

Remote in Southern Seas. Early New Zealand Books, 1829-1839

A traveller athirst for knowledge of the world

Dumont d'Urville., *Voyage de la corvette L'Astrolabe*. 1830

Dumont d'Urville., *Voyages pittoresque autour du Monde*. 1834

Dumont d'Urville., *Voyage au Pol Sud et dans l'Océanie*. 1841

If we discount the fantasies of Baron Thierry, there is a gap of some fifty years between French explorers who touched, had an impact on, or simply explored, New Zealand. At the end of the 18th century, the last French explorer to land, tragically, was Marion Dufresne, who was famously murdered in the Bay of Islands in 1772. Antoine Bruni D'Entrecasteaux, with Jacques Labillardiere on board, passed across North Cape, met Māori, but didn't land. It was not until 1824 that Louis Duperrey landed at the Bay of Islands, staying there for a couple of weeks during his circumnavigation on *La Coquille*. There was no completed narration of the voyage, an unfinished volume¹ ending before the New Zealand visit, though there were sumptuous volumes published on zoology, botany etc, and a 60 plate Atlas including plates of New Zealand Māori, the missionary establishment at Kerikeri amongst others, drawn by Duperrey and other members of the voyage. A short Memoire of about 100 pages, was also published in about 1827². Extracts from the New Zealand segments of the publications have been published more recently³.

That Duperrey's voyage was one of exploration rather than scientific investigation, has been questioned⁴, and it seems an insignificant issue. However, it was also criticised, by someone more flamboyant, with a 'flair for publicity', Duperrey's second in command, Jules Dumont d'Urville⁶⁰. Within twelve months of being home, D'Urville had taken over and received permission for another voyage, and he sailed, *capitaine de frégate* on the same ship, renamed *L'Astrolabe*, in memory of La Perouse, part of his objectives being to look for traces of the lost explorer (finally achieved by Peter Dillon in 1826). The initial plan was to explore New Guinea, New Britain and the Louisades⁵, and before sailing on 25 April, 1826, New Zealand, Tonga, Fiji and the Loyalty Islands were added. He was away for 3 years, and the visit to New Zealand occurred in January to March, 1827. He first sailed into Tasman Bay, explored the Cook Strait region, then north up the East Coast to the Hauraki Gulf and on to the Bay of Islands⁶. He returned to France in 1829, *L'Astrolabe* full of papers and reports on zoology, botany,



¹ Duperry, L. I., [Voyage autour du monde. Partie historique], Paris, Arthur Bertrand, 1831? (Bagnall 1749).

² Duperry, L. I., Memoire sur les Operations geographiques faites dans la campagne de *la corvette* de S.M. la Coquille, pendant les années 1822, 1823, 1824 et 1825. Paris, Huzard-Courcier, [1827]. Bagnall 1748.

³ Sharp, A., Duperrey's visit to New Zealand in 1824. Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library, 1971.

⁴ Dunmore, J., French explorers in the Pacific. Vol II. The nineteenth century. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1969, p. 154.

⁵ An archipelago now in Papua New Guinea.

⁶ Moon, P., The Voyagers. Remarkable European Explorations of New Zealand. Auckland, Penguin, 2014. pp. 33-41.

marine biology, hydrology and observations on indigenous people, particularly of the Micronesia and Melanesia regions⁷. The French Government undertook to publish D'Urville's account, which he worked on over the next 3 years, the magnificent work coming out in 5 volumes between 1832-1834.

Dumont, d'Urville. *Voyage de la corvette L'Astrolabe Exécuté par Ordre du Roi pendant les années 1826-1827-1828-1829.....* Paris, J Tastu, 1830, 5 vols. Bagnall 1687, Hocken 47-8.

Volumes 1 and 2 came out in 1830, 2 in 1831, 4 in 1832 and 5 in 1833. This was followed by a series of volumes on zoology, botany, hydrology, philology, and 3 atlases. In all, following Bagnall, 15 parts in 13 volumes, plus 3 atlases. If you have a deep pocket and a stout heart, you can still buy the set on the international market. The New Zealand parts are mostly in Vols 2 and 3, with some references in Vol 1. Vol 2 contains the journal entries and D'Urville's commentary on Māori. Vol 3 contains extracts from earlier explorers such as Cook and Surville, and information and observations on the current state of New Zealand, including on missionaries, the leading chiefs, etc. The official artist on the voyage was Louis Auguste de Sainson (1800-1887) who was pursuing a naval career and volunteered to join the voyage. His plates are frequently on the market, and you might wonder how many volumes have been destroyed to feed a lucrative trade. Some 32 of his plates were published in the Atlases in 1835, including now iconic drawings of notable Māori, Māori life, New Zealand scenes and seascapes. An English translation of the account of the time in New Zealand waters was published, edited by Olive Wright, in 1950 (Bagnall D719).

It was all a huge achievement, taking D'Urville some 5 years, during which time he was also struggling with French and Naval politics, not helped by his imperious manner. He seemed to feel that only by publication would he be known and appreciated, and not content with the large task compiled a further two, more popular, volumes. He used the device of an imaginary voyager on an imaginary ship, the *Kanguroo* [sic], including extracts from his own voyage along with others from Magellan through to Morrell and beyond.

Dumont, d'Urville. *Voyages pittoresque autour du Monde. Résumé général des Voyages de Découvertes de Magellan, Tasman, Dampier.....* Publié sous la direction de M. Dumont D'Urville, Capitaine de Vaisseau. Paris, L. Tenré, MDCCCXXXIV. 2 vols, 152 copper plates, charts, frontis. portrait. vol 1, 1834, vol 2, 1835. Bagnall 1689 (1839 edition), Hocken 55.

Each volume contains more than 70 plates and folding charts and maps. The New Zealand component is across some 76 pages with illustrations, including the outlying islands such as the Kermadecs, and Auckland and Campbell islands. Further editions were issued in 1839 with variants in 1846 and 1849. It was translated into several languages including German, Russian, Italian and Spanish.

Despite D'Urville's reputation for arrogance, and what we might call crankiness, generally proving not helpful for his career, he was able to mount a further expedition. In 1837, having convinced the French Government of the need for a further expedition that went through the Straits of Magellan, with further exploration west in the Pacific to the Solomons, and at the prompting of Louis-Phillipe of the July monarchy, exploration of the Southern seas and Antarctica, D'Urville set sail with the *Astrolabe* again on 7 September

⁷ Dunmore, J. op. cit. pp. 178-227.

1837, accompanied by another corvette, the *Zélée*⁸. It was very much constructed as a scientific expedition, as the previous one, marked by D'Urville's own enthusiasm for natural history, ethnology, and generally observing and recording the world.

After sailing and exploring in the South Atlantic and Cape Horn, reaching the Antarctic ice fields, and losing men to scurvy, D'Urville sailed north and in April 1838 reached Talcahuano Harbour in Chile, where he learned from the British Counsel that the British Government had taken '*formal possession of the great island Ika-na-Mawi in New Zealand, which in no way surprised me...*'⁹ They sailed across the Pacific, eventually as far west as Java, then south to Tasmania and beyond. Perhaps their most spectacular find was what became Adèlie Land in Antarctica, the foundation of French territorial claims in the region. They landed on the Auckland Islands on March 7 1840, and then through till May, sailed and visited up the East coasts of both the South and North Islands. In the Bay of Islands in late April, they played a polite game with Hobson, which allowed D'Urville to avoid recognising the British possession and Hobson to offer the assistance customary between fellow officers without incurring mutual embarrassment¹⁰. They left on the 4th of May and reached Toulon on November 6. This was at last a triumph, he was made a rear-Admiral, received a gold medal and the government ordered the publication of the official account. D'Urville worked on this, finishing the first 3 volumes and was into the fourth when he, with his wife and son, were killed in one of Frances earliest and worst railway disasters on May 8, 1842.

Dumont D'Urville. *Voyage au Pol Sud et dans l'Océanie sur ses corvettes L'Astrolabe et la Zélée, exécuté par ordre du Roi pendant les années 1837-1838-1839-1840. Paris, Gide, 1841. Bagnall 1688, Hocken 93.*

There were 10 volumes published through to 1846, and volumes on Physique, Hydrographie, Botanique, Zoologie, Géologie, Anthropologie, and Atlases on the voyage, and to accompany the natural history and hydrology volumes. After D'Urville's death, C A Vincendon-Dumoulin, and C H Jacquinot, captain of the *Zélée*, completed the set of narratives and reports. As a geographer and observer of natural history, D'Urville left his mark, with his name on islands and embedded in botanical taxonomy.

⁸ Dunmore, J., op. cit. vol 2, pp 341-383.

⁹ Ibid., p 353.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 379-381.

New Zealand has a strong claim upon our attention

G.L.Craik, *The New Zealanders*. 1830.

Over the years of the 19th century from about 1830 onwards, there was an increasing, Christian mission-driven, desire to describe the life, people and geography of the South Seas. Most of the emphasis was on the need to convert and 'improve' the lives of the savages, and support the missions in their efforts. This was largely done by British writers who never came anywhere near this part of the world, if indeed they ventured beyond British shores at all. One of the first of these was Scotsman George Craik (1798-1866), who makes plain his preference for Māori over other indigenous people, distressingly so: '*With the natives of Otaheite, of the Sandwich Islands, and of New Zealand, ...[the] interest which we felt in them was enhanced by their apparent possession of qualities which indicated that they were not in the lowest stages of savage life. The natives of New Holland, and of Van Diemen's land, with whom we are more closely in contact, have in contrast, few attractions, for they are low beyond comparison, both in morals and intellect. They offer to us a mirror of that degraded state of man which it is painful to contemplate.*' So the Māori, praised for their '*masculine independence*', their willingness to fight back, and desire for things European, in other words, were worth converting and saving, and with a little effort, could easily become like us.

Craik's book was published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, set up by Henry Brougham and fellow Whig politicians in 1826 to provide cheap books for the working and middle classes in the interest of mass education. Craik wrote for the Society, most of his publications being on English history and literature, and he later became Professor of English Literature and History at Belfast in 1849. The aims of the Society in this Library for Entertaining Knowledge production seemed to have been met, with the work going through numerous editions and a German translation.



Portrait of Tupai Cupa. Craik, 1823, pp. 33-332.

[Craik, G.L.] *The New Zealanders. The Library of Entertaining Knowledge. London: Charles Knight, Pall Mall East; etc. etc. MDCCCXXX (1830). ii, 424 pp, map, illustrations. Bagnall 1476, Hocken 46.*

The book is relatively common, often a grubby, worn little work, probably reflecting its widespread distribution and use. Mine is neat in original cloth and not too foxed.

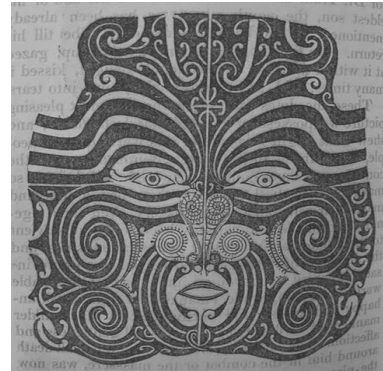
This very popular book heavily depends on the accounts of Nicholas and Cruise and, what might seem odd now, much information on the controversial John Rutherford, the Englishman adopted by Māori¹¹. There are numerous reproductions of illustrations from these earlier publications, with the notable addition of a well-known engraving of the Chief Te Pehi, Ngati Poa, (Tupai Cupa) in the book) taken from a watercolour by John Sylvester

¹¹ **Drummond, J.** John Rutherford, the white chief. A story of adventure in New Zealand. Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs, [1908]. Bagnall D646, Hocken 479.

made in 1826¹². Te Pehi seems to have pretty much forced his way onto a ship sailing for England, with the intention of obtaining muskets to avenge the murder of his wife and family. He stayed in Liverpool for some time, where he was painted by Sylvester, about whom we know little or nothing. It seems that both Te Pehi and Sylvester took care to render the Te Pehi's moko with great accuracy¹³. There is a further illustration of Te Pehi's moko along with the portrait, and also a frontispiece map after Cook, just squeezed on to the page.

The book is not just a compilation of other narratives and information on New Zealand. As the Introduction shows, it conveys, and perhaps panders to, the prevalent view of the public about South Pacific savages and the calling of missionaries to civilise and convert them. It starts before Tasman, then discusses the early navigators and voyagers, but the bulk of the work is taken up with an extensive and sympathetic account of John Rutherford¹⁴, finishing off with Hongi's visit to England, and more general observations with chapters on

'General View of the Aspects which Civilized Life presents to the Savage' and *'Comparative View of Savage with Civilized Life – Characteristics of the New Zealanders'*. It can be easily dismissed, but it should be acknowledged as presenting an English view of New Zealand and its people, and in doing that, providing both a lens and a mirror for attitudes and perspectives that drove colonisation from the 1830s onwards.



Tattooing on the face of Tupai

¹² Te Pehi Kupe visited England in 1826, and John Sylvester, a Liverpool artist, painted a watercolour of him, which was used in the Craik book.

¹³ https://www.nla.gov.au/sites/default/files/portraits_of_the_famous_infamous_exhibition_catalogue_18091_5_for_web.pdf Accessed 27 May 2022.

¹⁴ See **Wevers, L.**, op. cit. pp. 90-95, for a discussion of Rutherford and his depiction by Craik.

Cheering the hearts and strengthening the hands

J Montgomery, Journal of the voyages and travels. 1831.

To some extent, Montgomery's publication follows on from that of William Ellis, both the result of the London Missionary Society's (LMS) efforts in the South Pacific. It comes to New Zealand's notice for the short visit, like that of Ellis, to New Zealand by Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet enroute from the Pacific Islands to New South Wales. The LMS started its operations in the South Pacific with the departure in 1796 of the *Duff*, captained by James Wilson and carrying some 30 missionaries, with some of their families¹⁵. They reached Tahiti on March 5 1797.¹⁶ Forward about 20 years and the LMS decided to survey its some 30 missions across the globe, sending out the Rev Daniel Tyerman (1773-1828), a Congregationalist minister from the Isle of Wight, and the Yorkshire philanthropist and congregationalist, George Bennet (1774-1841), who departed on May 5, 1821, on the whaler *Tuscan*. Their mission was '*both for the purpose of cheering the hearts and strengthening the hands of the Missionaries, and, as representatives of the Christian community at home, to witness and report what great things the lord had done for the heathen there.*'¹⁷ The sailed around the Horn and on to Tahiti, the Sandwich Islands, crossing the Eastern Pacific back and forth until in 1824, sailing from Rarotonga to New Holland, their Captain Dacre¹⁸ decided to put in to New Zealand because of adverse winds and the need for water, wood and hogs. They sighted the Three Kings on July 14 and put into Whangaroa harbour the next day.

The two-volume account edited by James Montgomery is far more valuable for its long account of the voyages and mission visits of the pair than the short interaction with the New Zealanders, recounted in Vol. 2.

Montgomery, J. (compiler) *Journal of the voyages and travels by the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet Esq., deputed from the London Missionary Society, to visit their various stations in the South Sea Islands, China, India, etc., between the years 1821 and 1829. 2 vols. London, Frederick Westley and A.H.Davis. MDCCCXXXI [1831]. Vol. I xxiv, 566 pp, frontis. portrait, 6 plates; Vol. II viii, 568 pp. frontispiece portrait, 6 plates. Bagnall 5667, Hocken 49.*

My copy is original full calf, gilt to spine and seems totally unread, bought in Wellington from a now defunct rare book shop; you can tell from the way the pages are tight, clean, and rather

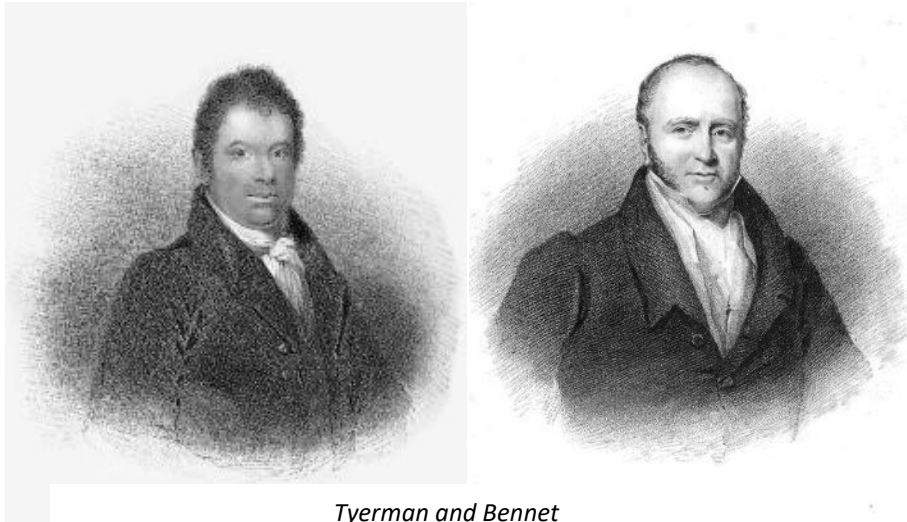
¹⁵ **Wilson, J.** A missionary voyage to the southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the ship *Duff*, commanded by Captain James Wilson. Compiled from journals of the officers and the missionaries; and illustrated with maps, charts and views, drawn by Mr. William Wilson, and engraved by most eminent artists. With a preliminary discourse on the geography and history of the south sea islands; and an appendix, including details never before published, of the natural and civil state of Otaheite; by a committee appointed for the purpose by the directors of the Missionary Society. London: T. Chapman. 1799.

¹⁶ **Lovatt** op cit. vol 1, p. 134.

¹⁷ **Montgomery, J.** (compiler) *Journal of the voyages and travels by the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet Esq., deputed from the London Missionary Society, to visit their various stations in the South Sea Islands, China, India, etc., between the years 1821 and 1829. 2 vols. London, Frederick Westley and A.H.Davis. MDCCCXXXI [1831]. p. vi.*

¹⁸ Ranulph Dacre (1797-1884) was a trader in the south seas, who's first visit to New Zealand was as part-owner of the schooner *Endeavour*, transporting Tyereman and Bennet from Tahiti to Sydney. He went on to become a familiar and respected figure in New Zealand and Australia, acquiring properties and establishing trading businesses in both places. He returned from Australia to live in Auckland from 1859 until about 1878, when he travelled to England, dying there in 1884.

severe. Tyerman comes across in his portrait as rather swarthy, but the fault, if there is one, is probably with the etcher.



Tyerman and Bennet

The account, short as it may be, was not without its excitement. At their first encounter with Māori at Whangaroa, they could hardly conceal their disgust; you can feel them recoiling from their appearance and manners. On the second day, they are surrounded by many canoes and Māori come on board and mayhem quickly develops. Things are stolen, a chief falls overboard, the warriors strip for action and Tyerman and Bennet and others are pretty much held captive on their own ship. Bennet appears to understand some of the language from his knowledge of the Tahitian tongue. There are two hours of altercations and threats and fear of life, and it is likely that the intemperate language of the account is more that of Montgomery than exactly that of Tyerman or Bennet, since extracts from their journals are not provided. The situation is saved by the ship's boat returning from visiting Wesleydale, with the Māori chief George and William White¹⁹, the Methodist missionary.²⁰ The next day they all visit the mission, where Nathaniel Turner and his wife, White, John Hobbs and others reside, and it seems there is relief in their leaving on July 18, having had enough time, presumably for Tyerman to make his odd sketch of the mission and surrounding, alp-like countryside.

It is noticeable that the language of those who stayed home and wrote about Māori and the encounters and observations took a harder line against the heathens than those in the field. Craik and Montgomery are noticeably harsh and extreme in their language, barely concealing their contempt for 'savages'. Those visiting or living there mostly had a far more temperate and often warm and intimate view.

The book is dense, comprehensive: *'The documents, official and private, from which these volumes have been composed, were of great bulk, and exceedingly multifarious.'*²¹

¹⁹ William White (1794-1875) was a Wesleyan missionary who was among those who established the Methodist mission at Wesleydale, now Kaeo, in 1823.

²⁰ An account of this incident is also given in the evidence presented to the House of Lords Select Committee on New Zealand in 1838 by the Rev J Beecham, *Report from the Select Committee* op.cit., pp. 288-289.

²¹ **Montgomery**, op. cit. p. vii.

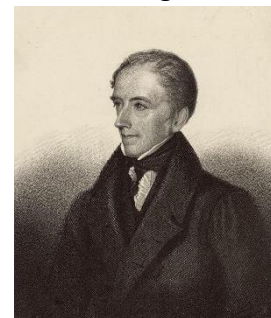
Both men kept journals, and while Montgomery goes to some length to tell us that he is faithful to their observations, there are limits: “*But it must be plainly stated that half of their [the South Sea islanders] abominations may not be told...*”²² There are 12 plates, including fine frontispiece portraits of Tyerman (vol. 1) and Bennet (vol. 2), and in vol 2, a plate of Wesleydale, New Zealand, drawn by John Dennis²³ from a sketch by Tyerman²⁴ and engraved by Fenner, Sears & Co. Rarely has a New Zealand scene been less well-represented, with what looks like firs or pines, rugged mountains not found in the north, and a Māori family speaking with two very upright, well-clothed, regency gentleman, added by John Dennis for the engraving in the book.



Wesleydale watercolour by Tyerman and redrawn and engraved for Montgomery, 1831.

From Sydney, in September 1824, the pair sailed on to Java, Singapore, Canton, and Calcutta. In 1827 they continued on from India (a major site of LMS activity) to Mauritius and Madagascar. Tyerman died there and Bennet returned to England, handing over artifacts to the Natural History Museum and the Saffron Waldon Museum (the Bennet Collection, donated in July 1835).

And a word about James Montgomery (1771-1854). He was a Scottish poet, hymn writer and editor who eventually settled in Sheffield in 1792 where he got to know Bennet, taking over the local newspaper which he renamed the *Sheffield Iris*. He had well established radical values twice being imprisoned for sedition for supporting revolutionary France, and continued a long career in writing poetry, mostly unremembered.



Montgomery’s narrative based on Tyerman’s and Bennet’s papers, for which he earned £200, met an unenthusiastic public who apparently had tired of the South Pacific after Ellis’s Polynesian researches, and there was the comment that a better book might have included extracts from the journals rather than the compilation that Montgomery produced²⁵. Montgomery also published some of Bennet’s letters from Tahiti in the *Sheffield Iris*.

²² **Montgomery**, op. cit. p. viii.

²³ John Dennis was an artist and etcher working in London in the 1820s, known mainly for views of European scenery.

²⁴ The original watercolour is in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, (reference [A-263-001](#)) and does not have the Māori and European figures in it.

²⁵ The Dublin University Magazine: A literary and philosophic review, Volume 48, 1856. p. 226. This is the second part of an extended biography of Montgomery started in vol 45, 1855.

One of the most interesting races of people which British enterprize has yet discovered in any quarter of the globe

James Busby, Authentic information relative to New South Wales, and New Zealand. 1832.

James Busby gets such a poor press. However, as distinct from Hobson, whose controversial time in authority was driven by things he did or didn't do within his powers and so induced intense antagonism, the view of Busby is more sympathetic, when it is obvious that he was powerless to do much at all. Busby (1802-1871) arrived in Australia with his parents in 1824 at the age of 22. He took up a grant of land in the Hunter Valley and established vine plantings, having previously studied viticulture in France²⁶. He published on viticulture, worked in the public service, and returned to England in 1831, spending some time studying vineyards and wine making in France and Spain. He must have had good connections in the Colonial Office since he ended up being appointed British Resident, based on his writings on emigration, land and law in the colonies, a surprisingly senior position for someone with no administrative experience. It was at this time that he published his collation of material on New South Wales and New Zealand.



Busby, J. Authentic information relative to New South Wales, and New Zealand. London, Joseph Cross, 1832. vi, [1], 72, xxviii pp. Frontis, folding map. Bagnall 811, Hocken 50-51.

The book²⁷, rarely seen, is a collection of documents. Busby entitles himself as 'Formerly collector of the internal revenue and member of the land board of New South Wales, now British Resident at New Zealand', which seems a bit of a career leap. It has a folding map of the world, with New Zealand appropriately at centre, though low down, and it is dedicated to Frederick Goulburn Esq²⁸, formerly Colonial Secretary of New South Wales. Goulburn was appointed Colonial Secretary in 1821 and returned to England in 1826 after a controversial term. He was unpopular, known for highhandedness and Busby would have known him only for a short time in Australia, and possibly furthered his acquaintance when both were back in England. By all accounts, such a dedication would have been a rarity in Goulburn's career.

In his introduction, Busby excuses himself from writing a proper book for the emigrant, due to a lack of leisure time. Instead, he presents a number of papers, some already published, which might be of interest to those contemplating emigration to Australia or New Zealand, very much oriented to land issues. One of them (p. 55) is 'A Brief memoir relative to the Islands of New Zealand'. This is largely concerned with flax, its use and trade, some observations on Māori, their stature, customs, and the need for their involvement if trade is to be successful. He ends by talking about missionaries and the

²⁶ **Orange, C.**, 'Busby, James', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1b54/busby-james> (accessed 10 October 2022)

²⁷ <http://www.enzb.auckland.ac.nz/document/?wid=3724&action=null>

²⁸ Vivienne Parsons, 'Goulburn, Frederick (1788–1837)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/goulburn-frederick-2110/text2661> published first in hardcopy 1966, accessed online 16 October 2022.

improvement of Māori, and, with some foresight, puts the case for a resident, all this without visiting the country. 'Under these circumstances, it appears to me, that if an authorized agent or resident were established by the British Government at the Bay of Islands, or at any other place which might appear more eligible, and invested with the authority of a magistrate over his own countrymen, he would be able to enter into a separate treaty with each chief, or a general treaty with the whole, having for its basis the reciprocal security of British subjects and the natives of New Zealand in their commercial intercourse. And the delivering up, by the latter, of all runaway convicts and persons not having authority from the British Government, to trade in the Islands.'²⁹

Busby arrived in the Bay of Islands in May 1833, followed the next year by his new wife Agnes, whom he had married in Australia, together eventually having six children. They settled in Waitangi. His role was to protect the settlers, prevent injustices to Māori, and apprehend escaped convicts, and famously was provided with nothing nor real authority to do any of these. In 1834 and 1835 he drew together chiefs in an attempt to establish collective authority, and established a flag that was recognised and the Declaration of Independence of New Zealand, which eventually led to the 1840 Treaty. He was there for the signing of the Treaty, supporting Hobson, but refused any further administrative position, deciding to develop land and business interests.

Busby published the first edition of his book on touring French and Spanish vineyards, in Sydney in 1833 (Bagnall 820), and then successively in 1834, 1839 and 1840, published further editions, which by 1840, included not only a guide to vine culture in New South Wales, but also one to olive growing, and finally with New Zealand in the title.

Busby, James. *Journal of a recent visit to the vineyards of Spain and France; forming a guide to the profitable culture of the vine in New South Wales; and to the manufacture of the various wines of Australia and New Zealand to rival those of France, Spain and Portugal; also direction for the successful culture of the olive..... Third edition.* London, Smith Elder and Co., 1840. xiv, 177 pp. adverts. Bagnall 823, Hocken 72.

Busby, the wine and vine enthusiast, reports that he distributed more than 20,000 vine cuttings amongst more than 50 individuals in New South Wales, and took back to England wine in bottles (spoiled) and casks (well received, with the suggestion that it would only keep if fortified with brandy, port wine being in the minds of the samplers)³⁰. The book is mostly concerned with his journal from his visit to France, Spain and Portugal, appendices on the shipping of vines to Australia, a catalogue of vine types, names, sources and descriptions, and the only mention of New Zealand is in the title, this being added only in the third edition of 1840 after he had been there.

Over the years, Busby published a proliferation of speeches and pamphlets, many following the same tracks of his fellow settlers in speaking out against new Government policy on land purchase and settlers' rights. While still Resident, Busby had bought land, and through the 1840s expanded his holdings, planned town centres and tried commercial sawmilling. He accumulated claims of some 140,000 acres, travelled back and forth to Sydney to pursue these, shipping cattle and men, but in all having little commercial

²⁹ **Busby, J.** Authentic information relative to New South Wales, and New Zealand. London, Joseph Cross, 1832. Pp. 68-70.

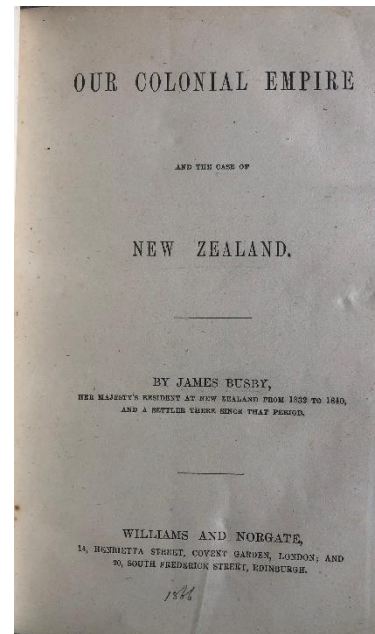
³⁰ **Busby, James.** *Journal of a recent visit to the vineyards of Spain and France; forming a guide to the profitable culture of the vine in New South Wales; and to the manufacture of the various wines of Australia and New Zealand to rival those of France, Spain and Portugal; also direction for the successful culture of the olive..... Third edition.* London, Smith Elder and Co., 1840. pp viii-ix.

success³¹. In 1844 he took kauri gum to America to sell, and travelled on to London, returning to New Zealand in 1846. Right through to 1868, he pursued, with some obsession, his land claims, which were finally settled, by which time he had spent so much on them that he gained little in return. He also took part in Auckland Provincial politics and newspaper editing. Amongst the publications, which contributed to his eventual image of a tiresome, querulous and obsessive old man, he put together a slightly more substantial work on colonialism and New Zealand, although by this time, no one was listening to him.

Busby, J. *Our colonial empire and the case of New Zealand.* Williams and Norgate [1866] xii, 194 pp. Bagnall 827, Hocken 242

Mine is a nice clean copy in early half calf marbled boards. There is a little bookseller exchange in it. On a blank preliminary leaf, a bookseller has written 'Not in Hocken, Chappell, nor Johnston'. Under which is written in a different hand 'Dick, it is Hocken, p 242.' Why didn't Dick and his colleague just talk to each other?

The book is in two parts, the first on 'Our Colonial Empire', which talks of colonial administrations and responsible Government, and the second, ominously, on 'The Land Question'. There are many extracts of letters and reports, with appendices of petitions and commissions. It is all rather dense, but, aside from the polemic on the land issues, provides a narrative of the issues and views of the settlers in the 1850s and 60s. He ends his preface with a call that is not special to New Zealand or the time, but with wider appeal: *'When agitation and corruption should cease to lead to office and to power over the public revenues, statesmanship, as our colonial demagogues are fond of calling their intrigues, would cease to be a speculation and a trade; the Colonies would cease to occasion either trouble or expense to the mother country; and the fruits of lawful and upright government in the colonies would as surely be peace and prosperity, as the fruits of illegal legislation and unfaithful administration have been insurrection and distress.'*³²



Ever on the move, Busby returned to England in 1871 for an eye operation, but died there in July of the same year. Such was the attachment of his wife Agnes to New Zealand that she returned to the Bay of Islands, surviving until 1889.

³¹ Orange, C., op. cit.

³² Busby, J., 1866, op cit. p xii.

Gratify a refined taste for the picturesque

Augustus Earle, A narrative of a nine month's residence in New Zealand. 1832.

Many travellers sketched and painted. They probably had plenty of time on their hands, and it almost seemed a requirement, like learning some local vocabulary, and writing a journal. But the first really accomplished artist to visit and record, apart from the great artists of Cook's voyages, Parkinson, Hodges and Webber, was Augustus Earle (1793-1838). He had an artist father³³ and was an uncommonly early developer, exhibiting at the Royal Academy between 1806 and 1814, mainly paintings of classical and historical subjects³⁴. He was a traveller by nature³⁵, visiting the Mediterranean in 1815, and America in 1818. This was the start of 10 years voyaging around the world, first to South America. In 1824 he left from Rio de Janeiro enroute for the Cape and India, when a storm forced his ship to anchor off Tristan da Cunha. He went ashore with his dog and another crew member, and the ship through some misunderstanding left without him. Earle stayed there for 8 months, and made 16 drawings. He was rescued by a ship enroute for Hobart, where he landed in 1825, and then spent 2 years in New South Wales, making a business largely in portraits and landscapes.³⁶

Earle sailed to New Zealand on the *Governor Macquarie* in October 1827, landing in the Hokianga and walking across the island to the Bay of Islands. He was only there for 6 months (not the 9 in the title), painting and drawing before departing in April 1828 on the same ship from the Hokianga, back to Sydney. To complete his life, Earle travelled on to India, then back to England, where in 1831 he joined the *Beagle* with Fitzroy and Darwin as artist, but had to leave the ship and return home from Montevideo through illness, arriving back some time in 1833. He exhibited again briefly at the Royal Academy, and Robert Burford used his drawings to construct his panorama of the Bay of Islands, one of a series of mechanically-driven panoramas that became famous and very popular in their time³⁷. Earle was only 45 when he died in London in 1838.

Earle, A. A. narrative of a nine months' residence in New Zealand, 1827; together with a journal of a residence in Tristan D'Acunha, an island situated between South America and The Cape of Good Hope. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green & Longman. 1832. x, 371 pp, frontispiece, 6 plates (2 folding). Bagnall 1757, Hocken 51.

³³ James Earl(e) (1761-1796) arrived in London in 1787, as a loyalist fleeing from the aftermath of the revolution. He also exhibited at the Royal Academy, but returned to America, dying of yellow fever at Charleston in 1796. (Stewart, R.G., *The American Art Journal*, vol. 20, 1988, pp. 34-58.)

³⁴ **Murray-Oliver, A.** 'Earle, Augustus', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1e1/earle-augustus> (accessed 31 May 2022)

³⁵ **Moon, P.**, op. cit. pp. 173-181.

³⁶ See <https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/essay/a-discussion-about-augustus-earle-and-some-of-his-portraits/> for an account of his art.

³⁷ **Burford, R.**, *Description of a view of the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, and the surrounding country: now exhibiting at the Panorama, Leicester Square. ...from drawings by Augustus Earle, Esq. G Nichols. London, [c.1838].* Burford's (1791-1861) panoramas were popular for many years. This original publication is still occasionally available.

My copy is in contemporary half calf and marbled boards and edges. The plates have foxing, which is usual in this work, though the text pages are very clean. Earle's humanity comes through, both in word and line.

The Introduction (by the 'Editor') ends with us being told that he had taken up the opportunity to sail as draughtsman on the *Beagle*, and he doesn't expect to be back for 4 years. The book was probably written between 1828 in Sydney and his return to London in 1830 and prepared for publication in the intervening year, coming out after he had sailed.

Earle's view of his work in his Introduction is a little unfair on himself. His view, increasingly over the 6 months, was not just for the picturesque. There are 6 plates plus the frontispiece of Aranghie, the Tattooer of New Zealand, with the thinking, observant face, distinctive of Earle portraiture. Earle is deeply appreciative of Aranghie's art: '*a highly-finished face of a chief from the hands of this artist is as greatly prized in New Zealand as a head from the hands of Sir Thomas Lawrence is amongst us*'³⁸. He appears in a further plate '*New Zealand Method of Tattooing*'. The other 4 plates, including 2 folding drawings, are of a storehouse, a war dance, war speech, and a Maori girl. The final plate is of Governor Glass and his residence at Tristan d'Acunha. All were engraved by the Scottish engraver J Stewart, working in London at the time.

One of the features of Earle's account (and there is no Table of Contents, the narrative being continuous through to the last separate section on Tristan d'Acunha), is his changing view of Māori. When leaving, he says: '*I had arrived with feelings of fear and disgust; and was merely induced to take up a temporary residence amongst the natives, in hope of finding something new for my pencil in their peculiar and picturesque style of life. I left them with opinions, in many respects, very favourable towards them.*'³⁹ Over the 6 months, he

observed the customs and behaviours, the death of Hongi, and the intrusion of missionaries into Māori community, the latter not very favourably. It is a valuable account for its independent view, without the christianising perspective of most of the other European visitors and residents (a view Bagnall calls extreme⁴⁰). He can't, however, remove himself from the climate of judgement: '*In my opinion, their sprightly, free, and independent deportment,*



Aranghie, The Tattooer of New Zealand. Earle, 1832, frontis.



New Zealand method of tattooing. Earle, 1832, p. 136.

³⁸ Earle, A. A., narrative of a nine months' residence in New Zealand, 1827; together with a journal of a residence in Tristan D'Acunha, an island situated between South America and The Cape of Good Hope. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, brown, Green & Longman. 1832. pp. 137-138.

³⁹ Ibid. p.271

⁴⁰ Bagnall, A.G., The New Zealand National Bibliography to the year 1960. Vol 1: to 1889. Government Printer, Wellington, 1980. p. 323.

together with their kindness and attention to strangers, compensate for many defects.'⁶⁰ Although he writes with a 'a magisterial eye' and 'relatively open-minded'⁴¹, he does move between the ever-present observer of savages and their customs, to a warm, empathetic relationship with Māori, helped by the absence of mission, trading or administrative objectives in his independence.

The book was reviewed widely and generally well. The heart sinks as you read the opening lines in the Edinburgh Review: '*The New Zealanders, since the Five Nations of Canada have disappeared, are decidedly the most interesting savages on the globe.*'⁴² The reviewer seems intrigued by Earle as well: '*Mr Earle himself, is perhaps as extraordinary a phenomenon as any which he describes.*'⁶² As often in these reviews, there is a lot of concentration on the more sensational observations on cannibalism, slavery and warfare. There is also a long discussion on the question of colonisation. Earle is quoted: '*if it were the object of our government to form a new colony, they could not select a more desirable spot than New Zealand,*' and the reviewer suggests that Earle's own observations of the culture and war-like nature of Māori mitigates against this. In either case, discussion was irrelevant; settlement was going ahead and the only eventual question was how to manage the horse once it had bolted. The Quarterly Review follows a similar line: '*This is a spirited performance, and contains many details about New Zealand, which, we feel strongly persuaded, are as authentic as they must be allowed to be amusing*', but does hesitate to give a full account (which they give anyway) because of '*the sweeping sarcasms on the English missionaries settled in this remote region...*'.⁴³

Earle's last published work was a series of 10 hand-coloured lithographs, rarely seen these days but well represented in institutions.

Earle, A., *Sketches illustrative of the native inhabitants and islands of New Zealand, from original drawings by Augustus Earle. London, lithographed and published under the auspices of the New Zealand Association by Robert Martin, [1838]. [1] letterpress, 10 plates. Bagnall 1758, Hocken 66.*

The 10 lithographs are dominated by Earle's sympathetic view and feeling for the people, even where there are village, landscape or cultural scenes, such as the wounded Chief Hongi and his family, or slaves preparing food.⁴⁴ However, Bagnall (1758) seems to see them differently: '*...many groups have a tonal shadow – more than a hint of menace – to which, again, contrast is provided by a satiric or comic expression or pose.*'

⁴¹ Wevers, L., op. cit. pp. 79-86.

⁴² The Edinburgh Review, Vol LVI, July 1832 - January 1833, pp. 333-349.

⁴³ Quarterly Review, vol XLVIII, October & December 1832, London, John Murray, 1832. pp.132-165.

⁴⁴ Ellis, E.M. & D.G., op. cit. pp. 78-79.

Advancing claims of no ordinary character

B.A. Morrell, *A narrative of four voyages to the South Sea*. 1832.

You could write an adventure novel about Morrell and his wife, but it appears Morrell might have already done that. Benjamin Morrell (1795-c.1838), and his wife Abby (b.1809), are interesting, less because of their New Zealand interactions, than because Morrell was an example, along with people such as Peter Dillon, of the traders who sailed the Pacific north to south, east to west, looking for deals, goods and access, backers and suppliers, and making some European discoveries, recording useful information, and in this case causing confusion because we are not too sure how much is true. The years ahead saw many such sailor traders, linking Australia, New Zealand, Chile, China, the Pacific Islands, Java, India and the US and Canadian west coasts, although they didn't all employ ghost writers and turn the lives into an adventure story.

Morrell recounts four voyages: to the South Pacific and Antarctic seas 1822-1824; the Pacific and American west coast 1824-1826; the West Coast of Africa 1828-1829; and again to the Pacific, the sub-Antarctic islands (Auckland Islands) and the Philippines in 1829-1831. His final voyage was in 1834, to the Pacific and Australia, north to Canton, and he was wrecked off the coast of Madagascar. Morrell survived, and according to accusations, taking much of the cargo with him. He eventually turned up in South Africa and then London, in the meantime being accused of piracy and theft by the ship's insurers and American authorities. He tried unsuccessfully to get work with Charles Enderby (of the Auckland Islands settlement dream), and eventually disappeared in Mozambique, some saying he died and others that he staged his death. It was a life of fraud, adventure, dubious business dealings, but not everyone condemned him fully; much of what he records was true, but we will never know just how much.



Morrell's book was ghost-written by the American poet and playwright, Samuel Woodworth.⁴⁵ It was some success, and Woodworth wrote *The Cannibals; or Massacre Islands* in 1833, based on it, and it too was popular.⁴⁶ It also crept into Edgar Allan Poe's only novel, the *Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket*, published 1838. This was criticised for its use, often of direct extracts, of earlier and contemporary travel accounts, such as those of Cook, the South Seas explorer Jeremiah Reynolds, and Morrell.⁴⁷

Morrell, B. *A narrative of four voyages to the South Sea, North and South Pacific Ocean, Chinese Sea, Ethiopic and Southern Atlantic Ocean, Indian and Antarctic Ocean. From the year 1822 to 1831. Comprising critical surveys of coasts and islands, with sailing directions, and an account of some new and valuable discoveries, including the Massacre Islands, where thirteen of the author's crew were massacred and eaten by cannibals. To which is prefixed a brief account of the author's early life.* New York: J & J Harper. 1832. xxvii, 30-492 pp, [4] adverts. Frontispiece portrait. Bagnall 3631, Hocken 52.

⁴⁵ Fairhead, J., *The Captain and the "Cannibal"*. An epic story of exploitation, kidnapping and the Broadway stage. Yale University Press, New Haven, 2015. This provides an extensive account of the relationship between Morrell and Woodworth, Morrell's life adventures, and the writing of the book.

⁴⁶ Coad, O.S., *The Plays of Samuel Woodworth*. The Sewanee Review, Vol. 27, No. 2, 1919, pp. 163-175.

⁴⁷ Peebles, S., *Edgar Allan Poe Revisited*. New York, Twayne Publishers, 1998.

Early books published in America seem to fox worse than others, and it must be something to do with the paper used. My copy of this book is no exception; it is in the original green cloth, rebaked, with the original spine laid down and a paper label, and is very foxed. So are other copies available, and Abby Morell's work. Both frontispiece portraits are by the same artist 'Sloan'.

And what of New Zealand? On January 7, 1830, sailing north from the Auckland Islands and The Snares, he reaches Stewart Island and the next day, Molyneux Harbour, named by Cook, on the southern Otago coast. He takes a break from his diary to give an account of New Zealand and its inhabitants, visiting a village at the head of the harbour 'containing twenty-eight huts, of miserable accommodations.'⁴⁸ Much of his description of the country and inhabitants is likely to have come from other accounts. He sailed north on the 10th, is at East Cape on the 17th, and reaches the Bay of Islands on the 20th. He credits the missionaries here with civilizing the savages: 'Indolence and filthiness have given place to industry and personal cleanliness...', and beseeches the brethren to 'Go on, ye messengers of Divine Mercy; pursue the good work, until all the isles of the ocean shall rejoice.'⁴⁹ On the 23rd, he and his wife Abby meet the Rev. Williams on the beach, they visit the mission establishment, and on leaving, he records that the natives called out: 'Farewell! good Americans! Gentleman and lady, God bless you!'⁵⁰. With these words in the air, they departed on the 25th, heading for Manila, and more adventure.

Abby Jane Morrell accompanied Benjamin on this last voyage, becoming the first woman (European) to have visited the sub-Antarctic islands, and she also published an account, and again, with a ghost writer, one Samuel Knapp⁵¹.



Morrell, Abby Jane. *Narrative of a voyage to the Ethiopic and South Atlantic Ocean, Indian Ocea, Chinese Sea, north and south Pacific Ocean, in the years 1829, 1830, 1831.* New York., Harper, 1833. xi, [13], 230 pp. Frontis. portrait. Bagnall 3630.

Abby and her husband eventually arrived back in New York in 1831, where she gave birth to their second son, nine days later.⁵²

⁴⁸ **Morrell, B. A** narrative of four voyages to the South Sea, North and South Pacific Ocean, Chinese Sea, Ethiopic and Southern Atlantic Ocean, Indian and Antarctic Ocean. From the year 1822 to 1831. Comprising critical surveys of coasts and islands, with sailing directions, and an account of some new and valuable discoveries, including the Massacre Islands, where thirteen of the author's crew were massacred and eaten by cannibals. To which is prefixed a brief account of the author's early life. New York: J & J Harper. 1832. p. 366.

⁴⁹ Ibid p. 371.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p.373.

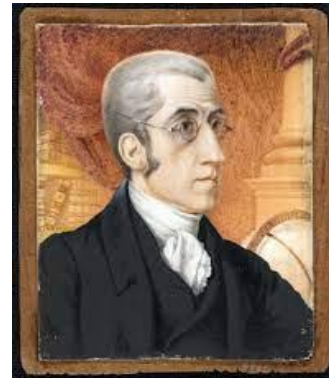
⁵¹ Samuel Knapp was a prominent Boston and New York lawyer and writer, publishing travel and biographical works. How he came to help write this work is unclear, but likely at the invitation of the publisher Harper, who published Benjamin Morrell's account as well.

⁵² **Handel, R.**, *New Zealand through the eyes of American Women.* Frankfurt, Peter lang, 2009.

To fix in the mind of every Christian reader a deeper interest in the sacred cause of the Missions.

William Yate, An account of New Zealand. 1835.

Yate was a bit of a problem. An unsuccessful printer, taking leave without permission, offending his colleagues by perceptively promoting himself in his published book, accused of homosexuality, dismissed by the Christian Missionary Society (CMS); but with all that, his intentions and enthusiasm for the missions were never in doubt. William Yate (1802-1877) sailed for New Zealand in 1827, and after staying for a brief time with Marsden at Paramatta, arrived on the *Herald* in the Bay of Islands in January 1828. Two years later he returned to Sydney to print missionary texts prepared by William Williams and William Puckey, these including biblical extracts, catechisms, the ten commandments and hymns.⁵³ The 500 copies of this 117 page publication⁵⁴ were seen through the press by Yates during his 6 month stay. He returned to the Bay of Islands with a small press and a fifteen-year-old James Smith who had some rudimentary printing experience⁵⁵, and there printed a couple of leaflets of hymns, and a small catechism which can claim to be the first book printed in New Zealand, despite Colenso's later claim. This catechism has 6 pages, was printed in August 1830, and only two copies are known, in the Alexander Turnbull and Auckland City libraries.⁵⁶ It is generally considered that he did an awful job of the printing, neither he nor Smith having much skill, and even his Sydney publications have suffered from similar criticism. Of the catechism: '*The reason Yate printed no more in New Zealand is at once evident on seeing the book – it is a terrible job.*'⁵⁷ That's all a bit unfair, given the circumstances.



After some seven years, including heading the Waimate mission, Yate returned to England, without permission, ostensibly to bring back his sister Sarah, and more missionaries against the wishes of the CMS. On the voyage back to England, as with so many others, he wrote his account, the first written on the missions, and it was published in 1835, going through two editions in that same year.

Yate, W. *An account of New Zealand; and of the formation and progress of the Church Missionary Society's mission in the Northern Island.* London: Seeley and Burnside. MDCCCXXXV (1835). [9], 310, [10 index] pp. frontis. portrait, 9 plates, folding map. Bagnall 6205, Hocken 58.

⁵³ Binney, J., 'Yate, William', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1y1/yate-william> (accessed 5 June 2022)

⁵⁴ See Hocken 500, Bagnall 448, and BIM 6.

⁵⁵ Anderson, J. Early printing in New Zealand. In: McKay, R.A. (ed), A History of printing in New Zealand, McKay, Wellington, 1940. pp. 2.

⁵⁶ See Bagnall 1180, BIM 7, and the note in Hocken 500.

⁵⁷ Anderson, J. The lure of book collecting. Whitcomb and Tombs, Auckland, 1936. p.12.

My copy is in contemporary half calf, the originals were issued in green or purple cloth. It's clean inside, neat, and unusually has an index. The name plate of Octavius Browne⁸³ is on the inside front cover.

The copy above is the rare first edition. There are differences between the two editions, such as the map being of New Zealand in the first and only the North Island in the second, and some pagination errors.⁵⁸ The frontispiece portrait is of Samuel Marsden, taken from an oil painting made by the convict Joseph Backler, in Sydney sometime between 1832 and 1838.⁵⁹ The engraving is by Richard Woodman (1784-1859), a London engraver who frequently carried out book illustrations.⁶⁰ There is a colour plate of signal flags, with description of their use for pilots on entering the Hokianga harbour, including the New Zealand standard (flag) of the time⁶¹, and you do wonder why it was included. Other plates include that of a Chief weeping over the preserved head of his friend, engraved by Samuel Williams from an original drawing by Henry Williams; another Samuel Williams engraving, fanciful, of a stage erected for a New Zealand feast, the same structure in the distance in an engraving of the Kerikeri settlement by an unknown artist; similarly with a plate of the mission boat accompanying war canoes; a south west view of the Waimate engraved by Samuel Williams (mistakenly paginated in the table of contents); a native village and chapel by the engraver John Orrin Smith, a pupil of Samuel Williams; and the Missionary House, Waimate, engraved by Samuel Williams from a watercolour by Thomas Gardiner, showing the flag flying, inscribed with 'Rongopai'.⁶²



A stage erected for a New Zealand feast. Yate, 1835, p. 139.

The first 164 pages are on the geography and cultural history of New Zealand, and Maori customs. He then covers the origins of the missions, from Rangihoua, Paihia, and on through to Kaitaia and Puriri. There is a chapter on religion and its uptake and effects on Maori, full of success and hope. He ends, strangely, with an appendix of seashells that he collected and gave to the British museum, accepted gratefully and catalogued by John Edward Gray⁶³.

In this copy, there is the book plate of Octavius Browne on the inside front cover. This is a nice side-issue. Octavius Browne (1809-1876) arrived in New Zealand in 1839 and was present at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. He returned to Australia, and after some time, being disheartened by attempts at settling, returned to England. He married, and then in 1847 sailed back to Australia settling in Melbourne. He is recorded as farming

⁵⁸ Ibid. p.11.

⁵⁹ Parsonson, G. S., 'Marsden, Samuel', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990, updated May, 2013. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m16/marsden-samuel> Accessed 5 June 2022.

⁶⁰ Woodman, Richard (1784-1859). Dictionary of National Biography. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1885-1900.

⁶¹ Yate, W., An account of New Zealand; and of the formation and progress of the Church Missionary Society's mission in the Northern Island. London: Seeley and Burnside. MDCCCXXXV. pp. 22-23.

⁶² Orange, C., 'Northland places - Kaikohe and district', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/artwork/7837/te-waimate-mission-house> (accessed 5 June 2022).

⁶³ Gray (1800-1875) was an eminent zoologist, keeper of zoology at the British Museum from 1840 to 1874, and, as was common in those days, an expert in a wide range of zoological families, particularly insects and mollusca.

and living in St Kilda in the 1850s. He quickly made a success at business, then returned finally, with his family, to England in 1854, dying there in 1876. His life, assembled from letters, has been published on line⁶⁴. There is a splendid watercolour of Browne by Georgiana Huntly McCrae, painted in Melbourne in the 1840s, after his return from New Zealand. This is the Georgiana McCrae who was sister-in-law of Alexander McCrae of the *Dromedary* (q.v.), and who also painted McCrae's portrait.

Yate's is the first book written by a resident, and the first to give a comprehensive account of the mission, and in this way, is a foundational book for many of the accounts that follow. The work was criticised by William Wade (q.v.), a lay missionary who arrived in the Bay of Islands with Colenso in 1834. Wade apparently sent an unpublished review to the CMS in 1837, mocking Yate's rather proscribed travels and his ignorance and exaggeration.⁶⁵

According to the CMS records⁶⁶, the title was originally '*Researches in New Zealand*', and a copy was given to the King, and the CMS liked it. You can't help feeling a little kindly towards this troubled man.

In England he was a success, meeting William IV, getting his portrait painted by society artist C.J.M. Wichelo⁶⁷, and touring for the CMS. He sailed to return to New Zealand with his sister in 1836 but there were accusations of homosexuality on the voyage, and later similarly from affidavits from Māori youths in the Bay of Islands. He had few supporters in Australia or New Zealand; for example, John Dunmore Lang (q.v.) in the first of his letters to Lord Durham of 1839 strongly supports the charges against him and declares: '*I am decidedly of the opinion, that the Committee of the Church Missionary Society were perfectly in the right in getting rid of him at once and forever, and in refusing all further investigations into his vile life.*'⁶⁸ Yate returned to England to clear himself in 1836, was dismissed from the CMS in 1837, but he had some supporters in England, and spent the last years of his life in a chaplaincy in Dover.



Octavius Browne, painted by Georgiana McCrae in Australia in the 1840s. National Gallery of Victoria.

⁶⁴ <https://www.mahurangi.org.nz/2020/03/03/octavius-browne/>.

⁶⁵ Wevers, L. op. cit. p. 101.

⁶⁶ Ibid. pp. 103-4.

⁶⁷ This miniature on ivory is now in the Kivell collection of the National Library of Australia: https://www.nla.gov.au/sites/default/files/portraits_of_the_famous_infamous_exhibition_catalogue_180915_for_web.pdf (accessed 6 June, 2022)

⁶⁸ Lang, J.D., New Zealand in 1839. op cit. p. 31.

The very contrary emotions of delight and disgust

William Marshall, A personal narrative of two visits to New Zealand. 1836.

William Marshall was perhaps not unusual in the ambiguity of his emotions, but he was one of the first to portray his anxieties over the Christian mission, the necessity of the military and the injustices experienced by Māori.⁶⁹ Marshall (?-1841) first served as surgeon on the convict ship *Fanny* in 1833, then on the *Alligator* in 1834, which visited New Zealand twice in that year. The *Alligator* was launched in Cochin, India, in 1821, and its surgeon was able to witness the raising of the New Zealand standard, and rescuing the crew and passengers of the *Harriet*, which had been wrecked off the coast of Taranaki and involved an altercation with the Ngāti Ruanui. Little is known about his life, but we must presume he returned to England around 1836 when his book was published, and he gives a Chelsea address, in the note quoted below, which presumably would have been current over the years between his return and his fatal departure for Niger.

Marshall, W.B. *A personal narrative of two visits to New Zealand in His Majesty's ship Alligator, A.D. 1834. London: James Nisbet and Co, Berners Street MDCCCXXXVI [1836]. xvi, 351, [4] errata, adverts. Frontispiece. Bagnall 3386, Hocken p59*

My copy is worn and internally heavily foxed in places, in the original green cloth boards, with more recent endpapers. There is water staining, but the book is very hard to come by, so you take what comes.



A native village and chapel. Marshall, 1834, frontis. In Yate it is labelled North-east view of the Waimate.

⁶⁹ Wevers, L., op.cit. pp. 104-108; Moon, P., op. cit. pp. 42-50.

The frontispiece plate is the same one found in Yate, of a native village and chapel by the engraver John Orrin Smith. There seems to be some binding variants in the edition. Mine has the engraving frontispiece, as called for by Hocken and Bagnall, but not the note about the proceeds from the book, which they don't mention. Some copies have this note on the verso of the title page:

The profits (if any) arising from the sale of this volume, will be handed over to the Church Missionary Society for the immediate extension of their mission in New Zealand to the three tribes at Cape Egmont, who were sufferers by the military proceedings detailed in the second part of the narrative.

Should the perusal of the work interest the friends of missions generally, in sending a message of peace to a people who have suffered so much by the desolations of war, they are informed that subscriptions "for the Cape Egmont Mission" will be received at the Church Mission House, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street; by Messrs. Nisbet and co., Berners Street; and by the author, 9 Beaufort Row, Chelsea.

This note exemplifies the growing perspective of Marshall in his narrative, of increasing concern over the mistreatment of Māori, particularly after the *Harriet* incident, and his deepening identification with the missions. This is laid out in a very unusual preface where he enumerates 5 specific objectives in presenting the work to the public. These are concerned with the need to bear testimony to the power of the gospel, and more importantly, a call for military and government restraint, and justice for Māori who had suffered, particularly in the response to the *Harriet* incident, and a call for restitution and compensation. It's hard to see Marshall being viewed with much sympathy by the authorities.

So, what was the *Harriet* incident? Briefly, on the 29th April, 1834, the *Harriet*, enroute to Sydney was wrecked off Cape Egmont (Taranaki)⁷⁰. All crew and passengers got to shore. They encountered local Māori, and there were a number of altercations with fighting and some killed on either side. Eventually the party was detained at Moturoa, and one of the members, John Guard, head of a whaling gang, negotiated to leave and come back with gunpowder and arms as payment for release of the hostages. Guard proceeded with this intent, and reached Nelson. However, the plan went awry and the authorities, calling the shots from Sydney, sent the *Alligator* with a military force to recover the hostages. The upshot was a series of operations that resulted in a brutal bombardment and assault on Māori, constituting the first time that Māori were engaged with British troops. The excessive force and resulting deaths, the breaking of promises, were such that when reports reached London there was an outcry, and a House of Commons committee set up to look at means of protecting natives. Marshall was on the *Alligator* all through this, and gives his own horrified account.

Marshall's general narrative includes the now expected commentary on cannibalism, slavery, and benefits of conversion. The occasion of the first flag is also described⁷¹, including Marshall's concerns over the lack of free debate, where three designs were brought over on the *Alligator*, and the chiefs were asked by James Busby to choose one. Although not unanimous, since some chiefs were apprehensive as to what this might mean,

⁷⁰ **McNab, R.**, *The old whaling days: a history of Southern New Zealand from 1830 to 1840*. Whitcomb and toombs, Wellington, 1913. pp. 113-132.

⁷¹ **Marshall, W.B.** *A personal narrative of two visits to New Zealand in His Majesty's ship Alligator, A.D. 1834*. London: James Nisbet and Co, Berners Street MDCCCXXXVI [1836]. pp. 108-109.

the United Tribes Ensign was chosen and flown from the *Alligator's* mast, and later illustrated in the plate in Yate's book. He includes appendices of letters from Busby and Lord Goderich, a Secretary of State, replying to a letter forwarded by Yate to the king from the Māori Chiefs, both letters in English and te reo Māori, and other documents pertaining to the *Harriet* incident, and a hymn translated by Yate. He was friends with Yate, travelling in Northland with him. Along with the usual publisher's adverts there are three for books by Marshall himself. There is an *Essay on Medical Education*, which he published in 1827, and advance notices on one on Norfolk Island and another on prisons and prisoners in Australia, neither of which appear to have been published. He did publish a book of poetry⁷², with a very long, literary preface, a long poem and a number of sonnets and shorter works, in 1823, informed by his years of medical training and 'drudgery'. It gets a short review in the *Monthly Review*: '*...He has evidently formed himself on the model of the late, unhappy poet Keats, whom he resembles not in his genius and powers, so much as in other more unfortunate points of resemblance. Like him, belonging to the medical profession, and destitute of resources, he appears to have imbibed a passion for polite literature and poetry, without the common means and conveniences of indulging it.*'⁷³

Also on board the *Alligator*, was a Baron Hügel. He was an Austrian diplomat, botanist and explorer who visited Australia in 1833-4, embarking on the *Alligator* in Madras in 1833 and sailing again with it in 1834 via New Zealand, until 1835 when it reached Canton⁷⁴. Marshall's missionary urges played out in the final year of his life. He died in 1841 during the missionary-based Niger expedition sent by the British Government, in which he was assistant surgeon, one of 42 Europeans who died out of the 150 on the expedition.⁷⁵

There is more to Marshall's book than might first appear. It seems to embody all the contradictions and ambiguities, the disgust and compassion, the outrage and cool observation, that so many early visitors experienced, but all tempered by the Christian mission of salvation.

⁷² **Marshall, W. B.**, *Tears for Pity*. London, T. Cadell, 1823.

⁷³ *The Monthly Review, or Literary Journal Enlarged: from May to August inclusive*, M,DCCC, XXIV. Volume CIV, London, M,DCCC,XXIV. pp. 434-435.

⁷⁴ **von Hügel, A.**, *Charles von Hügel April 25, 1795-June 2, 1870*. Cambridge, Privately printed, 1905.

⁷⁵ **Allen, W.; Thomson, T.R.H.**, *A narrative of the expedition sent by Her Majesty's Government to the River Niger in 1841*. Richard Bentley, London, 1848. Vol 2. pp. 22-23.

From the want of commerce, the territory is perfectly useless

Joel Polack, New Zealand: being a narrative of travels and adventures. 1838

Joel Polack, Manners and customs of the New Zealanders. 1840

Every mention of Polack somehow manages to relate how he was one of the first Jews to visit and settle in the country. Even now there is still the feel of that 19th century bias, of an outsider, an otherness. This antisemitism was explicit at the time, in the reception of Polack's books, and in the commentaries on him by the likes of Colenso and Cunningham.⁷⁶ Joel Polack (1807-1882) sailed to New Zealand from Australia in 1831, settling initially in the Hokianga and the following year establishing himself in Kororareka where he built a general store.

Notable as a trader, he became even more so by building the country's first brewery in 1835. He wasn't the first to brew beer; Cook brewed a largely unpalatable beer from spruce leaves in Dusky Sound, as a precaution against scurvy,⁷⁷ a process repeated more successfully (by adding tea tree leaves) by Edward Shortland about 60 years later⁷⁸. We know nothing about the qualities of Polack's brew.

Polack had little luck with his store, it being destroyed in 1838 while he was a visit to England, it having been used to store explosives, apparently, against his sensible wishes. It was rebuilt after he returned in 1842, then destroyed again in 1845, at the start of Hone Heke's resistance in the 'Flagstaff War'. It was during his stay in England that he published both of his books.



Kororareka, Bay of Islands, New Zealand. Polack 1838, Vol. 1, frontis. Polack's house was among those along the waterfront.

Polack, J.S. *New Zealand: being a narrative of travels and adventures during a residence in that country between the years 1831 and 1837. In two volumes.* London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, Publisher in ordinary to Her Majesty. M.DCCC.XXXVIII. (1838). vol 1: xii, 403 pp, folding map, 3 plates (frontispiece); vol 2: vi, 441 pp, errata, 3 plates (frontispiece). Bagnall 4589, Hocken 68.

Polack, J.S. *Manners and customs of the New Zealanders; with notes corroborative of their habits, usages, etc., and remarks to intending emigrants, with numerous cuts drawn on wood.* 2 vols. James Madden & Co., 8, Leadenhall Street, and Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly. MDCCCXXXIX. (1840). vol 1: xxxiv, 288 pp, folding map, 47 illustrations; vol 2: xvii, 304 pp, 24 illustrations. Bagnall 4588, Hocken 85.

⁷⁶ Wevers, L., op. cit. p. 123.

⁷⁷ Cook used leaves of three Podocarp species, Kahikatea, Rimu and Matai.

⁷⁸ Shortland, E., *The Southern districts of New Zealand: a journal with passing notices of the customs of the aborigines.* Longman, London, 1851. pp. 298-299.

My first copy of *Manners and Customs* was bought from a bookshop in Perth, Australia, in the 1980s. where my flight to London had landed with some aircraft fault. The lay-over was used appropriately and the 2 vols, bound in modern blue cloth but very good internally, travelled to London and back. The second near fine copy with the exceptional decorated spine was bought from AD in 2022. *New Zealand*, in contemporary half calf and marbled boards, was bought from a bookshop in Palmerston North, presumably now well defunct, in 1989.

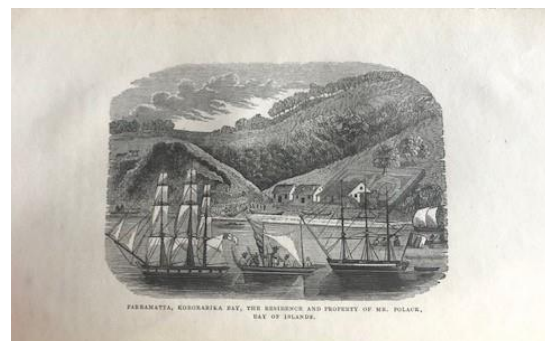


The North Cape, New Zealand, and sperm whale fishery. Polack, 1838, Vol. 2, frontis

New Zealand has 6 plates and a fold-out map. The engravings are all from sketches by Polack, engraved by W Read, who was working in London in the 1820s and 30s. The map is an amalgam of Cook, D'Urville, Duperry, and Herd⁷⁹, with additions by Polack, and we can only guess what these are. It includes insets of The Bay of Islands, Bream Head and Tokomaru Bay, and Polack, in a moment of English patriotism (from an American) has renamed the South Island, here labelled as Island of Victoria.⁸⁰

Manner and Customs has numerous wood cuts and 3 plates, two of Māori portraits (Tangiery and Haupatu) by an unknown artist, though the latter has 'Laing' on it, and the other of Paramatta, Kororarika Bay, showing Polack's property, and possibly from a drawing by Polack. The book also includes the same map as *New Zealand*.

The books, published after his return to England in 1837, give evidence of Polack's promotion of colonisation. They give a good European description and interpretation of New Zealand and Māori, the early explorers, settlers and colonisation, geography and natural history, and, in the second two volumes,



Paramatta, Kororarika Bay, the residence and property of Mr Polack, Bay of Islands. Polack, 1840, Vol. 2, p. 1.

⁷⁹ Captain James Herd charted several harbours in New Zealand waters in the 1820s.

⁸⁰ **Polack, J.S.** *New Zealand: being a narrative of travels and adventures during a residence in that country between the years 1831 and 1837. In two volumes.* London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, Publisher in ordinary to Her Majesty. M.DCCC.XXXVIII. (1838). Vol 1, p. 276.

the most extensive description of Māori customs and manners, as the title says. He is inclined to be wordy and a little pompous, but he also spoke te reo, and for the lack of European friends and colleagues, his relations with Māori were often close and informative. There is also the first published account of fossils of a '*species of emu*' (moa).

We don't have any good images of Polack, but there is the whimsical drawing by John Williams of around 1845 showing 'a European male, thought to be the Jewish trader Joel Polack, facing three Maori. One has a basket of potatoes at his feet, the second has potatoes on his back, and the third is holding a pig.'⁸¹

While in England, Polack also gave evidence, along with John Nicholas, Robert Fitzroy, Octavius Browne, Charles Enderby and others, at the 1838 House of Lords Select Committee of Enquiry into the state of things in New Zealand, and he argued for systematic, structured colonisation.^{82,83} He comes across as a little spikey, the hard-nosed, observant and largely objective trader and business man. He was no stranger to conflict. Amongst the duels recorded in New Zealand, Polack took part in two, both with the Kororareka innkeeper Ben Turner⁸⁴. In the first in 1837, Turner was wounded, and in the second in 1842, both received wounds, in the elbow (Polack) and cheek (Turner), presumably enough to satisfy all parties.⁸⁵



Drawing by John Williams, c. 1845, showing a trader, likely to be Joel Polack, with Māori. Williams, born in Paihia in 1827, was the son of the missionary Henry Williams, and married James Busby's daughter Sarah.

Polack was no particular friend of the missionaries, though generally sympathetic to the Wesleyans on the Hokianga, and answering the insistent questions from the Select Committee on land purchase, the power of authority of both Māori and the Europeans, suitability of the country for agriculture and trade, cannibalism, and missionary efforts, the need for a colonising authority:

"Do you think any attempt to unite different Tribes in one, and to put a stop to their wars, would meet with success?

That never can be done. Oil and water will not amalgamate.

.....

You say that the Church Missionary Society wish to keep the Land to themselves?

No; they wish to keep others from the Land.

⁸¹ <https://natlib.govt.nz/records/23125102>

⁸² **Chisholm, Jocelyn.** 'Polack, Joel Samuel', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990, updated March, 2006. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1p18/polack-joel-samuel> (accessed 11 June 2022)

⁸³ Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords. op. cit.

⁸⁴ Ben Turner (1796-1876) was a discharged convict from Australia who opened the first grogshop in Kororareka in 1830.

⁸⁵ 'DUELS', from An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, edited by A. H. McLintock, originally published in 1966. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/duels> (accessed 02 Aug 2022)

.....

Why do you conceive that Colonization would be beneficial to the natives? Do you mean by having Commercial Factories in different parts of the island, or taking the territorial possession of it?

From the want of commerce, the Territory is perfectly useless."

.....

Were you a retail trader?

Retail and wholesale.

Did you keep what is called a Grog Shop?

No, decidedly not. I sold, as every person in the Bay of Islands did, ardent spirits⁸⁶. I have sold them in Sydney, without seeing anything of the kind; by giving Certificates. In such a place as New Zealand we cannot do that, but I have sold them wholesale; decidedly not retail.¹¹¹

Deeper in the transcripts of evidence given to the Select Committee, Polack appears again, and the sharp, American trader, and his brother, seems to be persons of some dubious reputation in Sydney. The Select Committee questions a Dr J D Tawell, a surgeon from Australia who called in on New Zealand on the way back to England:

"Did you know Mr. P---- there?

I did not know him there.

Did you know him anywhere?

Yes, very well.

Where did you know him?

In New South Wales.

Should you think that he ought to be designated as a respectable man?

I am in possession of one or two facts of my own knowledge which would make me disbelieve him on his oath under any Circumstances.

Are you aware that the Mr. P---- of whom you speak has been examined before the Committee?

I have understood so; his initials are J. S. P. I know his brother⁸⁷.⁸⁸

He is not liked by Busby and others in the Bay of Islands either, and Polack makes known his disagreement with Busby over his policies of administration and prospective colonisation⁸⁹. And there he is again (and that grog shop), the subject of disapproval (well partly) in a letter from John Dunmore Lang to Lord Durham, Governor of the NZ Company:

*"Mr P*****, the author of a recent publication on New Zealand, and the brother of a recent emancipist auctioneer in the town of Sydney, endeavoured some time ago to set up an additional grog-shop in the village of Kororadika; but the publicans who had already obtained a monopoly of*

⁸⁶ Ardent spirits are distilled or double distilled spirits such brandy, whiskey or gin. It is a term with origins in alchemy.

⁸⁷ Abraham Polack (1797-1873) was transported to Australia in 1820 for stealing a watch, establishing a number of businesses in Sydney.

⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 111

⁸⁹ Wevers, L., op. cit. pp. 123-126.

the business, conceiving he would injure their trade, actually threatened to hang him up on the spot, and had even made preparation for the erection of the gibbet, when Mr P. deemed it prudent to abandon his project.” A footnote describes how Polack sailed south with Gilbert Mair⁹⁰, bound for Cloudy Bay for whale oil, but on the way Polack sourced flax for his own trade, and ‘*interfered with some of their woman*’ the result being the burning down of his store by the offended Māori. But it was not all bad: “*With the exception of the article of morals, therefore, Mr. P. must be tolerably good authority respecting New Zealand, as he has seen a good deal of the country and of its inhabitants.*”⁹¹ Later, Lang brings Polack back: ‘*Mr Polack, the Jew, from Sydney*’ and is disdainful over how few muskets and how little gunpowder Polack had paid for his four or five estates.⁹²

Polack moved to Auckland to give himself more freedom to trade and lived there, becoming honorary US Vice-Consul, until returning to America in 1850, where he lived in San Francisco until his death there in 1882⁹³.

⁹⁰ Gilbert Mair, father of the better-known surveyor, participant in the wars, and civil servant, arrived in the Bay of Islands in 1824 and established a trading station dealing in exporting gum, timber and flax. He was an active advocate of colonisation, and in the formation of the Kororareka Association, commonalities with the views and trading activities of Polack.

⁹¹ **Lang, J.D.** *New Zealand in 1839: or four letters, to the Right hon. Earl Durham, Governor of the New Zealand Land Company, etc. etc. etc. On the colonization of that island, and on the present condition and prospects of its native inhabitants.* London, Smith, Elder, 1839. p. 10.

⁹² *Ibid.* p. 83. ‘

⁹³ **Moon, P.**, *op. cit.* 89-97.

The shape of unconnected notanda

John Dunmore Lang, View of the origin and migrations of the Polynesian nation. 1834.

John Dunmore Lang, New Zealand in 1839. 1839.

John Dunmore Lang, Poems: Sacred and secular. 1873.

Never let the shortness of a visit inhibit the assumption of expertise and the advocacy for colonisation, nor the promotion of theories on origins and migrations across the Pacific. Dr John Dunmore Lang (1799-1878), well known and frequently heard in Australia, even in jail, only spent a few days in New Zealand, calling in during January and February of 1839, on board the leaky *Roslin Castle*, on the fifth of his 9 voyages between Australia and England. He arrived in Sydney in 1823, an ordained Presbyterian minister and the first in New South Wales, and commenced a career of writing, advocacy for colonisation and an independent republican Australia, journalism, antagonism towards the CMS in its opposition to structured colonisation (viz. The New Zealand Company), egotism, libel, and general turmoil. Through to about 1840, Lang's considerable energy was spent on establishing the Presbyterian Church in Australia, associated schools, and developing antipathy to the Church of England and its missionary society, and vigorously developed and promulgated his ideas on colonisation. During one of his visits back to England in 1833-34, he published a work on Polynesian origins and migration.



Lang, J.D. View of the origin and migrations of the Polynesian nation; demonstrating their ancient discovery and progressive settlement of the continent of America. London: Cochrane and McCrone, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall. 1834. vii, 256 pp. Bagnall 3075, Hocken 56.

My copy was bought sight unseen from England in 1990, and although very clean internally, is a grubby number in original red cloth with a paper label, so authentic at least.

The book, another result of plenty of time available for writing on a voyage, was begun during a second voyage back to England in 1830, and completed during a further third voyage in 1833. It puts forward the thesis that the Polynesian people originated from a migration out of Asia, and then migrated further across to South America. Lang has no more expertise in providing this other than: *'I had little else to refer to than the result of my own previous reading and observations, in the shape of unconnected notanda.'*⁹⁴, writing on a ship *'where the only books to be had, in addition to the few odd volumes in the corner of one's own trunk, are the stars of heaven by night, or the flying-fish and the dolphin by day.'*⁹⁵ He decides that the Māori came originally from the Friendly Islands (Tonga), based on similarities in dialect and their closeness, noting additionally that the Tongans had no word for snow: *'On seeing the strange substance, therefore, for the first time after their arrival in New Zealand, and ascertaining its*

⁹⁴ Lang, J.D. *View of the origin and migrations of the Polynesian nation; demonstrating their ancient discovery and progressive settlement of the continent of America.* London, Cochrane and McCrone. 1834. p. iv.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* p. vii.

coldness and insipidity, it would be natural for them to exclaim, when sorrowfully recollecting the comfortable country they had left forever, *Tonga diro! Tonga lost!* This is the singular phrase in the New Zealand dialect, for snow.⁹⁶ Lang's dim view of the New Zealand climate (and 'insipidity') ends the book in an unmemorable poem written on the ship as it sails through a 7-day gale off North Cape in 1830:

*'Antarctic Isle! Thy mountains rise
All dimly o'er the western main;
.....⁹⁷*

The poem is the sole entry on New Zealand in Lang's 1873 book of poems, and we probably got off lightly

Lang, J.D. *Poems: Sacred and secular; written chiefly at sea, within the last half-century.* Sydney: William Maddock. 1873. x, 216 pp. Original blue cloth boards. Bagnall 3071, Hocken 286.

A second edition of the work on Polynesian origins (*Origin and migrations of the Polynesian nation*), was published more than 40 years later in 1877, expanded and revised, still pursuing the theory of Asiatic-Malay origins, making sure that he was recognised as the author of the idea, and ever on the attack, accusing John Williams and William Ellis of plagiarism in their writing on the Pacific.

On returning to Australia in 1835, he founded the journal *The Colonist*, which ran until 1840, followed by the *The Colonial Observer*, to 1844. In these publications, he carried through his promotion of colonisation. It was during this period that he published his four letters.

Lang, J.D. *New Zealand in 1839: or four letters, to the Right hon. Earl Durham, Governor of the New Zealand Land Company, etc. etc. etc. On the colonization of that island, and on the present condition and prospects of its native inhabitants.* London: Smith, Elder and co. 1839. iv, 5-120. Bagnall 3069, Hocken 72.

This was bought in 1992 from a late and much-lamented Bethunes' auction. It is bound in modern blue cloth, but including the original paper covers, with the library notice, pasted in on the title page, of the Guille-Alles Library in Guernsey "*The books of this library must not be entrusted to children; nor must they be exposed to rain in their transit to or from the library*".

Another product of a voyage, and his most influential work on New Zealand, it was written in 1839 on a further return to England, and published there in the same year. The letters are addressed to Lord Durham, founding member and Governor of the New Zealand Company⁹⁸, and Lang's Prefatory Epistle to him is a small masterpiece where Lang helpfully

⁹⁶ Ibid. p.67.

⁹⁷ Ibid p. 253-4.

⁹⁸ John Lambton, 1st Earl of Durham (1792-1840), also known as Radical Jack, had been Governor General of Canada for a short period in 1838, where his return was precipitated by the loss of support from the PM, Lord Melbourne. He was a close friend of Edward Wakefield, who had accompanied him to North America. His name comes up frequently in the Report from the House of Lords Select Committee on New Zealand in 1839 (q.v.).

provides Durham with a rationale for his involvement in colonisation that hangs on the good Lord's presumed noble intentions. Lang writes '*under the assurance that, in consenting to become the Governor of the New Zealand Land Company, it was by no means your lordship's intention merely to lend the countenance of your name to a small coterie of Metropolitan Speculators, associated for the sole purpose of making money by the transference or sale of shares in a joint-stock speculation*'but it.....'*was a sincere desire to promote the welfare and the moral advancement of your fellow-men, and at the same time to extend the power and to increase the resources of the British Empire.*'⁹⁹ Having squared Durham away, he then proceeds to advise him on: *The character and influence of the present European population of New Zealand, as regards the aborigines; On the character and influence of the missions hitherto established in New Zealand, as regards the aborigines; On the prospect which New Zealand affords for the establishment of a British Colony; On the principles on which a British Colony in New Zealand ought to be established and conducted.* The first two letters are the most widely cited, the first highlighting the immoral and demoralised current European population and thus the need for systematic colonisation, and the second carrying his consistent and long-term view against the Church of England missionaries and their evangelising. He is no friend of the Catholics either: '*..I should regard the success of a Romish mission in New Zealand in no other light than as a serious calamity to the Southern Hemisphere.*'¹⁰⁰ There is an appendix on the maltreatment of Tahitians, and an advertisement for seven of Lang's publications. A second edition in 1873 (Bagnall 3070) replaces the appendix with text on land-sharking in New Zealand.

The book was reviewed in Tait's Edinburgh Magazine¹⁰¹. As the review points out, Lang recognises the rights of native to their land, and thus calls for Government controlled colonisation. It takes some pleasure in Lang's broadsides against the missionaries, and '*Mr Polack, the Jew*', and ends being convinced: '*No colony that Britain has established, if we except America, promises to become so important in the history of mankind, as this of New Zealand.....*' ., The New Zealand Company certainly liked the work, it fitting neatly into its own efforts in criticising land purchases by the missionaries, and consequently they were happy to quote it frequently.¹⁰²

Lang became an iconic character in Australia, writing furiously and prodigiously, being dismissed from the Presbytery for his views on the established church, jailed twice for libel, the vociferously ardent agent for structured, Government-controlled colonisation, and a voice, before his time as the century progressed into embedded imperialism, for freedom, independence, political democracy and republicanism. He died of a stroke in Sydney in 1878, with a funeral of proportions that most can only dream of.

⁹⁹ Lang, J.D. New Zealand in 1839 op. cit. pp. iii-iv.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p. 44.

¹⁰¹ Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, vol. 6, 1839. pp. 611-613.

¹⁰² Burns, P., Fatal Success. A history of the New Zealand Company. Heineman Reed, Auckland, 1989. p. 149.

The most extensive and extraordinary system of crime which the world ever witnessed

W Howitt, *Colonization and Christianity*. 1838.

W Howitt, *The history of discovery of Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand*. 1865.

At first it's difficult to find much enthusiasm for the works of Howitt, with some 50 books and about 100 by his wife Mary, on subjects ranging from a popular history of priestcraft, rural life in England, student life in Germany, and amongst them, a book on colonisation and one on the history of the antipodean colonies. The lack of enthusiasm, however, is tempered by the realisation that Howitt's book on colonisation is a long and detailed criticism of the efforts of European nations, from the discovery of the new world and the Spanish and Portuguese in the Americas, the Dutch, French and English in India, the Americas and South Africa, and at the end, the English in Australia and the Pacific.

Howitt W *Colonization and christianity: a popular history of the treatment of the natives by the Europeans in all their colonies*. London: Longman, Orme, brown, Green & Longmans. 1838. xi, 508 pp. 32 p adverts. Bagnall 2683, Hocken 68

My copy is in its original purple cloth, not in great condition, but holding well. This was bought in the 1990s from AD. It is rather scarce, and presumably was not very popular amongst the colonisers. The maps are in excellent condition except for some staining on the Australia map, in their pocket.

Just why he wrote on colonisation is not clear, but it sparked the interest of Karl Marx, who quoted a passage on the barbarities that colonising nations wrought on native people in volume 1 of *Das Capital*. Howitt pulls few punches when he reaches the antipodes: '*With the exception of the missionary labours, the presences of Europeans in these far regions is a fearful curse. The two great prominent features of their character there, are violence and debauchery.*'¹⁰³ He references John Dunmore Lang (q.v.) and William Ellis (q.v.) in the need for the missionaries in their evangelism to improve the behaviours and conditions of the natives. He cites Yate in deploring the behaviours of Europeans, particularly ships masters, in corrupt practices against Māori¹⁰⁴, and describes, yet again, the incident in Taranaki involving the wreck of the *Harriet*, and the excessive response directed from the *Alligator*, citing a report from Samuel Marsden¹⁰⁵, and as described by Marshall (q.v.). He has no real solution, but closes his '*volume of the unexampled crimes and marvellous impolicy of Europe*' with a Cowper poem¹⁰⁶ (also cited by Buddle in a lecture on the Māori in 1851¹⁰⁷) projecting some sort of hope.



¹⁰³ **Howitt W** *Colonization and christianity: a popular history of the treatment of the natives by the Europeans in all their colonies*. London, Longman, Orme, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1838. pp. 469-471.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* p. 491.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 491-498.

¹⁰⁶ **Cowper, W.**, *The Task*. Book VI. The Winter Walk at Noon.

¹⁰⁷ **Buddle, T.**, *The aborigines of New Zealand*. Two lectures. Williamson and Wilson, Auckland. 1851.

*'That heavenward all things tend. For all were once
Perfect, and all must be at length restored.'*

Colonisation for Howitt, however, was more than another topic to survey from the armchair. In 1852, he sailed to Australia with his two sons and spent two years there, travelling through the colonies and spending time in the goldfields. This resulted in a number of books on Australia, and in 1865, the *History*.

Howitt W *The history of discovery of Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, from the earliest date to the present day. Two volumes. London, Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green. MDCCCLXV [1865]. Vol 1, xvi, 418 pp, 3 folding maps in front cover pocket; vol 2, xviii, 461 pp. Bagnall 2684, Hocken 237.*

My volumes are near fine, with the original blue cloth binding and 3 maps in a pocket inside the front cover of vol 1. This differs from Bagnall in that it has all the maps together, no adverts, and the boards are blue, not green. They were bought in Prahan, Melbourne, in the 1990s, and don't appear very often, and certainly not in this condition.

Howitt says in his preface: *'Having had one son.....as the successful discoverer of the lost expedition of Burke and Wills, and the recoverer of their remains, and having lost another in assisting to open up the interior of New Zealand, he [the author] has entered on the undertaking as a labour of love.'*¹⁰⁸ His two sons survive in histories of exploration, one recovering remains¹⁰⁹, and the other drowning in Lake Brunner with two companions while employed cutting a road from Canterbury to the West Coast, aiming at the Grey River mouth, and passing Lake Brunner. Both events are described in the final chapter of his *History*. There is a short journal written by this son, Herbert Charlton Howitt (1838-1863) in the New Zealand National Library¹¹⁰. The maps are of Australia, Van Diemen's Land, and New Zealand, all drawn and engraved by John Dower, F.R.G.S.¹¹¹ The volumes have the bookplate of Hopetoun on their inside covers. The 7th Earl of Hopetoun (1860-1908), whose estate was Hopetoun House, Scotland's finest grand estate, had an Australian connection, being Governor of Victoria at the age of 29, and then Governor General of the newly formed Commonwealth of Australia in 1900, having been created the 1st Marquess of Linlithgow. The books are unlikely to have been owned or read by his father, *'who died of typhoid at the age of 42 after a brief life devoted to Paris and the Pychley Hunt.'*¹¹²

Howitt writes four chapters on New Zealand at the end of volume 2, on: Incidents of discovery and settlement in New Zealand; Discovery of the insularity of the South Island; Discoveries in the Middle Island continued; Opening communication with the West Coast. He is comprehensive, citing Dieffenbach, Hochstetter, Heaphy, Haast and Bidwill, he quotes

¹⁰⁸ **Howitt W.**, *The history of discovery of Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, from the earliest date to the present day. Two volumes. London, Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green. MDCCCLXV [1865]. Vol 1. p. iv.*

¹⁰⁹ **Boase, G. C.**, Willam Howitt, [Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900, Volume 28](#)

¹¹⁰ https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22884860?search%5Bi%5D%5Bname_authority_id%5D=-95767&search%5Bpath%5D=items. Accessed 18 June, 2022.

¹¹¹ John James Dower (1825-1901), mapmaker and printer with premises in Pentonville and Fleet Street, and son and business successor of mapmaker father, John Crane Dower (1790-1847).

¹¹² <https://hopetoun.co.uk/about/history/>. Accessed 21 June, 2022.

Darwin's comments on his visit in the Beagle. He ends with a long, brave and moving description of his son's expedition and drowning: '*Yet let no one imagine that the life of our son in New Zealand was by any means a sad one.....It was that of all others which he did choose, and would have chosen whatever else had been offered him.*'¹¹³ While two others died with him, the later author of a history of early New Zealand, R. A. A. Sherrin¹¹⁴, was of the party, and survived.

¹¹³ **Howitt, W.**, 1865. Op. cit. vol. 2. p.456.

¹¹⁴ **Sherrin, R. A. A., and Wallace J.H.** Brett's Historical Series. Early history of New Zealand. From earliest times to 1840, by R.A.A.Sherrin. From 1840 to 1845, by J.H.Wallace. Edited by Thomas W. Leys. New Zealand: H. Brett, Printer and Publisher, Auckland. MDCCCXC [1890].