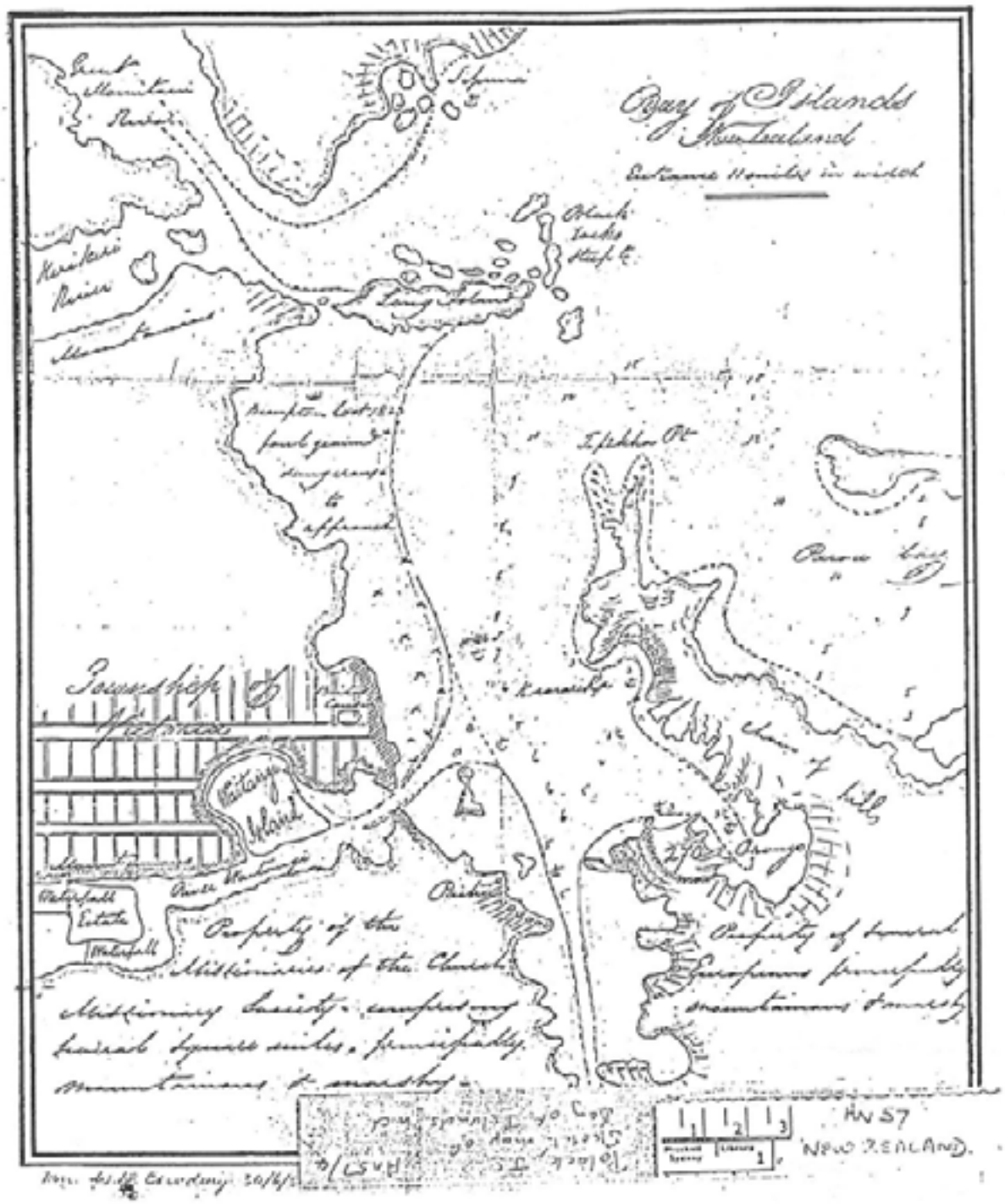


FIG.10. Bay of Islands, New Zealand, by J.C. Polack, 1835.
Reproduced by permission of Alexander Turnbull Library.

> by an individual. As soon as Conroy and Campbell had finished their work here they went to live upon the spot and immediately commenced digging ground for a Saw Pit.
>
> (Kendall Papers: 6 July 1815)

Hall and Kendall purchased these 50 acres off the local chief, Waraki, for five axes. Hall, his wife and baby daughter moved to Waitangi and built a house near the river, in the area that has become known as Hall's Gully. He was very enthusiastic about the prospects for his new home and glowing in his praise of Waitangi's potential for farming, calling it 'the garden of New Zealand' (Lee 1983: 74). In January 1816 he wrote that

> ... I live in a settlement by myself called the Wythengee it being the most eligible and beneficial for a settlement. Mr Kendall agreed to go there and indeed was the first proposer of it, until the sawyers got robbed of their property and then he would not go -I had so much labour in removing the Materials Timber that I could not think of giving it up again .... I have only been here four months and I have got four patches of wheat, the one I have reaped and the other is nearly ready -I have also got an excellent garden full of vegetables and about two acres of ground cleared for wheat.
>
> (Hall Papers: Hall to the Secretary: Jan. 12 1816).

However, the events very soon turned sour for Hall. The sawyers, Conroy and Campbell, had built a hut on the beach, but had suffered so much in the way of pilfering and intimidation that they gave up and returned to Rangihoua, leaving Hall and his family alone. Then Waraki died which involved the unknowing Hall in a power struggle between the local tribe and the expanding Nge Puhi people who were at Kororareka. On 15 January 1816 Hall was attacked by a raiding party from Kororareka.

> ... and a strange party came over from the other side of the Bay and got upon the [indecipherable] house top and I went to desire them to come down, they immediately laid hold of me and threw me down and got upon me and brandished their war instruments over me -it could be nothing but that some Almighty power that saved Daniel out of the jaws of the Lions that delivered me out of the hands of these savages -And when Mrs Hall saw me seized she came running towards me and a native met her and struck her in the face with a war instrument and knocked her and when I got myself wrested out from under them, I beheld my dear partner laying moaning and I could not see a feature in her face for blood.
>
> (Hall Papers: Hall to the Secretary: 16 January 1816)

At this stage a party of local natives returned and the invaders left, after having ransacked house. With great reluctance Hall was forced to leave Waitangi and return to the mission, his house being dismantled and transported to him there at a later date (Hall Papers: Hall to the Secretary: 9 March 1816). He had already planted two acres of wheat and barley and had cleared another two acres to begin sowing. In fact Hall continued to crop the land for wheat and barley, from Oihi, until his departure from New Zealand in 1824, but he never returned to live there.

The next event concerning Waitangi was in 1823 when Marsden visited Waitangi with Henry Williams investigating the possibility of setting up an organised mission station.

> The Rev. Williams and myself went to Wytanghee to see if we could fix upon a situation for a new settlement. The land is very good and the situation beautiful. We had some conversations with the inhabitants on the subject, and told them what our intentions were, but could come to no arrangements with them as the principal chiefs were absent at the wars. We crossed the Wytanghee River and examined ground upon the other side, which appeared very good also.
>
> (Marsden Journals: Fourth NZ Journal: 5 August 1823)

The Rev. Richard Davis also remarked on this, but was not complimentary about the land around Waitangi.

> I found, here, a little good land but that generally cultivated by the natives, the other land generally being barren.
>
> (Rev. Richard Davis, Journal: 19 August 1823)

Eventually the decision was made to establish the mission at Paihia. The last occupier of the land at Waitangi before Busby was Dr James Adolphus Ross, who had been the surgeon looking after Mrs Busby on the birth of her first child. He arrived at the Bay of Islands in early 1833 and Henry Williams showed him over Waitangi. He then purchased a spot there and built a house (Ross 1975: 18). However, he was also very soon attacked by local natives and retreated to Paihia, staying there until Busby moved into his own home (Ross 1975: 19). He moved back for a little while at this stage but left for good when his house was looted again.

THE GROUNDS, BUSBY ERA

Distressingly, the lack of specific contemporary comment about the grounds at Waitangi carries on the trend evident when we were looking at the house itself. Although we know that many people visited Waitangi in an official, or more casual, capacity, very few left records of their visits and even fewer left their impressions of the estate. One person

who did was J.B. Williams of Salem, Massachusetts, who served as American Consul in New Zealand. He wrote in 1844 that,

> But for the beauty of natural Scenery it is not so lovely a spot as Mr Busby's place directly opposite Kororareka, the ex-British Resident a worthy and urbane Gent. A more delightful and romantic spot it would be difficult to find in the Bay... Mr Busby has displayed great taste about those parts of the grounds he improves, doubtless Mrs Busby must share in the credit his worthy spous... I well remember the first call I made at their pretty neat, and hospitable Mansion embodied in a grove of trees and shrubs, with flowers sending forth a rich fragrance. Mr Busby has quite a large farm under cultivation, and a fine grapery propagating fast.
>
> (J.B. Williams Journals 1842-4: 83-85)

During Bishop Broughton's visit from Sydney in 1838 Philip Baker King also gave an impression of the grounds.

> The Bishop (Broughton) landed at the Resisdents and was received by Rev. (indescipherable) by Colenso the Printer and Henry Williams Snr. And Dr Ford a surgeon. Mr Busby's house is situated on a rising ground on the west side of the little inlet at Waitangi and although small is neatly constructed with grounds planted rather tastily with native and exotic shrubs.
>
> (P.B. King 12 December 1838 – 28 January 1839:5)

However, all too many of the comments on Waitangi fall along the lines of George Grey's in His Island Home.

> A little distance further down the bay brought us to a place rendered famous in the history of New Zealand. It is named Waitangi, and it was here that the Treaty of Waitangi was signed on 6th of February, 1840, in a large marquee a little in front of Mr Busby's house. The spot is unmarked but Mr Busby will show it to anyone visiting his homestead. Our chief stopped here a couple of nights, and he slept in the very room that the celebrated Darwin occupied when in the capacity of naturalist he visited the Bay of Islands many years ago in the Beagle. He was then a comparatively unknown man.
>
> (Grey 1879:27)

Darwin, frustratingly enough, mentions the scenery on the day trips took him on and some of the people (Darwin and Fitzroy 1835:496), but does not talk at all about the house and grounds where he stayed. These then, plus a few other hints, are all we have

of people's impressions of Waitangi at the time. The comments were almost universally favourable, describing the house as being neat, well kept up, although small, and the gardens as being varied and interesting, obviously with many flowers as several people commented on the smell. To obtain more information than this we must look at more specific details on Busby's farming and horticultural interests.

OTHER HOUSES AT WAITANGI

The first specific question to be dealt with is what other structures were on the estate, apart from the Treaty House, during Busby's tenure. In Maharatanga, Edwin records that,

> About 1833 a Doctor Ross and his wife -both very nice people came to the Bay of Islands -they stopped at our house I should think 2 or 3 months -I think while he [the doctor] was having a house built on the coast the N.W. side of Mr Busby's land towards the Kerikeri river.
>
> (Fairburn n.d.: 14)

He did not last in this house very long.

> He [Ross] was much impressed with Waitangi, and about March, in agreement with the owners, had built himself a house later included in Busby's first purchase. However, he was harassed by the Maori people there, and abandoned the place in July... In September 1835 he tried again and acquired land from Heke, Toua and Tao, north of the Wairoa stream, adjacent to Busby's later boundary, about which considerable dispute arose later. Here he on 25 May 1837 disposed of this property, believed to be some 1600 acres, to Captain William Hingston, again after trouble with Maori neighbours.
>
> (Lee 1988:7)

Ross's problems with the first house in particular centred around land disputes between the missionaries and Maoris.

> Tension also occurred with the European missionaries at Paihia, who claimed land which the Maori residents of Waitangi considered part of their cultivations.
>
> (Fredericksen 1988:14)

Ross was unfortunate enough to settle on this land. The most interesting comment on the house is that of Ross himself when he describes the events that led to him leaving it a second time. There is some evidence that after Ross left the land in July, Busby let him return to it later in the year while his second house was being built.

> Having been there a few days Mr Busby assembled the Natives in order to pay for his land which he had contracted for before. I was invited to be a witness along with Mr H. Williams and Mr Brown, while I was there about two o'clock p.m. Mrs Ross being left alone with the servant girl, a Native came to the house, broke open the door, entered the house and carried off the blankets from our bed and a number of other articles. Our house was about two hundred yards distant from Mr Busby's.
>
> (Ross 1838: 4)

Thus it can be seen that Ross's house was about two hundred yards from Busby's down towards the river. When Ross finally moved away Busby paid him twenty pounds fourteen shillings and one penny for his house, which was supposed to be the cost of construction, plus a cask of gunpowder and some blankets with which Ross paid off some debts owed to Hone Heke (Busby Account Book:3). What happened to the house is not known. It has been mooted that it may have been demolished and the timber used to build the kitchen/storeroom complex. However the timber that Busby brought from Clendon for this purpose would seem to preclude this idea. It was probably used by Busby to house some of the workmen he had on his estate for some time and then demolished at a later date, but exactly when is unknown.

The other house that was already standing when Busby moved into Waitangi was the shack built by the sawyers, Conroy and Campbell, in 1815. On 22 July 1833 Busby wrote to Campbell, who then lived at the Hokianga. Campbell had claimed the shed and, although he regarded the land as waste land, he wanted back the timber of his shed. Busby replied that,

> I take this opportunity of mentioning that the house which was built for you at Waitangi is situated upon land which was purchased in 1815 by Mr Hall, formerly a missionary here, and transferred by him to me before I left the Colony. It is now occupied by my workpeople, but I have no objection to refund the expense you have actually disbursed, having undertaken to do so in the case of Dr Ross who had built a house on part of the same land.
>
> (Busby Papers AIML: 22 July 1833)

Busby eventually paid Campbell in goods to the value of three pounds eleven shillings and eleven pence for the house. This tells us that the hut must have been much smaller than Ross's and also probably in poorer condition, but that Busby was using this structure also for housing his workers.

THE STORE

In 1841 as part of the additions to his house, Busby also planned to bring over the timber to build a store on the beach, which was to be run as a business by his wife Agnes. However, in the end the timber was probably local, supplied by his business

partner, Gilbert Mair. He wrote to Mair that,

> I begged you in my former letter to land at Victoria a considerable quantity of timber for building, as I am going to put up other buildings there immediately. One of these will be a store for a young man whom I am going to establish at Victoria. I would wish the timbers to be the same size as those used for your own store, that is strong enough and long enough to afford a lift. I intend bringing down 4 or 5 carpenters so that it will be a great disappointment if they have no timber to work on.
>
> (Busby to Mair: 4/11/1840)

The store on the beach was completed by March 1841 when Rev. Richard Taylor mentioned visiting it, buying some supplies and chatting with Busby (Ross 1975: 9). Marianne Williams mentions the store several times in her diary in 1844, about the time Busby was in financial trouble and made the trading voyage to America. On Saturday 13 July she wrote that,

> Samuel talked of Mrs Busby's affairs he had been helping making boxes for the kauri gum till ten o'clock at night since Thursday.
>
> (Marianne Williams Journal 1844:13/7/46)

Then the next day she stated again,

> Saml. and Henry went before breakfast and Thos. and John took a hasty one and all four went to pack and make boxes for the gum at Mrs Busby's store.
>
> (Marianne Williams Journal 1844: 14/7/46)

In 1850 Marianne Williams reported a fire at the store.

> Thomas came in and brought us word that Mr Busby's store had been on fire and the crew of the Children had by timely and active aid been the means of getting it out; it was a wonderful escape the fire having got some head and destroyed some property.
>
> (Marianne Williams Journal 1850)

Whether the store was rebuilt or not is unsure, but it is most likely that it was, due to a reference in the *New Zealand Pilot* of 1856.

> Waitangi River is S.W. one and a half miles from Kororarika point; small vessels enter this river, and they must either pass between rock and the shore in three and a half fathoms, or between the rock and Motu Mea; in the latter case, Mr Busby's house with a remarkable one-tree hill one and three quarter miles to the westward of the house inland, leads between in mid channel in three and a half fathoms, when the river may be steered for; a storehouse stands on the north point and from the latter a boulder spit runs half a cabbi's length dry at low tide.
>
> (Richards and Evans 1856: 33)

THE WELL OR CISTERN

The other structure about which there is some information is an old well or cistern. The major problem with this is that there is no hint so far of a construction date. It is probably safe to assume that it was put in in the late Busby period, or the Hewin period, but which, is entirely uncertain. This well was preserved in the 1933 restoration, but was subsequently covered over and its exact site has been lost.

> The old brick well by the side of the kitchen garden, the collecting of water from the house roof and the old iron hand-pump were part of the period, and were preserved.
>
> (Reed 1957: 84/5)

Ralph McCoomb also commented on the cistern.

> An old cistern built in the grounds was found on the east side of the house. This was cleaned out and rain water led to it, when building the new chimneys and the concrete floor, walls and ceiling of the exhibition room, this water supply enabled the work to be done without delay.

As far as other structures on the property are concerned they were mainly small farming or maintenance related shacks, built probably for short periods and replaced when they ran down.

VICTORIA TOWNSHIP

One of Busby's other great plans was for the township of Victoria which he, at several different times, tried to develop. He surveyed and subdivided part of his property hoping to sell off these allotments to build up the town. He sited it between his house and the present bridge, from the sea to near Hall's Gully (Reed see Fig. 9).

John Williams in his usual glowing terms described the site thus,

> That part most level was laid out for a township. It faces the Ocean to the north and the town of Korarareka to the East, named Victoria, an extensive grounds capable of accommodating 1,500,000 souls. Constantinople in all its beauty is not so heavenly a sight for a township.
>
> (J.B. Williams Journals 1842-4: 83-5)

Busby began to lay out the town in 1839 and first tried to sell allotments at this stage. He named some of the streets, including Peel Street, Wellington Street and Waitangi Street.

> The township site had areas set aside for a market place, a garden, parks and pre-named streets. Also noted on Busby's plan of Victoria is an area designated 'tubooed ground' and the location of a pier.
>
> (Fredericksen 1988: 16)

Busby had some initial success at selling these allotments in 1839, particularly when, at this stage, his idea for Victoria as the capital of New Zealand was still a possibility. Some of the allotments went to overseas speculators.

> The township having been neatly laid out into squares and streets, with an exchange and other public buildings, has been sold partly to Sydney capitalists and partly among the people of the Bay of Islands, at prices varying from One hundred pounds to Four hundred pounds per acre.
>
> (Jameson 1842:240)

However, Busby's plans very quickly fell apart due to a variety of factors. At one stage he had in fact sold 23 sections there, but all this failed also, since, due to the Government's policy following the Treaty, he would not give a good title (Lee 1988:23). After Hobson decided to move the capital to Auckland, the Bay of Islands dissolved as a commercial centre and destroyed the idea of a large town at Victoria. At first this did not deter him and, as we have seen when discussing the store, while in Sydney he planned to bring timber over with him to carry on his building. He wrote to Mair again about this.

> I trust you will be able to land at my place a significant quantity of scantling and boards besides what I formerly wrote you about, as I intend putting up some houses immediately at Victoria.
>
> (Busby to Mair 24 October 1840)

However, when he returned to Waitangi he became embroiled in interminable squabbles with the government over the validity of his land purchases. His inability to assure potential buyers of the safety of their ownership titles was the final nail in the coffin of his plans for Victoria. He tried again but met with no success and gave up the idea. Some of the people who had bought the sections earlier stayed on, the family of the last one until 1932.

THE GARDENS

If James Busby had one all consuming hobby or passion, it was undoubtedly the garden. One gains the distinct impression that he was at his very best when it came to growing things, and people at the time and writing later seem universally impressed with his enthusiasm and talent when it came to his garden. Obviously, as a farmer, this was a vital part of his life, but his interest went much deeper than this, specifically into the areas of viticulture and horticultural science. The first of these interests we will deal with in his various experiments with viticulture.

Busby had been fascinated with the techniques of wine making since he had been a young man. In one of his pamphlets he had written,

> If those who are fond of mirth, know with what rejoicing and revelry this joyous season is welcome throughout the wine countries they would plant a vineyard, for this end alone, that they might anticipate the coming vintage, and exalt in the fruits of their labour when it should arrive.
>
> (Busby 1831)

On the voyage out to Australia with his family in 1823 he had visited the vineyards at Cape Town and for the rest of the voyage had written "A Treatise on the Culture of the Vine and the Art of Making Wine" (Fill

When he arrived in Sydney his first job was managing the farm which supported the Male Orphan School near Liverpool, New South Wales. He also taught viticulture and received one hundred pounds a year plus one third of the produce as a wage for this. In 1830 he wrote another book "A Manual of Plain Directions for Planting and Cultivating Vineyards and for Making Wine in New South Wales" (Fill 1987:42). Then in 1831, during his trip to Europe, he toured Spanish and French vineyards and wrote two more publications of his visits (Fill 1987:43).

> During this tour he collected thousands of cuttings, packed them in moss in cases lined with damp-proof paper and shipped them to New South Wales.
>
> (Fill 1987: 43)

Many of these clippings were planted at the farm of his sister and brother-in-law, William Kelman, and became the basis of their family vineyard in the Hunter River, that was later bought by Lindemans (Fill 1987: 43). The rest of the cuttings were given to the Sydney Botanical Gardens where they made up a separate collection. Unfortunately, due to a lack of care and study this collection languished and was eventually destroyed (Ramsden 1942:39). It is recorded, however, that in January 1833, 362 of his cuttings were still alive, when Busby showed Chief Justice Forbes around the collection before his departure to New Zealand (Fill 1987: 43).

> Undoubtedly, his removal to New Zealand the following year deprived him of the reward for his labour and enterprise. No longer would he be regarded as the wine industry's chief propagandent. If not the father of Australian viticulture, Busby was certainly its prophet.
>
> (Ramsden 1942: 39)

One of Busby's first major tasks after settling in to his new home at Waitangi was to establish a nursery for his vine cuttings as well as for his native and exotic trees. In his account book he records paying Edward Callender fourteen shillings for four days work planting vines for the nursery (Busby Account Book: 2). The vineyard was planted in 1836.

> Tell John with my love that the vines were planted out under the most favourable circumstances, just after a soaking rain. I think the majority of them are likely to survive. The season has been extremely moist.
>
> (Busby to Alexander Busby: 14 November 1836)

The vines that he planted were brought to New Zealand from the collection he had donated to the Sydney Botanical Garden. There are several entries in the Garden's records about these vines being sent to him.

> 100 - a collection of vine cuttings for the General supply of the Inhabitants of the Islands of New Zealand.
>
> (Sydney Botanical Garden Records: 9 June 1835; see Fig. 11)

On 25 July he received another 40 vine cuttings (Sydney Botanical Garden Records: 25/7/1836; see Fig. 11). His original shipment of a whole variety of cuttings arrived in 1832 and included 50 grape vine plants and 50 grape vine cuttings (Sydney Botanical Garden June 1832). The exact placement of the vineyard is unsure but Alice Busby, James' granddaughter, told Eric Ramsden that,

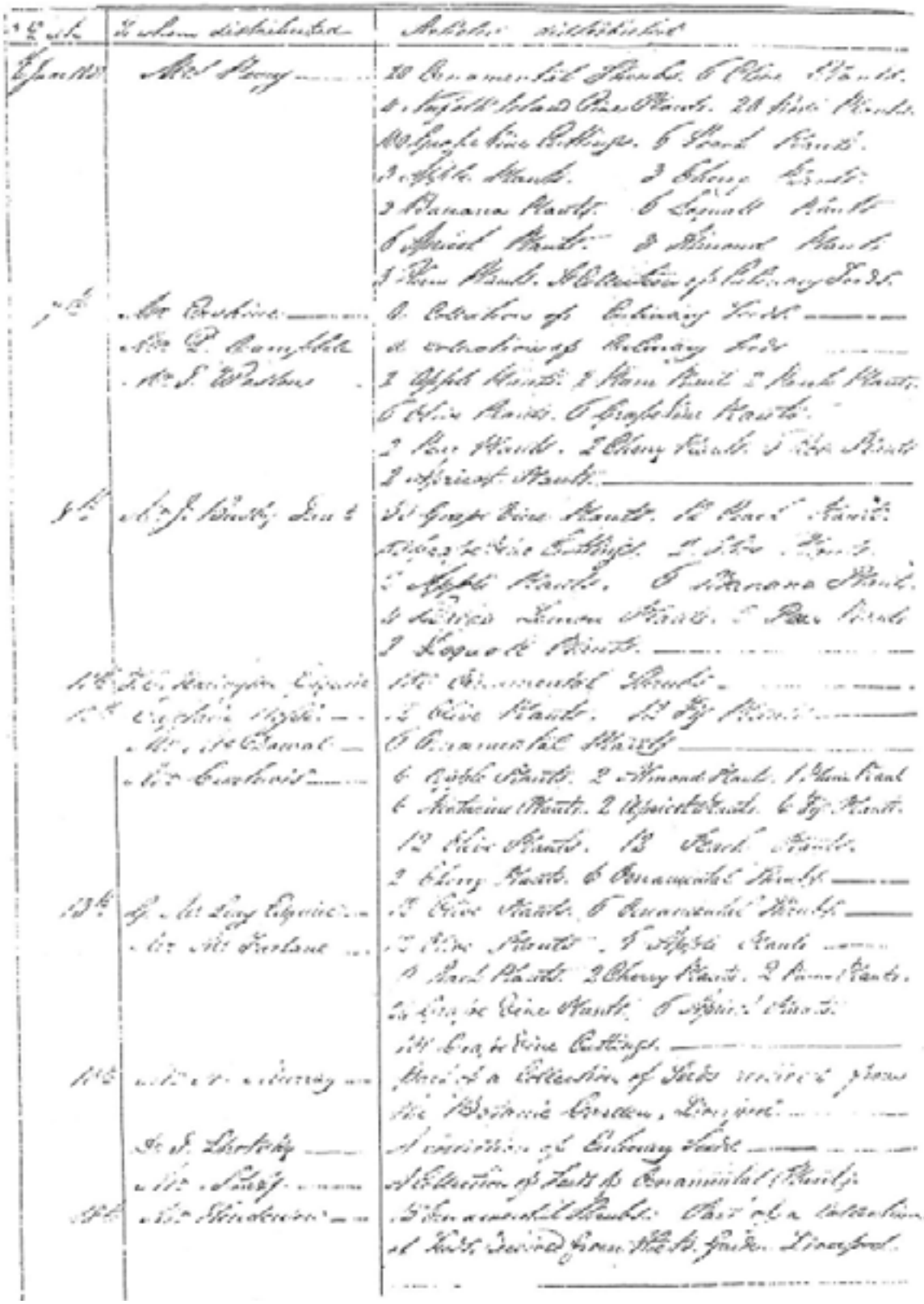


FIG. 11. Sydney Botanical Garden Records 1832-1836.
Reproduced by permission of John Adam, Auckland.

Plants Seeds &c distributed from the Botanic Garden

Date	To whom distributed	Articles distributed
1834		
May 6	Wm McArthur Esqr	A Collection of Colonial Seeds 50 Sorts
	Thos Barker, Esqr	12 Ornamental Shrubs 25 Cuttings of Vines 6 Cuttings do of Figs
	Mr G. A. Meyer	50 Cuttings of Vines
	Capt. Clunie Moreton Bay	A Collection of Culinary Seeds &c A Box of Ornamental Shrubs
	[illegible]	25 Cuttings of Vines
	James Busby Esqre New Zealand	2 Boxes of Ornamental Shrubs
	[illegible] Liddiard Esq	25 Vine Cuttings 12 Ornamental Shrubs
	[illegible] Sadlier Esqre	25 Ornamental Shrubs 28 Vines
	George McLeay, Esqre	a Collection of Seeds of Colonial plants 6 Ornamental Shrubs
	Judge Dowling	25 Cuttings of Ornamental plants

The supply of these Cuttings of Vines to be disposed for the present

Alexr McLeay
9th May 1834

Plants Seeds &c distributed from the Botanic Garden

Date	To whom distributed	Articles distributed
1835 9 June	Mr J P Wilson	No 12 Olives Tea Plant Guavas Nos Spanish Chestnut Nos Orange Plants 50 Cuttings of Mr Busby Vines
	Mr Alexr Bird	12 Olives Tea Plant Nos Spanish Chestnut Nos Orange Plants 50 Cuttings of Busby Vines Vine Seed
	Mr John Larnach	Collection of Culinary Seeds
	Major Mundy	Collection of Culinary Seeds
	James Busby Esqr	100 a Collection of Vine Cuttings for the General Supply of the Inhabitants of the Island of New Zealand
	C D Riddell Esqr	50 Vine Cuttings
	Mr John Wallas	50 Vine Cuttings
	William Macarthur Esqr	Vine Cuttings

Plants Seeds &c Distributed from the Botanic Garden Sydney &c

Date	To whom distributed	Articles distributed	
July 18th 1836	Mr Holden	40	Cuttings from Mr Busby's Collection of Vines
	Mr Greville	40	Vine cuttings, Various Shrubs and Vegetable Seeds.
			M. Jamieson Alexr McLeay
July 25th 1836	Mr G. B. Sutter	40	Vine Cuttings from Mr Busby's Collection of Vines.
"	Mr Wm Bowman	40	Vine Cuttings
"	Mr Wilson	40	Vine Cuttings, and Shrubs
	Mr J. A. Moyes	40	Vine Cuttings
"	Mr S. R. Gerrold	As many as can be spared	Cuttings of Plants & flowers
"	Mr P. McIntyre	40	Vine Cuttings, fruit trees and Shrubs
	Mr H. O'Brien	40	Vine Cuttings
"	Mr James Busby	40	Vine Cuttings to complete his Collection at New Zealand
"	W. J. Pilcher Esqr	40	Vine Cuttings & Shrubs
"	Mr Hogg	40	Vine Cuttings
"	Mr Foster	40	Vine Cuttings
"	George Porter Esqre	40	Vine Cuttings
"	Mr Harrison	40	Vine Cuttings & Cuttings of Fig trees
"	Mr Phelps	40	Vine Cuttings & Cuttings of Fig trees
			Geo. Porter Alexr McLeay

> I have always been told that the vineyard was planted in front of the house between the dwelling and where the flagstaff ... now stands, and that it was destroyed by the soldiers camped there during Heke's war in 1845. When I remember Waitangi first [in the 1870s] the vines were growing in a glass house at the right-hand side of the house. How long they had been there I do not know! At that time there were more growing outside.
>
> (Ramsden 1940; see Plate 27)

Wine was in production in 1840 during Dumont D'Urville's visit in the "Astrolabe".

> As I was going over Mr Busby's estate, I noticed a trellis on which several flourishing vines were growing. I asked Mr Flint if the vines produced any grapes in this climate, and, contrary to what I had been told in Korora-reka, I heard to my surprise that there had already been attempts to make wine from New Zealand grapes. On reaching his house, Mr Flint offered me a glass of port. I refused it, but with great pleasure I agreed to take the product of the vineyard that I had just seen. I was given a light white wine, very sparkling, and delicious to taste, which I enjoyed very much. Judging from this sample, I have no doubt that vines will be grown extensively all over the sandy hills of these islands, and very soon New Zealand wine may be exported to English possessions in India.
>
> (Wright 1955: 79/80)

From 1840 Busby's vineyard suffered a number of setbacks. He wrote to Gilbert Mair in 1840 saying:

> I hope Mr Flatt will take care that the poultry do not get to the vines as the grapes very soon will be large enough to be destroyed by them.
>
> (Busby to Mair 8 October 1840)

In 1842 he introduced bees to help with cross fertilisation, but the farm animals he brought back from Sydney wreaked havoc with the inadequately fenced vineyard (Fill 1987:45). However, it is known that wine was sold to the military in 1846 so he must have had some in production at this stage (Ramsden 1942). As stated above, the vineyard was destroyed by the military in 1846 and it seems clear that any other vintering was done from his glasshouse.

As well as viticulture Busby was also very interested in horticulture in a more general way. Most of the surviving reminiscences we have mention that Busby's garden was an attractive mixture of exotic and native plants. His plantings covered a very wide range with trees and shrubs, fruit trees, vegetables and flowers all being on his estate at various times, with a few of his plantings still in existence. On the trip to Europe in

PLATE 27. Bay of Islands from Busby's garden, in Richard Taylor's sketchbook. Reproduced by permission of Auckland Institute and Museum Library.

1831, as well as bringing back vine cuttings, he also bought back a number of fruit cuttings and seeds, as well as other plants.

> He also brought back seeds of tomatoes, watermelon, pimento, cucumbers, lettuce, currants, sultanas and other vegetables.
>
> (Fill 1987: 43)

While he was planting his vineyard in 1836 he also planted a kitchen garden to supply the household with fresh vegetables. Rev. Cotton in 1844 mentioned that he had fresh asparagus for dinner, so presumably this came from the kitchen garden (W.O. Cotton Journal, September 1842). In his deliveries from the Sydney Botanical Gardens he received other plants apart from the grapes. In 1842 he received 12 peach plants, 2 olive plants, apple plants, 6 banana plants, 4 Lisbon lemon plants, 2 pear plants and 2 loquat plants (Sydney Botanical Garden Records, 8 June 1832; see Fig. 11). On 6 May 1834 he received boxes of ornamental shrubs (Sydney Botanical Garden Records, 6 May 1834; see Fig. 11). He also mentions several times in his account book having paid his labourers for working in his garden (Busby Account Book: 2). He also mentions paying two pounds ten shillings in cash and blankets for fencing his yard (Busby Account Book: 4). It is known that Busby always had great trouble keeping workers on his land and had to resort to some inventive schemes for keeping them, as Edward remarked during a visit in 1834.

> Mr Busby could hardly keep a Boats crew together, he employed them in his garden, but the moment they were paid in clothes off they went into the Country ... but Mr Busby hit on a plan of keeping a School constantly till at length he got seventeen men, as many as he wanted for his boat and garden from seven till nine in the morning he teaches them to read and write and sum.
>
> (Marham 1963: 66)

We also know some of the trees that Busby planted.

> A week later while Hooker was still walking on the Beach, Collenso in passing with his boat, picked us up and took us on to Mr Busby's at the Waitangi in or where he [Busby] has a large vinery and fig plantation and also a capital series of cordyline trees to protect his vineyards from the E. winds…
>
> (Bagnall and Peterson 1945: I.D. Hooker to Wm. J. Hooker, 21 September 1841)

The *Cordyline,* or cabbage, trees are the boundary to the horseshoe shaped garden shown in the inset to the Wyld chart of 1840 and are still in existence today (Plate 28). There are several stories concerning the Norfolk pine at the front of the house. Both Ross and Challis take the view that it was one of the few survivors of a bag of seedlings sent to Gilbert Mair, who gave one to Busby to plant (Ross 1975: 101/102; Challis 1988: 37). However, Barbara Fill has found references in Marianne Williams' journal which would tend to contradict this idea (Fill 1987: 10). She recorded that

> The natives… have cut down Mr Busby's Norfolk pines [although one survived].
>
> (Marianne Williams Journal: 2 July 1845)

This would seem to show conclusively that Busby had a series of the pines, possibly in a row in front of where the Whare Runanga now is, but the one there now was the only one to survive beyond 1845. The pohutukawa tree growing at the front eastern corner of the house is commonly held to have been planted by Agnes Busby to commemorate the signing of the Treaty in about the year 1860. Busby's granddaughter, Agnes Busby, had stated that she was told that Busby's son, William, planted the tree, not his mother, but also confirmed the date at about 1860. (Ross 1975:103). Bushy formed an early friendship with Colenso, who shared the former's interest in horticulture. They both at various times corresponded with Allan Cunningham, the Australian botanist and explorer.

> The prickly shrub I saw at the Southd ... I cannot send this time, for those I have are all dead, save one, that I fear will die also! - that you saw in Mr B's garden is not the same. I believe Mr B's to be from New Holland, and so he thinks.
>
> (Colenso Papers 1833-63: 1 March 1839)

There are also several other references in Marianne Williams' journal of Agnes Busby giving her plants for her own garden. On 7 September 1844 Busby's gardener, John Flatt, planted some vines that Agnes had given her (Marianne Williams Journal: 7 September 1844), while a week earlier she noted that it was

> A bright day but showery I planted the acasias I had from Mrs Busby...
>
> (Colenso August: 31 August 1844)

Busby also mentions his tree nursery several times. Firstly when the French frigate "Venus" under du Petit Thouars visited in 1838 he wrote that since Petit Thouars was collecting various objects to do with natural history,

PLATE 28. Cabbage trees in the Waitangi Treaty House gardens.

> I gave him a lot of the young forest trees from my nursery which I have written Cunningham to look at.
>
> (Busby to Alexander Busby,
> 16 November 1838)

The next year when he was contemplating a trip to England he again wrote to Alexander that,

> I went last week to the forests of the Kaua Kaua and have procured a collection of 7 to 8 varieties and hope still to complete the 9 varieties of pines which are known to belong to this country - If these reach England in safety they will be worth a large sum. I have minute instructions from Cunningham for their treatment.
>
> (Busby to Alexander Busby,
> 24 August 1839)

There are other small references to his garden in various letters to Alexander. In 1838 he stated he had a bumper crop of peas, had put in garden walls, but his attempt to grow strawberries had failed (Busby to Alexander Busby: 20 June 1838). In 1839 he mentions an asparagus bed (Busby to Alexander Busby: 8 August 1839). Later in 1839 he says,

> Waitangi is beautiful at present – I have lately had 20 natives at work for 7 days -and they have done a great deal for it.
>
> (Busby to Alexander Busby,
> 14 September 1839)

The grounds were obviously looking superb at the time of the Treaty signing and for some time after. However, the damage that was done by the army and by Maori raiding parties in 1845 and 1846 was severe and must have been very disheartening to Busby when he viewed it upon his return from America and Australia. It would seem doubtful that the Residency grounds ever regained their glories of the period since, as with so many things, Busby's energy and much of his time was devoted to his land battles after this. The Kinder photograph of 1864 shows the area around Victoria and Waitangi looking quite unkempt (Plate 29).

Apart from his experiments in botany and viticulture, Busby's other aim was to develop Waitangi as a fully productive farm. He would have had very high hopes for farming, given William Hall's glowing reports of his wheat and barley crops (Fill 1987: 38). Since Busby was in contact with Hall, and, in fact, bought his Deed off him whilst in Sydney, it would seem safe to that the two men would have discussed the potential of Busby's land before he left Sydney. However, when he arrived in New Zealand, Busby found crop production much more difficult and labour intensive than he had supposed (Fill 1987: 38). It was the shortage of farm labour that proved a major hindrance to Busby's plans for farming. In a letter to the Colonial Secretary he wrote that although

PLATE 29. Waitangi Creek from Victoria (Mr Busby's), Bay of Islands, by John Kinder, 1864. Reproduced by permission of Hocken Library.

New Zealand's soil was potentially more productive than Australia's,

> yet from the dearth of uncertainty of labour many years may elapse before it can be profitable for anyone who does not labour with his own hands to engage in agriculture unless he shall have space enough to afford sustenance to a herd of cattle.
>
> (Colonial Office Papers:
> Busby to Colonial Secretary,
> August 1840)

Despite these problems Busby planted some crops in the immediate vicinity of the house, including potatoes, and carried on with his plans for the farm. He had received some animals by 1838, as there are records of one of his bullocks breaking its neck in September 1838. This bullock weighed 980 pounds and was butchered and sold to the "Heroine", which was visiting the Bay (Lee 1988: 23).

In 1839 Busby bought the Puke, a block of valuable agricultural land just to the north-west of Waitangi. This land was intended for cattle breeding. It was not until 1840/1 that he was able to set these plans in motion. While in Sydney he arranged for the importation of two shipments of livestock to New Zealand. Originally he intended them for property he had bought at Whangarei, but due to lack of workers there and the insecurity of his tenure, he sent them to the Bay.

> The stock included 600 prime ewes, 20 rams, 40 heifers, 20 young bullocks and 20 working bullocks.
>
> (Ramsden 1942: 263)

He also brought over agricultural implements and a number of workers, approximately 42, comprising farm labourers, shepherds, stockmen and mechanics to control the stock at Waitangi and the Puke (Fill 1987:39). However, as with many of his endeavours, Busby did not have very much luck with his early attempts at farming. In a bad storm in 1843,

> two thirds of my young lambs perhaps from 120-140 had perished in the storm besides 42 full grown sheep -though a part of the latter were destroyed by dogs -several cows were also dead.
>
> (Busby to Mair, 8 November 1843)

Then in 1844 Busby, as discussed earlier, was in severe financial difficulty. He was forced to sell most of his stock at auction, but this was a disaster, raising only about one hundred pounds, not the four hundred pounds expected (Ross 1975:70). The bank then put bailiffs into the house and a manager of the farm at the Puke (Ross 1975: 70).

At this stage Busby made the trip to America selling kauri gum, which recouped his fortunes somewhat. After this, as with all of Busby's other interests, his interest in farming was, to some extent, buried in his land claims with the government. He continued to farm Waitangi, off and on, until his death and while he was not there his sons, John Dow and William, managed the farm for him. The John Kinder painting of Waitangi in 1864 shows sheep grazing in front of the house.

The one idea he did try to develop on the farm was the raising of Angora goats (Fill 1987: 40). He tried introducing them in the mid 1960s and they survived for some years, although eventually running wild.

> In 1897 the 'Northern Luminary' mentioned that a flock of 100 Angoras still grazed at Waitangi in the bushy, western, part of the property and that it was very difficult to round them up.
>
> (Fill 1987: 40)

However, again, this interest suffered from his land claims.

THE GROUNDS 1880-1930

There is virtually no documentary evidence describing the grounds at Waitangi during the period from 1880, when the Busbys sold the land, to the early 1930s when the Bledisloes purchased the estate as a gift to the nation. Any ideas we have about the state of the gardens and farm come from photographic evidence, as from c.1870, when the well known photographer D.L. Mundy visited the house, there was a steadily increasing number of photographic studies of Waitangi. The Mundy photograph coincides with the grounds being in their best state since the early 1840s (Plate 10). The land around the house is essentially pastoral, with heavy split timber post and two rail fences (Challis 1988:38). There are some trees and shrubs including cabbage trees, and front picket fencing near the house (Challis 1988:38).

To the north near the Norfolk pine and the grove of cabbage trees is a drystone walled enclosure with a high timber windbreak surrounding an orchard. Agnes Busby recalled a sanded path to a wicket gate in front house, with round beds of flowers on either side (Challis 1988: 38).

Two sketches drawn in 1881 by T.S. Williams show a similar scene (Plates 11, 12). There have been some new trees planted around the sides of the house, but apart from this the grounds are fairly simple and well kept. However, only a couple of years after this photographs show the beginning of the general deterioration which overtook the house and grounds in the 1880-1903 period. The fence is already broken and the land is being grazed up to the walls of the house, so the gardens have probably been destroyed, with its only remnants being a few overgrown shrubs (Challis 1988: 38). Photographs taken in the 1890s show a further deterioration in the grounds. Since the house was not inhabited the land right up to the walls of the house was used for grazing and the ground now had thistle and rush (Challis 1988: 38).

The trees around the house had grown, but no work done on the grounds. There is some suggestion that the land around the house had been ploughed (Challis 1988: 38).

After the Hewins took possession of the land and renovated the house in the 1903-5 period there was also a marked improvement in the state of the grounds. As a start the fence was rebuilt so as to prevent animals from grazing up to the house and allow the Hewins to plant a garden again (Plate 30). This Mrs. Hewin did. After 1905 and by 1912 the surrounds to the house were again looking quite picturesque (Challis 1988:39). Outside the immediate environs of the house the land was still pastoral, primarily used for grazing (Challis 1988: 39).

The last collection of photographs we have for this period are a number taken about 1932, just before the restoration project started. These all show a common theme. The initial improvement to the grounds had not been kept up and a slow deterioration was in progress again. The borders and shrubs were overgrown and the trees pressing inwards over the house (Plate 24). The garden was now much simpler, although tidy, with some flowers along the wall to the rear (Plate 23). The fences are also beginning to look in a dilapidated state again, although the front lawn is mown and still moderately well cared for.

THE GROUNDS 1933-1988

This chapter is mainly a summary of Challis's work; adding in several other published sources. Therefore, only other sources will be referenced, the rest being contained in Challis 1988: 38-41.

In line with the restoration programme on the house some work was completed on the grounds in 1933 and 1934, although it was a lower priority in the total programme. Firstly there was a small landscaping operation in late 1933 as a response to some specific problem which had been uncovered during work on the house. It had become obvious that when it rained heavily, water poured over a bank to the rear of the house and flowed underneath it. Also when foundation holes were dug water rose in them immediately, so it was obvious that any new structure would be in danger from water damage. In this landscaping project the rear courtyard was excavated out and flattened and the north and west sides of the house were graded. In all of these areas tile field drains were laid to help with the water problem. Drystone retaining walls were built at the back of the graded areas to the rear and the north side using boulders from the property and a surface drain was built of concrete at the base of the walls. Flower beds and paths edged with totara pegs and battens were put in at the sides and the rear and picket fences with gates were erected across the rear courtyard and at the south-west corner. The front fence was kept at this stage as the land beyond it was still being grazed. Finally the trees to the north side of the house were thinned out.

Following this short term work, completed as a solution to immediate problems, it was necessary for the Waitangi National Trust to set in place some policies in regard to the grounds of the Treaty House. This needed to be looked at in two stages. Firstly individual trees and plants around the estate needed to be examined to see whether they were still in good condition and what policy should be used in terms of

PLATE 30. Waitangi Treaty House front lawn, by Russell Duncan, 1905.
Reproduced by permission of Hocken Library.

plantings. Secondly some decisions needed to be made on large scale projects such as the re-afforestation of the estate and how to carry out some of Lord Bledisloe's wishes as donor of the gift, such as the bush and bird sanctuary.

In 1934 a report was completed by the Forestry Advisory Committee giving a plan of the grounds, showing the condition of existing trees and plants (Reed 1957: 46). The plan showed the remnants of Busby's orchard and his plantings near the Whare Runanga, including the cabbage trees used originally as a vineyard shelter, olive trees, lemon and orange trees, as well as elm, camphor, holly and oak (Figs. 12, 13). The stone wall structure in this area was also removed at this stage.

> It was found that nearly all the exotic trees and some native trees in the Treaty Grounds and the adjoining Bond Gully were over-mature or in a diseased condition, and it was recommended that many should be cut down and new plantations started with suitable trees.
>
> (Reed 1957: 46)

The report also recommended that the native bush alongside the Waitengi River and the coastal areas around the house be preserved and added to by further plantings of native trees and shrubs, particularly pohutukawa for the coastal areas. In 1934 a project was started whereby successive governors-general and royal visitors planted groves of pohutukawa trees fanning out on either side of the front of the Treaty House, beginning with Lord Bledisloe. Finally the report recommended that most of the Trust land should be kept free of stock and gorse so that the land would regenerate in manuka and that a forest of native trees and shrubs backing the grasslands around the Treaty House grounds should be planted (Reed 1957: 46/7). Other specific additions to the Trust property in the years included the building of the Whare Rununga, the gifting of the direction and distance table on Mt Bledisloe, and the erection of the flagstaff. The latter was erected out of materiel donated by various people. The main mast was pitch pine from the Gisborne Sheepfarmers Co. Ltd, and the yardarm a kauri log from the Kauri Timber Co. (McCoomb 1965:12; Reed 1957:49). It was meant to stand 100 feet above ground, but was sunk further than intended, and stood 94 feet high (Reed 1957: 49). However, after the flagstaff had been standing for 10 years, it was found that the main mast had rotted and needed to be replaced. The government allowed the Trust to fell two kauri trees from the Puketi Forest to replace the mast (Reed 1957:50). This stands 112 feet high as it was set above ground into a tabernacle (Reed 1957:50). In 1940 the Memorial at the rear of the Treaty House was erected.

After the initial improvements had been made it was decided to set in train some of the longer term projects associated with the Estate grounds. Because the initial gift by the and several subsequent ones; had been so generous, both the Trust Committee and the government were eager to see that the Bledisloe’s wishes in regard to the management of the Estate were carried out.

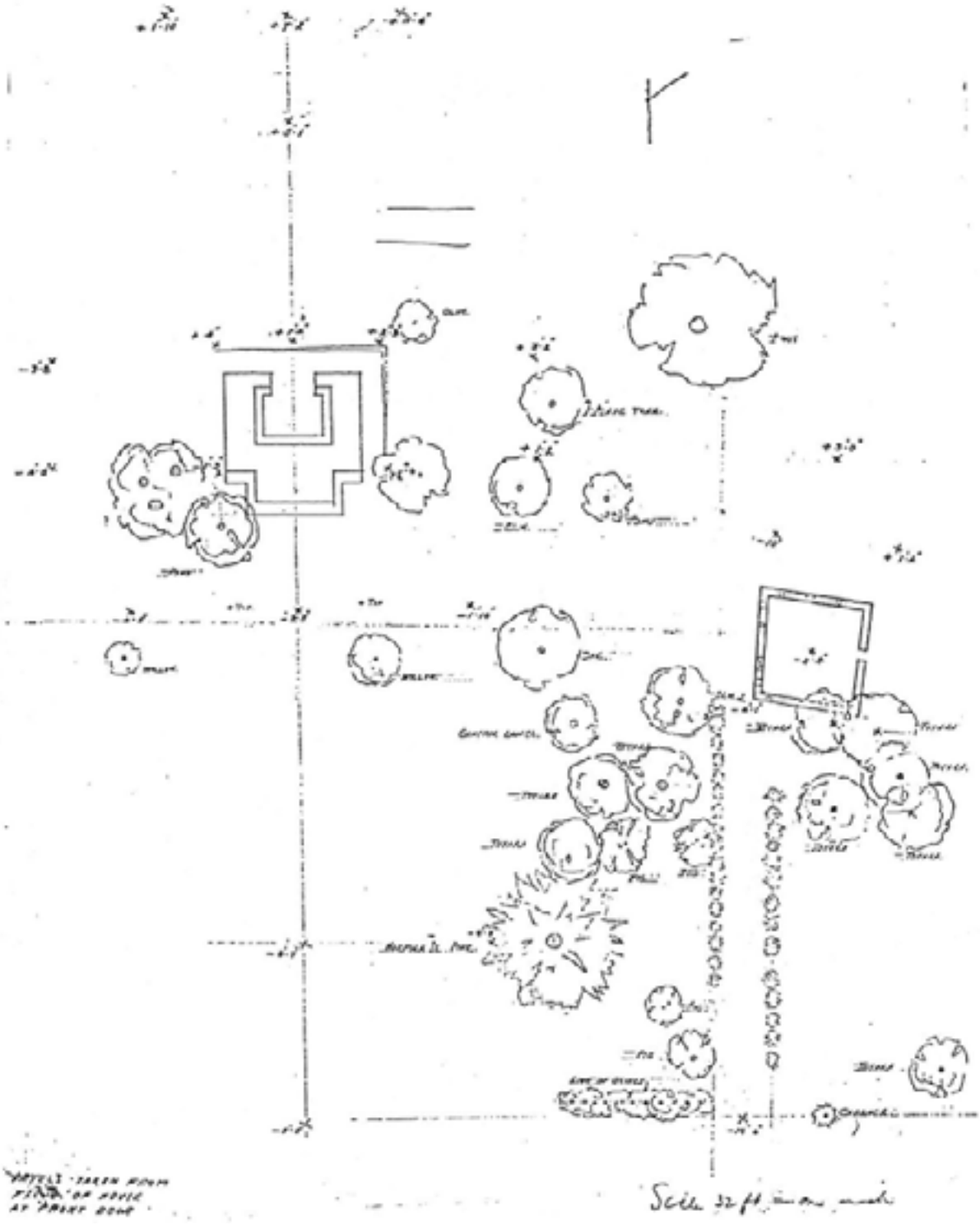


FIG 12. Proposed garden plan for the Treaty House grounds 1934.
Reproduced by permission of John Gummer, Architect, Auckland.

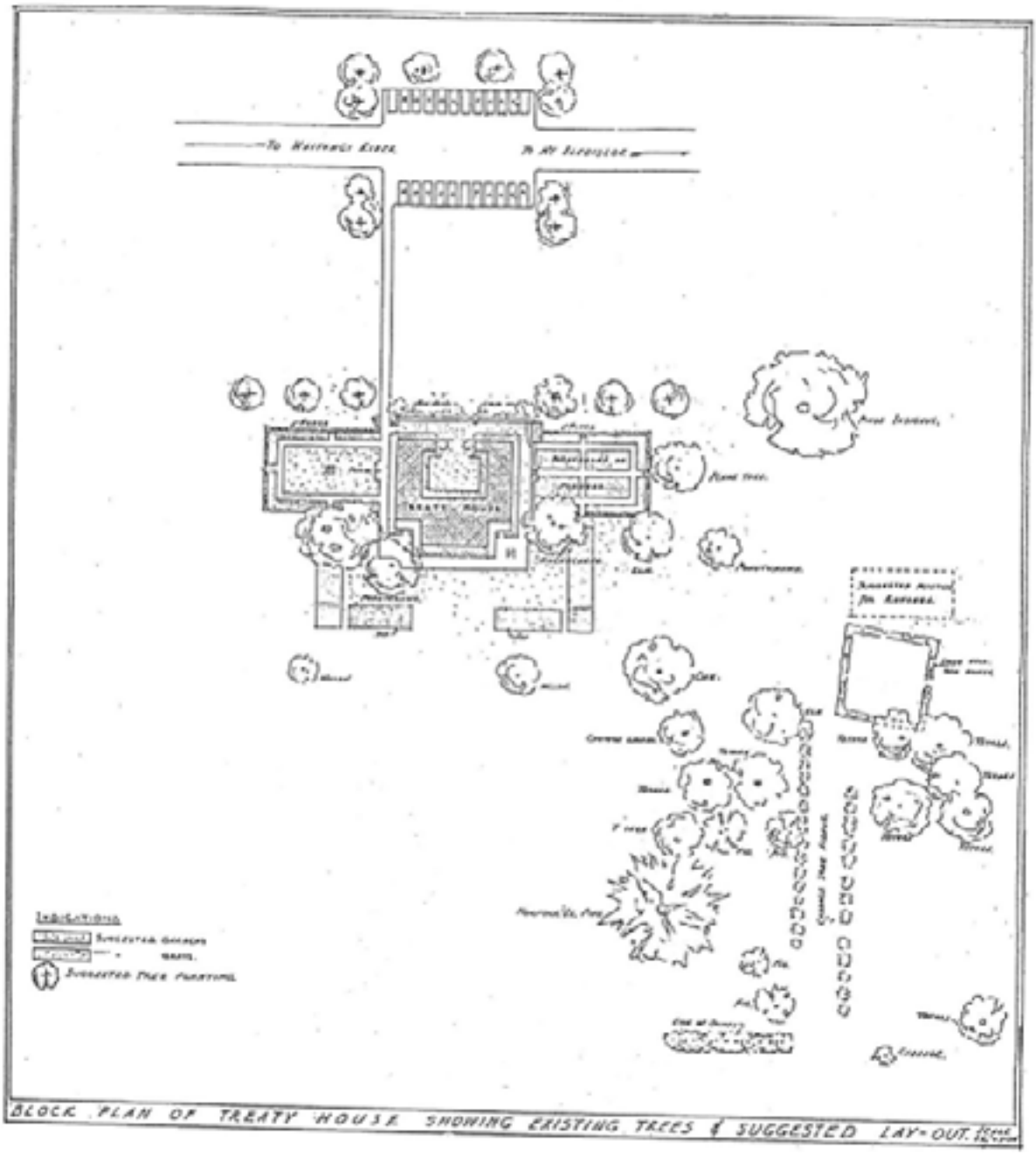


FIG. 13. Proposed garden plan for the Treaty Houise grounds 1934.
Reproduced by permission of John Gummer, Architect, Auckland.

> It was the expressed wish of the donors that parts of the Reserve should be used for outdoor sport. The gift of Waitangi was made specifically as a place of historic interest, recreation, enjoyment and benefit to the people.
>
> (Reed 1957: 67)

With this in mind the Trust Committee set up a subcommittee to administer the golf course. There had been a nine hole course run from Russell before the National Reserve was set up and this arrangement was continued for a time until after the war. At this stage it was decided to extend the membership beyond Paihia and Russell, so the Bay of Islands Golf Club was approached (Reed 1957: 67). This Club took over the lease of the course and became the Waitangi Golf Club. An 18 hole championship course was developed with the club members raising two thousand pounds and the government matching this sum (Reed 1957: 68). The Trust Board took a percentage of the green fees for its lease and the course was gradually upgraded to the stage where it now must rank as one of the most picturesque courses in the country. The Bledisloes were able to see the course during their last visit to New Zealand in 1947 when Lady Bledisloe presented a cup to be played for by lady golfers (Reed 1957:70).

One of Lord Bledisloe's other major wishes had been for the creation of a bush and bird sanctuary in the hinterland of the Estate.

> The bush and bird-sanctuary took in all the land within the National Reserve, beyond the golf course, along Mt Bledisloe Road, and extended to the Waitangi River, including the Falls. Here and there, in selected positions, native trees were planted. The puriri, karaka, rewarewa, kowhai, green and purple akeake, kohuhu, tipau, kumaraho and others that are readily spread by birds, were given preference. In two nearby gullies -Halls and the land gully, intensive planting was carried out. In these gullies an endeavour was made to include every known native tree and shrub possible. The countryside in Northland was searched for specimens. The seedlings collected included kauri, totara, rimu, tarairi, puriri, kahikatea and rata.
>
> (Reed 1957: 75)

Plants were purchased from throughout New Zealand and donations made from various organisations, in particular the Bruce Estate near Hunterville (Reed 1957: 75/6). Species of native birds were re-introduced into the sanctuary including tuis, kiwis, bitterns, wekas and native pigeons, along with the varieties already there, kingfisher, fantail, grey warbler, white-eye and pipit (Reed 1957: 47). Some introduced species such as pheasant and quail were also added. White manuka quickly spread over the estate and some of the native trees were planted in groves, particularly a kowhai grove in the Land Gully, a puriri plantation in Hall's Gully, a row of rimus on Mt Bledisloe Road, and the pohutukawas around the house (Reed 1957: 78).

Unfortunately on 6 March 1952 the sanctuary was destroyed by fire, destroying many trees and killing the ground birds (Reed 1957: 127).

During the second World War the Trust property was used by the New Zealand Army with trenches and pits being dug for defence (Challis 1988:40). To fill these in after the war soil from the lawn was used and a ha-ha or sunken fence was created in front of the house with a stone wall four feet high (Reed 1957: 90). This was filled in to create the one level grassed lawn in existence today, in 1963. From 1960 to the present not a large amount of major work was performed on the grounds, apart from the normal maintenance of the gardens and grounds. By the 1970s there had been further losses of Busby's original planting, particularly in the orchard. In the late 1970s several flower and herb gardens were added around the house.

CONCLUSION

It is hoped that the reader, most importantly, will have gained from this report an appreciation of the tremendous sense of history which pervades the Treaty House and grounds. The site is one of importance in Maori traditional history as well as being integral to the development of European history in New Zealand. In terms of Maori history the Waitangi area was a centre of settlement. The coast around the house was used as a seasonal home for fishing, while settlement was widespread along the Waitangi river banks, due, among other things, to its importance as a transportation route to the interior and the Hokianga. The land was also highly productive due to its base of volcanic soil.

The house is involved in virtually all political decisions of any importance for the colony up until 1840. Also the house and grounds, because of their uniqueness in the area, the construction history of the house, and the richness of the gardens, are of vital importance. In fact Maori and European history melds on the property in a coterminous relationship which sees many meetings within the same approximate framework of time and area. In this area the mix of history and archaeology has been of particular use as, at times, history has filled in the gaps where the site has been too heavily modified to leave archaeological evidence, and vice versa.

Through the research that was conducted for this report, a number of things were discovered, with perhaps more on the grounds rather than the house. Many of the fruit trees Busby used to create his orchard were defined and the style of the gardens he planted was refined further, as well as more information gathered on the vineyard and other parts of the estate. Aligned to this the archaeological investigations uncovered more information about the early drainage systems, ground levels and patio paving.

The positions of some of the other structures on the grounds, such as Ross's house and the store, have been defined more closely. Also far more Maori structures and sites have been identified and an indication gained of the number of Maori who were living at Waitangi. From this it should be obvious that even more care than previously must be taken when modifying the estate as there are many more sites of interest than previously thought. Figure 14 shows the position, closely as possible, of the various archaeological sites identified in this study and previous surveys. It shows nothing like all archaeological features, since many are unidentified, and the map is too small to include all individual sites, but it does give an indication of the diversity and richness of historical data available on the estate. Hopefully we will see this map filled in even further as time goes by.

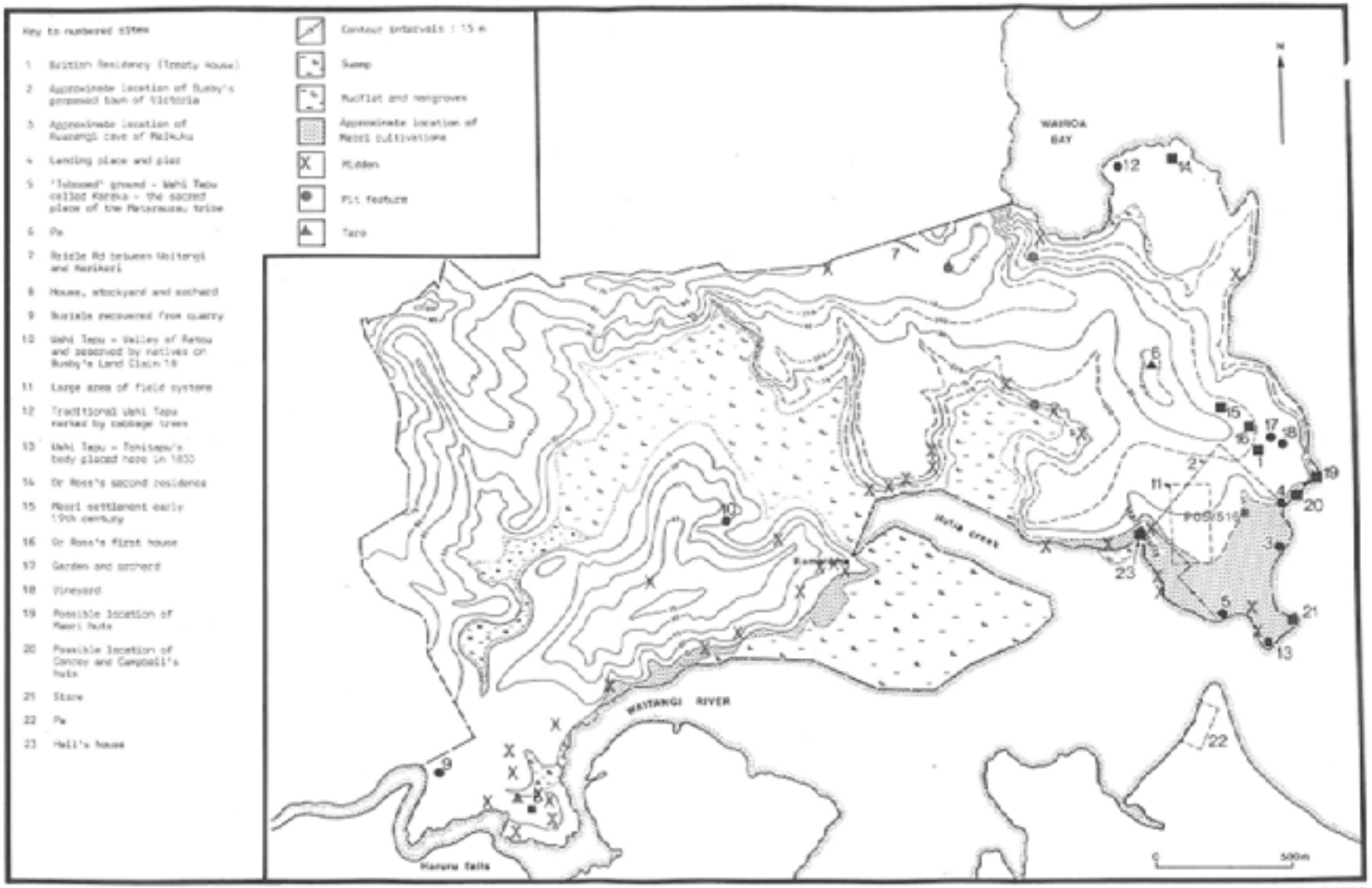
In terms of the house, the research focused on matters specifically related to archaeological concerns. In a large part, the research confirmed existing suppositions and permitted a synthesis of published material on the Treaty House. This has not been tried to this level before, and was a mix of original research and analysis of other unpublished reports.

Archaeological work has really only just begun on the estate in terms of its full potential. This potential is enormous, not only in the search for scientific knowledge about the estate and its environs, but also in terms of public interest and how the estate can best

be presented.

There are a number of areas in which further archaeological and historical research on the property could prove of benefit to the Trust if the project goes ahead into its latter stages. Any further work on the house may benefit from archaeological investigation if there are questions that the initial research has not answered. The grounds would obviously benefit from more work, particularly in Sydney, where some of Busby's letters to Australian botanists may survive in manuscript collections. Whatever may be decided upon in the way of future development, it is essential to make use of the resources of archaeology and history before any final decisions are made. We have already had a pa site destroyed in the creation of the golf course, a terrace site destroyed during the construction of the extension to the Visitors' centre, a wahi tapu under the THC Waitangi Hotel and many other features destroyed by the modifications to the landscape since 1933. It is vital to prevent any more sites being damaged if at all possible, and history and archaeology have a significant role to play in this goal.

FIG.14 Waitangi Estate showing Prehistoric and Historic Features



S.Maingay,Dept. of Conservation,Auckland,1990

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APL = Auckland Public Library.
Ho = Hocken Library, Dunedin
WTu = Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

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Auckland Sheet No. 2.	1895	C.R. Pollen. Ho.
Bay of Islands	1849	G.H. Richards & P.W. Oke. Ho.
Bay of Islands to Mercury Bay	n.d.	Captain Fitzroy. APC
Bay of Islands and Northland showing land occupation	n.d.	Former Church Map 307. APC.
District of the Bay of Islands from Surveys and Sketches	1845	In British Parliamentary Papers 1846 XXX (448) p.18
District of the Bay of Islands from Surveys and Sketches	1848	No author.
Index Map of Bay of Islands County	1891	N.Z. Survey
Map of Bay of Islands showing allotments Northland	1840s 1850s	Former Church map 244. Unknown.
Plan of Russell, Bay of Islands, New Zealand	1841	British Parliamentary Papers 1842, XXVIII (569) p. 115.
Plan of Subdivision of pt. allotment 4 & 6, Parish of Waitangi	1934	Unknown.
Plan of Subdivision of pt. allotment 4 & 6, Parish of Waitangi	1935	A. Rocard
Sketch map of Bay of Islands	1830s.	J.S. Polack
A Sketch map of Bay of Islands in New Zealand	1828	Unknown
Sketch map of Hokianga and Bay of Islands	1845	Unknown

Sketch of the Routes between the Bay of Islands and Hokianga, showing the native paths and position of the hostile natives on the 8th May and 1 July 1845	1845	Unknown.

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