

The New Zealand Journal 1842-1844

The New Zealand Journal 1842-1844

of JOHN B. WILLIAMS of Salem, Massachusetts

Edited with an Account of his Life by ROBERT W. KENNY Peabody Museum of Salem and Brown University Press 1956

Copyright, 1956, The Peabody Museum of Salem

Printed by The Anthoensen Press, Portland, Maine

Preface

I First became familiar with the *Journal of John B. Williams at the Peabody Museum, Salem*, while preparing an article on Yankee Whalers at the Bay of Islands (American Neptune, Vol. XII, January 1952), a brief study of American whaling activities in New Zealand. Williams's narrative, rather memoir than journal, was written during his first residence at the Bay of Islands as United States consul during 1842-1844. The *Journal* is broken off abruptly rather than finished, and I surmise that Williams brought it to Salem uncompleted when he came home on leave late in 1844. The *Journal* is an omnium gatherum of fact and opinion. Williams describes the early white settlements of the North Island, navigational aids for use in approaching harbors, the character and customs of the Maori tribes, the flora and fauna of the region, native products of possible commercial value, the colonial policy of Her Majesty's Government, the conduct of certain of Her Majesty's not very high-minded servants, the equally censurable behavior of some of the crews of American whalers while on shore, and the labors in the vineyard of two great missionary groups—the Anglicans and the Wesleyans.

New Zealand had been under British rule only a little more than two years when Williams assumed his duties at the Bay of Islands, and the settlements in the vicinity still retained many of the lawless habits of the frontier. Williams seems, at this point in his life at least, to have had a very strong sense of sin, combined with a very low boiling point. As a result his *Journal* is replete with diatribes against the immoral habits of the white settlers at the Bay of Islands. Without warning he breaks off a clear and vivid description of a native village or an anchorage and in rhetorical flourishes of tiresome prolixity warns the erring of the wrath to come.

However, except when Williams is obsessed with sin and punishment, his *Journal* makes entertaining and historically valuable reading for the picture it gives of a frontier society, an aboriginal society and the world in which both whites and Maoris lived. Williams appears as a somewhat chauvinistic Yankee, strongly anti-British, and an ardent believer in using the United States Navy to further the commercial interests of her citizens.

He had more than the average layman's knowledge of botany, zoology, and geology and with keen perception recorded the environment in which he lived. The salubrious climate and beautiful scenery of New Zealand frequently moved him to rhapsodic passages which were, unfortunately, marred by a vocabulary of excessive latinity.

John B. Williams's *Journal* is reproduced as he wrote it with, I believe, the minimum of editorial comment or interpolation. Occasionally a verb has been supplied to complete a meaning. Place names have, when necessary, been followed by the modern spelling of the word. For the rest, Williams's orthographical eccentricities and his occasional grammatical infelicities are retained. His often unflattering opinions of early New Zealand characters are unaltered in the text.

I have been aided in the editing of the *Journal* and in the preparation of the short life of John B. Williams by many patient, good-natured and knowledgeable people to whom I wish now to acknowledge my indebtedness.

The staff of the Peabody Museum, Salem, has been most coöperative, particularly Mr. Ernest S. Dodge and Mr. Charles H. P. Copeland who have given generously of their time and knowledge of Salem town and maritime history. At the Essex Institute, Salem, I have been helped on numerous occasions by the Misses Florence Osborne and Esther Usher. In Providence I was assisted by Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth of the John Carter Brown Library and Professor Benjamin C. Clough of Brown University. Dr. Wroth's suggestions on textual matters have been most welcome. Professor Clough, a native of Martha's Vineyard and the possessor of a fund of nautical lore, has saved me many a faux pas on sea-going matters. I would have been badly bogged down among the birds, fish, and flowers of New Zealand but for the expert knowledge of Mrs. Lucy Cranwell Smith, formerly of Auckland and now a resident of Tucson, Arizona. Mrs. Smith spent many hours on the

scientific portion of the text. I am greatly in her debt. I wish to thank Mr. Joseph E. Motherway of Brown University and Mr. Robert E. Schmidt of the Rhode Island School of Design for the drawing of the maps which accompany the text.

Overseas help has been prompt, generous and enthusiastic. Professor John C. Beaglehole of Victoria University College, Wellington, first suggested to me that an edition of John B. Williams's Journal would be most helpful to New Zealand scholars. He then put me in communication with Mrs. Ruth M. Ross of Takapuna, Auckland, who has patiently provided answers to many queries about New Zealand history and has been especially helpful in selecting New Zealand illustrations for the text and arranging for their use. My particular thanks to Mrs. Ross. Through Mr. C. R. H. Taylor, Librarian of the Turnbull Library, Wellington, I wish to thank Mr. Rex Nan Kivell for permission to use prints from his collection of early New Zealand pictures and also the Turnbull Library for the use of the other New Zealand prints.

I trust that the publication of the John B. Williams Journal will prove useful to students of New Zealand history: political, social, and natural. I have hazarded few conjectures on my own as I believe that the study of the Journal is a fit and pleasant task for scholars in New Zealand where Williams's facts and fancies can be checked with other source material and properly evaluated.

I first visited New Zealand as a member of the United States Army in the grim days of 1942. The courage, cheerfulness and hospitality of New Zealanders impressed me greatly at that time. The work on John B. Williams's Journal has in a sense renewed the memory of those days, and awakened a desire to see again the land that Williams so much admired, whatever his reservations about some of the inhabitants.

ROBERT W. KENNY

Brown University
Providence, Rhode Island

Contents

Description of Plates

The Life of John Brown Williams

John Brown Williams was born in Salem, Massachusetts on 20 September 1810, the seventh of nine children of Israel Porter and Elizabeth (Wait) Williams. His father, a ship captain and merchant, alternated between ship and shore. During one of his shore intervals in 1801 he commanded a company of the Salem Cadets and brought it to a high state of efficiency, resigning the command in 1805 when he returned to sea. Again during the War of 1812 he commanded an infantry company, The Essex Guards, one of several local units organized to repel the anticipated British raids along the New England coast. The Guards were disbanded at the end of the war in 1815. A contemporary of Captain Israel Williams remembered him 'as a very courteous and intelligent gentleman and always maintained a high character in every relation of life.'¹ In 1805 Captain Williams bought the house then building at 19 Chestnut Street; it remained in the family until after the death of Mrs. Williams in 1857.²

The little that is precisely known about the Williams family indicates that the men followed the prevailing Salem tradition of the day and went down to the sea in ships. Of the nine children of Israel and Elizabeth Williams, eight were boys, seven of whom grew to maturity. All of the seven sons made their livings at some period of their lives out of some phase of the maritime trade. Aaron, Israel, Jr., and John were all shipmasters. George was the supercargo of the ship *Monroe* of Boston and died at sea in April 1825. Samuel was a trader to South America and lived in Brazil during the 1840's; Charles was the agent, in Manila, of Williams & Daland

of Boston. The senior member of this firm of shipowners and overseas merchants was Henry Laurens Williams, the youngest of the Williams boys. While he may have been at sea for a time, he appears, from the family correspondence, at least, as the adviser and Salem agent of his brothers overseas. Henry was at one time a clerk for N. L. Rogers & Brothers of Salem, early traders in the Far East and the South Pacific. Later he became president of both the Exchange and the Salem Five Cents Savings Bank, and in 1875-1876 was the mayor of Salem. John B. Williams's correspondence was largely with his brother Henry who handled John's affairs in Salem and Washington.

Nothing is known of the childhood and youth of John B. Williams except that he was enrolled at the Salem Grammar School in August 1821 during his twelfth year. At that time his attendance was described as 'regular,' but how long he remained in the school and whether or not he was graduated are not known.³ The next reference to him is as a seaman and clerk aboard the Rogers's ship *Tybee* during the voyage of that vessel to Australia and New Zealand during 1832-1833. Later he commanded the hermaphrodite brig *Tim Pickering*, and seems to have been one of the first United States citizens to trade along the coasts of South and West Australia. It was on the voyage of *Tybee* that Williams first visited the Bay of Islands. In 1839 he was master of the brig *Cashier* of Salem.

This is at best fragmentary evidence, but reasonable inferences indicate a young man of a respected Salem family, carrying on a maritime and commercial tradition. It is reasonable to infer that he had the equivalent at least of a high school education and with a greater familiarity with Latin than is common today among high school graduates. Certainly his vocabulary is larded with Latinisms. Fortunes were being made at this time by young Salem shipmasters on most of the Seven Seas, and in Salem at 19 Chestnut Street it would seem but part of Nature's Simple Plan for John to try his luck in the far places of the earth. There are indications in the Williams's correspondence, however, that his earliest commercial ventures had not been successful, that he was, in fact, in debt in 1840. This indebtedness may have been what induced him to combine commercial with consular activities, for the latter would assure him a small but steady income while leaving him free for commercial ventures.

John B. Williams's combination of commercial and consular activity dates from his appointment on 10 March 1842 by President Tyler to be United States consul at the Bay of Islands, New Zealand. Less than a month later he wrote Daniel Webster, the Secretary of State, posting a bond and declaring his intention to sail on the brig *Gambia* of Salem from that city about 20 July 1842. His departure apparently was somewhat delayed for he wrote to his brother Henry L. Williams of his arrival at the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, on 25 December 1842 after 137 days at sea. The first United States consul of the Bay of Islands had been James R. Clendon, a British subject, who, on being elected to the Colonial Legislative Council, had resigned as United States consul on 20 April 1841, appointing as acting vice consul, 'a gentleman of respectability,' one William Mayhew of Warren, Rhode Island, the proprietor of a ship chandlery at the Bay of Islands. Williams was thus the third incumbent of the office.

Commercial and political conditions were unsettled in New Zealand when Williams assumed his post. On 29 January 1840 Captain William Hobson, R.N. had landed at the Bay of Islands, and on the following day proclaimed an extension of the boundaries of New South Wales to include New Zealand. He at once commenced the parleys with the tribal chiefs which culminated in the Treaty of Waitangi 6 February 1846. In a second proclamation Hobson declared invalid all land titles in New Zealand unless confirmed by the Crown. Port and excise taxes were also levied.⁴ American landowners and traders were acutely unhappy. Lieutenant Charles Wilkes who arrived with his exploring squadron shortly after Hobson's proclamation accurately foresaw the result of these acts. He wrote:

It has, among other things, been enacted, that all goods imported and remaining on hand on the 1st of January 1840 the time of British assumption, shall pay duties; that all lands are to be considered as belonging to the Queen, even those purchased of the chiefs prior to the treaty, while the purchasers shall only be entitled to as many acres as the amount paid to the chiefs will cover at the rate of five shillings per acre. The government in addition reserves to itself the right to such portions as it may require. ... The destructive effect of these laws on American commerce will be great, particularly as those engaged in mercantile pursuits find themselves called upon to pay heavy duty on their stocks. Americans are not permitted to hold property, and in consequence their whaling establishments on shore must be broken up altogether or transferred to other places, at a great loss of outlay and capital. Our whalers are now prevented from resorting to the New Zealand ports, or fishing on the coast, by the tonnage duty, port charges etc.; are denied the privilege of disposing of anything in barter, and obliged to pay a duty on American articles of from ten to five hundred percent. The expenses of repairs have so much increased that other places must be sought for the purpose of making them. The timber and timber lands are exclusively claimed as belonging to Her Majesty. Thus have our citizens been deprived of a fishery yielding about three hundred thousand dollars annually in oil.⁵

It is interesting to note that Clendon made no mention of these encumbrances to American trade in his four

despatches to the Secretary of State between the time of Hobson's arrival and his own resignation in April 1841.

The non-American portion of the Bay of Islands community was also unhappy. The early bright prospect of the Bay of Islands being selected as the site for the new capital had resulted in a land speculation of the 'boom and bust' variety, the bust coming when Auckland, after much turmoil, was selected as the seat of government. Business was poor as the recently levied port charges led American whaling captains to seek other ports for 'wooding and watering.' William Mayhew in a despatch of 21 February 1841 pointed out that Americans were being deprived of land purchased in good faith from the natives, that the Bay was avoided by American shipping which had frequented the port for thirty years, and that the ship supply business faced ruin.⁶

John B. Williams's first despatch to the Secretary of State 1 March 1843 discussed the trading disabilities, the decline in the number of whaling vessels coming to New Zealand, but also mentioned the possibilities of trade in lumber, flax, kauri gum and the possible exploitation of mineral deposits. The *Journal* shows that during his first year as consul he travelled widely both inland and along the shores of the North Island in a successful attempt to familiarize himself with the country and its resources, climate, and population, native and European. Having also formed an opinion of the commercial possibilities of New Zealand Williams wrote to Daniel Webster on 12 February 1844 that he was appointing William Mayhew as vice consul and was himself returning home on the whaler *Nile* of New Bedford.⁷

Williams arrived in Salem in the late spring or early summer of 1844, and seems, while at home, to have been a very busy young man. He wrote to John C. Calhoun, the Secretary of State, urging the need to have the navy show the flag in New Zealand and Fijian waters to protect American commercial interests. He wrote to New Bedford merchants, whaling shipowners, and insurance agents requesting them to write in a similar vein to the Secretary. He requested permission to move the consulate to Auckland from the Bay of Islands, and to have Fiji included in the consular jurisdiction of New Zealand.⁸ Finally he negotiated an agreement with Breed and

Lithograph from a contemporary sketch identifying several buildings mentioned by Williams at the Bay of Islands. Courtesy of Rex Nan Kivell Collection.

Huse of Lynn, merchants and shipowners, by which he was to assume one fourth of the expenses of the voyage of their brig *Falco*, and was in return to share one fourth of the profits. This agreement was renewable at the end of one year at the rate of one third expenses and profits. *Falco* was to be loaded with goods selected in part by Williams and he was to sail on her as supercargo.

Falco left Boston on 18 November 1844 and arrived at Swan River, Western Australia on 29 February 1845. John B. Williams, in a letter to his mother and brother Henry, reported a safe passage, and added that on 1 March *Falco* outrode at her moorings a storm which drove all the other ships in the harbor ashore. A week later he reported that currency in Australia was so unstable that the goods on *Falco* were being sold at retail prices for cash. A letter in April to Henry introduced a subject that was to become all too familiar in the correspondence: certain items were either understocked or not stocked at all on *Falco*, contrary to the advice of John B. Williams. Many more boards, small boats, spars and rope could have been sold at handsome profits. 'So much for thinking the truth is not in me,' he wrote to Henry on 16 April 1845. He also expressed his disgust with Captain Moseley of *Falco*, who, he wrote, is not good except for eating, drinking and sleeping. 'If Breed & Huse don't get rid of him, I will have no more to do with the voyage. He is only fit for a cottage where he can have a pack of hounds to sport. Sporting don't suit me! The Maori War in the North has not hurt business. Henry pay no heed to the burning of the town in the Bay of Islands by the natives. Business will now be better in New Zealand than it ever has been—2000 troops and 4 ships of war stationed there to quell the insurrection, and 1000 more soldiers sent for.'

In June 1845 *Falco* sailed to Port Nicholson, New Zealand where business was brisk. The plan was for *Falco* to proceed to Auckland, sell the balance of the cargo and load with flax and kauri gum for Breed & Huse in Lynn. This plan came to naught for *Falco* was blown ashore and wrecked at Table Cape, Hawkes Bay, on Sunday 28 July 1845. Captain Moseley seems to have taken all precautions; both anchors were down and he cut away a mast to ease the vessel in the water. Soon after *Falco* struck Maoris swam through the surf to the brig, but were sent back to bring the first white man they could find. He was a Mr. Brown and to his hut Williams removed the ship's papers, money and other valuables, the crew meanwhile getting their gear ashore. With only

Captain Moseley and two mates aboard the natives returned and looted *Falco* of much of her cargo. The remainder was put ashore under canvas, but the natives stole much of this also. Only the intervention of a missionary, Archdeacon Williams, brought a measure of protection, and a few goods were returned in exchange for some of *Falco's* tobacco. The salvageable part of the cargo was loaded on the accompanying schooner *Uncle Sam*, *Falco* was sold for \$ 160, and Captain Moseley, Williams and the crew sailed for Auckland where they arrived on 17 August. Williams at once presented a claim against the New Zealand colonial government for the looting of *Falco* by its native subjects, the Maoris.⁹ His position was a delicate one. As a private venturer he had a financial interest in *Falco*; as a United States official he urged the claims. An additional difficulty lay in the fact that the Foreign Office in London had never issued an exequatur for the United States consul to New Zealand. In effect Williams had no legal standing, and could act as United States consul only on the sufferance of the colonial government. In his despatch to John C. Calhoun of 22 September 1845 Williams urged that the exequatur be speedily applied for, as American interests, his own included, were suffering from lack of a legally authorized representative.

If Williams was inhibited from acting as consul there was no bar to his commercial activity which seems to have been considerable. With one Joel Polack, an Englishman, he commenced, unobtrusively, to collect a cargo of kauri gum. To brother Henry he wrote on 27 September. 'Keep this letter a profound *Secret* (burn it). My reason for profound secrecy is on account of my agreements with Breed & Huse, but if I can make a speculation myself I think I am in duty bound to do so.' Edward C. Breed, a member of the family, if not of the firm, was then in Auckland, and was to act as vice consul when Williams left for Fiji. It seems unlikely that Breed would have accepted an appointment from Williams had he known of the private speculations in kauri gum, which were not in the firm's interests, and violated the spirit if not the letter of Williams's agreement with Breed & Huse.

It is impossible from Williams's letters to understand all the deals in gum carried on by Williams and Polack, as Breed & Huse agents, and as individual and clandestine speculators. It is clear, however, that the ship *Robert Pulsford*, owned by Breed & Huse, left Auckland for Salem on 20 November 1845 loaded with kauri gum and flax. Over the years John B. Williams frequently reminded his brother that the cargo for *Robert Pulsford* had been obtained by his efforts, 'the first that ever was loaded with a full cargo of New Zealand produce for the United States.' Williams's commission on this cargo was \$5110. A letter dated 14 March 1846 from his brother Charles Williams to Captain Caldwell of *Pulsford* warned him of the need for absolute secrecy about his cargo and gave minute instructions as to the exact spot at Derby Wharf where he was to make fast his ship. The letter, written long after *Pulsford* had cleared Auckland and sent in care of John B. Williams at Fiji, never was delivered to Captain Caldwell. *Pulsford* as a matter of fact, did not stop at Fiji, much to Williams's disgust as he had a consignment of *bêche-de-mer* which he hoped to have delivered by *Pulsford* in Manila en route to Salem. In a letter of 24 October 1847 from Fiji, John complained that Captain Caldwell's fear of navigating the reefs at Fiji was the reason *Pulsford* did not stop there and this timidity had cost Williams about \$2000, his expected profit on the sale of the *bêche-de-mer* in Manila.

While at home on leave John B. Williams had solicited and received the post as United States commercial agent in Fiji, or Lauthala as the State Department termed it, which he held in addition to his consulship in New Zealand. His letters indicate that he intended to spend most of his time in the Fijis where he had great hopes for trade, the duties of consul in Auckland being carried on by a vice consul, with Williams making one and occasionally two visits to Auckland each year. The *Falco* claims and the cargo for *Pulsford* had delayed his departure for Fiji until late January 1846 and he did not assume his duties as United States commercial agent there until 13 February 1846. His correspondence with Henry shows the beginnings of his island trade in cocoanut oil, *bêche-de-mer*, tapioca and native shells. The Chief of Bau had been much impressed with *Flying Fish*, a yacht of the Wilkes's Exploring Expedition which had visited Fiji in 1840 and commissioned Williams to get a similar vessel for him. He asked his brother to be on the lookout for 'an old, fast sailing vessel of about 130 tons, Baltimore built or a fast New York schooner, handsome with a long cabin, gaudy but cheap.' For such a vessel Williams would pay up to \$1500, and receive from the Chief 70 tons of cocoanut oil selling at about \$9500 in Sydney at current prices.

Williams returned to Auckland in late June 1846 to prepare his semiannual report, only to find that he had been wrongly accused of aiding the Maoris in their attack upon the settlers at the Bay of Islands in 1844. A letter from the State Department of 12 December 1845 requested information on a query from the Foreign Office in London which, in turn, quoted a report from the Governor of New Zealand that the United States consul at the Bay of Islands had encouraged the natives to attack the colonists and during the uprising had sold them powder and bullets. The State Department indicated that, if the charge were true, Williams was in serious trouble. This letter, addressed to Williams, was acknowledged by Joel Polack who had been appointed by Williams to succeed Breed as vice consul at Auckland. Polack indicated that the consul was daily expected from Fiji and that a reply would be forthcoming. On 23 June, Williams not having appeared, Polack wrote a

long and circumstantial report to Secretary Buchanan completely clearing Williams. The report showed that Williams was not in New Zealand during the Maori uprising, having left for the United States on 12 February 1844; his return was easily proved by his presence on *Falco* wrecked in Hawkes Bay on 27 July 1845. Polack pointed out that since the consulate had been moved to Auckland Williams had had difficulty in obtaining satisfactory vice consuls for the Bay of Islands.

During Williams's absence in the United States two vice consuls had had brief and unsatisfactory tenures at the Bay of Islands. William Mayhew of Warren, Rhode Island, had acted until 15 May 1844 when, Polack wrote, 'he quitted the colony greatly indebted to many persons resident at Russell.' Mayhew had appointed as his successor Henry Green Smith, 'also of Rhode Island who misconducted himself so grossly, by not only aiding the insurgent natives openly in arms against the British Government with ammunition and powder, but actually quitted the country for the United States in the whale ship *Edward Carey* with a portion of the plunder stolen by the said natives from the hapless settlers of Russell.' Williams arrived in Auckland not long after Polack's report had been despatched to Washington. He called on Governor FitzRoy who expressed his personal regret that the United States consul had been absent at such a critical time and had been wrongly associated with the native attack on the settlers in the North. Soon thereafter Williams was the dinner guest of the governor and his lady; also present were Mr. Andrew Sinclair, the colonial secretary and members of the executive council. In his report to Secretary Buchanan Williams noted that he 'attended in full uniform.'¹⁰ A few weeks later the colonial secretary wrote to Williams that the names of the Americans implicated in aiding the Maoris were in a document now in England. 'In the meantime it will be satisfactory to you to be informed that an American house, whose agent [Henry Green Smith] was implicated in these transactions has seized in America certain property, part of the plunder of Kororareka, and have most honorably placed the value in the hands of Her Majesty's Government.' The incident was formally closed on 20 August 1847 when Williams received from Andrew Sinclair the regrets of Her Majesty's Government that he had been mistakenly implicated in the incitement of the Maoris.

With the native war over and his good character re-established Williams returned to Fiji and his commercial interests. He bought the island of Nukulau at Lauthala Bay east of Suva. His letters home at this time reflect the impatience of an energetic man who has too little information on which to make decisions about commercial matters. The mails were slow and irregular, he was short of trade goods, he needed a letter of credit so that he could purchase native products when he had nothing with which to barter, Breed & Huse ships do not stop at Fiji often enough; as a result the *bêche-de-mer*, tapioca, cocoanut oil and other products he has on hand are deteriorating, and in some cases incurring storage fees. Such was the tenor of his correspondence.¹¹

His relations with the chiefs and tribesmen seem to have been good; he made frequent trips into the mountainous interior where, he wrote, no other white man had ever ventured, was hospitably received, and addressed by the natives as Te America (King of America). On one of his trips he discovered plumbago and antimony. From time to time he sent native tools and weapons to the Essex Institute and the National Museum in Washington His letter of 24 October 1847 shows, rather better than most, something of his character, interests and prejudices.

Lauthala,

Oct. 24th 1847

My dear Mother and Brother Henry

Days, weeks and months has elapsed since I last had the pleasure of writing you, I am still residing in the midst of these androphagus and cruel race of people, while some white men are treated harshly and fall a victim of the club. At the same time I am by them treated with the utmost respect. They are a changeable and treacherous race of man. And unless a Ship of War does not shortly arrive I fear my salutary influence will, in a great degree, cease, notwithstanding I am so well known by all the natives throughout the Feejees and Rotumah. The natives of Rotumah say they would give up their island for me, and be under me, but never to the French or the English. I observed to them that it was contrary to our Constitution to Colonize, but our Consuls are appointed to all parts of the world, their reply was, 'that was good talk, we like it, we want you to live here, and not go to Feeje.' The remark of the head Chief Feejee, 'you live in Feejee as long as I live, you no stop Rotumah.' My reply was where my duties call me, there I must go. I have a dear and aged Mother, Brothers and Sisters, and relatives at home, and I long to see them. His reply was, 'yes, true, I no see one man Feejee, all same you before.' I remarked that I cannot on account of business go home for many moons yet to come. He says, 'Good I glad to hear that.'

The Feejee man's manners, customs, and habits are precisely what we read of in ancient Jews, doubtless they are descendents of the lost tribes of Israel. They annoint the head and body with sweet scented oils, wear

the long beard. They consider it a disgrace for a man to lose his hair or beard, unless they loose it by death of one of their family or a relative, in that case the beard is cut off as a badge of mourning, while others cut a finger off, or burn the arm in a circle. They also circumsize as did the Jews. Some of them have as many wives as Solomon and slave men and women accordingly as we read of in the Book of Solomon. One old Chief in the Islands has 200 children. In a word all their women, Queens as well are positive slaves. Trace all their wars in Feejee and you will find a woman the instigation of it, the war that is now raging, a woman was the cause of it.

It is death for a woman to expose her person to a man; it is death for a man to expose his person to a woman. You may think strange of this, for both sexes are in a manner naked.

Our first Mother Eve being naked was ashamed and hid herself, so with this people. I have heard it said that the Feejee men were void of shame and gratitude; this I have proved to the contrary; they have great sense of shame and are grateful, if you are hungry they will share their food with you without trade and without price. They would put the European to the blush. In trading they are perfect Jews. Ancient European History points out to us that most of their wars were caused by their Queens. So it has been and continues to be in Feejee. Had I time to write a historical sketch of these people I would gladly do it, but I am constantly occupied for my employers, a slave indeed, with me time wings its flight, and being so much engaged it appears to me that I only left you last year, instead of that nearly three years has gone by since I had the pleasure of being with you.

Henry, how unfortunate the Robert Pulsford did not stop here, there was cargo enough here and in New Zealand to have loaded her. 3 days after she left N. Z. I had a letter from them. [Breed & Huse] Put 100 tons gum aboard the Pulsford for ballast and then purchase another quantity to put aboard. I had 69 casks of oil besides hemp in New Zealand, and here a balance for a cargo, and about 160 piculs Beche de Mer. She could have gone via Manila and sold the fish. Strange management at home. I am the loser of about \$2000 by it. I think it very hard.

The head Chief at Feejee a few days since said to me, 'if you will send to America for a sharp vessel for me I will pay in oil, a vessel similar to the Flying Fish of the Expedition,' Sch say 130 tons, Baltimore built or a sharp New York Sch, (Old but light) new sealing, replaced outside, large cabin, not trunk cabin, Gaudy but Cheap, I should think the whole expense of such a vessel would not amount to over \$1200 to \$1500, he offered me 70 tons of cocoanut oil, worth in Sydney £ 28 per ton, equal \$9800.

A two topsail or a 3 masted sch. Now I would like an interest in a vessel and cargo of that description, and one of the large outward bound Manilamen could come and take the cargoes.

If I had casks and trade I could fill 2 vessels of 250 tons yearly at Feejee and Rotumahm, with cocoanut oil. I have been requested to send to the Vavoo's for cocoanut oil, but I have no means of doing so. A large French Missionary ship is driving a good business in cocoanut oil. I might do the same if I only had the means.

It is my opinion that Capt. Cutler of the Auckland is an Atheist, such is his conversation, and such his companions, mention this to no one but B & H, and tell them to keep it to themselves. Give my love to Elizabeth and children, and all the families. Remember me to the Ladies. You say Kitty is as amiable as ever.

Your affectionate brother John.

On 12 March 1848 Williams arrived in Auckland on one of his by now infrequent visits; as usual there was an accumulation of consular and commercial affairs. To Henry he wrote of the New Zealand gum market, and of Fiji prices of cocoanut oil, tortoise shell and other commodities; the success of all ventures depended upon Henry's supplying a steady quantity of trade goods for which the demand was urgent. The principal consular activity grew out of the treatment of the crew of the whaler *Delphos* of New Bedford which had been wrecked on Palmerston Island and the crew brought to Auckland. Polack, in the absence of Williams, had housed *Delphos's* crew on the shore ship *Noble*. There was some dissatisfaction expressed over quarters and food, and, upon his return home, Charles D. Luce, the second officer of *Delphos* wrote to the *New Bedford Reporter* on 1 October 1847 complaining of the treatment of *Delphos's* crew and criticizing the absence of the United States consul, Mr. Williams, who 'had gone to the Fijis to sell Rum.' John B. Williams had evidently seen a copy of the New Bedford paper containing Luce's letter, was nettled by it, and wrote to brother Henry on 25 March 1848 declaring in part: 'This is positively false, for I have never sold rum at Feejees or New Zealand or any other place on the earth's surface. I make no Sales myself, nor have I ever done since Consul or Consular Agent, this is a disappointed man that did not get pies and turkeys.... The accommodations were as good aboard the *Noble* as on board the *Robt Pulsford*, but it is the nature of sailors to grumble even if they live luxuriously. I don't know a worse class to deal with than whalers.... I think the letter was written for this man by a person called Waitford, formerly Mayhew's clerk, once in jail in Auckland, and both of us on bad terms. He is famous

for that kind of work, a petty fogging lawyer.'

It is not clear whether further investigation and reflection indicated that Polack had indeed given short shrift to *Delphos's* crew, whether Williams was sacrificing Polack to satisfy the political wolves at home angered by the *Delphos* affair, or whether it was dissatisfaction with Polack's handling of his commercial enterprises; in any case Williams relieved Polack of his duties as vice consul and as his own business agent. He wrote to his brother Henry on 15 April 1848 that he had appointed Robert Fitzgerald, a British subject to both of Polack's old posts. He again urged Henry to take up with the State Department the old question of the issuance of the exequators so that the consular duties might be carried on in complete legality instead of by the sufferance of the New Zealand government. There was a personal plea for a small trading vessel and a stock of trade goods.

An unknown French artist's view of the fine natural harbor of the Bay of Islands showing many whalers at anchor. Courtesy of the Alexander Turnbull Library.

Sometime in April 1848 Williams returned to Fiji and resumed his duties at Nukulau. The tone of his infrequent letters home to Salem was most lugubrious. His relations with Breed & Huse were unsatisfactory; their vessels did not stop to pick up the native products he had purchased for them. He was, as usual short of trade goods, and he complained bitterly of lost opportunities for handsome profits. The mails were very slow; on 30 May 1849 he received a large bundle of 1846 correspondence. His letter to Henry on 18 June is typical of his mood at this time. 'Please give my love to sister Elizabeth, your beloved consort, and a kiss from me to your little children and say that I hope I shall see them before 2 years is gone by, but if misfortune gives me a wrap over the knuckles, God only knows when I shall be with you, for to go home *poor* is a curse in Salem, and I should be as uncomfortable as heretofore when at home.' The postscript declared: 'I admire our new President General Taylor, he is a good old man for me. New S. Wales is all alive for the gold fields of California.'

Fortune did not long delay in 'wrapping' the knuckles of the commercial agent in the Fijis, for he reported to the Secretary of State on 25 July 1849 that 'a melancholy fire occurred in consequence of my men firing the national salute on the 4th of July, on this Grand Epoch, the Jubilee of our Independence.' Blazing wadding from the saluting cannon struck and set fire to a native hut, spread quickly to Williams's property and destroyed his house, furniture, business and consular records. As the fire spread, the natives emptied the dwelling and storage sheds, but later stole most of what they had salvaged from the flames and disappeared with their booty into the jungle. Although Williams was on the best of terms with Thokomant, or Philips, the Chief of this portion of the island, it did not avail him much in the return of his goods. Persuasion failing, Williams threatened the vengeance of the United States Government, but as there had been no United States ship of war in the Fijis since the Wilkes Expedition in 1840 this threat was taken lightly. Williams had to content himself with making a legal claim against the Chief of Bau, and wait with what patience he could muster for the arrival of a United States ship of war. The prosecution of this claim was to become the absorbing interest of Williams's life.

Fate continued to 'wrap' the knuckles of the Yankee commercial agent. On 14 August 1848 Henry Williams wrote three identical letters to John from Salem posting one each by way of London, San Francisco, and Valparaiso, Chile. The letters had an 'I told you so' tone about them as they announced that Breed & Huse were in desperate financial straits. 'I have no doubt,' Henry wrote, 'that you have taken my advice so often given, to take care to pay yourself, as they would not pay me for you and they never have paid me anything for you at all....I fear it will be a bad failure, so you must remember that all the pay you get for your voyage must be taken up by you in New Zealand.' Henry reported that Breed & Huse had lost two vessels, *Auckland* and *Robert Pulsford*, with their cargoes of gum to Fisher & Company of Boston, but are telling their creditors that they have large amounts of property in the hands of John B. Williams in New Zealand. Breed & Huse are thus putting the onus for failure on their South Pacific agent, and 'making use of your former misfortunes as an example of the manner in which you conducted their affairs,¹² ...So again I tell you to *have everything according to your instructions, correct and strait forward and sufficient to satisfy every candid mind*. They have almost made it out that they took you up out of Charity, when everybody else was opposed to you and pretending that everybody told them to beware of you. They may be glad to have you to hinge their misfortunes upon, if they possibly can with any degree of color, but *don't give them the opportunity*. I trust I have said enough to guard you on every point.' On 25 August Henry wrote again. 'The Breed & Huse failure will reach \$100,000.' How fortunate that John took Henry's advice and refused the Breed & Huse offer of partnership;

otherwise he would be liable for the firm's debts. Breed & Huse are still claiming assets in New Zealand, and the letter closed with an exhortation, 'be certain your accounts are correct as you value your reputation and business future in this community. Have nothing hanging loosely.'¹³

It was an indignant reply that John B. Williams wrote home to Salem on 18 August 1849. He contrasted Breed & Huse's praise of him in their letters with their disparagement of him in Salem, Sydney and Auckland. They deserved to fail. Meanwhile his own affairs were going badly. A consignment of cocoanut oil and arrowroot which he had shipped to Sydney did not sell for enough to pay the freight at the ruinous rate of £ 10 per ton.

Robert Fitzgerald, his Auckland agent, had chartered from him a small vessel on a venture to New Caledonia for *bêche-de-mer*, and the loaded vessel had been captured by natives and the crew murdered. Williams was very low in his mind during the ensuing year. On 29 May 1850 he thanked his mother and brother for a shipment of homemade preserves, pickles and catsup. 'Judge whether they would be luxuries to me when I tell you that I live on Yams and Pork, Pork and Yams, day in and day out, week in and week out, month in and month out, year in and year out.' Williams had cocoanut oil, arrowroot and shell at several islands in the Fiji group but had no vessel in which to collect his merchandise, and no trade goods with which to acquire more. Right now with a native war on he could clear a tidy profit in powder and muskets. Meanwhile his fellow townsman, Captain Wallis, in the brig *Zotoff* has been making the profits that could have been his. There is also a new and thriving trade, Williams reported, between Fiji and California; the ship *Franklin Adams* recently cleared for California with 900 live pigs, poultry, pumpkins and yams. He could have sailed in her but had too little money to get from California to Salem. The much requested and long awaited visit of a naval vessel occurred in February 1851 when the U.S.S. *Falmouth*, Commander Pettigrew, arrived at Viti Levu. 'These are the happiest days of my life,' John wrote to Henry, 'to meet a Ship of War of my own nation here. The Captain has obtained the man that murdered the man in charge of my flag, tried him by Court Martial and hung him, the native, on the 14th Inst on the spot where the murder was committed.' Captain Pettigrew demanded that the Chief of Bau pay Williams's claim, but was unable to remain until it was collected. John wrote Henry to urge the local Congressmen to defend Pettigrew if he is attacked in Congress for hanging the native; meanwhile get another naval vessel out to Fiji to collect the claims. 'Ask what the Navy is for?' Thus ended the first round of William's claim.

The second round opened much sooner than expected with the visit to the Fijis of the United States ship of war *St. Mary's*, Commander G. A. Magruder, in July 1851. Magruder quickly tried and caused to be executed two natives for murdering two American seamen. As far as Williams was concerned the Commander's usefulness ended at this point. Magruder, as it happened, was an enthusiastic Methodist, consorted with the missionaries, preached to them and to the natives, and, *mirabile dictu*, subscribed to the Methodist view that while Williams had a valid claim the damages assessed by Commander Pettigrew were excessive. Williams viewed all of this dimly. 'Our Government is not Church and State, but the Captains of some of our Ships of War have too much to do preaching Sermons in Churches; they had better look a little more after the Commerce of our merchants and countrymen.' Magruder, according to Williams, was anxious to sail for California and pick up mail from home, and had no intention of remaining to enforce the payment of the claims of Williams and the other Americans. In a letter home on 10 August 1851 Williams declared: 'The Captain of the *St. Mary's* was something like the late John Shilleber who hove to on Sunday outside Baker's Island and let her go ashore—too religious to take care of his vessel, or in other words not religious enough to do his duty.' Hereafter the Fijians would have scant respect for the United States Navy. He also mentioned the arrival of two French priests to establish a mission; he wished them well, declaring competition was as good in religion as it was in trade. A new firm from California, Webster & Page, had commenced operations in the islands, and Williams hoped they would put Chamberlain and West [of Salem] out of business as they have slandered him in Auckland and Sydney. The conclusion of this letter may or may not have reflected Captain Magruder's recent preaching: 'God may yet allow *me* to press my foot *hard* on the neck of my enemies.'

On 16 August 1852 the bark *John H. Millay* arrived from Salem with trade goods. The vessel and cargo were owned by Williams & Daland of Boston; its consignment to John B. Williams was the result of his frequent requests over the years. John reported her arrival and told of his plans to trade with her among the Fijis for cocoanut oil and *bêche-de-mer* until the yam crop was ripe; then loaded with yams he would sail to New Caledonia where he could trade yams for *bêche-de-mer* with the kanakas. In a letter of 12 November 1852 he assured Henry that *Millay*, with a full cargo, would be in Manila in nine months, and reproached him for listening to the doubting Thomases in Salem. 'Who,' he asked, 'loaded the first American vessel for the U States from New Zealand when others said it could not

Kororareka in 1838 by J. S. Polack. He wrote,

"Upwards of thirty vessels have been at anchor at the same time. The favorite anchorage is that opposite the village of Kororareka which is the only locality for commercial shipping in the Bay of Islands." *Courtesy of the Alexander Turnbull Library.*

be done? it was *Myself*, and this vessel will go to Manila with a good cargo notwithstanding the reports at home of mine enemies to the contrary. If they Curse me God Bless Them. That is what Christ done, Can I do More?' As a matter of record *John H. Millay* did have a full cargo but it did not reach Manila until March 1854 nearly eighteen months after her arrival at Lauthala. John B. Williams was aboard *Millay* en route to Salem, when the vessel arrived in Manila. From that port he wrote Henry a full letter of criticisms and protests about the conduct of *Millay's* voyage. The captains Henry had employed for *Millay* and *Orb* did not know how to get along with the natives, did not work hard enough, and it goes without saying resented any advice from John B. Williams. Williams was coming home on *Ringleader* of Boston and hoped to be in Salem within two months.

Sometime during 1854 Henry Williams received the following letter from one of the priests of the Catholic mission recently established in Fiji.

Sir, During the two years that I have been in the Fiji Islands I have lived with your brother the Consul.

He has taken an interest in me and defended me several times against the persecutions of the English Methodist ministers. In this way he has exposed himself to their resentment, and to calumnious reports on their part to the U. S. government. Having no other means of preserving him from that danger I have written to his Highness the Catholic Bishop of Washington to defend him before the Secretary of State in case any calumnious accusations should have been made against him by the English Methodist ministers at Feejee.

I very much regret the departure of your brother and ardently desire his return. I have had more occasions than anyone else to appreciate his generous conduct and his courage in defending right and justice in a country so filled with dangers.

Sir I am with respect

your very humble and obedient servant Mathieu Catholic Priest

Feejee

February 18, 1854

*[original in French]*¹⁴

It can be little more than speculation a century later how much John B. Williams was the victim of a coalition composed of the Methodist missionaries and the firm of Chamberlain & West who seem to have felt the competition now offered by Williams and *John H. Millay* in island trading, and how much his friendship for Father Mathieu may have increased the animosities of the Wesleyan establishment. Certainly the ardent praise expressed by Williams in his *Journal* for the New Zealand Wesleyans in 1843 is in marked contrast to his bitterness towards them in Fiji little more than a decade later. It is possible that Father Mathieu's letter may have been solicited by Williams to allay any criticism which the missionaries may have lodged with the State Department.

There is no record of Williams's activities while home on leave. On 9 March 1855 he wrote to Henry from the United States Hotel in New York that he had taken passage for Fiji in *George*, a new half-clipper due to sail in a few days. He planned to clear up his Fiji claims as soon as possible and hoped to return to Salem in about two years; meanwhile he would be happy to trade for kauri gum in the Auckland market as Henry's agent. Back in Lauthala by 13 August Williams reported on events in Fiji during his absence. No United States naval vessels had appeared, and no part of the claims had been paid. The natives had grown much bolder, and he was one of the sufferers from their boldness. Just prior to his return the Chief of Rewa had died of dysentery. During his fatal illness he had been treated by an English Wesleyan, a neighbor of Williams named Moore. The natives blamed Moore for the chief's death, and in revenge burned his house and the adjoining one belonging to Williams who now had an additional claim against the natives.

Just a month following Williams's return his heart must have been glad. dened by the arrival of the U.S.S. *John Adams*. Commander E. B. Boutwell had orders to investigate once more the claims of Williams and the other Americans, and he agreed to consider Williams's new claim arising from the recent burning of his house. Commander Boutwell selected a board of investigation which was busily at work when a second United States naval vessel arrived, *St. Mary's*, with a new commanding officer, T. Bailey, who had succeeded Commander Magruder. Whether or not Bailey had been briefed on the American claims it is impossible to say. It is certain, however, that Bailey took a dubious view of the investigations being carried on by Commander Boutwell, who, he declared, was exceeding the instructions he had received from Commodore Mervine of the United States Pacific Squadron. In a sharp exchange of notes on 10 October Boutwell suggested that Bailey, the senior officer, take over the adjudication of the claims. Bailey was having none of this, and replied that he must sail for the West Coast of America in two days. He concluded a corpus of instructions with the laudable sentiment: 'You, have therefore my express orders to afford the accused every opportunity on all occasions to appear in person, as well as by respectable counsel, without regard to nation or religion.'

St. Mary's departed and Commander Boutwell proceeded with his investigations. Williams lived aboard *John Adams* during the two months' duration of the investigations, and was furnished copies of the proceedings, including, apparently, the substance of the official report some weeks before it was despatched to Commodore Mervine by Commander Boutwell when *John Adams* arrived at Valparaiso, Chile.¹⁵ From *John Adams* on 3 November 1855 Williams wrote to his brother Henry enclosing the terms of the Board of Inquiry's decisions. He strongly urged Henry to make representations to the State Department to have *John Adams* return in six months and collect the first of the payments due. Boutwell, he wrote, deserved the highest praise for his firmness and Henry should so write to the *Boston Post*, mentioning also the bravery of the sailors and marines of the crew, who, with their officers, had re-established the prestige of the United States among the Fijians, a prestige which had sunk very low since Commander Magruder had been so friendly with the Methodist missionary community. 'Before the *John Adams* arrived I had almost begun to think I was to be governed by Englishmen. When will the day come when we will not be humbugged by them.'

Williams's letters of the next few months are full of the details of the various punitive actions of the crew of *John Adams*, frequently assisted by Williams, whose knowledge of the region and linguistic ability were most useful. He heartily approved of the summary treatment that the refractory natives were receiving; it was the only treatment they understood.¹⁶ 'For instance Captain Hollins that knocked Greytown down, those are the men to come here, men that will cause these natives to fear and respect us, benefitting commerce. Commander Bailey of the *St. Mary's* injures our commerce wherever he visits. And for God sake do not let him come here any-more. Perhaps you will say I am bloodthirsty. *Nay* I wish to benefit Religion, I wish to benefit Commerce. I wish these natives to fear and respect us. Peace and Commerce. Even now these natives all say I am the best hearted man that ever came or is now in Fiji. Said one of the chiefs: "What a fine soldier he is, how hard he fights, fights like a chief. A kind man." ' Assessing damages from Fijians and collecting them were, as Williams well knew, two very different things. The correspondence from 'Boutwell,' his new home, named in honor of the commanding officer of *John Adams*, to Salem for the next five years is largely concerned with the exertion of political pressure to get naval vessels to Fiji to collect the claims. On

23 June 1857 he wrote to Henry: 'Tell the Navy Department to send men who won't be browbeat by Methodist missionaries, or who will gallivant with their wives, going fresh water bathing in mixed company.' The missionaries, according to Williams, encouraged the Fijians to default on the payments; at this time two payments were in arrears, and the third nearly due. He was adamant about remaining in Fiji until the claims were settled. On 28 February 1858 he received word from home of the death of his mother in April 1857. He authorized Henry to act for him in all matters, and expressed the hope that the family home [19 Chestnut St.] and the family pew in Doctor Emerson's church would remain in the family.¹⁷ He would return to Salem as soon as he possibly could; in other words when the payments had been made by the Fijians. 'Heaven help me, my claim I will have.' Henry should urge the other claimants, now at home, to write Congress and demand action. Do not hesitate to work through the Democrats. I am a Democrat of the Old School.'

Williams seems to have been somewhat better off financially at this time. Trade was increasing in the Fijis and he seems to have been getting his share. In September 1858 he reported that there were now four English companies, a Hamburg house and a Prussian merchant with abundant stocks from 'needles to anchors.' There were at least three American firms trading in the islands: Williams, Chamberlain and West, and Webster & Page. Williams invested in land in the interior in addition to his shore and island holdings. His government salary was remitted untouched to Henry for investment. Accrued interest was put into trade goods and shipped to him; the principal, in Yankee fashion, remained inviolate. Occasionally he requested articles for his personal use: a frock coat 'just as the fashion is of thin stuff with four buttons on the cuff.' Again, 'I wish you would send me tins of lobster, oysters and clams. You know I am averishly fond of them.' He also requested medicine for rheumatism, and a supply of his favorite hair dye to be obtained at Jacobs in Tremont Row, Boston.

The Fiji claims were still a matter of controversy. On 2 March 1858 the Reverend James Calvert, a Wesleyan missionary retired and living in England after seventeen years in Fiji, wrote to Commodore Long of the United States Pacific Squadron claiming that Boutwell's decisions on the American claims had hurt relations between the whites and natives in Fiji, and that Boutwell, a Roman Catholic, had not been impartial. Commodore Long acted promptly, and despatched Commander Sinclair in the U.S.S. *Vandalia* to Fiji. Sinclair, an Episcopalian by the way, conducted another investigation, reaffirmed the Boutwell awards, and even gained the assent of one of the Methodist clergymen. Williams was jubilant as he wrote home on 24 November 1858 describing what he called his vindication in the 'Document of 1858.' With his claim re-established there was little that he could do in Fiji, and much that he felt he could do in Washington to get action on the American claims. This, together with his desire to see his family following his mother's death, determined him to return home on leave of absence which on 30 August 1859 he asked Henry to request for him. Williams planned to have the State Department defray the expense of his trip home; once in Salem he could resign or return to Fiji as he saw fit. The prospects were bright that the British would assume sovereignty over the Fijis and that he could sell out his extensive land holdings at a good profit.

These fruitful plans came to nothing, however. The next communication to Salem was from J. M. Brower, United States vice consul in Fiji, informing Henry that his brother John B. Williams had died of dysentery on 19 June 1860. Brower reported that Williams's will divided his estate equally among his four surviving brothers with Henry as sole executor. Brower settled Williams's immediate affairs in Fiji, ordered a gravestone from Sydney, and over the years kept Henry informed of the negotiations for the sale of his late brother's extensive land holdings and the progress of the American claims. Brower's letters confirm John B. Williams's reiterated complaints about the United States Government's neglect of the commercial interests of its citizens in the Pacific. Henry Williams hired a Washington agent, and after protracted solicitation, and one more investigation by a United States Naval vessel, *Jamestown*, which visited Fiji in 1869 the claims were finally collected and forwarded to the United States Treasury in three payments during 1869, 1870 and 1871. John B. Williams's share amounted to \$19,365.50 which was paid to his estate. In 1874 Brower, now consul at Fiji, sold Williams's Levuka property for \$11,664 which finally liquidated the holdings of the controversial American consul and commercial agent well over a decade after his death.

It is difficult to estimate a man on the basis of a largely one-sided correspondence more than a century old and devoted primarily, not to social but to government and commercial concerns. Williams appears, however, as an intelligent, active trader of a speculative disposition, impatient and rather prone to blame others for assumed errors of judgment arrived at far from the scenes of the transactions. As to his personal life we can only speculate. He appears to have been a well-read man; in literature and in science his tastes were serious. He seems to have had more than a well-read layman's knowledge of zoology and botany, and he constantly sent specimens to the National Museum and the Essex Institute. He does not appear to have been addicted to frivolous pleasures and seems to have been rather intolerant of those white men in the tropics who so indulged themselves.

It is abundantly clear that he was zealous in his business, and an ardent believer that American commercial expansion should be backed up by a very frequent show of military and naval strength. His early years and youthful idealism in New Zealand seem not to have been strongly in his mind in his final years in Fiji, but the vivid, if somewhat exuberant rhetoric of his *Journal* there serves to present a useful picture of the frontier community where he first served his country's interests and his own.

Notes to the Life

1. L. W. Jenkins, Lt. Col., 'The Essex Guards,' *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, LVII (1921), 1-40.
2. R. H. Wiswall, 'Notes on the Building of Chestnut Street,' *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*,

LXXV (1939), 212.

3. The early school records of Salem have not been collected. The evidence of John B. Williams's attendance at the Salem Grammar School is based on a hand written catalogue of the school, author unknown, found in the archives of the Essex Institute.

4. R. M. Ross, *New Zealand's First Capital* (Wellington: Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1946), pp. 15-16.

5. C. Wilkes, *Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expedition, 1836-1842* (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1845), I, 164.

6. Consular reports, *Bay of Islands* (U. S. Archives). All consular despatches quoted are from consular reports, *Bay of Islands* for New Zealand, or consular reports, *Lauthala* for Fiji. John B. Williams's letters are in the *Manuscript Collection of the Papers of John B. Williams*, Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts.

7. Mayhew's tenure of office was brief. His despatch of 1 April 1844 indicated that business was so poor that he might leave the Bay of Islands, and on 15 May 1844 he notified the Secretary of State that he was turning the consular office over to Henry Green Smith of Warren, Rhode Island, a resident of the Bay of Islands.

8. The removal of the consulate from the Bay of Islands to Auckland was approved by John C. Calhoun on 27 August 1844.

9. G. G. Putnam, 'Salem Vessels and their Voyages,' *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, LXVI (1930), 206 *et seq.*

10. In an undated note found among the 1844 letters Williams had written: 'Please send my sword and a belt with eagle clasp on it and anchor. I left the sword in the Eastern chamber where I slept at home. And send me a navy blue dress coat such as a captain in the navy wears, navy buttons and straps on the shoulders. 1 pair blue trousers to match it with gold lace 1 inch wide on the outer seam of the legs.' A bit pathetically the note closes with a request for a bottle of hair dye to be obtained at the store opposite the Tremont House in Boston. It was doubtless so accoutered that Williams appeared at Governor FitzRoy's for dinner.

11. This list of trade goods suitable for the Feejees was enclosed in a letter to Henry Williams in Salem from John B. Williams at Lauthala, 1 October 1847.

- Beads, various sizes, and assorted colors
- Boot boxes, And fancy nest boxes
- Small looking Glasses
- Fancy Jewellery (cheap article)
- Very Small brass chain
- Scissors large and small,
- Plane Irons large and small assorted,
- Large and Small Hatchets,
- Pockets knives and Sheath knives
- Goat Skins various Colors
- Bundle Hoop Iron for Mountainers,
- Pig Lead
- German Harps
- Cheap Razors
- Sand Papers
- Chisels and Gouges large and Small
- Files assorted large Small
- Fish Hooks large and Small
- Gun Flints
- Screws—chest locks and hinges
- Axes
- Muskets
- Slop Clothing
- Pipes, manufactured and leaf Tobacco
- Hingham boxes
- American Vermilion
- Glass bottles white and black
- Bleached and unbleached, red, blue and printed Cottons (wide)
- Bleached and unbleached, red, blue and printed Cottons (wide)
- Blue Drills
- Blankets, various Colors, but cheap
- Tin Tubes, and small chests

- Cartridge paper
- Whales Teeth, Any Quantity
- Gunpowder, and Common Rockets

Iron Hoop is cut in one foot and two feet lengths, and used as knives to clear the bush in the interior.

Whales Teeth are the most valuable articles in the Feejee's. One large tooth will purchase about one picul of Bech de Mar, and for twenty teeth about 200 gallons of cocoa nut oil can be obtained. Of the above trade about \$3500 would purchase a cargo of 1200 piculs of Bech de Mar and about 1000 lbs of Tortoise Shell.

Required for a Cargo of 2000 barrels of Cocoa nut oil about \$2500 worth of the above trade.

The valuation of Beche-de-Mar and Tortoise Shell, in the China, or Manila Markets—Say 1200 piculs and 1000 lbs of Shell—about \$40,000.

The Cargo of 2000 barrels of Cocoa nut oil 60,000 gallons is worth in the United States about 58c per galln.—and the 60,000 gallons would amount to \$34,000.

12. This letter confirms hints running through John B. Williams's correspondence that he had once been in financial difficulty. Henry gave an account of the amounts he had spent from John's account paying off old debts, and indicated that the next remittance should clear off the last \$200.

13. This sketch of John B. Williams's life has, obviously, been written largely from his letters to his family in Salem. No original letters to John B. Williams have been found. However Henry L. Williams preserved copies of six letters written to his brother on a manifold writer. These letters all written in 1848 concern the bankruptcy of Breed and Huse. Three of the six are identical.

14. Williams's friendship for Father Mathieu may have been somewhat calculated. He hoped that the priest's difficulties in Fiji might result in a showing of French naval strength there. Any such display of power, American, British or French, would enhance the prestige of the few white men living among the 'Androphagus Feejees!' On 28 June 1853 Williams had written to the Emperor of the French urging that two corvettes and a frigate be sent to Fiji to punish the natives for 'desperate outrages, insults, and abuses.' This Yankee solicitude for French prestige is touching indeed until one recollects Williams's views about keeping the natives in subjection.

15. 'The following is a summary of what the "John Adams," under my command has accomplished in the Feejee Islands:

I have made the people of Rewa build Mr. Williams a new house, and pay twelve hundred dollars for the property destroyed in the house.

I made them reinstate him in his land. I made Tui Levuka sign a treaty to pay for the property taken from the American brig "Time Pickering", twelve hundred dollars, and three hundred dollars to an American girl for ill treatment from a native.

I made a treaty with Tui Viti, king of Feejee, to have paid in twelve, eighteen, and twenty-four months, with interest, for property from American citizens, \$45,000. (Williams's share was \$18,331.)

And if England or France take possession of the islands within the time he (Tui Viti) is alive he is to insist upon the payment of the claims by the nation taking possession.

I demanded satisfaction of the Chief and people of Vutia (Levuka?) for threatening the life of the American Consul, and attempting to murder a man in his employ. After burning the town I obtained it.

I demanded satisfaction of the chiefs Te Sulear and Koroduadua for beating nearly to death two Americans, and taking their property. They refusing to come on board the ship, and at one time firing on my boats, compelled me to burn four of their towns.

I made the natives pay John Dyer, \$400; John Sparr, \$300; Charles Rounds, \$200; John Sullivan, \$300; Mr. Williams (for stock) \$100.' E. B. Boutwell, 'The Report of Captain Boutwell, relative to the operations of the sloop of war "John Adams" at the Feejee Islands,' *House Executive Documents, 1st Session, 34th Congress*, Vol. 12, 1855-1856. Serial Set 859, Document 115, p. 7 *et seq.*

16. Williams's belief in severe and summary punishment of the natives certainly contributed to the ill-feeling between him and the missionaries in Fiji. The Reverend Joseph Waterhouse quoted a letter Williams had written to a Sydney paper to the effect that 'Bau ought to be destroyed, and the people swept from the face of the earth. Then and not until then will commerce move uninterrupted in this archipelago. —A ship of war could lay off Bau, knock down and destroy that town, while one is smoking a cigar.' Cf. Rev. Joseph Waterhouse, *The King and People of Fiji* (London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1857), pp. 244 *et seq.* and T. Williams and J. Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1860), pp. 459-474.

17. The Old South Church was organized in 1735 as the Third Congregational Church. Dr. Brown Emerson held a long pastorate there from 1805 to 1872.

The Journal of John Brown Williams

1842

Monday Dec. 25th, 1842, I landed at the Bay of Islands in New Zealand at a small village called Wahapu after being on the ocean 137 days and sailing 16,149 miles from Salem. I had previously visited the place in year gone by; I well remember the first perspective glance on New Zealand's rocky and mountainous composition was unfavorable. I disliked its looks, its bare and high hills, but on a nearer approach a softer outline clothed in verdure on these lofty and towering mountains roused the languid spirits which gratify the heart of man. The Bay of Islands is particularly easy of access to the mariner; its passage is wide, free from all Shoals, quicksands and rocks. In a direct line South by Compass from point Pohok [Pocock] & abreast of Tipunah [Te Puna] (the first English Mission established in the Bay) to MutuRou [Moturoa] one third the way from the former lies a sunken rock with only eight or ten feet of water on it at low tide, some say 15 feet, discovered within a few years, and does not break even when the waters are roughened by a gale. In entering the Bay, the Nine Pin, so-called, must be left on the Starboard hand; it can be passed by leaving it on the larboard hand, but a *very* intricate passage on that side, S by W from the Nine Pin will take the vessel safe to Kororareka point, being about 9 miles distance. There is a shoal called the Whale rock 1 mile off [f] shore, and another called the Capstan near the entrance to Paroa Bay both on that side of the entrance to the Bay of Islands. But vessels need not touch them as they should pass in by the Nine Pin. The Bay of Islands, I am convinced, is the safest harbour, and the easiest of access of any other in the Pacific Ocean. Pilots are not required, the greatest stranger can approach and enter the Bay with perfect ease, one of the best harbours in the known world, none can be more so. S by W will take a Ship to the Island off Pihea [Paihia], the E? Mission settlement, and a small island separated from the main on the left side by a narrow neck of land, inside of these 2 Islands, and the ship is in a perfect basin. Near the Islands the Shore is bold; and deep water. A vessel can do herself no damage even were she to drift ashore at the Wahapu for the bottom is ozy [oozy] or a soft mud. Not so with the anchorage before Kororareka—now called Russell—after a ship's anchor is once set *it* is almost impossible for her to start should it blow a hurricane.

Before giving a further description of the place as it now is I will faintly adumbrate New Zealand and its Cannibal population previously to 1808, as described to me. It is certain but very incomplete accounts have been given heretofore of their cruelties and barbarous ways, as also their Superstition[s] (by some still imbibed). In taking a view of the Natives prior to 1808, but few Ships visited the Bay on account of their savage hostilities, treachery and barbarous treatment to the Pakeahs, Pakea's [Pakehas] (interpreted white men or foreigners). Cannibals as they were, they were cruel, despotic and inhuman in the extreme. For the most part the Natives are robust, athletic and about the same statu[r]e as Europeans, equally cruel to each other in case of war, as to the whites. Tribes were constantly at war with each other; but it was more so with their own weapons of warfare. The introduction of gun powder & muskets, in a manner it was the first step to civilisation amongst them. With their weapons of war they were debasing, blood thirsty, and their atrocities indescribable. The tribe that came off [f] conquerer in war, the prisoners that are taken of either sex, if very young are made slaves; and sometimes put to death and eaten; but the adults, and old natives were often compelled to make the fire on which they were to be roasted, after being quartered and their head taken off [f] and posted on a pole, imagine the feelings of such an individual. After the body is cooked the greater the animosity to those taken the more avaricious the appetite to devour them. Their bones are applied to various uses, some of the smaller ones for ear jewels. Should a canoe of a different tribe by stress of weather be drove ashore in another district; they are immediately taken and made slaves of—or their bodies mangled in a most excruciating manner to satisfy their hellish propensities. Both sex[es] are served alike, they formerly cut them to pieces with instruments made of bones & green stone, hacked to pieces, cruel unconscionable torture and roasted in a copper maurie, [Maori] that is baked in the ground, layed between red hot stones, covered with leaves—to describe it fully, a hole dug in the ground 1½ feet deep, or 2½ feet in the bottom of the hole, hot stones, then covered with green leaves, the food or human flesh then laid on the leaves, then leaves covering the meat, then red hot stones, then a layer of leaves & stones and the whole covered with earth. Animal food cooked in this way is delicious, as also fruit and vegetables for it retains all the juices.

Formerly when one tribe was at war with another the first man that was killed was dissected and his heart taken out and conveyed to one of the leading chiefs and offered to him as an atonement, to appease the anger of their God, whom they say is fighting for, or against them, but invisible. They seldom ever went to war without consulting some of the old men or old women; and allow them sufficient time to dream. These old dreamers relate their dreams with great plausibility, and by way of impressing it on their minds it is repeated many times; sometimes to the whole army, but mostly to the chiefs alone; which is kept secret until they have had a fight; and if successful, then all their dreams related, and much more related should anything of consequence have occurred. Their cruelties in war are said to have been beyond description—Many of their enemies were taken

and roasted on a fire alive—whilst others are put in a copper maurie as previously described. Many of them are tortured on the fire until dead. This is much worse than at some of the Navigator Islds where the old & decrep[i]t are not suffered to live any longer, and are buried alive. But a brighter sun is breaking from the East, which at no distant period will dispel the dark clouds hanging over this Isld. As the tide of time moves rapidly along; and the age of improvement advances. Ammunition introduced, wars will cease, as they have already ceased among some of the tribes. Formerly when the Natives returned to the Bay of Islands from fighting other tribes they would bring their large canoes, saving them the labour of building; the natives of the Bay were to[o] indolent, and seldom made a war canoe of any size.

Wangeroa [Whangaroa] harbour was dreaded by all navigators for many years previous to 1824. In 1808 at this place the ship 'Boyd' of London was cut off and all hand barberously murdered with the exception of a boy & an infant girl. They were rescued from this perilous situation by the Commander of the 'City of Edinburg' Mr. Barry, now the Hon. A. Barry, M. C. in Sydney, N.S.W. And no vessel visited the place again until 1820, when the English Government Store Ship 'Dromedary' came for a load of spars for the English Navy, which were to be had in abundance (the Kaurie) a wood adequate to oak was found, which Capt. Cook called spar wood. The Tribe of natives said to have cut the Boyd of [f] were annihilated by a chief from the Bay of Islands whose ambition it was to have a shipping port of his own; and took possession of that fine harbour, settling many of his people there after much bloodshed. The Chief from the Bay was wounded through the lungs, living in that state 8 months, astonishing everyone how he could exist. This chief it is said visited London in 1821 and reed many presents from the King of England, among which was a double barrel gun. After his return to New Zealand again such was his thirst for war, he immediately commenced slaying and eating as they went. His party were 400, on the move for 7 or 8 months south of the Bay of Islands, losing but few men as they were furnished with a large number of muskets, and those of the other party having but few.

Wangeroa this very spacious harbour but rather narrow at the entrance, with very deep water and high land on each side. The tide runs strong in and out of this place which makes it easy of access. About 4 miles inside of the harbour is an Island which is a barrier against the east winds, preventing all seas from setting in. This is one of the finest Timber Districts for (Kaurie) on the east side of the Island—superior to all others as it contains less sap [sapwood]. When inside of Wangeroa harbour it resembles a Lake, as no entrance or outlet can be seen. There are two very fine Islands one is very high with a commanding view with deep water all around it. This Island would make a good fortification. The shores of this Island are well supplied with hard wood suitable for ship building. Many small rivers empty themselves into this harbour on the Banks of which is abundance of Kaurie. The soil is good capable of growing all kinds of Trees & Fruits. It has been settled by a few Sawyers of Timber, owing to the Store Ship 'Buffaloe' [Buffalo] going there for a cargo of Government Spars, such as top masts for Ships of the Line, as also a few Whale Ships have visited the place. Ships approaching the harbour must stand boldly in for the land if they are sure of their Lat. of the port, as they must round inside of the Island. Should the tide be making out a ship may bring up and lay with all safety in from

**The ship *Robert Pulsford* of Lynn, Breed and Huse, Owners.
*Original painting in the Peabody Museum of Salem.***

**The bark *John H. Millay*, Williams and Daland, Owners.
*Original painting in the Peabody Museum of Salem.***

18 to 12 fathoms free from winds. The natives in the harbour are very attentive to the shipping. They are not the tribe that cut the 'Boyd' of[f]. Before going further I will give a faint description of the harbours to the North of Wangeroa, and then proceed South.

The first harbour after rounding the North Cape of New Zealand is a safe roadstead, capable for ships 400 to 500 tons to anchor in all safety. The produce is Flax, Pork, Potatoes, Corn and Gum etc. Natives are kind.

The next harbour is Manganue [Mangonui] in Doubtless Bay. This port is safe in all weathers. Vessels lay landlocked & free from the sea. This also is a timber district and affords an abundance of fine Kaurie spars of all sizes that may be required for ships &. A numbers of Sawyers have located themselves at this place, sending their timber & other produce to the Bay of Islands—Boards, Plank, Joist etc are all classed under the head of timber. And a plentiful supply of fresh water can very easily be obtained at this port.

Next comes the Bay of Islands. Having antecedently given a faint description of the Bay in 1842, I will describe [it] prior to 1824. The Bay of Islands was not much frequented until 1809. From that period until 1815 [only] a few whale ships visited it which was in consequence of a part of the natives belonging to the Bay who assisted in taking the (Boyd) already described. In the year 1814 the Church Mission was established and a

settlement commenced at Tapunah [Te Puna] at the entrance on the north side of the Bay, and said to be with much difficulty that they were enabled to hold their ground, being often insulted by the natives, and ordered to quit their lands. They accomplished but little amongst the aborigines until the year 1824, when the natives began to listen to the Missionaries as also to turn their attention to the cultivation of the soil. In the year 1814 about 6 London Whale Ships were on the coast, but from the treacherous disposition of the natives it was hardly safe for a single ship to come into port. Constantly fighting. The war cry resounded throughout the various tribes, collecting with tomahawks and spears, coming to close combat, inhuman and cannibally cruel, and when the slaughter commenced unsated until avericiously eaten and their bones manufactured. How stands the case now? Tribes before going to war study to find the number of muskets the opposing tribe has before thinking of war. If they have one gun more than the other party, they give up the idea or endeavor to get upon them by stratagem, in which case they butcher every individual.

In the year 1824 they began to listen to the missionaries, as also, to turn their attention to the cultivation of the soil. In the beginning of 1825 it is said that the shipping began to increase in the harbour of the Bay of Islands and by this means the introduction of Powder and muskets, for trade at *very* high prices, which the natives sought after. Their weapons of warfare laid aside with those of ancients long gone by. I have no hesitation in saying to a very great extent, it put an end to their bloody wars. As I have already described they always endeavor to know the strength of the parties by finding what number [of] muskets each are possessed, and if a greater, they'll not fight by any fair means. Their cruelties in war is said by those who have witnessed them (as I have previously described) cruel beyond account. Making their enemies cut the wood on which they are to be roasted, not infrequently put on the fire alive, and bushes put on them with a man at each end to keep them on the fire until burnt to death. They were barbarous in the extreme to each other. In wars when a Young Man is taken, he is spared and kept as a *Slave*, and the Young Women for their lascivious purposes to the enemy, but the old of both sexes are seldom allowed to live.

In 1823 there were not more than 15 to 20 ships visiting the Bay of Islands. From 1823 to 1830 they increased rapidly, coming in to recruit as there were stores that could supply them, Salt Provisions, Pork, Potatoes and water, were mostly needed being for the most part whalers.

In the year 1830 a ship chandlery was established, [and a] Store was opened selling to large profits. In 1830, 60 Sail were in at the Bay, the ensuing year 80 and from that to 110 to 120 vessels mostly American whalers were in the Bay at anchor, by the visits of the French Whalers, the American whalers became numerous. From 1834 the Europeans have purchased most of the land about the Bay of Islands (or rather wronged the natives out of their lands) now the Natives have scarcely one foothold. And what they do hold they ask enough to make up for some of the European, I may say, English robbery. And as the natives indulge in European luxuries, diseases have crept in amongst them leaving in its traces—death. They begin to depopulate and degenerate very fast. In their habits and modes of living they were far more healthy, robust and athletic. A noble looking race of men— more especially in the native costume. From 1818 to 1839 it is estimated that more than one half of some tribes of natives have died of disease, and many a most *deplorable* disease, brought their by the English. It is my opinion that Blankets, owing to the natives in his primitive simplicity, has been the means of colds and consumptions amongst them, in many instances the asthma. For instance, in a cold night or a cold & wet night it is a common practice among them after laying in their hut round a fire with their feet towards the fire rolled in a blanket perspiring freely, whilst asleep, arising they jump up and throw of [f] their blankets, open the door and rush into the cold night air. It is quite enough *to* kill a horse. What could be more injurious to ones health? Women as well as the men, naked as they were born, trembling in the cold. And whilst labouring under heavy cold they are to a very great degree careless, it seats itself on the lungs & they go of [f] in a rapid consumption. Poor, innocent simple children. Naturally full of vigor & health, once taken ill medicine or advice is no service to them, for they almost immediately give [up], thinking their days are near ended and finished.

The River Thames, a spacious river or Frith 120 miles south of the Bay of Islands. There are few small harbours between these places, and only suitable for small size vessels, except Wangare [Whangarei]—it will be useless to comment on it as it has been surveyed by Mount Durell²—The River Thames affords many fine and spacious harbours & roadsteads owing to the many fine Islands. There are many islands in its Frith, also anchorages for any size, secure from Easterly winds, with the wind SW the waves are smooth. Coromandel Harbour on the SE side of the Frith is a good shelter for ships of all sizes. In 1821 in this harbour the English Government took in one of their Store Ships a cargo of Spars, whose Ships Company left many heirs behind them, large families by native girls, some *very* young, for the natives to support. An example for Govt Officers to set before natives —the ship a brothel—a floating castle of prostitution. To quote an author the Shame of England. These, then, little ones are now men and women grown, following in the foot steps of their predecessors, lecherous. And here follows the remarks of a Gent, "but I am sorry to say that they do not value their color or relationship with a European as they should," and remarks he hopes that this will not always be

the case.

Sawyers are settled in different harbours who have commenced building a few small vessels as the timber is plentiful for that purpose. It was thought to be a good place to form a new colony, (This was previously to the settling of Auckland) to drain off some of the Chartist party from England, by which means preventing a revolution at home, (So says the settler). The land is quite all out of the Aborigines's hands in this neighborhood along the Banks of the river (Oh! what downright robbery). Parties have taken 30 to 40 miles square along its banks, this of course is a hindrance to settlers, more especially as many are poor and can only buy small patches, every man wishing to build on his own land. Monopolizing the best lands in the country, prevent the settler from cultivating and improving the lands. With so wide a waste of lands how can it be otherwise than to impoverish a country? If the farmer has no means how can he till the soil?

The natives were said to be very numerous about the Thames and were formerly often engaged in war with the Natives on the West Coast, or the West Side of the Island. They formed small parties and went by stealth cutting off their foe, which led to regular fights, when many fell on both sides. But those on the West side of the Island generally came off victorious, from having a greater warrior at the head of greater numbers. His name Whia Roa, since dead, just before he expired his last words to his family were—be strong in battle, and to remember him, that he had never been conquered and never to mention their plans until put in execution. From the lips of a very great Savage & Cannibal. But he never allow[ed] any of his tribe to injure or molest a European or American; if they did they were *severely* punished. The mischief and death blows, and tortures would appear from the description we have of him, [enough] without molest[ing] the white man, doubtless his will towards them did not differ materially from his own kith & kin; fear restrained him. The products of the Thames are Flax, (the indigenous Phormium tenax), Corn, Potatoes etc. The Flax plant grows spontaneous and profusely about the banks of the Thames, and the adjacent country. Since the coming of the Europeans amongst them, they [the natives] have become indolent, notwithstanding when the shipping require those commodities they turn their attention to them & collect large quantities.

The Thames [region] is said to resemble that of Munganue to a large extent, owing to the larger number of natives. In the vicinity of the Thames the natives have not dressed the Flax plant for some years; it is not the thing they will turn their attention to as it causes them more trouble than cumeras, potatoes, and rearing Pigs. Occasionally they carry quantities of this article from the west coast to the east, where the shipping frequents the small harbours. It is said the west coast is to be dread[ed] on account of the westerly gales. On this west coast of New Zealand all are bard [barred] harbours. At present, ships of any size visit only one port on that coast, and that on the Hokianga River, which is one of the oldest settlements. Insurance Companies in Sydney have refused to insure vessels for all the ports on the west side. Coal and Iron might be worked on the borders of the rivers and streams. Many are large enough to admit small vessels to go many miles up. The larger or principal Island in the Thames [Frith] is Wai Heki [Waiheke]; it is very extensive, well timbered & affords several good harbours. The large Island at the mouth of the Thames [Frith] called the Barrier has one of the best harbours for a ship to lay at anchor. The harbour on the north is very spacious, with deep water, where any quantity of fresh water may be obtained at any time with little or no trouble; vessels have frequented the harbour for Pigs and Potatoes, disposed of by the Maurie (or natives). The stately Kaurie grows here also.

The next harbour is Mercury Bay, where timber stations, Water and Steam Saw Mills have been put in operation, and turned out large quantities of Lumber (called timber by the English). Previously to 1839 a timber or Spar Station was here for the purpose of getting out masts and spars for the English Navy which could be furnished at shortest notice. Kaurie is said to be very large and not to be found any farther south. Mercury Bay is about 8 miles in from the line of coast, and the extremity of this bay is the entrance to the harbour or river where 2 or 3 large ships can lay to and anchor. In heavy rains the tide is said to run rapidly. There are many sunken rocks near the Mercury Islands and together with the latter are not in their proper positions on the chart. The place has been surveyed by the British Brig of War 'Pelorus.'

The first harbour in the Bay of Plenty is Touranga [Tauranga], which is south of the Main Isld. Safe for 3 or 4 small vessels when in. A bank lays 1 mile outside its entrance, with the wind north to east it is not safe for a stranger to approach. It is said that the first vessel that entered this [harbor] was in 1826, when 2200 natives [lived] in their Pas (or forts) at a distance of about 5 miles. [They are] represented of late to decrease and degenerated as fast as the wings of time will carry them; reported up to 1838 large numbers were killed off in war with the Thames natives, estimated as one half. A Gent, informed me, that he entered one of their Pa's a very few hours after it was taken by stratagem, he represented the sight beyond description about 500 dead and dying. On some of the trees was seen the flesh of the natives, while in other places, men & women, Pigs & Dogs all hung up together, Many bodies laying a short distance from the Pa's, the dogs feeding on them; in many of the Pa's not a native was to be seen.

1843

Touranga is said to be finest part of New Zealand; in this vicinity said to be a fine country and much level land about the sea coast, the soil very fertile. Potatoes & Corn are to be found in great abundance. And more flax has been dressed by its natives than by any others on the coast. 150 tons was procured for the Sydney market. Of late they have commenced salting pork. Wood is very scarce, the plains are covered with nothing but fern, the hills being a great distance back, from where they are obliged to get wood. If indolence prevails they gather whatever may come in their way on the sea shore. Pipe clay is plentiful, covered with a very heavy black sand. The Fishermen (natives) are very expert at Touranga, leaving early in the morning and returning late at night with a very great variety of fish, which that Bay is so much noted for its great variety. The whole of the long range of New Zealand Coast is abundantly supplied with beautiful fish. Of this variety of 78 different species, I will name a part, viz. Mango [Mako] shark of many kinds; Wapuku [Hapuku], species of codfish; Wai [Whai], Stingeree; Partiki, flat fish or sole; Rauwarea [Koarea], a snapper; Pareheke, a bream; Kahawai, species of pike; Kawai [Kanae], mullet; Takeke, guard fish; Mohi, sprat or small fish; Tarahika [Tarakihi] marked with a peculiar round spot on each side; Kohika; Raruruma, species of yellow hake mackerel; Anwa [Awa] species of whiting; Tuna, Eel; Runi; Pakerekere [Paekirikiri]; Gora [Koura], Crawfish, similar to a lobster; Cora, Shrimp; Parore, a white fish 6 feet long and 4 inches wide, small tail; small fish like smelts; cuma [Kumakuma], a red fish similar in form to a catfish in the UStates; a small black fish with a very large head is caught in fresh water rivers & swamps, together with other varieties.

South of Touranga 20 miles distance is a small river called Maketu shown by the appellation on the chart as Town Point. This was said to be the seat of war for more than 8 years, occasioned by a worthless vagabond, (a European), living amongst them collecting Flax for a mercantile house in Sydney, NSW. He putting himself on a footing with the Chiefs, allowing his hair and beard to grow long, and occasionally tatoed, assuming the authority of king, proclaiming himself as such. This was done with the spirit of monopoly, monopolizing the trade to himself, causing much bloodshed and loss of life. It is estimated that 1300 natives lost their lives through this degraded vagabond. In 1838 they, the natives, from some cause, took a very great dislike to him. So great was there hatred (passing from one extreme to another) that it was almost impossible for him to obtain a basket of potatoes, without paying a large price for them, notwithstanding the many thousand pounds Sterling in trade they have had from him.

This small river takes its origin from a very large lake called Rotua Ruha [Rotorua] about 30 miles inland from the seacoast, is about 20 miles in length and very deep, with an Island in the centre, in war made use of as a Pa on account of a number of cateracts obstructing this river; preventing canoes from entering the lake. There are many hot springs at this place, and some small rivulets, while others are large holes. Over some of these the natives build houses and live in them during the winter months, for convenience have openings through which they let down potatoes or whatever they have to cook, and in a short time they have them ready for a meal.

Hogs are scald and cleaned in that way as also cooked in a very short time. The natives are of a much lighter complexion than those from a few miles distant (perhaps bleached living in the sulphur district), for sulphur can be obtain[ed] here in any quantity. Many parts are still on fire and shift as the wind. It is often the case these fires break out in fresh places in the ground. The natives are very careful not to walk much in the night for fear of accident. In many instances people are so scald[ed] that the skin comes of[f] their legs and feet. The land near the lake is supposed to be the best in all New Zealand, the potatoes & cumeras are very large, flax in abundance.

It is said by those who have a knowledge of it, that in 1838 the natives commenced making gunpowder, with the assistance of a runaway convict from one of the penal settlements. They succeeded so far in making it as to get six charges to be of about the same strength as the foreign would be in *one*. This would not answer their purpose and their instructor in powder making was obliged to leave after having been fully tattooed as payment for his information. The natives of this place (Muketu) differ in size from those about the Bay of Islands. They are tall compared with those of the north and have prominent foreheads, many of the women have light hair and *very* small feet, doubtless owing to being confined to their Pa's and walk [more] seldom than any other natives and quite often in the water. A mission station was formed at the place some few years since, previously to 1838. They too use the hot springs water for all purposes which is taken from a hole in their garden. Farther south the natives are not so numerous and more scattered living in small tribes and on the sea coast. Between Town Point & Cape Runaway there are only 3 or 4 harbours containing a population of 600 or 700 natives at each place.

The seacoast is mostly sand with bard [barred] harbours, only capable for small vessels to enter. The natives of these places were very treacherous often seizing small vessels and detain[ing] them taking property to a large amount. Should a vessel be so unfortunate as to get aground, going in or out of either of those places

she is free for plunder and considered a lawful prize. Very many instances of this conduct as well as lives lost, but seldom if ever chastized for so doing. Antecedently to 1838 a vessel was cast ashore, the vessel and cargo to the amt. of £2000, equal \$10,000. and all destroyed. Their treatment to the people not of the mildest type, their flesh eaten & their bones used for ornaments, converted into weapons of warfare and tools. Many of the crew compelled to carry on their backs a burden of 100 lbs the distance of 4 or 5 miles, after having been washed about in the surf for 10 hours. Many a shipwreckt mariner in gone by days have fallen victims to their hellish cannibal propensities, adequate to the barbareans of the coast of Barbary, considering *all* captives slaves if their lives were spared. Even were a native canoe passing by overtaken by a gale, and is driven onshore taken and the natives or whites secured as slaves, or murdered, quartered & eaten, the eyes gouged out, and the head posted on a pole. Brutes, Brutes, Brutes, Yes! hellish brutes. The reader will bear in mind that they have always held slaves, and still continue so to do.

I have conversed with a Gent, that was an eye witness, visiting a beach in search of a harbour, he found that a canoe had been driven ashore, the men or women killed, 2 fires burning with fragments of their bodies laying on the coals cooking, and the others building fires to cook their *own* bodies, one torn limb from limb. The sight was appalling and heart rending indeed. Very few of the high bloods or royal family but that have and hold slaves. The Gent. already spoken of came near meeting the fate of those poor just described; a party of natives lay in ambush, concealed ready to cut him off when they (the Europeans had expended their powder shooting birds) at this moment their boat came on shore and relieved them from the danger already described. They were not aware of their situation until they ran out of the bush and shewd themselves, but so great was the cowardice of the natives that 2 of the white men put 6 of them armed with spears to flight. The next vessel that came within their sight was a small craft from Sydney, a Brig, taken by the natives and a part of the crew murdered, the remainder made their escape in a boat in the Bay of Plenty.

Of the Islands in the Bay of Plenty the first or northernmost one is Mairs Island [Mayor or Tuhua Island], high, sandy & covered with wood with a population of 200 natives subsisting chiefly on fish and mutton birds. When they are fearful of their enemies they retire to a flat top hill which is composed of loose rocks etc. These they tumble down on their enemies (that attempt to attack them) with great vengeance & effect. This island was formerly volcanic, having a large lagoon in the centre, doubtless has been the crater. The next or inner island in the Bay is Flat Isld a little south of Touranga, is at present uninhabited, capable of cultivation, fine land of rich soil but no harbours. A small vessel can anchor between the island and the main, however the holding ground is not good being rocky bottom, known by the appellation of Moutohora [Motuhora] lays about 7 miles from the mainland, highly elevated and one part is on fire, immense quantities of sulphur can be had (large cargoes). Around its shores are found excellent fish, and the natives frequently go from the main for that purpose. It has been noted and remarkable for black whale in great numbers. Whaling parties have been fitted out at very great expense, and often in danger of losing all their property. One season one whaling party was unsuccessful and came away leaving their property to whomsoever might think proper to use it. A rock about the size of a whale boat lies between Mair Island and Flat Island in a direct line between the two about midway.

Fourth Island, so called, White Isld [Whakari], has a volcano which is constantly burning, and issuing from it a very great smoke, which is often noticed to increase before a gale. It has a very large crater in the centre, running in from the east side. The level of the mouth of this crater is not more than 4 feet from the level of the sea. Here are to be found many kinds of variegated stones, with sulphur in large quantity. Pumice stone is also floating about the island, which must have been thrown out. It would be impossible for any person to remain on this island any great length of time (say a few hours) as the smell of sulphur is so exceedingly strong. The north part is covered with a scrub, and very bold water around the island, one or two small pyrimid rocks lay at some distance from it.

From Cape Runaway to the East Cape there are no natives, they have been killed off[f] by the tribes from the Bay of Plenty. At the East Cape but few natives, very poor but little to dispose of. The Bays round the cape are very open and much exposed to gales. Shipping are very cautious how they enter them as several vessels have been lost on the coast. The natives have been numerous and bad. Whaling establishments have commenced since the year 1838. Some have been very successful, while others have been unfortunate. I have no doubt in my own mind had [it] not been for indolence and levity, inebriation and lasciviousness, all parties would have been successful for the coast abounds in whales. Land about the east cape is good and level near the sea coast. Potatoes none can be better. The corn resembles that of New England. Flax is fine and in abundance but not so white as that in the Bay of Plenty. Vessels should be cautious at all times how they approach the land near the East Cape as the wind is very uncertain and a very bad sea in all the bays round as far as Port Nicholson.

In 1838 it is said that a correct account of the number of natives was not given. Previously to the year 1838 or about the year 1834 the English Bark *Harriett*, coming from Sydney and bound for Cloudy Bay was wrecked at Taranaki on the West Coast and several of her crew were killed by the natives of that place. I happened to be in Sydney when the news reach[ed] there of her fate. Capt. Lambert of the English Man of War "Aligator"

almost immediately got under way and proceeded for the place where the ill-fated ship lay, and gave the natives a most severe chastising, that they will long remember. When the 'Harriett' was wrecked the natives took the Capt's wife and carried her some way away. The Capt and part of the crew escaped and arrived at the Bay of Islands. The Man of War or rather Capt. Lambert rescued the woman from her sufferings and perilous situation. The natives finding themselves so treated by the English as also by the natives of Waicato [Waikato], who, proceeded after the Ship of War had been there, and gave them a most dreadful beating. Finding they were losing ground on all sides they left Taranaki, and took up their line of march overland to Port Nicholson, where they remained for some time, in fear and dread of Roubulla [Te Rauparaha] (one of the most noted chiefs on either shore of Cook Straits). Anxious to leave the coast, the first vessel that entered the Port after was the Brig 'Lord Rodney' from Sydney, Capt. B. Harwood. This unprincipled man entered into an agreement to take them to the Chatam Islands for which he was to receive Powder, Pork, Whale Bone and other things.

The Capt suspecting that this might lead to an enquiry concocted a statement to say that they had taken his Brig from him compelling him to take the savages wherever they thought proper. He then landed his second mate to salt pork during his absence. When a part of them embarked (say about 200) the Brig set sail and landed them at the Chatam Islds, returning took the remainder; in all about 500 natives, being well paid for his trouble and returned on the coast again to complete his cargo. As soon as these New Zealanders arrived at the Chatam Islands they commenced killing and feasting on the strangers of the latter Islds., a poor harmless race of natives (some hundreds) and actually lived on them until they had provided themselves with other food. A shipmaster was their to procure seal skins. The original number of natives was said to be 700. And the 'Rebecca Sims' Whaler of New Bedford was there since and reported that only about 150 of the first number of natives were alive. The remainder were killed off to satisfy the cravings of their cannibal appetites. The few left are badly treated by the New Zealanders. They afterwards took the French whaler 'John Bart' and it is supposed that every individual on board was murdered. A French Man of War proceeded in company with the 'RS' from New Zealand for the purpose of chastising them. After killing 2 or 3 they captured a chief and took him home to France.

Proceeding from the East Coast, doubling the North Cape of New Zealand, after passing Cape Maria Van Dieman, is the spacious river Hokianga bard at its mouth, but very little known or frequented until the year 1825. I was informed that the first English vessel was from the Bay of Islands (or about that date). She was a small craft of about 10 or 20 tons burthen. The American brig 'Cosack' went from the Bay of Islands to that place (Hokianga) in the year 1822 to procure provisions for her cruise to the North West Coast, arriving there, securing a supply of everything required. She left proceeding down the River. Unfortunately for her, when on the bar, going down the River, the wind died to a calm. She drove on shore and broke to pieces, but the crew were saved, and came over land to the Bay of Islands, and left in different vessels. Vessels should be careful not to get too far in, as there is always a *very* heavy swell heaving up from the south after a gale. It often happens that the wind dies away when near the bar, when the vessel becomes unmanageable. Hokianga from the mouth to the head of the tide, distance of about 30 miles; the banks mostly covered with timber, here and there a small valley cultivated by the natives. But little or no flat land on either side of the river. Its navigable 20 miles up it, for vessels of any size. The principal chiefs are Nalua, Nene, Putone. Nene remains at the Bay of Islands in consequence of some family disagreements. Tamati, Purae, Tawni and many others.

1844

The native population in this district of Hokianga is about 2,000 and the European about 600. The face of the country is not unlike that at the Bay of Islands. It abounds in Valleys, Bays and Swamps of mangroves. The tide in the river runs rapidly in and out, in consequence of so many small branches intersecting the main river. At spring tides the water runs with great rapidity, so much so that 2 men in a boat cannot pull against its rippling waters. It is one of the most extensive timber districts in New Zealand. Sailing directions and signals to approach and take the bar, Viz, If the bar is not fit to take a Blue Peter is hoisted on the flagstaff. Signal to keep to sea. Red flag for a vessel to take the bar. There is [then] no danger. Blue flag with a white cross denotes the ebb tide, and the bar is not fit to take. White flag denotes the first quarter flood tide. And it is requisite that every vessel should answer these flags. When vessels are too far to the Southward for entering, the flagstaff will droop to the Northward, and if too far to the North will droop to the South. Whatever way the signal staff droops that way the vessel must direct her course. And by [no] means to take the bar until the flag staff at the Seamphorick Station bears E one quarter N by Compass. High water at the bar, full and change of the moon half past 9 AM. The river is navigable for ships of 1000 tons or more. Many branches intersect it capable of admitting vessels of 200 tons, up to several miles. Any quantity of timber can be supplied from this place for a subsequent period yet to come. Both large & small vessels have been built at Hokianga. One of about 400 tons.

The natives have been far more kind to Europeans than at other parts of the Island. And a much greater

number have embraced Christianity, joining the Wesleyan persuasion, being almost daily converted, others holding to their original superstitions and mode of living, but the day is not far distant when they also will be converted to Christ. The Wesleyan Mission have accomplished much good, having been very active, since their establishment many years since. And having been a close observer of their good works, I cannot find words to express the credit and high respect due to them. Having had frequent interviews with them, I have much pleasure in imparting (although stigmatized) to the world their just dues. Men of unimpeachable characters, the effects of their communications with the (Mauries) natives, I do most heartily bear testimony of their labours in civilizing them, is as beyond calculation and cannot be estimated only by those that have visited them. The advantages the Europeans receive through the instrumentality of the Wesleyan Missionaries and those of the Church of England are as beyond calculation; an adequate idea cannot be formed only by those acquainted with their arduous labours to overcome all obstacles their good effects of civilization and Christianity.

But these remarks cannot apply with equal effect to those of the Church of Rome. Many of their Priests are as lawless as the nefarious banditti of Europeans that infested this island in gone by days. But those urbane Gents, of the Wesleyan & Church of England, their memories will long be cherished in the bosoms of their multitudinous hosts of friends. As respects the Wesleyans I must give them the preference over all others for Brotherly love and charity. The poor and needy instead of hearing as they do from another party 'bear up for a Pippy Bed [clam bed] and sail large for no man need starve in New Zealand.' Such Charity is like sounding brass and a tinkling symbol. But how stands the case with the Wesleyans? We hear their hospitality is in danger by the provisions made for the poor and destitute. Such objects are not a few in New Zealand. Many, very many, Europeans families have but a scant existence on potatoes. And many others wandering to & fro, hither and thither seeking employment, finding none, half starved and macilent until the generous hearted native (once a cannibal) relieves the pangs of hunger. Should England continue to send her poor and need[y] without land or as the parlance is "without money or marbles" New Zealand would soon become the poorhouse of Great Britain. Many a poor European feamale undergoes the pains of accouchment in miserable huts, half sheltered from the weather, without either Phiscians or attendants. Many, very many, of them with scarcely food enough to sustain life, or clothing to keep themselves or their children comfortable. Merciful Heavens where are the Sons & Daughters of Humanity. Although I cannot depict in living colors the true and Godlike character of Mrs. James Clendon (whose Consort is a member of the Council) I will briefly state that she has the Christians heart; humane, benevolent and charitable to all, wandered away from her mansion at night to relieve the needy and distressed. Last not least Mrs. R. Burrows and Mrs. J. Busby. Heavens choicest blessings will descend and rest upon them. But to return to the poor mother, whilst the Queen of England is accouched in her princely Palace, her babe rocked in a golden cradle, these poor beings are suffering from the pangs of misery. Is she composed of any better materials than those poor creatures. Alas! She is only an Imperial pauper herself, although well provided for. New Zealand requires a small European population with Capital, not poverty.

To proceed south from Hokianga River, we come [to] Kaipara. This great river has been unknown to Europeans until within a few years. Its suitable for ships of any size, the entrance being about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide. And outside are three large Sand Banks with very little water on them. The narrowest passage is $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile wide, has no less than 7 faths water, a ship may work in and out safely in fine weather. The tide runs strong; the rise and fall of the water is great, from 16 to 18 feet and in winter months said to rise and fall 20 feet. The principal objection to ships hauling in to load there, is no bays where she may lay out the strength of the tide, but must always lay in the strength of the current, which exposes her to danger and losing much Timber. The lands are not good until about 35 miles up the river being very swampy and without much timber, but after getting that distance may be seen beautiful flats suitable for farms, the land being good. The natives are not numerous and much scattered. About 185 miles from the entrance 550 to 700 natives live on the banks of the river. Their houses (if they may have that appellation) are said to be different from any others of the natives. The frames are covered with bark of Tatare [Totara] Tree, which is said to give them a more sightly appearance, making them very comfortable. The huts about the Bay of Islands is said to be no comparison to them. This I should think quite likely, for the huts at the Bay of Islands are not fit for a dog to live in.

Next we come to Manoukau [Manukau]. It has no bar, but a good entrance, having an Island in the centre. Vessels steer for the Island and when near it an opening is seen to the right. The natives are said to be very industrious cleaning Flax and carrying [it] over to Touranga on the East Coast. They are very numerous and have often been involved with those of the River Thames. Vessels of 300 and 350 tons can take this place with safety. The next small harbour along the West Coast sailing south worth naming [is] Kaweer [Kawhia]. This is barred, also, with only 15 and one half feet of water in it. Lays just in from Gannet Island sheltering it from SW winds. Few if any vessels visit this place. Some flax can be had, Pork also at a very low rate in great quantities. Sailing southerly on the West Coast many other small harbours are visible, but only suitable for small craft. There are no two tribes of natives that speak the same dialect; if they are not 50 miles apart the language varies; not differing so materially but that they can be understood and understand each other. In their primitive

simplicity they are poor innocent children, yet cunning, artful and of quick discernment; by the alphabet they alone can learn to read and write. Many of them in writing turn the paper from the top, and write from the bottom to the top then vice versa read from the top of the page to the bottom. Of a very recent date in one of their wars at the south at Port Nicholson an English officer observed to a Chief the Queen will give you protection; Said the Chief, 'You cannot give your own Subjects protection, much less the Natives.'

Previously to colonising of New Zealand by the British Govt, the late Govr Hobson was appointed by that Govt and accredited English Consul at that Island, with the proviso 'if he could obtain by treaty with the Chiefs; the whole or a part of their country, he was to preside as Lieut. Governor over such parts as were conceded by treaty, subject to the local laws of New S. Wales, to be a dependence of that Colony.' But on arrival of the late Governor Hobson at Sydney, he, together with Sir George Gipps, the new Governor of New S. Wales concocted a plan, a deep laid plan, a disgraceful plan (as I have been informed by British Subjects) quite to the contrary of instructions of the home Govt. The idea for having New Zealand to colonise for the benefit of [the] European population makes no part of the first outline of the plan proposed by the English Govt, and nothing was to be done that should for an instant place their rights and interests, moral and religious, or temporal in jeopardy. But the manner in which they commenced the excitements of colonization was highly improper, and should never have been commenced or acceded to by the laws of nations. Now a most disgraceful part: to obtain the signatures of the Chiefs, tobacco and other trade was brought, meetings were then called, first of the chiefs and all of the people. And the New Zealander in his simplicity and innocency were seduced and knavishly dealt by, by knocking in the heads of tobacco casks, and a scramble made for the weed as a boy would chase after apples. Some of them were wise; whilst others were foolish. Here and there was an exception, a warrior, and many rather interesting and naturally intelligent natives who were not so easily pleased with the rattle.

Many who would not sell the Country of their Fathers for a plug of tobacco or a leaf of the obnoxious weed, to use the common parlance "sell their birthright for a mess of pottage" did not sign the treaty. Was it indeed that they expected to pour in a flood of emmigrants, and sweep the aborigines from their beloved country. Sweep them of[f] by death, or other causes to depopulate them. I am not aware whether, the scourge of all the earth, Rum was poured in amongst them to make its deadly ravages through their members. It appears sometimes in surveying this part of the earths surface that the most settled moral principals were failing fast; and to think of a vast portentous system ordained for their destruction. Other natural calamities came upon them by means that were indirect and unforeseen and very often irresistible. They are a race of poor innocent children. How was this matter explained? Instead of giving them an insight into the Treaty they stole upon the path of their ignorance, indolence and simplicity, overwhelming the victim of indulgence by their fair promises (afterward willfully broken) in their unguarded home of pleasure.

New Zealand although, nevertheless, a limited country, its boundaries are not indefinite as on a marked and circumscribed continent. The nature of the surface of this country is such, that it may be safely avered, that on the whole not more than one acre in 7 or 8 can be brought under cultivation by any method at present known. I speak of the whole of New Zealand, on an average, the lands that are fit in point of cultivation for the plough are not in quality of the best soil; while the richer lands cannot be cultivated except by the spade. They consist of steep hills, lofty and pointed ridges, and deep valleys without any level at bottom, excepting in form of an undrainable Swamp. This is the case for the most part the whole country over, with a very few exceptions. But that which makes the most difficult feature of the whole is that in consequence it would seem impossible ever to make roads to interior farms for the conveyance of produce between the Bay of Islands and Auckland. The Mauries never travel in a direct line; the only practicable course they know being by Raparro [Kaipara?] which gives the distance of about 200 miles for about 80 and of this 130 by water. This is a specimen. A road in any direction would be one continued line of bridges and tunnels, an altogether quite impossible thing. Hence the interior of this country never can supply locations for capitalistic farmers. The only agricultural district being but a very short distance from the coast. The population of the aborigine being about 140,000.

The same inducements that led Capt. Hobson of the Royal Navy (the late Governor) to commit the first act of fraud (already antecedently mentioned) (for I can call it by no other name than fraud) in taking possession of New Zealand led to a perpetual succession of unjust measures to sustain the principals adopted. The great act of wrong after a part of the Chiefs had signed away their Sovereignty, and the Treaty ratified, and the Proclamation made, was the passing of an act at Sydney, by which the aboriginal right in land was set aside. Were they conscientiously right in doing so in the eyes of Nations. In this instance they have swerved from all uprightness and generosity. With this people man must do more than attain to punctilious honesty in his actions; but he must train his judgment, his sentiment and his affections to uprightness, candour and good will.

Looking to the case of the protector of the aborigines, there is no check to prevent them from abusing their power, and using his influence just as he may deem his interest may require. Hitherto he has acted as Government Agent for the purchase of land from the natives, and as their protector in the selfsame bargain. His

salary is about £1000 sterling equals \$5000. There is no philanthropy in such matters; it can attain to no moral end with this people, for these innocent children, the aborigines begin to discern that the heart of man is deceitful and desperately wicked, for it is not the part of rational beings to give more for less, for man doing business must receive the equivalent of what he pays away. No man can serve two masters, but this protector of aborigines must as a matter of course, for while he is doing a justice to one he is doing a very great injustice to another; whilst at the same time the Government holds in subjection common honesty and a wise philosophy. In the words of an able writer 'Mans mind he must use, for he has nothing else to go by.' He may use it unjustly to the heinous injury of his weaker neighbor; but still he must use it. I have here revealed [revealed] a few facts to show the reader the chicanery used by the English Government to treat with those poor innocent natives. It is positively a disgrace to England, perhaps not unlike the gross impositions practised at the founding of the American Colonies.

Not more than half of New Zealand to this day has been ceded to Great Britain by treaty proclaimed to be a dependence to the British Crown on the 30th of Jan'y 1840 and subsequently assuming authority over the Northern Island, in virtue of a treaty of cession from the natives of Waitangi; and over the South Isld by right of discovery. What right of discovery pray? A right to rob a nation of its lands, its rights and titles! What but fashionable robbery, winked at (if I may be so allowed to express it). Suppose a vessel under the New Zealand flag (for such an occurrence might not have been impossible) had sailed round Cape Horn and sighted the small Island of Great Britain, and issued a proclamation asserting the authority of New Zealand over Great Britain. How preposterous it would seem to England's Queen? Parliament would have issued a decree, commanding her ships of war to cause the pealed thunders of their artillery to be heard on the shores of New Zealand, her cannon to look into every harbour, its echoe to reach every mountain, and rolling thunders say England is here. To the reflecting, thinking mind of the native their is meaning in that roar of artillery. It awakens their fears, there's no contending with that power, against usurpation. In the face of all this how stands the case of Robulla [Te Rauparaha], a noted chief in Cook's Straits. It arouses him to arms to contend for his just rights, treating those who insist upon their lands, they never purchased by giving (the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of Port Nicholson) fare warning if they did not quit their grounds they would starve all to death and this order was faithfully executed and I think 16 Englishmen fell in the combat, amongst them the Police Magistrate of that place. They were literally cut to pieces. Were the poor savages at fault for this? I answer in the negative! It was the desired wish of the natives to have dealt honorably with them; they did not solicit more than rightly belonged to them. Says the Native you come here to our lands making haste to be rich. That her Majesty insists upon our lands. The rejoinder to this by the Maurie—Who is your queen more than any other woman (or wihene). In an emphatick tone the Chief replies, if you take this land, your blood shall liquidate the debt. Enraged at the justice of the natives Englishmen with one voice exclaimed, Gurde on your arms to battle, and sweep the Savages from the land. They met and it was finished. A deadly massacre was written upon its walls.

Now take a view of the honor of the natives. Before fighting they took down the house the white men had built; but not before remonstrating with the English to move them off. They even took Boards, Shingles & Timbers that the house were built of, together with the Nails separately, back to the owner of it, Saying they would not have it on their lands. Sufficient warning for what might ensue, and what dreadful catastrophe did take place. The natives were naturally honest in the most minute transactions, often putting the European to the blush! An example worthy to be followed by the white men. But says the European—revenge—revenge. But what saith Him that moveth the Universe 'Vengeance belongeth to me, I will repay!' Well the news reached the Metropolis and loud is the cry for blood, by some of the inhabitants; others less violent, thought it hard, while others took the part of the innocent native (and very just that they should). Despatches were forwarded by his Excellency the *acting* Govr. (ex Colonial Secretary Willoughby Shortland) to New S. Wales for assistance from a Ship of War then lying there. Previously to the ships arriving at Auckland mad schemes were proposed. Some 10 or 12 Soldiers were spoken of by the then acting Govr. to fight about 1000 natives. Had they carried this mad scheme into effect, it would have kindled a blaze that would have destroyed every white man, woman, & child in the country, before any succour or assistance could have arrived. This threat was not infrequently made by the aborigines.

Well the ship of war is despatched from Sydney, she arrives at Auckland ordered for Port Nicholson, with troops, Sir Everett Home Commander. She proceeds to the scene of destruction. To his surprise he finds matters quite to the contrary of representations. Does he commence warfare in order to exterminate them from their own soil of right and inheritance? Not so! All their (the white inhabitants) entreaties cannot set (in this case) common honesty and morality at defiance. Again the Ship of War returned to Auckland; they find that moral force is all that is required. Protection is offered to the natives, but what says the Chief! Her Majesty cannot protect her own Subjects, much less the Mauries. Subsequently some jealousy arose between [the] Touranga and Mukatu tribes, the former had ceded their part of the island; creating the displeasure of those of Mukatu, and insist on fighting, (I suppose for the purpose of getting their lands to themselves). Government interfered

preventing a war taking place by moral persuasion. And by moral persuasion they relinquish war, and cease wrong hostilities. Almost invariably moral force will effectually accomplish all the good that may be required. The natives committed atrocious deeds on the innocent as well as the guilty, considering the whites all of the same family. I refer now to a skirmish the natives had where many of the Mauries were killed and eaten. The whites for supplying the enemy & interfering were robbed and plundered to a very great extent (serving them perfectly right, strictly in accordance with privateering amongst Christians in time of war). I deem it an act of duty incumbent on me, and in justice to the Mauries (now New Zealanders) to say that they would put to the blush and shame many, very many Europeans, citizens, and Govt officers in New Zealand. Every thinking man who has visited N Zd. will coincide with me in my remarks that New Zd (attaching all blame to Europeans) has been a brothel—Yes! a heinous house of prostitution, humanity sickens at the appalling sight—when it is made the object of so base and designing men.

And who will challenge the respect (naturally) of the natives when justice is done them. New Zealand is the Couch of their repose and rolling Chariot. The magnificent mountains and lofty peaked hills, their drapery hung round their abode, with only the Heavens for a covering, here at Antipodes.

The Antiquarian has a spacious field for researches, the Geologist to examine the nature of the soil, whilst the mineralist is searching the bowels of the Islands discovering its precious metals which are reported in great abundance. And I ask are they disturbed? No! The New Zealander delights in their labour, the worlds great ordinance.

To the naturalist New Zealand produces the wonders of nature, as wonderful in its formation as the buried cities of Mexico, as singular in its formation as the Castles, Towers, and Temples of Europe or the Pyramids of Egypt.

But to return to the natives, I would not be misunderstood as exonerating the natives in every instance, for in many they offend wilfully, but physical force is not necessary. Moral suasion is quite sufficient for an entire reformation. I found it worked well at the Bay of Islands. Perhaps a more perfect description of the surrounding country at the Bay of Isld might not be uninteresting. In treating on New Zealand the sphere for investigation is so extensive & I might almost add infinite, that I hardly know where to begin.

I well remember the first time I saw this land heaving up out of the sea, one of the finest islands in the Pacific Ocean. It had the appearance of a mass of rocks divested of all vegetation, [rather] than a fruitful and abundant island, but on approaching nearer you behold the central eminences distinguished by a softer outline and clothed in verdure and towering to the clouds. I think it would be difficult in any country (although unfavorable [in] appearance at first distant view coming from seaward) to meet with a more pleasing prospect than at the Bay of Islands. The Towns or villages are situated in beautiful bays, the entrance is on the northwest. A more spacious and convenient situation for a naval depot could not be found in the Pacific. The whole English Navy could lay moored in perfect safety, and secured from all winds. The anchorage from 8 to 16 faths of water. Goods can be landed at any hour of the day. In viewing the Towns from the Anchorage in the Bay the prospect is delightful. New Zealand is a very extensive mineral country. The mountains & hills abound in Copper, Coal, Iron, Manganese etc. but Iron not in abundance with Copper.

The native Flax (the Phormium tenax) which grows here in abundance on the highest mountains and in the valleys might be constituted an extensive and lucrative business. Grazing to a great extent might be propagated, no climate could be more favorable to cattle. Nearly all tropical and temperate vegetation thrive remarkably. Figs and vines, in fact everything which can facilitate or afford gratification to the human family. The temperature and exuberance of New Zealand is I believe not exceeded in any part of the world. The Thermometer in the Bay of Islands seldom rises above 88° or sinks below 45°, it is always fanned by a breeze. It is gifted with attractions both local and natural. Many people have been at much pains to represent New Zealand as a barren mass of rocks, although they know that 1 acre in 7 or 8 is fit for cultivation with excellent soil of unusual depth. Two crops can always be obtained from the same soil and sometimes three. In comparing New Zealand with most of the South Sea Islands I consider it infinitely superior in capabilities.

For the first mile or two the traveller observes little else than sterility; but his curiosity is soon gratified by the prospect of verdure, the beautiful and romantic scenery, lofty, which is here from almost every mountain and hill. There is a peculiar wildness all over the Island, in the surrounding scenery surpassing anything I have recognized before. All the surrounding hills, precipices are strangely fashioned and fantastically mixed and blended together. They resemble more the Ariel shape which we see among the clouds than anything composed of a denser material.

New Zealand has excited much attention and many superficial opinions have arose concerning its present form; we have daily proofs of the mountains which are elevated by the agency of volcanoes, in the South Seas and in many parts of South America. The decomposition of animal and vegetable matter contribute largely to the mass, the exuvial of shells and coral animals is perpetually adding to the formation and laying the bases for new and extensive Islands. Many of the South Sea Islnds are altogether the production of the Madrepora

Lubricate. In so great abundance is calcareous matter elaborated by these worms that many have supposed that the South Sea Islands are their productions. Mr. Cuvier is inclined to ascribe all the calcareous rocks that enter the solid crust of the earth to an animal origin.³

New Zealand has and is continually undergoing changes, the influence of the atmosphere, heat acts decidedly upon the surface and renders it more accessible to moisture as it enters into its texture which causes a disunion of the concerned bodies and cooperates with the fluid which alternately forms, and unforms, which creates and regenerates all nature. The action of rains contributes largely to depress the mountains, but the material which composes them resists in proportion to their hardness. And hence I have not been surprised meeting with peaks and lofty columns which have stood firm amid the decomposition of their surrounding particles, and still remain to attest the original level of the mountains which have disappeared in many parts of the colony. The traveller is often delighted with the torrents that flow down the sides of the mountains, which hollows out channels in proportion to the rapidity and in proportion to the hardness of the soil which it passes over. I have many times been struck with admiration in viewing the torrents running in silent grandeur through an aggregate composition of rock and limestone.

New Zealand has assumed another aspect within a few years. It has emerged from Cannibalism and savage despotism to a practical state of liberty and freedom. And the traveller landing on the shores of New Zealand would continually have been subject to danger and death. A renovation has chiefly been effected through the persevering efforts of the Mission, whom I have already previously eulogized, in praises they richly & righteously merit. Their labours in civilising (more especially the Wesleyans) is as beyond calculation and cannot be estimated.

New Zealand as a colony offers every inducement for speedy colonization; but the unfavorable position of the Colonial Govt. at present, disheartens the emigrant from making purchases of the lands. Many tracts of the country treated or bargained for, the natives will not now admit; they have been so dishonorably and shamelessly dealt with by the Colonists & Colonial Govt. Notwithstanding their high sense of honor they are fast learning their intriguing and dishonest actions in trade.

New Zealand wants the spirit of energy to diffuse its magic influence over the colony, [with it, it] would be the most important of the South Sea Islands. It is surrounded by a healthy and salubrious atmosphere, a rich and productive soil, extensive for the researches of the Mineralist and the Geologist. A climate favorable to the growth and propagation of tropical and temperate vegetation, in fact everything which afford[s] gratification or facilitate[s] the heart of man. It is possessed of most excellent harbours, the Bay of Islands in particular as I have previously described. Auckland has been very difficult of landing, except in fine weather. At low tide goods are landed nearly a half mile from the wharf, and then transported through the mud knee deep. The Bay of Islands is generally known, a knowledge of its superior facilities being diffused all over the world, in consequence of whalers from almost every nation that are employed in that business. Admirably situated for a naval depot and at a subsequent period will probably be constituted as such. American Ships of War seldom visit these islands for protection & propagation of American Commerce which is very extensive among these Islands, perhaps more so than any other nation on the Earth's surface.

The United States could not bestow a more liberal act on their people in the South Seas than the frequent visits of Ships of War among the Islands, more especially the Feejee Islands & the Groups East and West of them, for the protection of our Commerce and Flag which is not infrequently prostituted by unprincipled foreigners, as well as the most unprincipled part of our own citizens to cover heinous offenses, a wicked and immoral trade mercenarily, strictly forbidden by the principles of philanthropy. Our vessels are not infrequently beholden to the naval vessels of other nations on those stations for propagation and shield whilst cruising and trading among those obdurate and androphagus people. Unprincipled Europeans & I regret to add some of my own countrymen adequate in their vicious propensities, sowing seeds of discord amongst the natives thereby impeding our commerce in their progress of trade with them. Complaints were not infrequently made to me. The natives in their primitive simplicity are easily seduced.

To return to New Zealand. The depression, commercial and political, that at present pervades the settlements colonized by the English Govt and the New Zealand Company is without a parallel. The causes are various that have led to this disastrous result, but principally occasioned by the prostrated state of the adjacent British Colonies, and the want of a commanding export. New Zealand like all other colonies is possessed of sympathy, and is more or less affected by the present pressure of the Mother Country, that New Zealand may become an important colony in these seas at an earlier day than anticipated, not from her commanding position, climate and soil alone, but from the determination of the British Government to extend an active colonisation immediately, and the persevering efforts of the New Zealand Company to make their settlement progress. The present unsettled negotiations of individual land claims, which has been carried on for two years or more; likewise the enormous price levied on the Govt. lands has tended to dishearten the settler; and has reflected a shade of darkness over one of the finest and most exhilarating, healthy and serene climates in nature, blessed

with a luxuriant and lasting soil favorable for the propagation of nearly every tropical fruit (as already stated), situated in the highway of all nations, abundant in minerals, in fact every facility that can enrich a country. The elevation and broken surface of New Zealand has exerted the reflection of the philosopher, elevated the imaginations of the admirer of nature, caused deep reflection in the thinking man, & is likely to originate much more, as some have conjectured that its broken elevation *has altogether* arose from animal origin is hardly conclusive. The most rational conclusion that I have been able to arrive at is that its foundation has previously been the production of Coroline Animals, which through accumulated ages has progressively arose, until from external pressure and by the introduction of oxygen and many other causes has hastened ignition which has caused eruptions and elevated the surface, and presented to the eye of man a broken and mountainous Island. New Zealand may well be called a beautiful island, as lovely in its details as it is wonderful in its formation. The atmosphere which encircles it, the health (if I may so express it) which it pants forth into the blue sky is a beautiful creation in itself, full of change and mystery, rich in sublime and impressive scenery presenting us with problems of the most difficult investigation.

It is difficult to meet with a more pleasing prospect than at the Bay of Islands. The hills back of the town rise to an elevation much greater than the spot on which the town stands, the infinite diversity of tint which over rugged mass[es] of rocks, divested of trees, shrubs and herbage, on nearer approach brings in view the central eminences distinguished by a softer outline clothed in verdure & towering to the clouds.

Since the foundation of the Colony the English Govt, has had a tendency to dishearten both the native and the settler. Many treaties which were thought to have been firm have proved ineffectual; which has been in consequence of the unfavorable position taken by the Govt, and unless a different system is adopted, the English Government will be unable to purchase lands from the natives at any price. The Bay of Islands (now the Port of Russell) has within the last 2 years undergone a material Change, particularly in Maritime Affairs. The whale Ships have mostly left and resort elsewhere for supplies. The Colony at present is assuming an unfavorable aspect. The nonadvancement of New Zealand from local mismanagement wholly prevents penning its statistics. Flax, the indigenous *Phormium tenax* is in its primitive state. Flax is to this colony what the timber of Canada has been to that country, though the colony is at present confined to agricultural produce in a small variety—such as Wheat, Oafs, Barley, Hops and leguminous produce together with (Kaurie Spars and Timber).

The most populous settlement is at Port Nicholson, at the town of Wellington in Cooks Straits but ill chosen as the site of a large settlement, being very tempestuous in that part. The population about 5500. Nelson is on the North side of the middle Island, the Second New Zealand Companies station, population about 2000. Their attention is turned to agricultural pursuits, raising Barley and Oats. Swampy lands abound in the vicinity. New Plymouth or Taranaki, nearer to the Govt. Settlement, about 1000, has no port and an iron bound coast, quite open to prevailing gales from SW to NW. Their attention also is turned to agriculture, having little or no sale for their produce at present. Akaroa was formerly settled by the French, is a station near the centre of Middle island, at Banks Peninsula, population about 150. The North & Middle from the South & Stewarts Isld is seperated by Foveaux Straits.

Auckland the seat of Government situated on the Waitamatee [Waitemata] River; The River Thames lays to the South and East, nearly 200 miles from the North Cape of New Zealand. Population 2500 about. The harbour is difficult to a stranger. Recently wars have ceased with the natives in the neighbourhood of Auckland. It has often been remarked that a people after having long given way to their passions, when they do change pass to the other extreme. Thus it is here, morality is fast gaining ground amongst the natives. Churches are built & well attended by the natives. But the Europeans are not a churchgoing people. Perhaps owing to the antipathy they have to the missionaries, whom they reproach with the vilest slanders. With them, the more righteous, the more vilified, but the reproach of such a people is more honor than its praise. By the moral influence and improvement originating with the Mission, many mariners have been repressed in their vices, but have not reported in the most favorable terms respecting the beneficial results of the Missionaries. No one can form an adequate conception of the immense good they have accomplished, save the unprejudiced observer.

New Zealand as previously remarked is wonderful in its formation. The health which it pants [*sic*] forth into the blue sky (if I may so express it) is a beautiful creation in itself, full of change and mystery, rich in sublime and impressive scenery, presenting us with problems of the highest interest, and most difficult investigation, and furnishing us with innumerable themes for vast and sublime speculation, while other sciences can only be pursued under peculiar circumstances. While the Botanist meets with many a desolate track, which will add no unknown blossom to his herbarium, the Geologist may pass over a vast district which presents many points of interest to his eye. Meteorologist wherever he travels has a seperate creation to explore, every passing breeze presents him with some interesting phenomena, every rising & setting sun presents new wonders. The sun hardly set[s] beneath the western horizon ere it's dark, scarcely a moments twilight the refraction is so great. The same coincidence applies to South Australia, doubtless caused by refraction and partly by reflection of the suns rays through the atmosphere. This faint light I have often gazed on before and

after the appearance of the sun, is heavenly. The Sun's apparent daily course is more oblique to the horizon in some places than at others, and at one season of the year, than at others at the same place. This of course makes a great difference of time. Twilight is more perceptible on wide and extended plains, and on lofty and elevated spots, than in valleys. And in a broken and hilly country this may have a tendency to suppress, with other causes, the diffusion of twilight in some parts of New Zealand. On the mountains when sheets of descending clouds so frequently conceal the scenery with an impenetrable veil, this interest, which in many countries and Islands is entirely destroyed, is only lit upon New Zealand. The peculiar lofty peaks and mountains in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands and other parts of the Island being under the influence of accidental circumstances, perpetually changing, are full of beautiful effects of occult causes which render them exceedingly interesting for the eye of an attentive observer. I have not infrequently been early in the morning before sun rise on the top of one of the highest hills or mountains behind the town. I could not help admiring the sky with its silver white, streaked along the verge of the horizon, showing by the intensity of the blue not only that its beholder was at a considerable elevation, but also that there was but little onerous vapour held in suspension in the atmosphere, and consequently in all probability the day will continue clear. It is no uncommon circumstance in New Zealand to see flying clouds start suddenly into existence out of its serenity, almost in fact like a puff of smoke and then as suddenly disappear, so that the spectator is almost inclined to doubt his vision or the clearness of it at least, when having swept with his eye along the sky and congratulated himself on its utter cloudlessness, his glance the next moment falls on clouds rapidly increasing, and apparently low clouds big with rain. When after the lapse of another minute or so, it appears deeply blue and vapourless as ever, and the heavens lit up with a clear blue sky.

Port Nicholson is surrounded by lofty and sublime columns, mountains towering to the sky, resembling the hills about the Bay of Islands, mountains reaching to the clouds that has stood the changes of 4 score years and upwards. I know of no prettier sight than the lofty evergreens on the mountains, continually expanding its delicious fragrance to the atmosphere, absorbing the offensive and noxious particles of nature and substituting equal quantities of oxygen or the vital parts of nature in return. The perspective scenery which surrounds New Zealand is hardly surpassed in any part of the Globe. The first appearance to me in the distant horizon was unfavorable, I disliked its looks, its high & apparently barren hills, but on a nearer approach aroused the languid spirits, presenting to view a sight which gratifies the heart of man. The whole line of the eastern coast is accommodated with spacious & fine harbours which afford shelter and refuge from the storm. Nature appears not to have been mindful of the extent of her gifts on New Zealand. From its constitutional position it is destined, and at an early subsequent period to become the most important commercial island within the Pacific. Its localities must and will constitute it as such. The Bay of Islands presents a most spacious artificial naval retreat; wherein their whole fleet could repose in perfect security, on a magnificent sheet of water. It may be possible that there are other retreats adequate to this yet undiscovered, for in such abundance is Calcareous Matter elaborated by Coralline Animals through the Pacific. Calcareous rocks which are uniting so extensively that at no distant period, from these unions & larger Islands uniting, a new continent will necessarily appear. That the sea, as some have supposed has retired and left its present form divested of water is hardly conclusive from its present appearance. Although through successive ages many causes may have contributed to effect a change vegetation contributes much to elevate the surface in some places, while in others it is depressed by the action of the atmosphere. Yet without the aid of central fire or volcanic eruptions (in these seas) it is hardly conclusive to suppose that its present broken forms could have arose. I have here given an unpremeditated account ascending uncontested in opposition to others that are wafting their aerial flights to the consecrate grounds of the pilgrims.

I have already described the scenery at the Bay of Islands. Now look on this deplorable picture that I shall depict in living colors. Her Majesties (Queen Victoria) Officers at the Bay have their hours for business, 10AM to 2PM, in this small place of about 205 inhabitants. The intervening time is to[o] much taken up with lewd Maurie women more especially the Sub-Collector J. Guise Mitford, living licentiously with lewd Mauries, and a seducer of innocent young native girls, in their primitive simplicity, to their utter shame and disgrace be it known, regardless of decency and respect, living like brutes fastidious without much labour, toiling hard for this world's pleasure which the wind bloweth whither it listeth. Toiling like the Atheist, they seldom apparently seek the Bread of Life, as if this probationary existence were all. Setting at defiance morality and religion, bringing upon themselves the fastidiousness [*sic*] of their countrymen and women. Such their conduct, palpably an outrage on humanity, a disgrace to the Government of Queen Victoria. Through the influence of Bishop Selwyn orders were decreed, that all military officers must dispense with their young miss's (aborigines, Mauries so-called) young girls from the age of 12 years to 20 years in their primitive simplicity. Their parents deeming it an honor for them to submit their maiden person to Europeans. (Not unlike Mohamedans) Some with their 6 or 8 wives during their pleasure, and perhaps to the utter dislike, displeasure and a deep sense of shame in the female, compelled to submit her person lasciviously to her ruin and their mercenary gratification.

Humanity groans and sickens when it is made the instrument of so base indulgence. The spirit of the just and the honorable sighs in secret over the sordid pollution of so designing a mass of beings. Such splendid sin (if I may so express it) cannot elude that eye that never slumbers or sleeps, With all its pride and vanity will sink before the eyes of the Eternal Judge. Happy would it be if the Bishops influence would extend throughout the Bay.

The village of Wahapu, especially deeply require[s] the influence of some good man. Here common honesty and moral justice [are] despised. Conscience (if they have any is set aside) principle is entirely out of the question. The gates of trade with them are not the entrance to the Sanctuary of Conscience & Principle for they have none. The presence of God are no contemplation of theirs; eagerness to acquire a fortune in a moment will ultimately be their ruin, there is there a general pusillanimity of moral cowardice of losing a manly independence of character.

Here humanity is degenerated into a weak sensibility, here are the scoffers of Christianity, here through fascination they entrap their friends and foes dishonestly, plunder, crush and destroy them; they rob the merchant and swindle commerce. I cannot say there are no gaming houses (for there might be scores of them) but they have houses yet darker, reflecting a dark shade over humanity, darker than hell! Houses of ignominy and ill fame, houses of prostitution to all intents and purposes, Maurie girls penned in, escaping from the attacks, running hither and thither, to & fro, Merciful Heaven how mankind will prostrate themselves below the brute Creation.

These lumber yards [*sic*] are open? when the ships arrive, and a clear passage to the vessel, and her decks almost instantly alive with native women, a floating castle of prostitution. How can it be otherwise when the Master and Officers set the example; they draw no veil to hide them from the public eye. And all to entice custom to the shore where the ships recruit.

Mischief and misery have been reduced to a system and trade. Thus it is the merchant is wronged, cheated and plundered by wholesale. I will enter more fully into details hereafter. I am well aware that I make the majority of the inhabitants of the Bay of Islands despicable and perhaps had an utter abhorrence of them on account of their Satanick ways, as respects business, and more especially their Satanical Satanism with those children of innocence (New Zealand girls) putting to the blush European Ladies. For her countrymen sicken, blush and veil their faces. To use a common parlance 'worse than a Turk.' They the Turks as a people in their manners though ignorant are very polite. And who would put this people to the blush, to their utter shame & confusion? If a European lady cannot who can? Priding themselves in the glory of being expert as seducers, forget [that] with all their endeavors they can only acquire the second rank in that noble order, Satan having long since been in possession of first. What would the Turks think of these pretended moral people, nominally Christians, who reduce these poor females to distress, robbed virtuous women

'A Dying Chief' by George Angas. Williams was interested in Maori rites and described their lamentations for the dead. *Courtesy of the Alexander Turnbull Library.*

of their honor their *all*. Regarding, beauty, youth, rank, nay virtue itself as an incitement to inflame their desire and rend their efforts more eager. I say the Turks would put this people to the blush; for it is said of them a man debauching a married woman is regarded as a pernicious being, and is looked upon with perfect hatred, it is said he is quite an outcast from society. Here then is a Christianlike example for these people (English as they are) at the Bay of Islands. The Turks in some of their ceremonies formerly (the females) went naked in fashionable halls amongst themselves, as well as the New Zealand men & women, with merely a leek to cover their middle, as naked as our first parents, either principles or good laws hold the former in subjection. The inhabitants at the Bay of Islands pretending to be a more enlightened race of people, and yet cannot be subjected to the Government of Philanthropy.

With respect to the New Zealanders at the present day; for the most part they indulge in the luxuries of European dress in the villages and towns. Amongst the tribes many of them at this late day are stark naked 'as our common mother & first parents in the garden of Eden,' perhaps not so much abashed as Eve, and ashamed as Adam when they discerned as the New Zealander that they were naked & exposed, and had nothing but the heavens to cover them. But for the most part the New Zealanders are now clad. In Morrocco the Mohamedans are married legally to a number of wives, and the Emperor has as many as he chooses, perhaps hundreds, for it is estimated that he has 500 children, (said to be sons), goodly number to be sure, that ought to be enough at least to crown him. And all this is conducted with the utmost decorum, although I myself am decidedly opposed to enslaving the fair sex (the females) in such a manner. Now look on this picture, this deplorable picture at the Bay of Islands. Is it conducted in the least degree with as much propriety as amongst the Maroqueens

[Morrocans], decidedly much lower than the brute creation, and that openly to the gaze of the world. Society at the Bay of Islands, there is none; nor can there be whilst such a state of anarchy, profligacy & prostitution exists.

In tracing over these grounds and watching the profluence of the chaste and moral man struggling by such enormities with undaunted spirits not with [standing] their filthy slanders and abuse, with cowardly and unmanly stratagems behind walls of ignominy. Honor to those moral men for beautiful offices of humanity; to the manly and independent toil, and the consorts task. But these thrones of destruction will one day be shaken to their base. In ancient days a Luther broke up the despotism of years, and a second Hampdens Arm will be clothed by the Arm of God with conquering might and battle down the Rampire and Bastions of Anarchy, vice, prostitution, ignominy & shame, causing a general reformation in this lovely spot. Yet another melancholy Sin with which this Bay is cursed with, is rapidly sinking under its weight, inebriation (in other words drunkenness) and debauchery, dreadful in the extreme, not wholly confined to its inhabitants, notwithstanding equally guilty with the whole. The reader will bear in mind I refer to Europeans. For I myself never witnessed one of the aborigines intoxicated, and I believe instances are *very* rare of their drunkenness, but this will not strictly apply to all natives of the Pacific where rum has been introduced. It bears upon the crews of whalers and other shipping resorting to this locality. It matters not much that sailors belong to temperance ships, when they get on shore are enticed into drunkenness and vices and then dragged away by violence (like a taskmaster gording his oxen) to the lockup for the night, thence to a shanty 'so called Police Court,' mulcted by imprisoning or fine, the moiety of the latter goes to the Constable who is quite as bad, if not worse, than those he takes into custody. The authorities sell licenses for the sale of ardent spirits for a good round sum; and in some instances furnish those who get them. The deplorable state of these men are worse than the first. Sailors are brought into such a state of disorder, are often tempted and not infrequently break their contract, the Ships Articles, and in this state desert from onboard their ships. In this way ships have been detained for a crew, leaving the ship in a distressed state. Masters and officers, also, loosing their self respect, and they too fall victims to this Satanical propensity, and become beastly, intemperate and disorderly. Snares are set and traps are laid in regular train to the Police Office. Regulations are carefully attended to, faults are then and there visited with the extremest vigor of the local law. Instances of this kind in the Bay of Islands are not a few. The Police Magistrate is requested to lend his aid to reclaim deserters a warrant is issued. Accordingly the constables are despatched in pursuit of the seamen; in most cases a mere matter of form, for many of the police have been known to harbour them, or wait for a reward to be offered, having a knowledge of where they are secreted. If £ 3 sterling \$ 15 per head is offered for them they will soon be forthcoming. The police have a knowledge of them through their kin, transmitted in a regular train from one to the other, through the instrumentality of the Grog Shops, these lowest depths of hell! Seemingly to the keen observer, to use the common parlance, all tarred with the same brush, void of principle (if they ever had any).

From the Police Office to the dealers in liquid fire, 'inmates of the abysmal depths of purgatory' where they are not only pugnacious, but deal out blows with sticks, clubs, deadly weapons, gouging out each others eyes, literally tearing their flesh to pieces, perniciously and willfully shouting, 'Im a man! Im an Englishman! I'll tear your bloody guts out! I'll drink your hearts blood,' pronouncing the most obscene, filthy, blasphemous language, that no words I can express can depict in living colors the most arrant oaths that ever could be uttered by mortal man. I might say with propriety that six eighths of all the European houses are nothing more than grogeries. Here are in capital letters over the door 'Tap.' One in particular so-called Hotel, a man and his family the only occupants, over the door a large sign one third as large as the front, with bold letters 'Victoria Hotel.' Her Majesty must feel proud to have her name in blazon letters embellishing a house, where all kinds of satanical devices are practiced with impunity. Passing along the beach of Kororareka we come to Mr. Adaman's store, a Gent whose kingdom is not of this world, although in the midst of vagabonds, living isolated from the people. But [how] stands the case with his next door neighbour, when he is Gibson. Still water swimming deep, breathing out slander against the honorable man, the Christian and the philanthropist, devising mischief, plundering, seeking whom he may devour, enticing their friends through King Alcohol, kept for use and abuse.

We now come to the Duke of Marlborough, with a sign large enough to cover half the front of the house, owned by a profligate man (if my informant was correct), the owner a convict from New S Wales. I speak within bounds when I say 3-4 of the population were convicts from New S Wales, doubtless many of them were deserters. Well here in a juxtaposition are the Queen & the Duke, two buildings incontestably worse than the most ignominious house in England. Loyal subjects to Her Most Gracious Majesty both faithful and tenacious, and yet desecrate their names, for acts of kindness shown, sending them from their country for their country's good.⁴

I will now refer to the Sailors Magazine to a letter written onboard the US Ship Vincennes, Bay of Islands, Nov. 28th 1840 Subscribed by John Dyes in which he writes: 'In New Zealand at the Bay of Islands intemperance was raging with all its fury, principally confined to foreigners who were located at Kororareka.'

(He might have included the Wahapu also, equally as bad & perhaps worse, is omitted by the writer.) 'There were 2 or 300 white men, principally deserted convicts from Sydney. This village is situated directly opposite the missionary station Parihia (Pihea) and these foreigners let loose with all the vice of their own country, and in one where there is no restraint, and with the means to gratify themselves, to any extent their vicious propensities may desire have been the means of immense evil to the natives. The principal chief of the Par (Pa) by the name of Pomare, as well as the greater part of his tribe are confirmed drunkards. (I must beg to differ from the writer in the last sentence 'all confirmed drunkards,' he was misinformed for it is not the case.) I perfectly coincide with & heartily bear testimony to all the letter with this exception.

'This Bay has within a few years become the rendezvous of whale ships. I saw fifty or sixty sailors when I was there on shore, from the whalers then in port indulging in all manner of dissipation on shore' (the writer might have added attracted by the keepers of Abysses dealing out fire). 'The *ships filled with native women dancing* all day Sunday. The American ships are just as bad as English and French, that were in port, and in many cases out-strip them in some of their vices afloat in the harbour.' Here then is a faint description of a few days. Reflect then on the scene for weeks, months and years under my cognizance.

Now had this Gent, remained in the Bay for only a short period longer he would have been convinced that not only the Ships Companies but that a major part of the inhabitants (Europeans) [in] their demeanor was wholly unbecoming civilized people. Their abortive example to an androphagus people was heart rending, positively a sink of infamy and disgrace, for as to remaining here, for any honorable or respectable person is almost impossible, clearly out of the question. Of all places under the Sun I have not a little reason to say it is among the very worst. During my residence here I have had every opportunity of witnessing and that very clearly all the proceedings of the places, the Wahapu being among the most predominant. Not only in Commerce, but in trade, in political and civil affairs; it has never been my lot to see so perfect a picture of moral depravity, combined with everything disorderly, vicious, illegal, unjust and impolitic. Their qualities have been exemplified in everything which in this place it has been my lot to become acquainted with. Our Flag has been prostituted by foreigners as well as our own countrymen, to cover a wicked and immoral trade sordidly, and mercinerally, strictly forbidden by the principles of philanthropy. On the article of morals let it be observed that there is almost no trade whatever but that of keeping grog shop, hence drunkenness and debauchery are dreadful. This state of things bears upon seven eighths of the whole people. The laws of this Country are so brought to bear as to oppress and destroy everything which is honest and honorable and to cherish and even generate perjury without end, Graft, Fraud and every evil principle. The Officers in the Bay, more especially the SubCollector J. Guise Mitford are an intolerable disgrace to the British name.

The Police Court are scenes of iniquity. The very Magistrate avows his ignorance of law and reproaches some persons brought before him for their better knowledge. No decision ever seems come at on a simple case, but there invariably appears to be some reason of policy guiding the decision. The prostitution of oaths are most awful to hear, and the most arrant false swearing is ever [un]rebuked & unpunished, much of this in one important case I have heard. A half bred petty fogging lawyer at the Wahapu passing by the appellation of White Washed Yankee, a bookkeeper in an American house, of highly respectable parentage in England, from his loquaciousness one would naturally draw the inference that he, too, Chs. Benj. Waitford had been a convict. His prostitution and demoralizing conduct has become [so] proverbial, that virtue shrinks from all association with him. In his fascinating and profligate course many, very many American Shipmasters are seduced by his wicked, winning and enticing manner of expression. Common honesty and veracity are strangers to him. Attractions thrown by this evil minded man cause the independent, ignorant and innocent Shipmasters and officers to congregate into a vast companionship of evil often irrepleviably plundering his employer prodigiously, hidden from the merchant, isolated by a wide expanse of waters. But to the thinking man of observation, known by the appellation of Grog Vendors, Spongers, finished sharpers, thieves, gamblers, combined with the lowest of Gods Creation, (pimps and prostitutes). While on the other hand men of integrity, urbanity of manners and excellent character, conscientiously mindful of their duties are saluted with coldness and indifference. It was often observed that he was a dangerous man to make an enemy of: the reproach of such characters is more honor than its praise. The community seemingly stand [in] fear of him for his noxious loquacity, and recondite, rancorous rapacity, discerning him sangfroid in his ruthlessness. Stand aghast! With fear they shrink from his abused talents, as if from Contagion. Such men war against the great claims of humanity, by respecting reconditely this man. Humanity groans and sighs when its made the instrument of so base indulgence; the spirit of the just sight over the sordid pollution of so designing a man & men. How long will such Splendid Sin go unpunished amid such a state of things already mentioned. Can Commerce flourish? Can trade revive? Can the Bay of Islds be otherwise than politically and civilly ruined? Fortunately there is no society; if there were could they be happy, orderly, united, contented? How can it be so when everyones hand or tongue is against his neighbour, oppressing him in public or stabg him in secret. The purest here have the heaviest odium to bear. The more righteous, the more vilified. No one can conceive what it is but one who has

lived at the Bay of Isld! As for religion, it must, of course, be far removed. Where there is no brotherly [love] there can be no pity. There is however every reason to apprehend that the places will cease to exist for God is visiting the sins of the people to the utmost. The Bay of Islands is depopulating very fast from about 3000 inhabitants now to the smaller number of about 250 persons in Kororareka, now the port of Russell.

However adverse in sentiment I may be to some of these men, one in particular Chas. Benj. Waitford, in scenes of desolation and havoc; and however much I may prefer the placid calm and even tenor of peace to the most splendid and successful career in mischief. However highly I value talents not abused, and ameliorate the character of man, over those that desolate, diminish and ruin the honor and character of his moral nature, I should feel myself unworthy the name of a native American were I to remain mute and silent to this worst and most degraded people under the sun. I well remember the unprincipled remarks of Chs. B. Waitford at the Wahapu. In addressing another party, says he, what do you expect to find, honesty or virtue here? That is not to be found in this place (Bay of Islds). Reader, I leave you to judge whether he is a fit associate for any society. He is beneath the savage's notice. For as much as I deplore his or their condition, it would be a blessing even to the Maurie, if they would depart from whence they came, carrying with them their nefarious examples which to a very great extent has poisoned the natives minds. Much renovation is necessary in order to eradicate the disease. Then would the disesteemed man be disespoused; his name would remain a blot; his memory would be hurried into oblivion by the New Zealander, who by nature are as eloquent in their aboriginal style, as Demosthenes or Cicero, their grand eloquence attracting crowds of admirers as the pages of Homer or Shakespeare. Chieftan Warriors, not one in the train of Cesar or Napoleon were more famed, notwithstanding their names have echoed through ages. Roubolla the chief is a terror to all European Settlers. It was this warrior that contended so bravely against European aggressions to the natives at the South, fearlessly obtaining his rights, putting to the tomahawk the Police Magistrate & 15 other Englishmen, foolishly in the wrong. Twas a scene of awful bloodshed, and the whole entire population of Port Nicholson as it were struck dumb with fright, fearing their end was full nigh.

Sir Evered Home, in the Ship of War 'North Star' arrives at the place of disturbance. He does not storm or bombard the place nor does their Cannon echo in yonder hills. They solicit aid, his reply! I can give you no assistance in this case, you being the aggressors. He sails hence for Sydney via Auckland. The expedition is tended with serious results to the European settler. It had been better for them if the ship had kept away. Now it shows their weak side. They think they are now at the mercy of the Savage, whose tomahawk glitters and scalping knife is wet with the blood of their companions. They shudder at the very thought of declaring war upon the natives; it would be absurd; it would be insane. If they move either to the right or left death and destruction stares them full in the face, amazed at the natives system of warfare. The presumption of the New Zealander is that both the Ship of War and the people stand in awe of them. Terrified and confounded when they see [them] fortifying their places, building ramparts to propugnate their country & soil from invasion, against the peals of artillery well shotted, against their bastions, against a race of innocent children of the wilds whom a moral force will conquer much easier.

Should war ensue death will stand unveiled, and destruction will have no covering. Whilst the Europeans shoot and kill by science, the aborigines will move in solid phalanx to crush, slay & devour, spreading havoc amongst them, leaving broken fragments of a raging war. Now view it on the other hand. The Maurie does not cry for blood as in bygone days seeking whom they may devour. Time has altered their views respecting the cold man cooked. As Cannibals its quite extinct, wars had begun to cease. Now driving them to warfare again, respect would be paid to none, for the old men weapt for their country, neither for youth or the tears of beauty. Children would be torn from their Mothers brest and murdered by brutes of Soldiers, groans unpitied, and their crying brings no aid. Humanity is made sick at the foster thought that the aged and the honorable are trampled under foot by lawless Soldiers. I turn from the contemplations for the heart sickens. Once more the Maurie does not solicit war or its devastations and ravages. They require not physical, but moral force to keep them in subjection and make them good citizens. Only 2 years gone by they were addicted to the heart rending practice of devouring each other. I mention two instances at that specified time, 2 women were killed and their hearts taken out and eaten. The Christian and the philanthropist shrinks from the thought. The Maurie men were the Lords of the Soil, and the Maurie women complete slaves to them. But how stands the case now, the cannibal of New Zealand at this period has become nominally a Christian. Few, if any, are addicted to this cursed direful practice. Reformation has succeeded reformation, much good has been effected and this too, through the persevering efforts of the Missionaries. A glorious Spectacle is here exhibited in the athletic & strong nerved New Zealander, well proportioned, handsome forms, having high cheek bones, of a copper color, with here and there sweet and inteligent expressions. A noble race of men, a people reformed, regenerated, improved and refined efficiently by very simple means, by the persevering efforts of the Wesleyan & Episcopal Missionaries, a happy race of beings fond of education and learning, aspiring for books, anxious to acquire a store of knowledge. Many there are, anxious to be instructed, that they, too, may bear the Cross of Christ to their fellow

Countrymen, worthy the example of Europeans.

Of the latter a sad and gloomy picture, while gluttony & drunkenness are the inmates of the palace, the haunts of vice. The native fails not in his duty to solicit them to a thorough reformation. How great the contrast, whilst many of the Europeans are as regardless as the Atheist, the New Zealander stands as a Son of the great family awaiting their Fathers call. I will here happily remark that I never witnessed but one or 2 instance[s] of drunkenness in all the Natives of New Zealand I have seen (of those not a few). The 2 exceptions are Pomare & his fighting Capt. Mayflower at the Pa which is about 11 miles up from the entrance of the Bay of Islands. They are an extraordinarily temperate people, you will coincide with me when I say that much greater numbers than every other door is either a Grog Shop, Tap or Bar Room. The Bar Room, Tap or Grog Shop is not a place of resort of the New Zealanders. I have often witnessed them as they have passed one of these Ins, where liquid fire is vended, and turn suddenly from the scene as if horror struck, apparently disgusted with the foreigners (Pakehas). Here is the masters & officers & crews of many ships participating in these scenes of pollution; day and mid-night revels. What an example to these poor innocent natives. It reminds me of a paragraph from Dean Swift where he says 'in colonizing the French commence with a Fort, the Spaniards with a Church, the English with a Grog Shop.' The latter is as seriously true as the rising and the setting sun. So this beautiful place is completely inundated & turned up side down.

I should do injustice were I to pass this sink of iniquity by in silence. They may be considered dreams of a visionary; I wish I could depict them in living colors. I well remember the remarks of a seaman standing on these shores. Says he to his shipmate, 'See the temperate Maurie (native) and then look at the beastly drunken foreigner. Says he I am ashamed of my countrymen; it wants an Earthquake or the Cholera to sweep the Europeans from the Earth.' Naturally truth, justice & virtue stands prominently among the Mauries. The world stands challenged to produce a people, either ancient or modern, in their primitive simplicity diked [*sic*] as they are with liquor. Temptation has succeeded temptation; but we find the Maurie seldom if ever intoxicated. A temperate people, singularly so. Whether it is innate instinctively, I am unable to decide. I cannot close my remarks without happily expressing that temperance with them in the history of mankind stands unparalleled. Notwithstanding the appellation of cannibal the scales are ballanced in their favor. The facility so great for obtaining, and a berry native to the soil which makes a wine stronger than Rum (which I shall hereafter describe) with such facilities they stand unparagoned.

I have often been amused to see the New Zealanders meet after an absence, whether longer or shorter, both Sexes receiving each other affectionately, some with open arms touching noses together, others adopting the European mode of a hearty shake of hands, and affectionately and loquaciously going long distances to greet their friends, after holding an interview, sit mute in one end of a canoe, or on the beach, apparently in deep thought. Their PAs are invariably enclosed by a very high fence 15 to 20 feet many of them yet standing, with awkward heads, breasts and arms to imitate the bust of a man cut on the tops, after their former superstitious notions, now quite extinct. The posts are about two feet apart, the size of a Ships topmast and fenced in strong. Many canoes are yet standing one half in the ground on the end. Natives after demise has been placed there erect, until fallen to ashes, dust has returned to its dust again. I should think that there towns fenced in so strongly would not be easily battered down or entered. A sharp cannonading might send the splinters flying and open a passage for the enemy. But an aboriginal force would not be so easily effected. To bombard would make a replete concision & the huts interspersed indiscriminately. Upon an average the huts are from 8 to 10 feet wide, and 4 to 6 feet high and about 10 feet long. Some much larger while others are smaller. Whether they offered paens of praise to their stationary Gods I was unable to learn. Kororareka has the appearance of desolation, it might be compared to ancient Carthage, in some respects and in some places the walls are demolished. In some parts it resembles a bombardment & the people having fled from the city in the utmost confusion. Parts of the ruins remain as monuments to direct the stranger, if chance should meet his eye, to the once felicitous homes of many families of New Zealanders, Children of innocence. Now only one Pa is visible at Kororareka whose ruins remind the observer of some ancient place whose inhabitants have been dispersed ages since. Perhaps not unlike ancient Tangiers once partly built, but from superstitious motives it was agreed upon to build the town on the opposite locality; some of the architecture that once partly was, remains as monuments for the eye of the thinking man in after time. The contrast is great as respects the architecture, colors and beauty, one of mosaick work, the other of bull rushes and the ruff timber of the forest. The New Zealander is seemingly weary of the European population now urisated [*sic*] with the homes of their fathers, partly settled by the Pakehas (or foreigners), once the abode of the cannibals, their paternal and maternal progenitors moving away to the valleys, to the sides of the lofty peaked hills, the wilds of the interior. Since civilization has made such rapid strides amongst their tribes they much prefer locating at the base of the romantic hills on the flat lands. Torrents of water rushing down the sides of the mountains where the richest soil is found.

How lamentable is the fact then that by fair speeches and fair words they have been deceived. The

European has deceived the heart of these poor beings, and through all the changes they have undergone, influenced by bad characters and unprincipled men, have been seduced, robd of their honor, their virtue, their vestals, passing the vestibule of their walls, emulative, clambering with dissimulation and wantonness. Often is the European put to the blush by these children of nature. Humanity, Humanity, art thou lost to all shame and contempt. Many of these unblushing Europeans, nominally Christians, men & women, are unique in their marriages. What better are some of these vile persons, concupiscent and licentious, married today legitimately, ere the sun sets at the expiration of one week they seperate, married to another and yet to another, both man and woman. These nuptials are continually going on. Yes, hebdomadal and oftener if lascivious lust require it, changing their natural use to another unnatural change, given up to their vile affections and a reprobate mind, both European men & women. Their situation is dreadful indeed. To quote the remarks of Wm. M——w [Mayhew?] at the Wahapu addressing his conversation says 'A man to remain but a short time among these Europeans would become quite as bad, and as great a rogue as any of them, men and women, and he would have pleasure in them that are such.' They are a covetous and malicious people, malignant whisperers, full of envy and every evil thing, and take delight in them that do them. It is not the desire of the aboriginal fair sex to become fornicatrices but ravished & forrayed by brutes of Europeans. Such Satanical work in a civilized land would be visited with extreme rigours, scourging and the utmost penalty of the law.

They seek earnestly for truth, mortality, reality of religion; having strong claims on Europeans for truthfulness, morality, fidelity in all their exhibitions of the religion they profess. Those exhibitions are most impressive that are made by their examples. But if their examples are radically corrupt and apostate, they doubtless hold up to them a false specimen of the Christian religion, or of sound principles of them nominally Christians (I have no reference to the Mission but to nominal Christians).

I have frequently been amused to see the multitudinous host of Mauries collect together on the beach to receive their friends after an absence, or some stranger to visit them. Some giving them a hearty reception while others are building fires in the ground to cook for them. Their Copper Mauries (so called) are holes dug in the ground about 2½ feet deep, the bottom covered with red hot stones, then a covering of green leaves, then food laid on, then leaves to cover the food, a layer of red hot stones covered with leaves and the whole covered with earth. Food cooked in this way is delicious for it retains all the juices. I myself have often made a luscious meal of food cooked in this way. In fact prefer it to European mode of cookery. But to return to the natives, the strangers or friends amusing themselves by dancing round the fire; although not Quadrilles, yet quite as pleasing to the eye, the girls graceful in their gestures, others singing all night long until morning, and of them, songs quite original, made up as they go along, upon any being, subject or matter, and that with loud voices, quite musical. Church musick cannot be in more harmonious notes, or more gratifying to the heart of man. No instructor can beat time with more regularity or precision, seemingly offering paens of praise to the God of nature, voluptuously fond of such devotion. I witnessed in one instance in the midst of their amusements, a drunken Seamen reeld to and fro; interrupted in their songs of devotion, they (the Mauries) look upon him with Sighs of emotion, upon so miserable and degraded an object.

I had on more than one occasion heard them making a long speech to their friends, others settling some quarrel, their speech, their manner, their gestures, their language and their delivery, perhaps adequate to the most eloquent statesman. In their arguments hammering it out link by link, in a strain of natural eloquence drawing forth the attention of the thinking mind, some of the hearers (Mauries) will reply to parts of their speech, either assenting or refuting, the orator will remain silent for a moment or two; if their views were consistent with the views of the Speaker he would seem highly gratified, but if not in accordance with his sentiments, he would again hammer it out link by link in strains that would rend the air to the gratification of the philanthropist. Thus the warmth of resentment makes them more enthusiastic and grandeloquent, sometimes roused to applause, at other parts roused to indignation, he still persists in his message to them with undaunted spirits; the voice of truth keeps them silent, and good order and decorum is observed until he has finally end[ed] his speech or argument, when another replies with as much force in return, and so on to the argument in return, to the end of their chapter. Perhaps another circle will be formed for the purpose of singing which is extempore. They sing of persons and things around them, and of the beautiful works of creation, seemingly not wishing to be understood by any but those around them, with careful attention it can scarcely be detected. If at work for anyone they sing of the person who employs them. Thus they sing of every stranger that comes in the place, without premeditation, causing laughter and merriment among them. The New Zealanders are complete mimicks, and have replete powers of ridicule, and astonishing quick discernment, discovering the peculiarities of foreigners long before we our-selves see them. Seemingly a happy race of beings.

When the New Zealander retires to his hut, the hogs, dogs, and cats retire with them also, making a part of the family, fostered with quite as much care as one of the children, all laying heads to points in the Raupu hut. And when they rise, feed them by their side, when they eat themselves. Their feeling for the brute creation is far more sensitive than the European. The cats are valuable; without them they could scarcely live for rats, for they

are overrun with them; they are so bold and fearless as to eat their toes, feet and sometimes their body. When retiring to repose for the night, a fire is kindled in the center of the hut, and all lay round, rolled up in their Blankets, feet to the blaze, the fire to look out for itself whilst they slumber and sleep; hogs, dogs and cats interspersed among them. Foreigners are quite as much annoyed by the rats, [in] many instances these little brutes (by the way not very small either) have literally torn their feet to pieces, and have been known to eat of other parts of their body. These little Cannibals are very bold and annoying.

When the New Zealander is taunted as a man eater, his interrogation almost immediately—New Zealand man no eat man now. They do not differ materially from the Sandwich and Society Islanders. And it is astonishing to see with what avidity the vile wretches of Europeans avocate these poor children from the good principles instilled into them by their instructors. Nothing would please these vile men more than to see the New Zealanders retrograding; it would cause them the utmost felicity to cause a retrodution of their tribes to the manners, habits and customs of their ancestors. The natives themselves are chagrined at such conduct. They show forth in a striking manner their descent by the changes that have taken place in their feelings towards those unprincipled men, but the reverential regard for the white mans laws partially has ceased to exist. And no wonder that it should be so, surrounded as they are by such examples. A long time must elapse before a wholesome fear [with] which it was received can restore that balm to a healthy action again. The tragedy of Robulla, seemingly, confirms this.

But a short time since I heard of an instance of an Englishman killing a natives pig at Mukatu. Other natives of the tribe took the law into their own hands, notwithstanding a Magistrate was their. The offender was not brought before him as they had hitherto done on similar occasions. The Ordinances that the English had made they set at defiance, through the nefarious and malicious conduct of unprincipled Europeans. They threatened the mans life unless he paid down \$50. £ 10 Sterling. To allay and pacify the natives and to prevent further sacrifice of life, a few respectable merchants compromised by pay [ing] £7 Sterling \$35 every farthing the man possessed. The punishment was light compared with the crime. We see the English set them the example, and we see the natives follow in their footsteps. These, ungrateful, complain of injustice, violation of the laws of an English colony (But why an English colony? This part of the Isld has never been ceded to Great Britain; under British law taken by force). The Savages with arms appear in the presence of the magistrate and threaten to take the lives of Englishmen unless they comply with their demands. The English are now reaping a noble harvest from the direful seeds sown amongst [them]. The aspect is serious indeed. A second Wairoo [Wairau] Massacre is staring them in the face. Fruits of their pernicious examples. They say to each other its high time we knew whose subjects we are, and if Queen Victoria reigns in these Islands, or the new holy alliance, and bloody Jack. Say they, we have not the protection of English laws; our taxation is nothing less than robbery. For the local mismanagement of the English government, I do not attach the slightest degree of censure to the natives. On the contrary I laud them for the bold and undaunted stand they have taken.

Forasmuch as they have been robd of their country they seemingly come to the conclusion that they will bear with no further insults from the English. I do most heartily bear evidence of the New Zealanders, that with a good Government, governed by men of principle agreeably to the dictates of justice, and harmony and reciprocation for the (Natives) high sense of honor, for they have no desire to feud, but rather in this enlightened age to live in peace. Pure principles must be adhered to or an explosion will soon take place with the combustible matter that surrounds them; which will shake the English Colonists to their centre. If the Europeans do not regard the laws, why should the New Zealander be scourged for not obeying what he does not rightly understand. The English had better burn their miserable patchwork manuscript of laws, and renovate the whole system at once, for the whole fabrick is shaken. Another blasting mildew with fair words rob[s] the fair sex of their chastity. New Zealand may well be called a house of prostitution, many pretensions to marry and giving in marriage, a fashionable lasciviousness, pollution and defilement, Englishmen vaunting their supremacy of the land under ensconce of Christianity.

The longevity of the aborigines of New Zealand has never been accurately defined, nor can it be at present, owing to some of their ancient cruel customs. In this voluptuous climate the human race come to maturity wonderfully fast. The atmosphere alternately night and day is highly charged with humidity. The climate is conductive to health and propagation. European Females at the ages of 15 years and Mauries at the age of 12 years are marriageable. At these ages they have the appearance of Females in England or the US at the age of 25 years. I have not infrequently seen Maurie girls at the age of 8 years wear the appearance of girls in England of 20 years of age. New Zealanders marry at 12 years adequate to 25 years in the States or England. The atmosphere in the Bay of Islands is constantly charged through the day, as well as the night, with great humidity. Another blighting mildew; sad indeed is the picture! The European husband permitting the stranger to enter the vestibule of the house, the husband passing out the opposite door; leaving the stranger to cohabit with his European wife and daughter, winked at under his cognizance. These cases are not a few. Scarcely a family value[s] itself as unmixed, and some divided and subdivided into endless sorts. We have proofs of the

white mother with the Maurie or negro, and this mixture produces creatures more extraordinary than can be imagined, perhaps classed under the head of

John B. Williams's consular uniform now in the Peabody Museum of Salem. It was patterned after that of a captain in the U. S. Navy. Thus dressed he appeared at Governor FitzRoy's dinner in Auckland in June 1846.

mongrels too. Here is nature opposite in the extreme. Here the lineaments of both are strongly marked. We have the forms of several races of people, and some the oddest imaginable. Here is the officer appointed by the colonial Government, highest in authority in the Bay of Islands, intermixing with the Mother of a family under the cognition of the husband, whose residence is not a thousand miles from the Bank, witnessing the beautiful wife fading. A few steps further and we see the little Creole urchin calling himself the son of the Officer. What a mixture of creatures to be sure, several different species of men. There is the pretty curld hair, the woolly and the long straight hair. The Maurie, the African, the Jew, the Portuguese, Spanish, French, English, Irish, Scotch, (and as many more mixtures as the Bul Dog, the New Foundland, Spannels, Mastiff, and Greyhound). These have their mixture and cause mongrels. Now the various intermixing in human beings, mankind must cause mongrels, too, as I have already said divided and subdivided into endless species or kinds. Some European females quite in a State of Starvation submit to profiligacy. With a favorable Government and a favorable administration, without restrictions upon Commerce in New Zealand, the colony would flourish. It would be the Star of Colonies in the Eastern Hemisphere.

On a lofty eminence on the larboard hand going into the Bay of Islands, a little inside of Tapaku [Tapeka] Point on its summit is a Semaphorick Station, for the purpose of telegraphing every vessel that enters the bay, whether large or small. A Sail in sight at the South, a ball is hoisted to the South yard arm. To the North, a ball is hoisted to the north yard arm. And flags hoisted to denote the various nations, a vessel inside of Tapaku, the flags are held to half mast etc.

The view from the Station presents to the eye of the beholder sublime and picturesque scenery. At the base of the hill is the town of Kororareka, on the opposite base through a well wooded valley, is the farm of Mr. Stevenson, at Tapaku, and a delightful situation it is. 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. That part most level was laid out for a township. It faces the Ocean to the north and the town of Kororareka to the East, named Victoria, an extensive grounds capable of accommodating 1,500,000 souls. Constantinople in all its beauty arrayed is not so heavenly a sight for a township. To the eastd the water shoals to a mile or more; therefore no vessel can lay on that side in safety. But on the north good anchorage, more especially to the south, that part forming the creek adjoining Pihea [Paihia]. Ships might lay at anchor in perfect security; no harbour could be better, none could present greater facilities for wharfs, and shore houses along its banks. Shelterd from every wind, of a good holding ground, and perfectly smooth even in a gale. Lovely in its details, and in no part of New Zealand could a more delightful site have been found for a Government Settlement. Enter the bay and from every quarter of the compass I no of no city in the known world that could have exceld it in beauty and grandeur, having back country capable of excellent farms, and not far inland on the banks of the Witangi [Waitangi] and Kawa Kawa rivers are two sublime waterfalls, capable of carrying all the mills that might be required for all purposes at present in New Zealand. The farmers have now no means of grinding his wheat, or other grains, either by water, wind or steam power. Nature has here provided every means with this exception.

Mr. Busby has displayed great taste about those parts of the grounds he improves, doubtless Mrs. Busby must share in this credit, his worthy spouse. This most excellent lady is secluded from all society, I might almost say from the world. And Oh! what deprivations this graceful lady must have undergone in by gone days at Antipodes. Through polite invitations from them, I had much pleasure in partaking of their hospitality. Mr. Busby was the first of the Diplomatic Corps ever accredited to New Zealand, he having received his Commission from the British government. I well remember the first call that I made at their pretty neat, and hospitable Mansion embodied in a grove of trees and shrubs, with flowers sending forth a rich fragrance. On entering the house, Mrs. Busby advanced with a graceful step and with great civility to meet me. There was no affectation in her speech, Her ladyship perhaps never before having seen an official from the UStates in a Court dress.⁵ I thoroughly excited her curiosity a little; however we were very soon in a very agreeable conversation, on various topicks; of the most engrossing were the manners and customs of the UStates and England, Her Ladyship being desirous to inform herself with respect to her sister fair sex, the ladies of the UStates. I thought

I should very little satisfy her curiosity. I was extremely pleased with her making these interrogatories, and not a little flattered by the uncommon questions put to me. My interrogations bestowed the high honor and respect due to the American ladies, as far as I was capable of answering. It is not to be wondered at that in this quarter so much ignorance exists with respect to a knowledge of America or American Ladies, when we see so many ignorant whaling masters demeaning themselves in a manner unbecoming a civilized or rational being, there being few if any, but such characters visiting the place formerly. No wonder at their extravagant ideas of both sexes in the UStates. Ignorance and inebriation, hence arises so great losses to underwriters and shipowners. I would not be understood that all Whaling Masters were of that class. On the contrary it would afford me very much pleasure to enumerate many, very worthy, urbane and intelligent whaling masters, none can be more so. Very much of the misconduct of the former class of masters has come under Mr. Busby's cognizance. Few, if any, but whale ships have formerly visited this port. Hence the opinion formed of the American people, more especially of the ladies. This is judging of a nation and a kindred, not unlike Dickens dashing along in Rail Cars.⁶ But the mistaken ideas received by Mr. & Mrs. Busby were easily rectified, they forming quite another opinion of a people second to no nation, ranking among the first.

Mr. Busby has quite a large farm under cultivation, and a fine graperly propagating fast. Waitameta [Waimate North?] is situated about 9 or 12 miles inland up the small River that passes Mr. B.'s land, the residence of the English Bishop and the location of their college. It is a fine agricultural district and a delightful spot, a neat pretty village whose church can be discerned from the opposite side, at the Semaphorick Station. On the Waitangi river is the sublime Waitangi Falls, whose waters are constantly running in silent grandeur into the abyss below; having a plunge over the verge from 12 to 15 feet with a noise of distant thunder. Its foaming sprays rolling up majestically from beneath, it whelms from the gulph below heaving and edeing [eddying] and awaking its echoes revibrating to view its level river, and its hurrying waters to the cataract by the light of the sun and the moon. Its ceaseless noise, although not a distant fall beneath into the rapids, is great.

The country in that part is represented to be much finer, and its climate is much more congenial than farther South. In crossing over the creek to the South of Mr. Busbys location adjoining is the Episcopal mission station at Pihea, lovely in its scenery. It's ill sited as a settlement, exposed as it is to the open sea, the ocean billows rolling and dashing furiously on its smooth and hard beach, making it difficult to land even in a placid sea, owing to the undertow rolling in from seaward. The little village is heavenly and singularly beautiful on a level spot at the base of its romantick hills in the rear clothed in fern, their towering mountains overlooking each other, clothed in a soft and pleasing outline. The wonderful works of nature to gratify the heart of man. Pihea on the South Side of the Bay presents an imposing sight on entering; its neat little white houses a few yards from the beach, a few rods from the base of the hills, its neat white, but not gaudy, little church, its printing office and few other mansions presents to the eye of the beholder much taste and beauty displayed, with here and there a shrub, but scarcely the vestige of a tree is visible to the admirer of nature on this pleasing beautiful spot. This I think was the Second Mission Station located in New Zealand in years long since past and gone, with years before the flood. After a heavy shower of rain and a hot pelting sun its rays thrown over the village and hills presents a most perfect view. Moving farther up the beach to the point of rocks adjoining (the only landing place for those up the Bay to land, attending Church) over this ledge stands the hill from whose summit the Panorama of the Bay of Islands was taken. A more correct representation of the Bay of Islands could not be prefigured. In turning this point to clear the Islands that shuts the opposite shore from view, we pass this material terreous curtain opening to the distant shores, presenting to the eye of man the splendid works of nature. Here the true American character was not known, and not much to be wondered at from the Americans located there, and those that have visited them transitorily. I excited their wonder and curiosity not a little, until more familiarly acquainted, when they began to learn the true character of the people of the UStates. Previously we were deemed a brave but ignorant & ill mannerly people—Yankees. Frequently in my interviews with them I expressed myself frankly, priding myself with the appellation of Yankee, I was extremely happy in the name.

The Natives curiosity is not to be astonished at. Dickens would figure largely in New Zealand, a wide field for him to investigate his own countrymen. Human nature here to his hearts content, the farmer, mechanic & shoemaker, for his criticism. The half educated merchant, and the blanket peddlers to be weilded by his pen as targets of criticism. Here he might write with vivacity and a surprising temper. Although but few inhabitants on the banks of the upper harbour (by far the most heavenly scenery in the whole bay) he would have a larger field for operation. Here the late Governor chose Clendons point, as a site for Government township, accordingly purchased the place of Mr. Clendon for £30,000 Sterling \$150,000. The house was already built, the residence of Mr. C, when purchased occupied by his Excellency Governor Hobson. The harbour surrounding it is one of the best in the known world; none could be better. A natural quay is there, and with little expense a large levy might be built capable with depth of water to accommodate Ships of the Line. The demeanour of the inhabitants was so grossly vile and abusive that no honourable or respectable man could live amongst them, the Governor leaving them in disgust, abandoning the settlement, choosing as the next site Auckland, the present Seat of

Government. Were Mr. Pringle the harbour master to attend to his duties properly ships would [not] be carrying away their spars by falling afoul, drifting on the mud flats, the channel in this part being quite narrow. He is a better pilot in a Grog Shop or a Gin Palace; he can moor there safe enough with the Brandy bottle, never mind his duties, never mind the shipping, liquid fire puts him all right. His brother officer John Guise Mitford, a proud assuming upstart of about the age of 25 years, about a 6th rate man, a lecher of Mauries, half educated upstart of a boy, made choice of by the English Government as Queen Victoria's Sub Collector of Customs, passing [by] an old settler, a worthy man, a man of urbanity Capt. Bowditch (he never left his country for his country's good).

Mair's Island [Motu Maire?] separates the harbour of the Wahapu from that of Kororareka. The Isld is isolated from the main by a narrow neck of land, of sand & pebbles of a few yards only, dry at low tide, accessible to the Island, which was chosen by the Govt as a site for a fortress. It has a commanding position of all parts of the bay, impregnable, The Gibraltar of the Bay of Islands. The narrow neck mentioned resembles Pipe Clay and calcareous matter, approximate to a resemblance to flinty rock. The mercantile house (so called) at the Wahapu, I can say nothing in its favor. The brand mark of reprobation is written on its walls. That house must soon be among the number that once was. It will remain, a blot, a by word, a reproach. On the landing at the Wahapu headed by one of the most unprincipled rakes (Waitford) open to the gaze of the world, are New Zealand men, either giving their daughters, or bringing other virtuous Maurie Girls compelled to sacrifice their all, penned in like cattle, to attract custom, supplying the shipping. Last but not least, their diabolical prostitution on shore. It is unsafe for a European lady to pass this outrageous scene of action without being insulted. At meal times here comes a drove of New Zealand Girls receiving from the store, flour and sugar, this boiled together in a large pot over a fire they kindle on the landing; when cooked they all mess together in front of their doors, a mess not unlike paste, others cooking clams. A clerk stands by to throw a large rock into the pot, whilst cooking—sporting on their misery.

The hill in the rear was named by them Mt. Washington; beneath it is this sad picture, this sorry sale. A more appropriate appellation would be Mt. Hell. The view from the cottage house on the hill is magnificent, beautiful in the extreme. Standing in the Piazza a view is presented to the admirer of nature, hills and dales wonderfully fashioned and fantastickally blended, hills rising on hills, strangely fashioned with their ferny capped tops, clothed in verdure, well wooded, with a very thick underbrush. At the mouth of the creeks are mangrove swamps, not very well wooded. This part of the Bay is gifted with attractions, both natural and local, but few yards of flat land; and this at the base of these abrupt and steep hills, but not more so than Gibraltar. Well may it be called a beautiful spot as lovely in its details as it is wonderful in its formation. Notwithstanding the soil is poor, all kinds of fruit, flowers, and vegetables propagate luxuriantly. No Country could be more favorable to the vine or the fig tree.

The botanist will add no occult to his herbarium, the florist would have many a desolate track. All flowers are an importation from other countries. The geranium and the rose have been introduced (but from what country I am not aware); they propagate most luxuriantly. The exuberance of the geranium is beyond description, perhaps not more so than the rose. Whilst reviewing the Wahapu it is due to Wm. Mayhew, that I should say of him, when in my presence [he acted] with that civility and respect due to me in the station that I filled, that of US Consul. I am desirous of recording the deep regret for the depravity of his house; but the truth will out. This rake of a Waitford (employed by him as a bookkeeper); this servile and egregious person, holding oligarchy over Mr. Mayhew & his house. Leading to ruin a young man, a brother clerk, and when can he be found not inebriating with liquor. Nothing short of death will ever stop his venomous tongue of slander. A voice from the grave of a poor innocent Maurie girl must cry out against him. This house must be likened unto 'one built upon the sands,' it must fall, and great will be the fall thereof. When that mans days and nights on earth are finished and ended, his lips cold in death and his body interred in the silent grave, dust unto dust as it was, his name will end a blot, buried in its Mother Earth and pass into oblivion. Sad indeed is the condition of that man.

Before leaving the Wahapu, I strolled along the flat land at the base of the hills to Doc. F's new cottage, just out of the hands of the carpenters, some parts of the interior as rough as the inside of a barn, without paint or white-wash, a Jack Straw house, seemingly neither wind nor water tight. The parlour as comfortable as the situation of the house will admit of, a complete shell. Here sits Mrs. F the Quixotick lady, reading Mrs. Trollopes works on the U States, highly delighted with it.⁷ Addressing herself to a shipmaster (who had merely called to pay his respects to her), Says 'I understand that the ladies of the U States were wild? No says Capt. G——r I have always found them quite docile and tame.' And so on to the end of the chapter, putting some of the most obscure questions imaginable. Soon after in passing along, I called & knocked at the door. The servant came, I asked if Mrs. F was at home, Yes Sir, was the reply, walk in please, passing the vestibule through the entry to the parlour. She advanced to meet me, giving me a most gracious salutation. However much she may have quizzed others, she greeted me with no such obscure remarks. I found her to be a lady of talents, pleasing

and agreeable in her conversation. Although winning in her ways, yet not prepossessing in her expression. Her sister, is Mrs. Burrows of Kororareka, a perfect lady, a lady highly intelligent, a lovely Seraph, an example worthy of imitation. His house stands on the declivity of a hill descending gradually in the rear of Kororareka, a neat pretty cottage, the most delightful and picturesque situation in Kororareka, overlooking a part of the beautiful bay. Little to the north on the same declivity is a huge pile of timber consecrated to the Catholic faith.

I should be doing Mrs. F——d very great injustice were I not to say, connected as she is with the hospital, she is kind and affectionate to the sick, lame, halt and blind. Though a stranger she watches over them with a maternal care; none could do more so. Last not least, I must observe again that Mrs. Clendon is blessed with the Christians Spirit. She visits the widow & the orphan, the sick, the poor and needy, though a stranger she takes them in. Her hospitality is their charitable object; it matters not how far distant by day or the shades of night. She is ready at the soliciting Call of Charity. In her domestic affairs she can be surpassed by none. She is a Pattern, a Model, a blessing in her day and generation. At length she is stricken down away from home, grieving at the supposed loss of her husband, he having been called away to meet with the Governor and Council left in a cutter for Auckland. A story was adduced by the contemptable Waitford that the Cutter was lost and Clendon drowned. Thus began the inchoation of a diabolical work, to satisfy his hellish propensities (Oh! thou impious man. God will smite thee also). Imagine the feelings of an affectionate wife and fond mother. Suddenly frightened, weeping, refused to be comforted; seeks information but finds none. She is confined with a child away from home. It is still born, perhaps otherwise. She lays at the point of death, prostrated at deaths door. The vital spark is almost extinguished; the Surgeon is by the bedside night and day, while the Angel of Death is hovering over her with his fatal shaft ready to number and finish her days in this probationary existence. Calmly resigning herself to an Over Ruling Providence, at length the noon day sun has set, and the evening shades darken around. Hope, the blossom of happiness, is not disappointed; the danger is past; the hour of grief is soothed.

By many this deplorable man is taken by the hand, and I unfeignedly regret by some of my country, whether from fear of him or not I cannot say. And there stands his friend Gibson by his side of few words (but still water swims deep) little or no choice between them; both tard with the same brush. At the extreme end of the bay above the Wahapu stands a small building 10 by 12 feet and 10 feet high, the exterior a neat little shanty, the solitary abode of one family. A veil is drawn before them obstructing a few [view] of the harbour. Yet a much larger flat and prettier locality for the village. I cannot conceive. What should induce a mechanic to locate in so lonely & solitary a place, away from every one, not even the sound of a native, naught but the bird of the forest is heard. Life, what is life in so lonely an existence? Wending my way back I called at Mrs. F——d, gossiping. 'Well says Mrs. F——d I never [have] known so much of the Americans and American character as I now do says she. They are affectionate, hospitable, naturally brave and undaunted, having some of the most eminent Statesmen of the Age, fond of literature and science, full of refinement, and where you see an American Gent., you see a generous hearted friend. These qualities are natural to the people.' Well this is an interesting Chapter and as Paul wisely observed 'All things to all men.' At length I reach my boat and sail up the river as far as Greenaways beautiful place. He together with most of the other old settlers are ruined.

This lovely place is proximate to Pomare Pa, on a bluff of some eminence, his tribe in that enclosure, living in their native huts. It is an imposing sight, more especially for one, that never before has seen a tribe of natives in their Pas where nature has formed a complete bastion for them. Here the rivers branch of[f] to the right and the left. That on the left the Wicadi [Waikare?], that on the right——. A most sublime sheet of water of more than 9 miles in extent down the bay presenting a heavenly spectacle (if I may use the expression). To the admirer of nature it is lovely in detail. For grandeur of scenery along its banks and the surrounding hills can be surpassed in beauty by no part of the earth's surface. Moving over its ripless Waters I arrive at my residence.

The inhabitants at the Wahapu, follow Waitford on the lead, are at Sword points with the residents of Kororareka. Birds all of the same plumage, jealous for fear the latter will obtain the advantage over them in Shipping. This infamous fellow is noted for his great swelling words of vanity, alluring those that had clean escaped from him. Many a ship masters conscience smarts under the lash of iniquity. 'Vengeance belongeth to me, I will repay saith the Lord.' Ere long I fear it will be said of these places; they are fallen, God hath avenged the wrongs of a good and innocent people. European Children in the Bay for the most part are brought up in ignorance, dirty, filthy and ragged. One morning about half past 5 oclock as I was walking in the piazza, I beheld European white children, rushing out of two different houses, as naked as they were born, and I might say beastly dirty (now there is no excuse for this, where there is so much water, and that immediately at hand). A more disgusting sight I have not witnessed for many a day, and this, too, is a daily occurrence.

Now (for the so called) ladies. Stopping on the beach in front of Grog Shops and Gin Palaces, perhaps not immediately in front, morning and evening, gossiping; holding forth with whoever may be the passerby. It might be the Police Magistrate, it might be the Postmaster, perchance the Harbourmaster, if he can see straight, or a hole through a ten foot ladder. (The Sub Collector is to[o] insignificant, perhaps preferring his Maurie Girl,

peradventure a white European girl, most likely a little Maurie girl robbed of their virtue, honor, chastity, their all. Perchance she may gossip with some other passer; he may be a temperate or he may be an inebriate, just out of the devils den (the grog shop or Gin Palace), perhaps just recovered from a fit of 'delireum tremens,' just escaped the jaws of death, having a long confab, doubtless an agreeable conversation. It may be that her husband is away and this may be an introduction for a call in the evening; or it might lead to a visit through the day. The Husband may be at home; he slips out of the door (as the Gent. so called) enters within the walls of her domicile. What a mixture of nations. They may be mongrel, they may be creole, they may be bronze, they may be black or they may perchance be white. What a diversity of colors in their frail compositions. All these colored skins. It may be well proportioned or it may be deformed. Dickens would have materials enough for a half dozen books, what a host of events would be laid before him. The Young Gallant puffing at his Cegar, promenading along the beach with a married lady, (for single one's are few and far between). 'Madam says the Gent. I hope Tobacco is not offensive to you, at the same time a Cloud of Smoke from the pipe or Cegar fills her eyes, nose and mouth. Oh! no says the lady I am very fond of the flavour of tobacco. And as they dance along the beach, rubbing side and side, they are met by other young men moving hither and thither, exchanging the usual salutations, bowing and scraping affectedly. If she escapes almost suffocation from the fumes of smoke, she [is] more fortunate than many of her sex. Their voices and exclamations, echoing from one end of the beach to the other, by no means particularly refined in conversation, not infrequently intermingled with vulgarity, conversation that would [put] an American lady to the blush, veiling her face. Moving on with a slow pace she arrives at her domicile. If they do not stop by the way it is not her fault. Well they are comfortably seated in the parlour. Next the old English custom: Brandy, Gin, Rum, Wine, Porter & Ale is brought in, either one or the other. She is fatigued after her walk, throws herself on to the lounge, what a merry time they have, how loving. (The little daughter comes in, but who is the father). Ma says she I am going [to] Uncle D——. Well my dear, go! Seemingly it matters not how many husbands they have. The nuptials or weddings of the inhabitants of the Bay, for the most part are a burlesque, a mockery, a Curse to Society under its present form. They marry & remarry at pleasure, only another signification for harlots. Their ceremonies in this is (anything but a legal marriage) extremely ridiculous. Everything that will make a noise is brought in requisition, even fish horns, tin pots and tin pans. Rocks thrown against the side of the house breaking the panes of glass. This will raise a glass of liquor for them. The ensuing week she is married to another party (or in other words plays the harlot with another man) and the same music, the same scenes, the same noise is kept up, only much worse, disgraceful indeed! Such is the State of Society in the Bay of Islands such their ways, [it] is their ruin.

The hills of New Zealand, from one extremity to the other is covered with fern, the valleys mostly with. I have many times been struck with admiration on viewing the torrents of water that flow down the sides of the mountains which hollow out channels in proportion to the rapidity of the streams and in proportion to the hardness of the soil which it passes. I have often been delighted in viewing the torrents running in silent grandeur through an aggregate composition of rock & lime stone. The climate as I have previously remarked is fine and temperate. The summer is the most delightful season, commencing in December. Notwithstanding so much humidity in the atmosphere, it is one of the most delightful seasons imaginable. The trees of the Wood never change their leaves or foliage. The production of the soil in general is Wheat, Barley. Oats, English Grass, Beans, Peas, Cabbages and other indigenous plants, Apples, pears, Peaches, plums, cherries, apricots, Figs, Grapes, strawberries, Cape Gooseberry and every kind of fruit propagates luxuriantly. Peaches are delicious and in abundance, as also the Grapes.

The minerals that have been discovered are, Copper Ore in abundance, Iron, Lead, Coals, some specimens of Crystal have been found, Corneleon [carnelian], Iron pyrites, flint, a few fossils, petrifications.

The aborigines of New Zealand previously named are a fine race of men; in general [they] are the best form[ed], but not so fine a race as the North American Indians. The men are the Lazy Lords of the Soil, while the women do all the drudgery and are complete slaves. They think little or nothing of them, treated and used worse than brutes.

The women make Flax mats, plat baskets and foot mats, cook, till the ground and reap, servants indeed, notwithstanding they have Slaves. The men the lazy lords only do the superior work, such as make war implements, fish, catch birds, make canoes and houses (or rather huts). They are what the English term clever, quick to imitate and learn, fond of books to read, anxious to acquire knowledge, but when they cannot attain it in print, desirous of having it written, the former preferable, highly delighted with pictures, look them over for days and weeks, then laid away carefully for safekeeping. With their own weapons of warfare they were a brave people, but with firearms not so daring a race, as the North American Indians, but by no means cowardly, as many have taken great pains to represent them. It is true they will seldom attack an equal force, if one tribe has firearms to a man, and the other only in part, they will not engage them. It is said they will never massacre anyone that they think will resist them face to face, and always strike on the back of the head. I myself should be very loth to try them; for in many instances I know it to be quite the contrary. Instances of the kind may

happen; but since the introduction of Muskets and Gunpowder wars have been less frequent, and attended with much less loss of life than formerly when using their native weapons of warfare. Only in few parts of New Zealand are they still cannibals, and think it no sin to doom their unhappy prisoners, but seldom eat their own slaves now. Their bodies are sometimes tattooed complete from head to foot which takes many years; it is not so painful an operation as supposed to be; it is mostly done in the following manner: by taking a human bone and sharpening it, but not infrequently a Sea Gull's beak; the lines are then drawn on the skin, and an incision made on the mark, the color is then rubbed in, and a leaf laid over the part until healed; which if done unskilfully is a considerable time sore.

The New Zealanders are a superstitious people and many amongst them (Tohungas) or wise men can foretell events, dream dreams, can also cause to die or live whoever they please, and a poor dying native is not unfrequently drawn into the open air, to [be] karakiaed or prayed for by the priest, and if they die it is always attributed to some cause or defect in the prayers. They believe when a chief loses a near relative he possesses power over the Taniwha, a kind of Shark (doubtless the Shark) a definite description of which has not been given. If they are taken in any great difficulty at sea, and a large shark appears, they will immediately remain terror struck, and make no exertions but abandon themselves to the mercy of the waves. If taken sick they frequently, if of a nervous temperament, declare it impossible that they can survive, that no remedies will recover them, and no alternative but the fatal shaft of death; for they make no effort to rally when once sick, give themselves up entirely and declare their intention of dying. An instance of this came under my cognizance when an aged Chief Woman had fallen sick. She gave herself up saying she was to die, and sure enough in a few weeks afterwards I saw her again; she was a perfect living skeleton; I shook hands with her but it was like taking a piece of ice in ones hand. She was of the royal family from Mukatu.

Through them I was known over the length and breadth of New Zealand. I had frequent invitations to visit the various tribes round the Island. They carry news from one part to the other and from one tribe to the other with the rapidity of the Rail Cars, by steam, as it were by magick, for the natives are constantly on the move. Another Chief died in the same manner as I have already described, and although recovering refused to take his food, and improving every opportunity of increasing the disease; death, of course, very soon ensued. When taken ill they pronounce them Mate-mate, adequate to death. They are (as I have previously observed) very subject to colds, coughs, consumptions and swellings. They keep the parts of natives tied up in scented moss and flax and wear it round the neck. When any relative dies [they] howl most awfully, and cut long gashes in their flesh with a piece of flint substance of a jet black color [obsidian]; this painful operation is practiced every time the bones are removed to a sacred place near the sea, scraping them and then dressing them with feathers. The person[s] who perform this operation are considered (Tapu) sacred, for sometime afterward and never eat or drink unless except fed by other persons or slaves. They will not touch fire and no person must touch, handle, or use anything that they have used. They encase their dead in a canoe and place them on stilts, or in trees and they are never approached; dogs and pigs are killed for going near them. Nothing can offend them more or offer a greater insult to them than to have a white man touching, enquiring or even going near them (the Dead). And nothing can prevent them from taking life for it. The general payment is of taking everything the person possesses, and sometimes burning their houses down, doubtless a much more salutary satisfaction as they thereby become much more enriched; they mostly prefer that payment to life.

Tapatapa designates but the appellation of swearing instead of profanity. They say your head resembles a pigs head, or an iron pot, or dish or plate or any cooking vessel upon the head, or say to each other eat your head, hand or foot. These expressions made use of, towards a chief, a payment is required, similar to that of approaching their sacred places. Such is the mode [of] blasphemy. Such their bombast.

New Zealanders are poetical in their songs, for instance in speaking they commonly say Nga weke, mentioning in their songs nga weke annamuma, ohe rugi (the lights of the sky) or nga weke a kenapa marko te maramu othe rangi, the stars that shining bright illuminate the heaven. Of their musical ideas or taste nothing more can be said than that they are singularly and curiously intelligent, until their wonder is satisfied; they wonder at and admire the most beautiful instruments; so with their musick, when they hear the sound of a piano or an organ for a few moments they pull and handle it all over, listen for a few moments and immediately become enraptured with its sounds, and readily imagine a disagreeable sound, comparing it with their shrill notes blown through a piece of hollow tube, perhaps as pleasant and musical to them. They have sweet voices and I was highly gratified to hear their songs and paens of praise to the God of Nature. More especially the women, for many of them have musical voices. I have not infrequently watched them for hours, to witness the gestures of the men and women, to see them play and to hear them sing. They have three remarkable ceremonies; the first is called (Lure) baptism; formerly when a child was eight days old, it was sprinkled with water with the branch of a tree, the name of which I cannot rightly understand. Many people have thought this doubtless one of the many customs they possessed which indicated their descent being from the Jews. The second ceremony is when a young man is full grown and considered competent for a warrior; before he

attempts to face the dangers of battle he must undergo this ceremony. He is placed with his companions (if there be any) in water up to their waist. The priest then descends and leaves him in the water much over his head; he then repeats a benediction, and some superstitious nonsense, probably an introduction to the Gods which the warrior responds to. This ends the ceremony. In both these ceremonies the priest requests three things: To be healthy, eat plentifully and be strong. To be vigorous and brave in battle. What the third is I have never been able to learn.

The third ceremony is after the warriors first field, he passes an examination, the priest puts these interrogatories to him; have you killed a man? with what weapon did you commit the act? The weapons are immediately confiscated and the priest does what seemeth him best with it. It is considered a recompense for the first mans life he has taken, and after which obligation he is quite at liberty to kill any one he likes. While this ceremony is proceeding, and when concluded, the priest fasts until a piece of his meat, (a piece of the body of the man killed) is carried to the next priest, no matter how far distant, and after his brother has partaken of the delicate morsal, he is at liberty to eat, and he satisfies his enormous appetite, doubtless by that time quite hungry enough for any meal; but perhaps the fellow priest will contrive to be not far distant.

But since the promulgation of the Christian religion amongst them, these ceremonies are fast passing away to the shades of darkness, their superstition and idolatry also, with the foolishness of man in bygone days before the flood. The good effects arising from it is indescribable, many of their slaves have been liberated, while others more or less leaving their masters, and those who remain only obey at pleasure, knowing as they do that the chiefs have relinquished the sovereignty of the country for the most part, lose in a great measure the arbitrary and despotic command over them, and in many instances the chiefs are reduced to the position of slaves, losing their dignity, feeding their pigs, and providing food for themselves, and posses some influence, not power. But those few chiefs who have not given up the Sovereignty of their Country, to the command of others, (or rather sold their birthrights, to degenerate themselves beneath the beast of the field) are now fast rising to a superiority above their brother Chiefs, and by them alone can the white man receive redress for wrongs done them by the natives.

New Zealand has a great variety of fish 78 different species already mentioned. The flying fish is very handsome, of dark wings with white and yellow spots; they are about the ordinary size of flying fish that frequent the

"The Warrior Chieftans of New Zealand" by Joseph J. Merritt. Williams was accused of aiding and abetting Hone Heke in his rebellion in 1844; fortunately he could establish that he was on leave in the United States at the time. The figures are those of Hariata (Heke's wife), Heke, and Kawiti. Courtesy of the Alexander Turnbull Library.

parallels of the trade winds, of the same shape but of different colors. Having specified the minerals I neglected a description of the Green Stone, formerly much used by the natives for instruments such as adzes and other tools, and valued by them formerly for superstitious notions; most awful looking shapes carved on the stones, some to imitate a man's head & breast, eyes set in pearl [shell], and a great variety of other shapes. Many of the natives wear them round their necks, probably from superstitious notions valued highly; even now they set a great store by them, whether from superstition or the love of gain, I am not able to determine. Even their tattooed heads after death are made a merchandise of, sold in the market from \$10 to \$15 pr piece. The Green Stone has attracted the attention of the mineralogist, for its richness of color, brilliancy lustre and durability of the stone. Ear drops are made of it, formed like a short spike, but not so thick. It is as much sought after as the precious stones were among the Jews in the time of Moses. Perhaps the stone in those days to be dignified with the appellation of mineralogy, might have wanted that comprehensive, connected and scientific view which could entitle it to that denomination. And I believe only of modern date that the knowledge of minerals arose to the rank of science, and assumed anything like a regular and connected form. From ancients no information of any consequence on these topicks is expected further, if we are rightly informed, than the year 1769.⁹

New Zealand presents to the beholder a variety of wood. Amongst the most remarkable Trees is the Teehokee [Titoki] whose berry is of a dark black substance, resembling jet, set in and surrounded by a red pulp, said to be of a pleasing flavour, the leaves of a light green, forked and glossy. This beautiful tree is said to be venerated by the New Zealanders (an ancient practice) for a very fine oil obtained from the berry, or rather

made from the nut incased in the pulp, and which is extracted in the following manner. The berries are collected by the native women slaves which occupies them about 2 days, a mat of muka flax is then made about 18 inches wide and 3 feet long, which is doubled together and drawn together on the three sides (or rather sewed) leaving one side open which they afterwards draw up (or sew). It is then filled with berries and is placed in a hangi (oven) underground on heated stones for the space of 2 hours. They are then taken out, well bruised by pounding the mat until it becomes moist and soft; again it is placed in the oven for sometime longer, and when taken out a stick is run through each end of the mat by the women slaves, by which process they obtain a rich oil run into calabashes which are placed underneath to receive it. After all the oil has been extracted the slaves rub themselves all over with the greasy mat and berries, which operation is much coveted by the other slaves, considered by them as a very great luxury and a rare enjoyment. When the oil is cooled it is turned into the chief's calabash and carried to him. The slaves then anoint the Chiefs body commencing with the hands, and after him sometimes his wives and daughters, completely. It is then carefully corked up to keep it from vermin and rats, which are avoriciously fond of it: it is laid away in a safe place for singular occasions, such as funerals, marriages, feasts, and singularly in the time of battle it is an indispensable cloak, or rather appendage of the Chief, A toilet to grease his body, his head, and particularly his face, which is made to shine; then his battle axe receives a smearing. Dead bodies are also anointed with this antecedently to their burial, or being entombed.

The tree bears numerous small flowers in clusters on the stem, which hang mostly pendent on the tree. It propagates much faster in a warm sheltered situation near the seashore, and if propagating in an open locality, is said not infrequently to omit bearing flowers, or fruit for several seasons. At the present day in consequence of large quantities of oil and slush that can be bought very cheap from whalers, this excellent oil is out of repute, and scarcely known amongst, and very little used by the natives.

The Romoko or Romokomopo [Poroporo?] is a very beautiful tree said not to grow very large, or I should say not gigantick, big or bulky, bears a thin forked leaf of a pale green and pendent, which gives to the tree a very sumptuous appearance. Its flower is represented to be of a delicate white color resembling that of the plum in shape, blows in clusters and flowers successively from the bottom of the cluster and said still to retain most of the first flower, when its uppermost buds are all blown. Its berries are said to be pretty and make an excellent purple ink; it grows generally near swamps, on the banks of rivers, bears transplanting when young, and flowers in March and April.

The Karaka this fine splendid tree is said to be very well known in New Zealand, said to bear small clusters of green blossoms in no wise remarkable; the fruit is of a bright yellow or rather red color, said to be a little larger than a pigeons egg: it is merely a thin covering of pulp over a soft kernal or nut which is said to be not unpleasant to the taste when ripe, but if eaten to excess produces headache. The natives are said to eat of it and to reserve the nut inside which is baked in an oven (such as they use) and when done it is thrown into a running stream and remains until perfectly saturated with cold water; it is then avoriciously eaten as a luxury by them. If eaten before being soaked in water it produces the most violent convulsive fits, and completely destroys the human constitution, in many instances deforming the limbs or body, contracting the sinews and turning the joints around, thus deforming and giving them the most awful appearance to the expression of the countenance, rendering almost every limb quite useless; it varies in violence of its attacks, and its victim is said never to recover til death closes the scene of his probationary existence. A gentleman with whom I was very familiar represented to me several instances of this awful and dreadful visitation, he remarked that most of the persons effected were at times insane, and said to have no remedy but the shaft of death, he further observed the tree with ripe fruit on it was a most magnificent sight, the leaf being of an oval shape, thick and of a rich dark green, and the fruit being of a yellow and red.

It grows mostly plain in the stock, large in the bottom, and branches off and gradually diminishes toward the top until it becomes quite a peak; its leaf has a glossy appearance, it may be transplanted, but unfortunately it cakes and commences the blight so destructive to the American trees. Notwithstanding I have frequently heard it stated, it was a matter of dispute whether it communicates its blight at all. It is said that smooth leaved trees blight in New Zealand, but not rough ones. It appears to me that it might be easily trimmed and propagated to the dwarf or gigantick shape and size; it would be a desirable additional shrubbery as it never loses its leaf which is also excellent food for cattle who seek ardently after it, and when accustomed to it have been known to follow after a branch of the tree that an individual might have pendent on his shoulder for some distance; it is a food that increases their milk. Its wood is white and soon decays, of little or no value, being very sappy. The Perriri [Puriri], this valuable wood combines two essential qualities, the ornamental and useful; it seldoms grows straight enough and abundant to saw it into timber or boards, and is generally perforated with worm holes, but it is observed when the grain is followed round the tree it makes good split rails for fencing, makes excellent posts, very durable more especially if charred, stands sound for more than 40 years, being very heavy and hard to saw, grows very large having an expanding or bright green leaf beautifully ribbed or fluted

across. The blossom is red and its berry is red and round while ripe, when it becomes black. About the size of a small cherry, it is in perpetual blossom, and its bright red berries interspersed among the green fluted leaves, look sumptuously beautiful; and in the old trees a few weatherbeaten old white branches adds greatly to its splendour and beauty; it is also an evergreen, many in every wood lot, and affords food for wild pigeons during the winter season.

The Pohutukawa trees not unsimilar in shape to some apple trees is sublimely elegant and most strikingly beautiful tree more especially its flower and leaf, the latter being of a very dark green; its flower is a small cup with six or seven crimson stamen[s] of a stammel color, of about one and a half inches long encircling the pistil, and at a short distance this magnificently beautiful tree presents to the eye of the botanist a field of wonder, picturesque and sublime, gratifying the heart of man, and one of the most heavenly and beautiful sights that the human mind is capable of imagining; it is a delightful and pleasing sight to the beholder before the buds are opened or expanded, and the silver buds, green leaves, and crimson flowers marks a most elegant contrast. When the flowers are all disclosed the tree assumes one entire massive body of crimson all over, and when in full bloom of a warm day in December it is alive with birds (a black bird with a white collar and bands perches himself upon its branches and the green Koukaato fluttering among its blossoms, singing its lively and melodious notes, feasting with all the birds of that tribe upon the delicious honey it contains secreted in the cup, which is said to be most plentiful at high tide, which is easily accounted for, as the tree most generally grows on the banks of the bays over the beach and sometimes stands on the perpendicular cliffs hanging over the salt water, for no shrub or tree could absorb more moisture nourishment when damped with the tide. In walking under the Pohutukawa tree in a windy day you may catch many drops of honey, as each flower contains one large drop in the nectary; it begins to flow about its tenth [year?] and is a very long lived tree. It is a very hard durable wood though not large enough to saw into boards, but makes good ship timbers, and as its branches grow into round elbows, there is little difficulty in cutting them to the shape required on which account it is valuable and for which it is of much esteem. It grows abundantly in every bay and forms a striking contrast to the romantic and uncouth columns, its wild and rocky fern clad hills; it is said that it never flowers when removed far inland from the sea shore (I think this proves the fact as respects the high tides and moisture.) It grows best from the seed.

The Kaurie is a noble, majestick and stately tree, universally allowed to be the Queen of the forest; its noble looking head is seen towering above all the other trees of the forest, and it is easily distinguished from them by its bright green and [is] generally pointed towards the top; its leaf is oval and it bears an extremely rich and beautiful [cone] in which the seed is contained under the scales. This valuable tree makes the best timber and boards in New Zealand. It saws easily and is a handsome wood lasting for some years, with the exception of knots it is not unlike the American hard pine, of a little different colour, shrinks in length, width and thickness; when exposed to the sun or heat warps very badly. I have frequently seen it warp one side, and when exposed to the opposite, twist and warp badly. Most of the dwelling houses being built in New Zealand are built of it, used for building boats also; in fact applied to almost every work. I cannot say I prefer it, as a wood for building, [but] for spars none can be better. It is not adequate to the American soft pine. Great quantities of sawn timber (boards) are sawed annually in New Zealand, and many cargoes have been exported to New S. Wales, and cargoes of spars to South America and England; they are very round in the barrel and very straight and long lengths. Lower masts for a Line of Battle Ship might be had. It grows plentifully and is one of the staple productions of New Zealand. The soil in which these trees grow [is] said to be worthless for the propagation of vegetation. A Gum issues from this tree running down the branches & trunk, and fallen off[f] in large lumps imbeds itself in the earth, which makes quite good varnish. Some of the Gum is quite as transparent as Zanzibar Copal; some of it is opaque, caused by the length of time in the ground. Quantities is found where the trees once stood, [a] little under the surface of the earth, [in] districts from Auckland to the North Cape almost any quantity could be obtained with but little trouble.

The superb grandeur of the Rata tree is beyond description; and as I observed the Kaurie was the Queen of the forest, so is this elegant tree the Empress, it resembles the pohutukawa as to appearance but the flowers are smaller and finer; it is said to be a grand and magnificent sight in the month of November and the beginning of Decr, when in full bloom, more especially in a windy day to see its bright crimson branches wafting to the breeze, waving over smaller trees, a rich treat to the botanist, courting every admired eye. This is a durable hard wood though not used for boards; it is mostly perforated with holes said to be occasioned by the hote [awheto] a very singular caterpillar or worm. These trees are not very plentiful, though two or three is seen in every valley or forest. They seldom grow near the sea-side as the pohutukawa, mostly up the valleys in the interior.

The Reuru is another splendid tree when young, but its beauty and splendour grow dim and fade when growing old; when about twenty feet it presents to the eye of the beholder a most pleasing and sumptuous appearance, it grows perfectly straight and tapering, its leaves are long with four rows of very small fibre which hangs perpendicular to the tree which assumes a drooping appearance, but when the tree becomes old these

splendid leafs become smaller and grow in tufts on long branches giving it the appearance of being dead, or 'covered with the old Mauries beards' rather than natural leafs.¹⁰ It bears a pretty red berry eaten by the wild pigeons; it is a hard durable wood difficult to saw, but lasting for building much longer than that of the kaurie.

The Kahikatea somewhat resembles the kaurie when young, but not so ornamental when full grown, it is used for boards, timber &c. and makes a fair lining for wooden houses, though not so lasting as the kaurie, which is always the highest price on the timber market.

The Taraire is a very common tree sometimes used for fencing, splits fairly, but soon decays, it bears a large blue plum, apparently wholesome, but of an exceedingly unpleasant flavour when tasted, this also is eaten by the pigeons; its leaf is very dark, round, and flushed.

The Toro, this tree grows naturally into a perfect oval, and the leafs at the extremity of each branch are pink, the others quite green and pointed. It seldom grows larger than 40 feet and its flower has a pleasing and odoriferous smell.

The Kohekoke is a fine tree, grows plentifully, bears a large pale green leaf, which is said to make a very good substitute for hops, having a bitter flavoured juice.

The Tohara [totara] is handsome, with small sharp leafs of a dark green color, its wood makes fair oars for boats though not pliant, but a very good substitute in the absence of American ash; it is used by the New Zealanders for canoes. It is singularly ornamental when young.

The Rewarewa Tree is not much used not being large enough for boards and soon rots, it has a handsome grain and contains a great quantity of gum, may be easily bent when steamed over hot water; through which process it passes when used for boats gunwales, it is a light wood with a red grain running across, other slanting obliquely, its leafs are pointed with a tooth edge and of a dark green color, but it is not a tree of much beauty or an embellished nature.

The Miro is a beautiful tree of a small light green leaf, bears a bright red berry, and this also a favorite food of the wild pigeon; it bears about Febr. or March during which time the pigeons improve greatly. When the berries ripen, the Natives then commence their game upon this fine docile pigeon feeding on the tree, which are easily shot by standing under its branches; of a fine day many of them are taken.

The Hinau is also a handsome tree, the bark is of a bright purple, it dyes a beautiful permanent black; it is used by the natives to dye their mats. But I have never learned the process by which it is done; but I think it is cut up fine, soaked & boiled, the flax is, I believe, then steeped in (or, in other words a strong decoction.) Doubtless this will lead to important discoveries in dyes.

We now come to another elegant and ornamental tree, the Rowai (or Rowly) [Kowhai] which is found by the sea side or by the swamps, or along round leaf, which gives the tree a handsome appearance; the blossoms are water cresses, the bark is whitish and the stem purple, bearing a minute a long bright yellow bell which hangs pendant, and when in full bloom it forms an elegant appendage to the shrubbery. Its seed is a long pod, it is hardy, propagates fast and bears transplanting.

The Towai is not remarkable for a tree, makes fair fencing.

The Tipau, although not remarkable yet a stately tree.

The Kumarahou is a common tree and bears a small berry and a white flower which is very fragrant and handsome and not unpleasant to the taste.

The Tawa is rather a pretty tree, grows mostly straight with its branches expanding, its leafs are long, thin, and pointed, of a very pale green and jutting over; it bears a blue plum which the pigeons feed on; the centre of this apparently nice fruit is a kernel resembling that of the Taraire something in appearance which is sometimes eaten by the natives. It grows generally on the banks of rivers and creeks, and looks handsome, sometimes bending its branches 'not unlike the weeping willow' over the streams with the leafs dropping into the still waters; of a moonlight [night] its reflection & shadow on the waters is heavenly.

The Kahikatoa, of this there are several kinds, the dwarf which never reaches the size of a tree, the Manuka or fine leaf, and the gigantick which grows into ordinary Size trees. The dwarf Kahikatoa bears a blossom and the Manuka or fine leaf bears a small flower and leaf with a smelling odour. The superior grows to[o] high up to observe its flower, or envail its perfume. It is asserted to bloom, but when pointed out to me I could not see any blo[o]ms, 'it may be it is to[o] high to discern.' Such might be the case. The tree is a hard red lasting wood, splits freely and makes excellent rails for fencing, and fire wood, burning well and giving great heat, grows abundantly in every part of New Zealand, but not a handsome tree.

The Pau [Whau] is rather a graceful tree, does not grow high, bears a large leaf similar to the grape, the white clustering flowers and the seed contained in a pericarp, resembling the Castor oil.

The Pate tree is by no means handsome as a tree or shrub, having nothing remarkable, only that its wood when decayed produce[s] fire by rubbing or friction, if rubbed by a harder piece of wood, which is the case with many other trees, producing the same kind of wood.

The Tupakihi Tree [Tutu], troublesome, yet [a] useful one, abounds all over the Island, it bears a long string

or vine round the tree [on] which clusters little blackberries. The seed is contained in the top of the berry and resembles somewhat a flower. The New Zealanders squeeze the juice out in the following manner which is said to be a pleasing drink, and if boiled makes a delicious cordial. They first gather quantities of the berries on the string, they next plait a small basket in this form, [illustrated] pointed, in which they put grass, and sometimes the bulrush, which acts as a sieve; this basket is placed on the top of a calabash, in its opening as many strings as convenient. They work in their hands and squeeze the purple juice into the Patutu or basket, which runs through into the calabash leaving the seeds in the basket, but should a person unacquainted with these berries, harmless as they seem, take a few strings to bite, he will be sadly disappointed for the berries are not so innocent & harmless as they seem to be, they will throw him into violent convulsion fits, the number and force of these fits will vary according to the number of berries he has taken, and if the person eat sufficient of the seed they will have the same effect, and inspire him with a fearful disgust and terror during his lifetime. They will have precisely the same effect on cattle or on any creature that eats of it (the seed), and sometimes poisons its victims to death, 'to use the common parlance uses them up.' The Cattle are very fond of it, and its yearly shoots, more so after rain when it partakes more freely of the poisonous matter of the first, will sometimes occasion the same convulsions; destroying the stomach and causing immediate rush of blood to the head when the animal soon expires. The natives are dotingly fond of its juice which they call Tapu, doubtless for its mischievous qualities of inebriation. Their appellation for mischief is Tabu [Tapu] differing only in accent. They soak their fern root in the juice, and Koru if made into wine should be well boiled with the sugar, and slightly diluted with water and a little Brandy, and improves and ripens the longer it is kept, partaking of the nature of French Wines. (To quote the words of the Mauries, ['if you keep him 7 years very good, and suppose you keep him 14 years more better.')

The Nikau is to appearance most likely a bastard, or in other words an illegitimate Cocoa Nut tree, for when in full growth resembles a cocoa nut tree, the leafs hang or rather stand out, each side of a long branch or rib; it bears a very handsome flower, 'this of course differing from the cocoa nut,' of a bright pink color, the flower stands below the leafs, and shaded by them; it is composed of many minute and slender flowers in the stem thus [indicated by a sketch] and when in seed before ripe have much the appearance of a green lizard on the tree; they are protected being encased in a leaf which encircles the tree 'almost fac-simile to the cocoa nut' (of which when taken from the cocoa nut is made by the natives into koia) until full blown, when it bursts off and exposes the flower and a new leaf above it encases the next flower; many are formed under the leafs in rotation varying in size until they become very small, but quite perfect, of a white color, at the bottom of the leafs, a fruit or white substance is found, out of which grows the leafs. This substance is called by the natives Pito' (pronounced Peetow [Pitau]). The middle is in separate fluted layers called 'Muka' from its resemblance to the flax, eaten by the natives, said to be not unpleasant notwithstanding little or no flavour; the leafs of this plant is used by the natives for building the inside or the first covering of the roof of their house or hut plaited together and has a handsome appearance.

Having given a description, although not so perfect as I should have wished, but imperfect and concise as they are, they may not be uninteresting to the reader.

The Hotte a decided Caterpillar or worm, is found growing at the foot of the Rata tree with a plant growing out of its head; some have said that this peculiar and singular insect travels up the tree, both the rata & perriri [puriri] trees, and entering into the top burrows or eats its way through the trunk of the tree until it reaches the root; it then comes out of the root and dies or remains dormant and the plant propagates out of its head, the body remains perfect and entire of a harder substance than when alive; there are many accounts of this singular and most extraordinary insect, but the above description appears conclusive to my mind to be the most correct, as the perriri tree is mostly perforated with holes, from which an inference is conclusively drawn, that this worm or insect has bored through and traveled. From this insect the natives make the coloring for tattooing in the following manner; they make two ovens underground, on one they place fire, they then make a tube or passage in the second from the first through which passage the steam passes from the fired oven through the tube into the other, and chars the other until it becomes a dark blue which is then injected in the 'Wakau' or Tu the tattoo.

There are many different and remarkable species of the fern, most of them seed in leaf. The most remarkable one is Koraie which grows from ten to fifteen feet high. The stem and stalk are dark or black, the branches commence about two feet from the ground, and rise rounding from the tree, the main stem of the leaf bearing many smaller ones in succession branching out from it, on which the leafs grow straight, but which hang beautifully bowing towards the ground and have a rich handsome appearance. This tree grows in a complete circle, the branches growing out at equal distances from the stem of the tree; from the centre grows a beautiful head out, or rather up, the top turning round inward down towards the tree thus [illustrated by sketch] covered with very fine glossy hair, leafs, which rubs off with the slightest touch, it is therefore difficult for pressing, the substance of the head being soft vegetable. The root of which contains in the trunk or stem of the

tree, the natives eat, being very palatable when roasted, it is a pale or dirty yellow and some brownish color, and not an unpleasant flavor, something in taste like pumpkins, it is frequently baked for a whole day in a New Zealand oven, being full of wood grains which run through the size of a cod line, which if taken out, the outside which is of vegetable is much pleasant to the taste. It changes its lower leaf annually.

The Ponga fern is perhaps the male tree, as it grows frequently near the Korau, and is like it in leaf, with the exception of growing taller, and the stalk bare, the leaf growing out straight from the head of the tree quite flat except at the extremity which droops a little thus [illustrated by sketch] it gives the tree the resemblance to an umbrella, and adds much to the beauty of the forest; they bear no curly head like the Roraie 'said to be the female.' They change their leaf also annually and may be transplanted if placed in a shady spot, sheltered by trees, to keep the intense heat from them, and they propagate by being littered round about the root on the surface with dry leaf; their natural soil in the wood being formed by the dead leaf, which fall from the adjacent tree. Consequently they require a loose soil and sheltered situation.

The Puritan (Fern) grows and is raised with but little moisture.

Mokimoki a species of fern grows profusely on trees, near streams or moist places, it is a pretty little fern.

Piupiu, species of fern grows very ornamental.

Uruuruwhenua a handsome species of fern and not so abundant as other kinds.

Raharahu [Rauaruhe] this common fern covers the hills of New Zealand from one extremity to the other, but by no means ornamental; yet is said perhaps the most useful of any in New Zealand. The natives eat the root of this fern, first roasting it, then scraping it with a shell which takes off the burnt part, and afterwards pounding it on a large stone until it becomes a soft ball. Many think it a poor repast at any time (I myself have thought from what I have eaten that it was much better food than it is represented to be) it is said the natives only use it at extreme times, when no other food can be had, they do not want roast beef as doeth the Englishman. For about one month in the winter they use fern root for food; it is said they are obliged to use it for they can get no other; this decidedly is not the case, for with little exertion they can have fish, pork or vegetables, at any season of the year. After the fern is rooted up the soil becomes fit for planting. The cattle are very fond of the young fern, the sheep eat it also.

The next species of fern is indeed very handsome. It grows on moist grounds and amongst wet stones, it certainly grows pretty, about four inches above the ground.

Another kind grows abundantly in the woods. I think the appellation for it is No, and flowers round the leaf.

Flowers

The Botanist would find but few flowers and none very handsome in New Zealand (excepting those on the trees) to place in his herbarium; none remarkable for either beauty or fragrance except Kaha Kaha, Wara Wara [Kowharawhara] and the Papapa (or the Pappupa). The Kahakaha are fragrant and odorous; it varies in colors sometimes being dark and sometimes of a light pink and yellow.

The Wara Wara flower resembles the Kahakah a little, only larger, and the flower clustering close together round the stem, forming a round featherlike appearance, mostly yellow, with a fragrant and sweet smell, is much handsomer than the Kahakaha. The Papapa [Patotara?] is a little flower growing on a short stem, with sharp prickly leaf, has a fragrant smell but is not handsome; it bears a small red berry.

The wild Daizy is apparently a species of blue bell & [or?] violet [and] is a beautiful vine, clusters all around the tree in white stars with yellow pistil & looks very handsome; there is said to be a small wild geranium or several species of it, and some pretty little flowering shrubs, and the violet grows in the swamps.

The next interesting matter that came under my special observation is the animals and quadrupeds. Rats and mice 'that I have heretofore described' I am not positive whether they are natives of the country or not, nor could I understand correctly.

Lizards both brown and black and green, but no reptiles yet discovered in the country, a variety of insects, such as spiders of various kinds, one small black sort which invests the branches of trees, its bite is venomous, Crickets, Cockroaches of a small kind, Flies, a great variety, some very handsome Caterpillars of many sorts and sizes, Snails, Slugs. Moschetos, Butterflies of many beautiful kinds, sizes and colorings, Moths of several kinds, one kind of Black Beetle worthy of particular notice on account of its troublesome nature, known by the appellation of Kekerere, by the natives. If molested throws off the most disgusting smell imaginable, but not a venomous insect. Silkworms are sometimes found. The Centipede is to be found here but not venomous. Small Ants and various little insects. Lady Birds. The notable Weta about the size of a Cockroach when full grown, something larger resembling the cockroach in appearance but without wings, has long forked legs, bites severely if molested, leaving a troublesome wound. They are commonly found in old trees. These comprise all or mostly all of the insects yet discovery has been made in New Zealand.

The next that comes under my cognizance is the birds of the country; the variety of this interesting creation of feather tribe is quite small. The Wild Pigeon of New Zealand reigns the undisputed king of beauty amongst this feathery tribe, this handsome bird known by the name of Ruckupa [Kereru, *Hemiphaga novaseelandiae*], is about twice the size of the American Wild Pigeon, its body is longer, its back and legs are red, its head down to the middle of the breast is a beautiful bronze, the belly down to the tail white, the wings a pale blue, and the tail the same color. This bird is easily shot and fine eating, and when in proper season large lumps of solid fat may be taken from the inside of the bird. A few years ago the pigeons were remarkably docile and might be shot anywhere; but muskets and powder have driven them back into the woods and are becoming more and more wild and less plentiful daily. In former years before the introduction of gun powder and muskets, the natives had several ways of taking them, with the bow and arrow, which appear to have been used, together with the spear, in the following order. Of a fine day the birds would gather together in numbers in the branches of some low tree, particularly the Miro, a net was then made and placed over it, and they were then easily secured. Another plan the New Zealanders mentions as having been mostly resorted to; when the pigeons sat or rather slept on the branches after feeding, the pronged string of stringeree was then tied on one end of the stick, and a long stick to the other. The stick was then darted at the bird, and the string entering held, and it was then captured without any noise, and a tree lined with them, it was said, might be thus taken, but of late the bird has become much to[o] wild excepting far inland to be taken in this way now, and in these days of improvement the natives find the method of the Gun by far the most expeditious, and least troublesome way of obtaining there game.

The Tui is a well known bird, its color is a shining black, and a white collar of circle curling feathers rounds its neck and two tufts of white feathers hanging on its neck much like a priest or a clergymans band, with two white spots on each wing, it measures about seven or eight inches from the tip of the beak to the extreme end of the tail; this handsome bird has melodious notes and could be taught to speak or whistle as a 'parrott,' it has a wild note and said to be subject to fits when confined in a cage which not infrequently kills it. It is said to be not a long lived bird, seldom exceeds 14 years, and generally not over nine (so says the natives).

The Korimako or Bellbird is a light green colored bird, the first feathers of the wing are a darker shade nearly black when full grown; the cock bird has a slight bronze on the head and neck. It has the sweetest note of any bird in the woods.

The Toutouwai is a smaller slate colored bird, has a shrill whistling note, and is particularly fond of gazing (if I may so express it) at Strangers, and if encouraged by a whistle will follow the person for some distance. It is very tame and may be easily knocked down with a stick.

The Riovi [possibly Kiwi], this bird was never repletely described to me, but it is said to be a very remarkable one, and sometimes caught by the natives.

The Powaitere [kakariki?], native pronunciation, is a proquet [parrakeet] of a beautiful bright collared plumage with a little red under the wings, and on the top of the head, and the natives say it can be taught to speak.

The Kaka (from Karkau?) is a large Brown Parrot with a few colored feathers on the breast and red under the wings, but by no means a pretty bird; it talks and sings well, mostly feeds on berries; the natives are fond of them to eat.

The Katiu or common hawk is to[o] well known to need any description, New Zealand has its share, and is invested with them, and quite as troublesome as those in the United States, often entirely destroy the poultry, and not infrequently take off their large heavy fat geese.

The Kaiiaia [Karearea] is the Sparrow-Hawk quite as troublesome and more important than the Common Hawk.

The Puakuwaka [Piwakawaka] is the most striking contrast to the Common Hawk, being one of the smallest birds; it is a species of the waterwagtail (I know of no other name for this, as its body is about one inch long, and its tail three inches long, called on this acct waterwagtail.)

The Moa, a most powerful and tremendous large bird (called Moa from More) but very few of these birds have been seen of late years. In the South of this Island the natives describe it as a common fowl in appearance, and are wonderfully afraid of it. They dare not venture anywhere near them, but when discovered hurry away with great rapidity as fast as their canoes will carry them. This bird stands 12 to 14 feet high. They are now almost if not quite extinct, seemingly they have ceased to be, as not one of them has been seen for two years, with the exception of their bones and frames which have frequently been discovered. This bird in bygone days has struck dread and terror to the natives, doubtless it was a native bird and within a few years has ceased to live in New Zealand (It is said to be of the ostrich species from its height). Why height should argue in favor of its being of that species I know not; but I am convinced in my own mind from all descriptions of it, I consider it a very rare and wonderful bird, by no means an ostrich or a Specie. If it had not ceased to exist it must have been seen by Europeans who have been and are daily exploring New Zealand.

The natives relate a vague story that two white men saw this large Monster or Creature, when in the Southern Island, but that its frightful appearance alarmed them so much that they were almost struck dumb with fright, therefore could not give any definite account of this frightful and alarming creature. A Gent, connected with the mission at Pihea, Bay of Islands, NZ had some of the bones of one, and describes it as an enormous and giant-like.

The Malala (from Marlarla) is a small brown bird [fern-bird] investing reedy swamps, its tail is pretty of forked feathers.

The Matukutuku, or Crane, of this there are several kinds in New Zealand; the blue crane, or that which inhabits the seashore which is common to every one, and the gigantic is considerably larger than the blue crane, of a color resembling a turkey, mostly stand on the banks of rivers and in fresh water swamps; it has a large paunch or bag on its breast, but the most remarkable fact connected with this strange bird is that it fixes its beak night and morning in the ground, a tremendous noise proceeds which it is said startles the unacquainted auditor, who imagines it to be some wild bull, who has strayed from his flock, as this singular noise is somewhat like it.¹¹

The Kauau [Kawau] or common diver, the Raruhiruhi, the first name is generally used, the Black Shagg or diver and the latter to the smaller diver, with white breast; this bird has nothing remarkable excepting an enormous swallow, [comprises] all the wild duck species of New Zealand, Widgeon all of which is very good eating as delicate a morsel as the wild duck of America.

The Kotarhare [Kotare] is the famous King Fisher as invests the shores of America, its appetite may be more keen in New Zealand, as it eats fruit greedily, devouring grapes and spoiling the vintage. In this infant country he might be called a troublesome customer. The Kotarhare are in abundance and go in flocks, quite to[o] many for the interest of the vineyards; they are sometimes eaten by the natives who cook them by throwing them on a fire composed of mangrove wood, which grows in the swamps (near a swamp) and knock the birds down that flock thickly around the fire and become effected by the smoke.

The Roukou [Ruru] is the screech owl, abounding in New Zealand fern forests, and its cries are considered ominous at times by the natives or aborigines.

Notes to the Journal

1. Sometime during 1832-33 John B. Williams visited the Bay of Islands. He was then a seaman and clerk of the ship *Tybee* of Salem, owned by N. L. Rogers & Brothers of Salem.

2. Williams may very well have had in mind Dumont D'Urville (Jules Sebastien Cesar, 1790-1842) the celebrated French navigator who in *L'Astrolabe* surveyed the New Zealand coast in 1826/27. I am indebted to Mrs. Ruth Ross of Auckland for this suggestion.

3. I hazard the conjecture that Williams was familiar with the works of Cuvier in translation. The *Essay on the Theory of the Earth, with Mineralogical Notes and an Account of Cuvier's Geological Discoveries* by Professor Jameson was published by Kirk and Mercein, New York, 1818. Williams's statement about calcareous matter seems a paraphrase of the statement on page 60 of the Kirk and Mercein edition.

4. This seems an echo of the lines generally attributed to George Barrington and allegedly spoken as a Prologue at the opening of the Playhouse in Sydney, New South Wales on 16 January 1796. The play was a convict production of Edward Young's *The Revenge*.

'From distant climes, o'er wide-spread seas we come, Tho not with much eclat or beat of drum, True patriots all: for be it understood We left our country for our country's good.'

The prologue was not written by Barrington nor was it spoken at the opening of the theatre, but composed some years later by a London wit as 'Lines intended to be spoken at the opening of the Playhouse.' It has become famous as the Barrington Prologue. I am indebted to Thomas Dunbabin, Australian Press Attache at Ottawa, for clearing the matter up for me.

5. The Court Dress presumably was the blue uniform similar to that of a United States Navy Captain, which, together with his dress sword and belt Williams had requested be sent out to him from home. He was similarly dressed when he dined with Governor FitzRoy in Auckland in 1845. The uniform and sword are now in the exhibition room of the Peabody Museum.

6. A reference, I believe, to Yankee plumage ruffled by Dickens's *American Notes* published in 1842.

7. Mrs. Trollope's *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, 1832, was very offensive to many Americans.

8. These ornaments were, apparently, made from the translucent and softer form known as *tangiwai*.

9. This wretched sentence puzzles me. I suggest that Williams's intended meaning was: 'No information of any consequence is available earlier than 1769.' Williams seems to have been familiar with Cuvier's writings and may have noted that in his lectures on the *Histoire des Sciences Naturelles* delivered at the College de

France in 1831 Cuvier indicated that 1769 was a significant year for science. That year saw the transit of Venus which Captain Cook witnessed in the Society Islands, later continuing his exploring expedition to New Zealand accompanied by the naturalist Sir Joseph Banks. The expedition under Bougainville, the first sponsored by the French for scientific purposes, and the expeditions ordered by Anne, the Empress of Russia, were also commenced in 1769 Cuvier noted. Williams's precise reference to mineralogy still escapes me.

10. Usually known as Old Man's Beard, a lichen (*Usnea*).

11. The blue crane is probably the reef heron, *Egretta sacra sacra*; the large bird is the Australian bittern, *Botanis stellaris poiciloptilus*.

Glossary of plants and animals, mainly native