TRANSPORTED TO NEW ZEALAND

the fortunes of an emigrant family under the NZ Company scheme

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Introduction

I have entitled the story of William Hodgson ***Transported to New Zealand,*** for whilst he may not have turned to crime in order to support his family, he was never-the-less judged and sentenced to removal to the colonies, for the sin of failing in business, thereby bringing shame on his relatives. The difference here is that it was his family who found him unfit to remain in England and arranged for his removal, though with much greater compassion, it is true, than he could have expected from the state, had he passed through the courts for stealing.

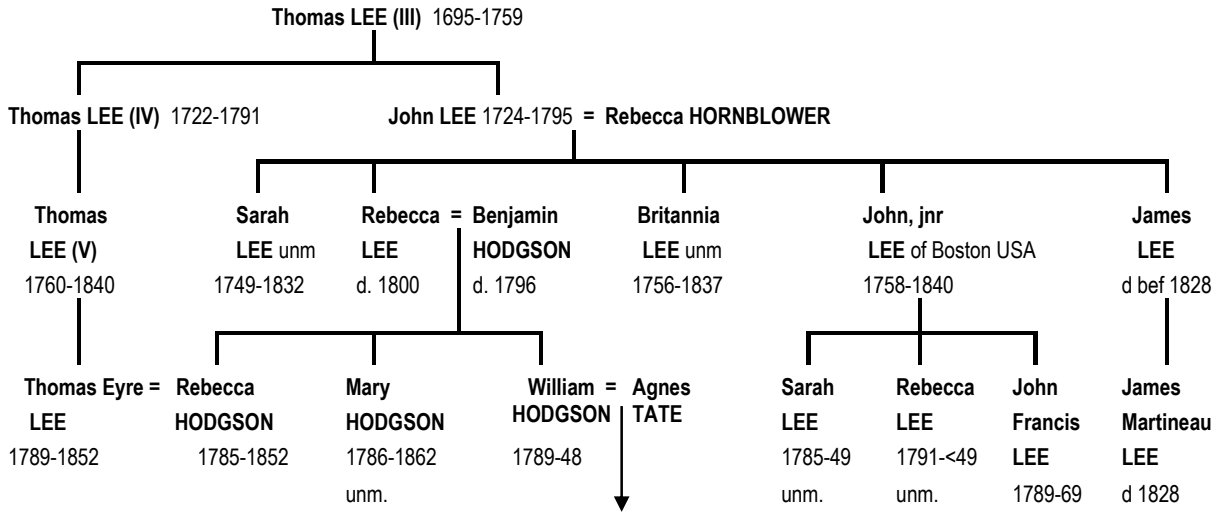
His relatives would have been appalled to think that their actions were looked upon in this way, for they were well intentioned as evidenced by their support for William in several business ventures.

Born the son of a London merchant, provided with a classical education and launched in his own business, William might have hoped for better things. But fluctuating economic conditions through the 1820s and 30s were to be his undoing. Then along came the New Zealand Company with promises of future prosperity for those willing to invest in its schemes - promises which were later found to be deeply flawed.

And so it was that a businessman in his 50s, used only to clerical work, became a farm labourer faced with breaking in virgin land to feed his family, with scarcely enough capital to employ bullocks to pull the plough. The effort killed him in a few years.

But for William's sons the outcome was very different. The elder two brought with them the same classical education that their father had enjoyed, combined with youthful vigour and enthusiasm. When farming failed to deliver, they were able to fall back on their education to provide them with an income. In a previous work on the history of the Lee and Hodgson families I have touched on the importance that was placed on education.[1] It is a cultural inheritance in this family, which can be traced back to the persecution of Protestant communities which dissented from the established Church of England in the 17th and 18th centuries. I believe it was still evident in my mother's attitudes in the 1940s and 50s.

Figure 1: Abbreviated family chart LEE - HODGSON



HODGSONS: William Charles, Benjamin Oliver, Rebecca Lee, James Lee, Sarah Lee, Mary Agnes, Eliza, Thomas Lee, George

1 Family Background

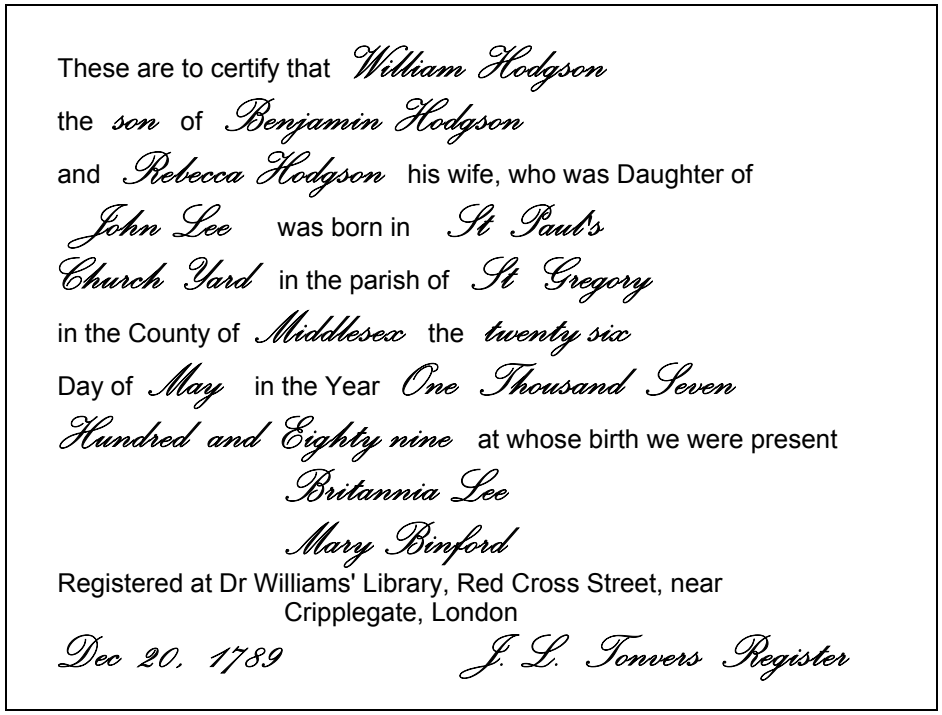
One of the many articles which the Hodgson family packed for their voyage to New Zealand was a small travelling writing case (fig. 2). Need photo Beneath the sloping lid was limited storage for stationery, important documents and old letters. As we shall see, William was often a muddler in his business affairs, but it is evident that he took greater care with his family papers. So it was that the writing case contained his birth and marriage certificates, together with the birth or baptism records of his children. Some of his business accounts and many of the letters he sent and received during his last year in England were also kept. Letters written to him in New Zealand found their way into the case until it was crammed to its limit. This treasure trove was preserved intact, passing from father to son through four generations until Lyall Hodgson bequeathed it in 1966 to the Nelson Historical Society, and the precious contents found a permanent home in the archives of the Nelson Provincial Museum.[2]

Letters written from New Zealand had been retained in England by the descendants of two of William's relatives, Thomas Eyre Lee and John Francis Lee. Those sent to the latter were given about 1910 to Constance Barnicoat, William's granddaughter, who was working in England as a journalist. They were eventually purchased by the Turnbull Library.[3] The others were given to Lyall following correspondence with the Lee family in the 1950's and were added to the Nelson collection. We are indebted to the various members of the family who stored these letters for over a century and particularly to those who allowed them to be placed in public archives.

The documents provide an unusual opportunity to reconstruct the traumas of a family's emigration and reestablishment in a new environment as seen through their own eyes and through those of their anxious relatives back home.

The oldest of these documents is a parchment, registering the birth of William Hodgson in 1789, but it is not the familiar style of birth certificate, as official registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths was not commenced in England until 1837. Before that date, baptismal entries in the Anglican Parish Registers had been the only acceptable evidence of age and parentage. The Hodgsons however belonged to the Presbyterian Church whose members, along with those of other non-conformist denominations, had by the middle of the eighteenth century been experiencing increasing inconvenience from the lack of official recognition of their baptismal records. The matter came to a head in 1742, when a meeting of the Protestant Dissenting Deputies decided to set up a central register where all births to non-conformist families could be recorded. It was housed at Dr Williams' Library in London, and members of the public who cared to pay the sixpence fee could register their children.[4]

William's certificate demonstrates the careful attention to detail which makes these records more informative than their counterparts in the Anglican Parish Registers, or indeed in the later Civil Registrations. The original certificates have now been transferred to the Public Record Office, from which the following transcription has been obtained.[5] Unfortunately, a stray spark from Lyall's fireplace has badly damaged the family copy, making parts of it illegible.



These are to certify that *William Hodgson*
the *son* of *Benjamin Hodgson*
and *Rebecca Hodgson* his wife, who was Daughter of
John Lee was born in *St Paul's*
Church Yard in the parish of *St Gregory*
in the County of *Middlesex* the *twenty six*
Day of *May* in the Year *One Thousand Seven*
Hundred and Eighty nine at whose birth we were present
Britannia Lee
Mary Binford
Registered at Dr Williams' Library, Red Cross Street, near Cripplegate, London
Dec 20. 1789 *J. L. Towers Register*

Figure 3: Typescript facsimile of certificate No 1724 - Dr William's Library

The certificate (fig. 3) shows William's parents to have been living at St Paul's Church Yard, London, right alongside the great cathedral (fig. 6, page 8). Although they did not worship there, we can imagine the family watching the various religious and civic ceremonial processions which were drawn to its doors. For their own religious observances they had to walk only a few blocks to the Carter Lane Presbyterian Church in Blackfriars, and it was here that William was baptized on 23 June 1789.[6]

London Trade Directories show that Benjamin Hodgson was a leatherseller and liveryman of the Glovers' Company in the City.[7] Benjamin's origins are unknown, though he may have come from Bradford. He was admitted to the Glovers' Company on 8 March 1774,

> *..... made free by redemption. The said Mr Hodgson afterwards desired to be admitted upon the Livery, the same is granted and he accordingly was cloathed and paid the fine.* [8]

There were various methods of gaining admission to the livery companies. One might serve an apprenticeship and be admitted on the basis of a proven training in the craft, or an established businessman could pay a substantial fee for direct admission. It was this latter course that Benjamin took ("made free by redemption"), with the implication that money was available to him to circumvent the apprenticeship period, or he may have served an apprenticeship in Bradford before coming to London.

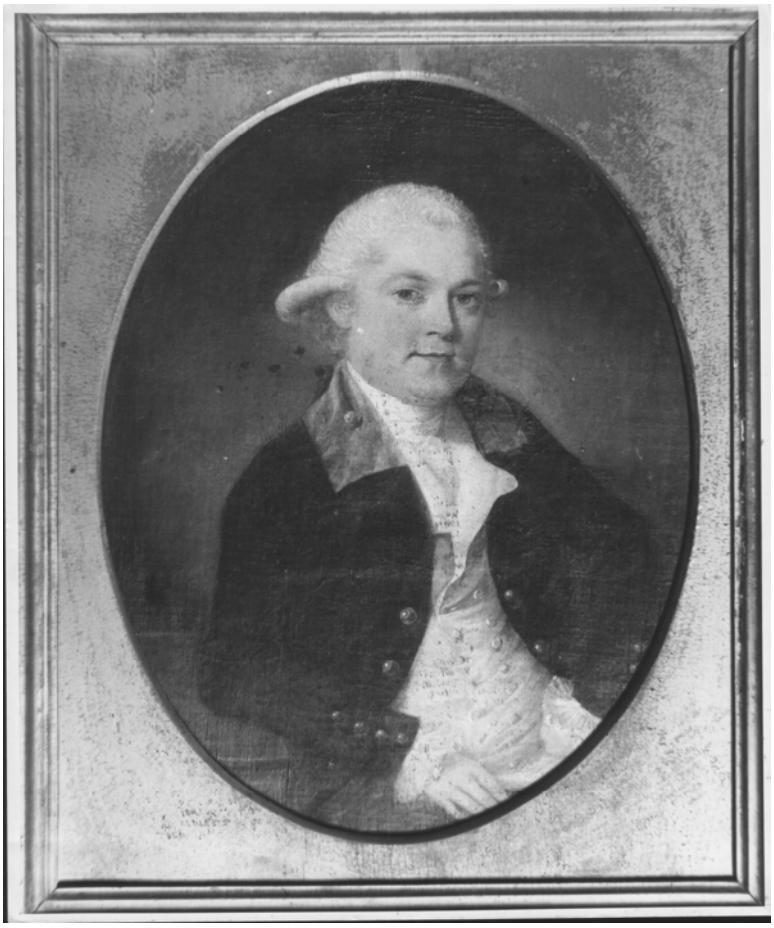


Figure 4:
Benjamin Hodgson
(Oil portrait, courtesy
Nelson Provincial Museum)

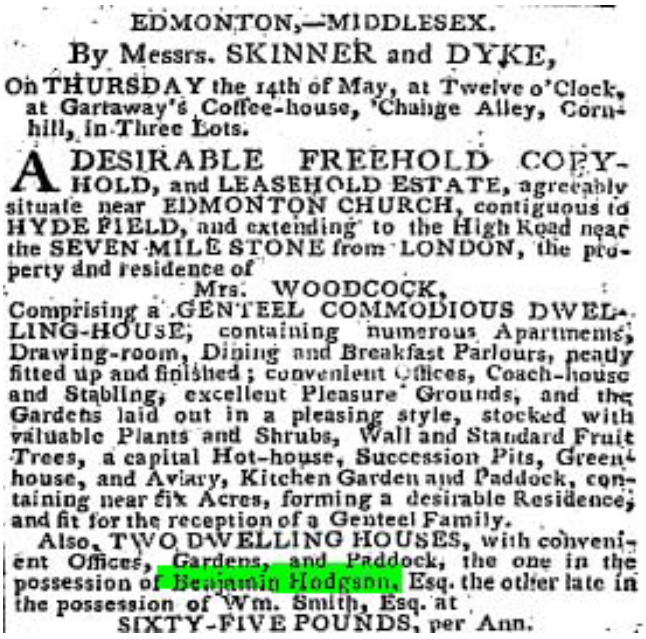
Benjamin's portrait, in which he is wearing "Court Dress" according to the family recollection, commemorates his admission to the Company; that is to say, he is dressed for his appearance at the Court of the Glovers' Company, at which he was formally "cloathed," that is, invested with the robes (livery) distinctive of the Glovers. An equivalent today would be the graduation ceremony of a university at which the graduand dons the regalia of the institution and is admitted to a degree by the Court of Convocation, the archaic language echoing the usage of the livery companies. The records also show that he leased premises "near the Adelphi" in the Strand, and that in 1785 he took on an apprentice for seven years for the consideration of £100.[8,9]

Benjamin's first marriage, to Sarah Thody, may have occurred about the time of his admission to the Company, as his eldest son, John Thody Hodgson, was born in August 1774.[5] Sarah had been born about 1739 and came from another Presbyterian family with merchant interests in the City. Her parents, John Thody and Elizabeth Chapman, had been married in the chapel of the Mercers' Company in Cheapside on 14 April 1730 and eight of their children were baptized at Crutched Friars and Southwark Presbyterian Church between 1731 and 1740.[5,10]

We have no record of Sarah's death or of Benjamin's remarriage about 1780 to Rebecca Lee. In the period 1789-1796 and possibly earlier, Benjamin was in partnership with James Lee, Rebecca's brother but it has not been determined if it was the business or the marriage which first brought the Lee and Hodgson families together.

Benjamin's older children were born at his house at 6 St Paul's Church Yard, where he also conducted his business, but the two youngest were born in the village of Edmonton, seven miles away to the north on the Cambridge road.[5]

The hours of business at that time being 7am to 7pm or even later, it seems hardly possible that Benjamin would have travelled this distance daily to St Paul's. A possible explanation was that Rebecca travelled into the country for her confinements, influenced by the widely held opinion of the time that the survival rate of London children was greatly enhanced by their removal to the country.[11]



EDMONTON,—MIDDLESEX.

By Messrs. SKINNER and DYKE,

On THURSDAY the 14th of May, at Twelve o'Clock, at Gartaway's Coffee-house, Change Alley, Cornhill, in Three Lots.

A DESIRABLE FREEHOLD COPYHOLD, and LEASEHOLD ESTATE, agreeably situate near EDMONTON CHURCH, contiguous to HYDE FIELD, and extending to the High Road near the SEVEN MILE STONE from LONDON, the property and residence of

Mrs. WOODCOCK,

Comprising a GENTEEL COMMODIOUS DWELLING-HOUSE, containing numerous Apartments, Drawing-room, Dining and Breakfast Parlours, neatly fitted up and finished; convenient Offices, Coach-house and Stabling, excellent Pleasure Grounds, and the Gardens laid out in a pleasing style, stocked with valuable Plants and Shrubs, Wall and Standard Fruit Trees, a capital Hot-house, Succession Pits, Greenhouse, and Aviary, Kitchen Garden and Paddock, containing near six Acres, forming a desirable Residence, and fit for the reception of a Genteel Family.

Also, TWO DWELLING HOUSES, with convenient Offices, Gardens, and Paddock, the one in the possession of Benjamin Hodgson, Esq. the other late in the possession of Wm. Smith, Esq. at

SIXTY-FIVE POUNDS, per Ann.

An advertisement (fig. 5) from 1795,[12] provides evidence that Benjamin was residing at Edmonton, so perhaps he had moved to the country for the sake of his own health, leaving the daily management of the business to his eldest son and his brother-in-law with whom he was in partnership. The 1795 registration of his youngest son James states "born at Church Lane, Edmonton," [5] while the advertisement specifies a house "situate near Edmonton Church." The Hodgsons were not the occupants of the "big house," merely tenants of one of two associated dwellings, but even these appear to have had their own gardens and paddocks. So we can picture William at age 5 living very comfortably. That was about to change.

Figure 5: Benjamin Hodgson's Residence

Benjamin died on 3 Jan 1796, and in his will left £5000 to his eldest son John, the only child of his first marriage, with the five younger children sharing the residue (amount not stated).[13] The distinction made between the children of the two marriages suggests that Sarah had brought Thody money to the marriage.

There are indications that William's inheritance was less than his father would have wished. We know that Benjamin, "in a desponding state of mind", about two years before his death, deleted from his will the legacy which had been intended for his wife, locked up the will in a drawer of his iron safe, and sealed up the key which he gave to his eldest son for safe keeping.[13] It seems likely that his worries were financial rather than matrimonial, as Rebecca retained her appointment as executor and guardian of the children.

William was only six when his father died and his 22 year old half-brother inherited the business, the leases and £5000. The family moved to Newington Green in Stoke Newington, another semi-rural village on the northern outskirts of London. Newington Green has been described by a contemporary: "..... a handsome though somewhat irregular square ..... adorned by a row of lofty elms on each side, with an extensive grass plot in the middle ..... surrounded by houses which are in general well built ..... principally inhabited by merchants and private families."[14]

Uncle James Lee, Benjamin's executor, had leased the original farmhouse on the north side of Newington Green for Rebecca, the children, and her unmarried sister Britannia Lee. [15] The choice of location would have been influenced by the close proximity of a Dissenters' Meeting House and an Academy [14] where the children could receive their education. Stoke Newington had long been a centre for non-conformists, chief among whom was Sir Thomas Abney, a member of the Fishmongers' Company and Lord Mayor in 1700, whose mansion Abney House was a local landmark.

Rebecca had been left £30 per annum for the maintenance of each of the infant children, with the right to up to £250 for apprentice fees if required. She also had an income from her 1/5 share of her father's estate, and when she died in 1800 left £2000 between her five children (one of whom was to die shortly afterwards). [16] As an indication of the adequacy of the children's allowances it may be noted that a labourer's wage at that time was about £25 per annum.

Many years later, in far away New Zealand, with his own health failing, William was to brood on the cause of his mother's death, believing it to have been the result of cancer. His sister Rebecca,* two years his senior, emphatically denied that this was the case.

At the age of 11, on his mother's death, William and his two brothers and two sisters were left in the charge of their Aunt Britannia Lee who had been appointed their guardian, along with Uncle James Lee. Britannia's reputation as a great stand-in for family crises was long remembered in the Lee family. Blankets for her visits were kept in a chest referred to as the Britannia tallboy, which in 1979 was in the possession of Dr Roger Lee. She must have been in attendance at each of her sister's confinements as she was able to sign "at whose birth we were present" on the six registrations at Dr Williams' Library.

Little is known of this part of William's life with Britannia. One of his brothers died in childhood, and the other in his twenties. His sister Rebecca married her second cousin, T. Eyre Lee, while the other sister, Mary, who did not marry, continued to live with her Aunt Britannia.

William completed a classical education and was perfectly comfortable with Latin quotations in his correspondence and in his conversations with the clergy. Constance Barnicoat has stated that he was a student at Oxford, but his name does not appear in the published lists of graduates.[17,18] In later life when he was worried about the neglect of his younger children's education in New Zealand, he resolved to teach them French and Italian in the evenings.

> *I wish to suggest to you, my dear brother, the far greater importance of your younger children being well acquainted with the English than with any other language .....* wrote his more practical sister from England *Do you not think, it would cultivate their minds far more usefully to read good English authors during the little leisure they are likely to have for some time to come, than any French or Italian, and to read English to advantage they should have some knowledge of the construction of the language. You can teach them this thoroughly, and as soon as you have the space to receive them, there are many of your books here which I shall send to you, if any opportunity should occur.*[19]

*** FOOTNOTE:** The reader may need assistance in distinguishing William's many relatives named Rebecca. So far, we have met his mother, Mrs Benjamin Hodgson, nee Rebecca Lee, and here we meet his sister, Mrs Eyre Lee, nee Rebecca Hodgson. Because she is a principal character in the story, any further mention of Rebecca without qualification will refer to this sister. Then there was William's eldest daughter, "young Rebecca", just entering her teens at the time of emigration. Minor players were his maternal grandmother Rebecca Hornblower, and his granddaughter Rebecca Lee Hodgson (Mrs G B Sinclair).

At the time of his death, when his liabilities exceeded his assets, William made a will remembering his older children with some of his treasured books. Thus the two elder girls received *"... all my French books, share and share."*[20] Set against the difficulties of their subsistence life-style in New Zealand, it is amazing to think of them studying books in French and Italian, when they were literally begging their relatives in England to send them the necessities of life.

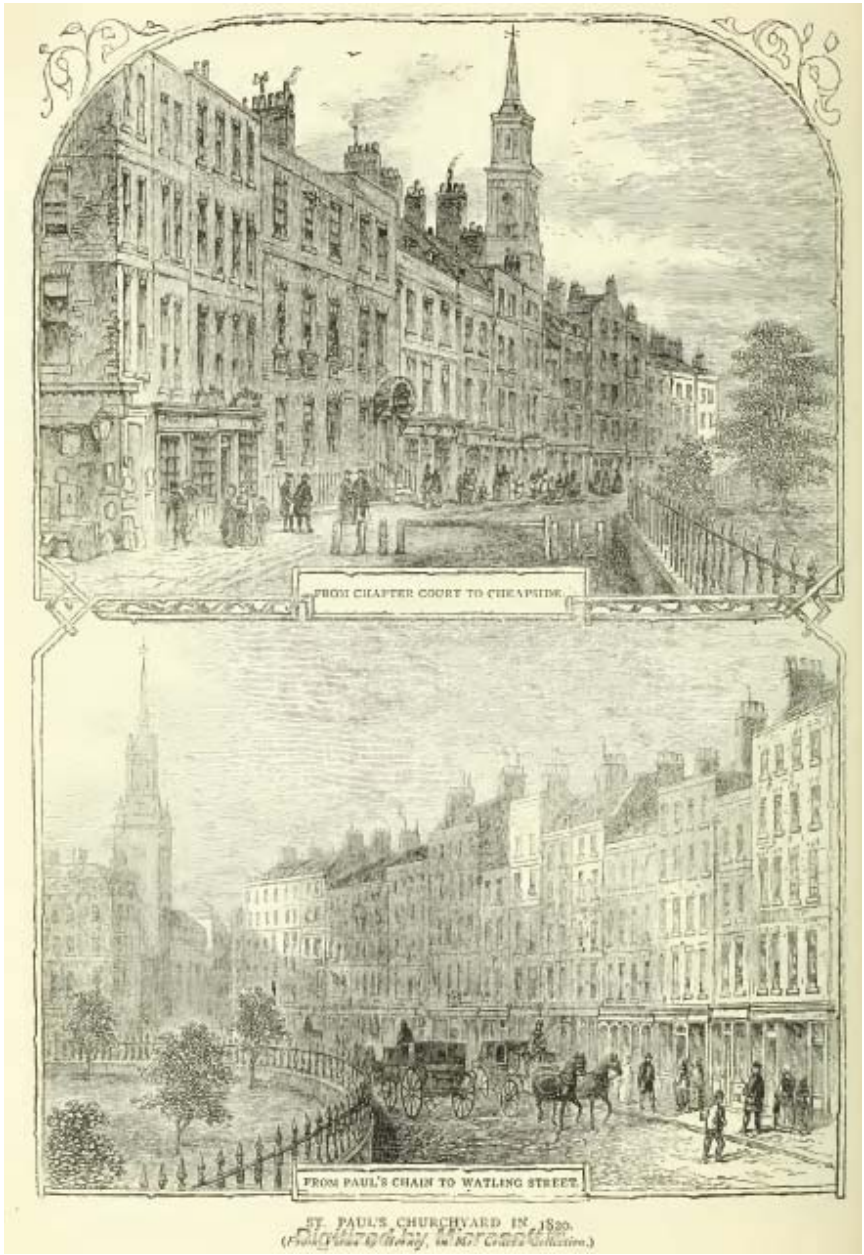


Figure 6: St Paul's Churchyard in 1820
From *Old and New London* Volume 1 by Edward Walford

2 Business Ventures

In trying to set William's financial background in perspective we should note that his inheritance was identical to his sister Rebecca's. Rebecca married well, into a comfortable and influential legal family. Her husband, Thomas Eyre Lee, was a prominent Birmingham lawyer, and grandson of the founder of the legal firm which still operates as Lee, Crowder.[1] Admittedly she was marrying her second cousin, but she would surely not have been an acceptable bride if she had not had some financial status.

It is known that William inherited:[13,16]

- in 1796 1/5 share (later increased to 1/4) of his father's residual estate, value unknown;
- in 1800 1/5 share (later increased to 1/4) of his mother's estate of £2000;
- in 1832 1/6 share of residue plus 1/6 of the income of his aunt Sarah Lee's estate of £3000 (subject to the life interest of his uncle John Lee who died in 1841);
- in 1837 1/4 share of his aunt Britannia Lee's estate of £4000, subject to the life interest of his sister Mary Hodgson who outlived William, dying in 1862.

The next definite information we have is from a bond dated 1821. William Hodgson, then aged 32, of Chorley, muslin manufacturer, borrowed £2000 at 7½% interest from Thomas Hornblower of Birmingham. Other parties to this bond were Eyre Lee, William's brother-in-law and Jeremiah Gill. Thomas Hornblower was probably a relative, William's maternal grandmother having been Rececca Hornblower. Records of regular payments are noted on the reverse: £75 every six months 1822 to 1829, £500 principal repaid in 1830, and reduced payments 1830 to 1833 when the balance was repaid.[21]

Bonds of this type were the common method by which small manufacturers raised finance for their undertakings. The lender was frequently a family member who knew and trusted the borrower, and the loans were secured, as in this case, by a simple promise to pay. William was bound *in the penal sum of £4000* (twice the amount borrowed) should he default on his payments.

This bond raises the question of how William came to be a muslin manufacturer, and indeed what this designation implies. We should note that in searching for an occupation for William his relations were not restricted in their thinking to the London area in which he lived. They had connections in Birmingham and in Bradford, and also in America. It is not surprising that their choice fell on the cotton industry, then in the vanguard of the Industrial Revolution and undergoing rapid expansion. The following account of the industry in the period 1810-1840 is included to provide the background to William's business activities and is based on the books *The Handloom Weavers* by D. Bythell,[22] and *The Cotton Industry in the Industrial Revolution* by S.D. Chapman.[23]

> The inventions of Hargreaves' jenny, Arkwright's water frame, and Crompton's mule in the late eighteenth century had already led to the successful mechanization of the spinning process and the removal of spinning from cottage to factory by the time William arrived on the scene. Most of these factories were driven by water wheels in 1810, though by 1835 steam engines had taken over to a considerable extent.
>
> The introduction of the power loom was a much slower process, due partly to the greater complexity of the machinery required, and also to the abundant pool of labour available for hand weaving. Plain weaving was easily learned; three weeks was reckoned a

sufficient length of time to teach a mere labourer to weave calico, whilst of muslin weaving, a manufacturer once claimed that "a lad of 14 may acquire a sufficient knowledge of it in six weeks." Certainly, good quality fancy fabrics required experience and skill. Nevertheless, new recruits could be enlisted with comparative ease from among the agricultural labourers and displaced hand spinners, or even from the workhouses and jails, and the numbers of hand weavers were expanding in the decade 1810-1820. Furthermore, looms were inexpensive, the usual value being given at between 25/- and 40/-.

It was not until about 1826 with the large-scale introduction of power looms that numbers of hand weavers started to fall, and even then the decline was gradual, extending well into the 1830's. By about 1836 power weaving was well established in the towns around Manchester, but finer cloths such as muslin were among those which continued for a longer time to be more readily woven by hand. The increases in power looms tended to come in a series of brief but intensive bursts which coincided with periods of expansion in the economy generally, e.g. 1823-5, 1833-6. Between these phases were a number of recessions, particularly intense in 1826, 1829, 1837, 1841-44.

The individual weavers in their scattered cottages needed some organisation to supply their yarn and market their cloth, and this was the role of the so-called manufacturers. Wardle's directory for 1814-15 lists 400 "country manufacturers attending the Manchester market." This group of entrepreneurs could be divided into those who undertook weaving only, and those who owned spinning mills but also put out work to domestic weavers, the latter appearing most frequently in the country districts. Some handloom manufacturers employed more than 1000 workers, but the average manufacturer, regardless of whether he had spinning as well, probably had a few hundred, some only a few score.

The requisites for success as a manufacturer were simple: a modest capital; good credit, experience and connections in the trade; and a favourable economic climate.

A handloom manufacturer needed little fixed capital; a collection of loom accessories, chiefly healds and reeds for different kinds of cloth, to be loaned out to weavers as required; a warping mill and winding machinery to prepare yarn for the weaver to fit to his loom; and a warehouse. It was very exceptional for the manufacturer to own the looms which weavers operated in their cottages. The rest of the manufacturer's stock-in-trade comprised the supplies of warp and weft obtained from the spinner, the finished pieces awaiting sale or dispatch, and the personal connection, built up over time, with a number of reputable weavers.

The traditional system of supplying materials to domestic weavers involved a "putter-out" who might be a manufacturer in his own right, making his own bargains with spinners to obtain yarn and with merchants to dispose of his cloth; he could be the owner of a spinning factory who had some of his own yarn worked up locally; or he could simply be an agent working on a commission basis or at a salary for one of the great Manchester merchanting houses.

> The duties of a putter-out were not light. He had to know the weavers in his own district, and to accept responsibility for the quality of the work they produced. He had to prevent wastage or embezzlement of the manufacturer's materials, and it was his duty to see that an order was completed and dispatched at the proper time. Given that he could meet his work force at most once a week, his task of keeping them up to the mark was a heavy one. Weaving was usually suspended once a week for "bearing-home day" when all work finished since the last visit of the putter-out was taken back, and fresh materials obtained to be woven up. Country weavers did not necessarily have to take their work to town as the manufacturer would have several "taking-in" points in villages which he visited on different days of the week.
>
> The risks of failure among the small manufacturers was high, and frequent bankruptcy notices appeared in the local press. But whatever the risks, the promise and the opportunity still attracted newcomers, since the cloth market was growing remarkably in the long run, however much its fortunes might fluctuate in the short term.

William's father had provided for the payment of apprentice fees in his will, and his mother reinforced this plan in her will *..... and I particularly request my brother James' attention to the placing out of my boys apprentice as far as he is able to act in this particular under my late husband's will.* It is likely that William was sent to learn the trade from one of the cotton merchants, either in Manchester, or possibly in Birmingham where he had relatives. There was a Gill family in the Birmingham cotton trade and it is possible that the Jeremiah Gill who was a party to William's bond had been responsible for his training. Apprenticeships were commonly for seven years which allowed ample time for a thorough familiarization with the business of manufacturing and marketing cotton goods. William may even have travelled abroad in his master's service, as it is apparent from surviving correspondence that his emigration to New Zealand was not his first voyage by sailing ship. Or he may have been sent to visit his Uncle John Lee, a merchant in Boston, America, to broaden his experience.

It is easy to imagine William working on commission as a putter-out in the years following his apprenticeship, until in 1821 he had sufficient experience to launch out on his own with the help of the capital borrowed from Thomas Hornblower. He appears to have safely weathered the fluctuations of the market up to 1833 as his interest payments were regular and he was even able to repay part of the capital.

By 1835 William was living at Southport, having given up the business at Chorley. It seems likely that the repayment of his bond in 1833 represented the proceeds of the sale of his business. We do not have any information about his activities at Southport but two possibilities suggest themselves. 1833-36 were boom years in the cotton trade. Was William lured into power weaving, only to be ruined by the recession of 1837? The evidence is against this. A change of business would not seem to have required the repayment of his bond, which was for the term of the natural life of the longest liver of Thomas Hornblower, Eyre Lee, and Jeremiah Gill. We also have William's own summary of his business experience, written in 1843 shortly before leaving England*, ... almost every scheme in my past life, from which I anticipated great things, has resulted in disappointments and mortifications*.[24] It seems more likely that his business at Chorley was beginning to suffer from the competition of power looms, and that his move to Southport was a retreat to a more modest enterprise.

Sixty years later, in the introduction to a volume of poems by his son, William Charles Hodgson, Alfred Grace was to write of William that ..... *he was a Manchester cotton-spinner who was ruined by the introduction of the power loom*.[25] At the time of writing, with William Charles and his father both dead, Grace was dependent on information obtained at second hand, and his statement may not be strictly accurate. Nevertheless, his description is in agreement with the picture of the industry we have been able to draw. It appears that William's capital may have been sufficient to allow him to operate a spinning mill and put his own yarn out to domestic weavers. Such an enterprise may well have prospered through the 1820s provided he could withstand the periodic recessions in the market. But as the 1830s advanced he would have been faced with increasing difficulties as more and more manufacturers turned to power looms. Some had the capital to make the transition, those who could not raise it were eventually forced out.

There is a hint of financial difficulty in the wording of his Aunt Britannia's will, written in 1837. William, now ..... *late of Chorley*, was to receive a sum of £200 (in addition to other bequests) ..... *and it is my particular desire that whatever sum derives from Mr T.E. Lee from the annuity due to me from Mr Hodgson should be repaid Mr T.E. Lee out of the £200 I leave to Mr Hodgson, and not on any account to be taken from that portion of my property which I bequeath to Mary.* This indicates that William had borrowed from Britannia, had defaulted on his payments (the "annuity"), and that Eyre Lee as guarantor had been paying the deficit. One of the accounts shows William's annuity due to Britannia at £30, and if the interest rate was still 7½% his debt must have been £400.[2, 16]

The major asset in Britannia's estate was 16 Birmingham Canal shares, valued at £2400. William was to receive four of these after his sister Mary's death. However, he immediately entered into a deed with Mary whereby she was to sell the shares and give him the proceeds, on the condition that he continued to pay her the dividends for the rest of her life. It was a poor bargain for Mary who lived until 1862, when her effects were under £200. She is unlikely to have had any payments from William after about 1840. If William was indeed £400 in debt to Britannia's estate, this manoeuvre would have left him little surplus with which to finance a fresh enterprise.

William remained at most five years at Southport. His next move was to Salford, where from August 1838 to May 1840 he rented a size works at 8 New Bridge Street, and was engaged in dressing yarn for the looms. His annual rental for the works was £75, but he also had to purchase machinery and tools amounting to £645. Since the wages of his workmen amounted to £720 annually we can estimate that he employed at least 30 men. For his house, at 43 St Stephens Street, he was paying £26 per annum, and he had a 15 year old female servant whom he paid £10 annually.

Figure 7: Balance Sheet W Hodgson Aug 1838 - May 1840

Rent of size works from 22 Aug 1838 - 22 May 1840	132.19.06	
Insurance of size works and stock	45.06.07	
Taxes and rates to works	32.03.03	
Taxes and rates to works	2.12.05	
Postage and Stationery	1.01.11	
Postage and Stationery	7.04.07	
Repairs to machinery	28.17.03	
Cost of Machinery and tools	645.13.11	
Carriage	46.13.04	
Carriage	1.01.00	
Cost and keep horse, farriers, saddler, wheelrights, blacksmith	118.05.08	
Charges trade: oil, spun yarn, red paint, tolls, skip tops, sheets	156.14.10	contd p.13

Liquor for workmen	17.03.04
Travelling expenses	12.18.06
Clerks wages	5.00.00
Damaged work	1.03.05
Wages workmen, flour, flummery, coals	1247.19.00
Balance of interest against estate	116.12.06
Rent of dwelling Southport to 1 May	35.00.00
Rent of dwelling Salford to 29 Sep 1840	62.01.04
Furniture	121.16.08
Taxes and rates house	20.02.02
Medical	45.00.00
School bills	76.18.11
Clothing	123.02.03
Servants wages	15.06.10
Pew rents chapel	9.13.00
Life Insurance	193.10.00
Household expenditure from 1 Oct 1837	960.06.04

It is unfortunate that William retained only the expenses side of the Salford balance sheet, so that we cannot assess the profitability of this enterprise. He frequently avoided facing up to his problems, and it may have suited him not to reveal the real state of his affairs.

However, should a businessman be bankrupted his affairs are exposed for all the world to see, and this is what happened to William, not once, but twice. We can trace his fortunes through notices in the London Gazette, reprinted by daily newspapers throughout England.

> London Gazette, May 19 1840 under the heading "Bankruptcy":
> Matthew Case and William Hodgson of Manchester, commission agents, [to be heard] June 3 at 4, June 30 at 2, Commissioners' Rooms, Manchester. Solicitors Messers Shuttleworth & Co, Rochdale, Petitioners Benjamin, John & Thomas Bright, Rochdale, cotton spinners.
>
> June 16 1840 London Gazette - bankruptcy superseded
> June 19 1840 London Gazette - bankruptcy annulled
> July 7 1840 Matthew Case and William Hodgson - partnership dissolved.

Somehow, funds had been found to satisfy the creditors, and the partnership was dissolved. The creditors were cotton spinners, suggesting that by 1840 William's enterprise may have been limited to buying yarn from spinners and putting it out to weavers.

Only a few months later we find him in the bankruptcy court again (fig 7), and this time the petitioner was his own brother-in-law, who was most likely driven to this final indignity by William's repeated failure to keep his promises. The relationship between William and Eyre Lee will be explored further in Chapter 4.

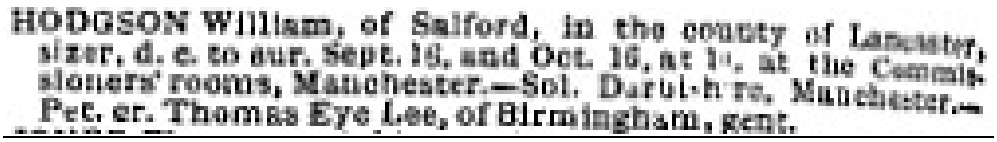

HODGSON William, of Salford, in the county of Lancaster, sizer, d. c. to sur. Sept. 16, and Oct. 16, at 10, at the Commissioners' rooms, Manchester.—Sol. Darbishire, Manchester.—Pet. er. Thomas Eye Lee, of Birmingham, gent.

Figure 8: [from *Leeds Mercury* 12 Sept 1840] London Gazette Sept 4 1840
Hodgson William, of Salford, in the county of Lancaster, sizer, d.[dealer] c.[chapman] to sur. [surrender] Sept 16 and Oct 16 at 10, at the Commissioners' rooms, Manchester. - Sol. Darbishire, Manchester, Pet.er [petitioner] Thomas Eyre Lee of Birmingham, gent.
Other Gazette notices: October 16 Last Exam, Nov 20 Certificate, Jan 4 re Dividend

The family were still at Salford at the time of the 1841 census, and still employing a girl in the house. Though the four boys were at home on census night,[26] the four girls were at their Aunt Rebecca's house in Birmingham. The census schedule shows that the Lees employed a live-in governess for their daughters, so possibly the Hodgson cousins had been invited to share her services. Young Rebecca's education was sufficient for her to be employed as a governess herself soon after their arrival in New Zealand.

By June 1843 William was exploring the possibility of suing the Commissioners of Police at Salford for wrongful dismissal.[27] He engaged legal counsel to represent him, ignoring the fact that Eyre Lee, himself a solicitor, was of the opinion that he had no case. In the end he was reluctantly forced to discontinue his suit, since all means of defraying the cost of litigation would have had to be derived from Eyre. It was always his habit to blame anyone but himself for his difficulties, and in the case of the Commissioners he has left us quite a full explanation.

> *..... The efforts I have been compelled to make in order to keep pace with the accumulation of work mercilessly thrown upon my shoulders have seriously and I fear irreparably damaged my health ..... As soon as I had got the affairs of the Commissioners into a reasonably proper train, the recent public disturbances broke out which engrossed the whole of my attention for a month. When quiet was restored, instead of being allowed to bring up the heavy arrears in my own department which had accumulated during this period, the superintendence of the gas works was added to my other labours, and I was required to fetch up the arrears of four months there, caused by the illness and subsequent relinquishment of the manager. I had no sooner completed this task than the preparation of the annual accounts of all the different committees devolved upon me. These I had not quite finished, when was appointed to the office of ?????, a man who opposed me because the financial statements I was called upon to produce proved gross waste and mismanagement of the political party to which he was attached and which had uncontrolled sway in the corporation. The result of a violent and protracted contest amongst the commissioners was my dismissal on the pretext of economy, but without the pretence of any other charge against me.*[28]

From this letter it appears that William was also operating an agency for the Birmingham Fire Office, but his records were not well kept and he was in trouble for not passing on the premiums collected. This matter had not been resolved when he left for New Zealand, and it was an unpleasant shock to Mr Lee when he was asked, more than a year later, to make good a deficiency of £14/1/-, with no vouchers available to prove whether William had paid in the monies received or not.[19]

For the final period of their life in England the family moved to the village of Rivington, not far from Chorley. They were no more than a year or two at Rivington, but this name was given to their New Zealand farm, and the name could still be seen 150 years later by the main highway into Nelson. The memory of their rural life at Rivington was perhaps more appealing than that of the industrial towns of Chorley, Southport, and Salford.

William's sister Mary was living at Rivington in 1828, when their cousin James Martineau LEE bequeathed her 100 guineas. In the same will William was left 10 guineas for a mourning ring, which may have disappointed him, but inspection of the list reveals that the female cousins received legacies while male cousins did not. The attractions of Rivington included a Unitarian Chapel (fig. 9) and also a Grammar School (fig. 10). It may have been Mary's presence at

Rivington which influenced this move. At the same period William's eldest son, William Charles, was a student at Manchester Grammar School. His inscribed school prize is included with the material in the Nelson Provincial Museum.

Fig 9: Unitarian Chapel at Rivington, built 1703
The pulpit is in the middle of the north wall, facing the two entrances.
An article about this chapel appeared in *Manchester Genealogist* 26/2 1990

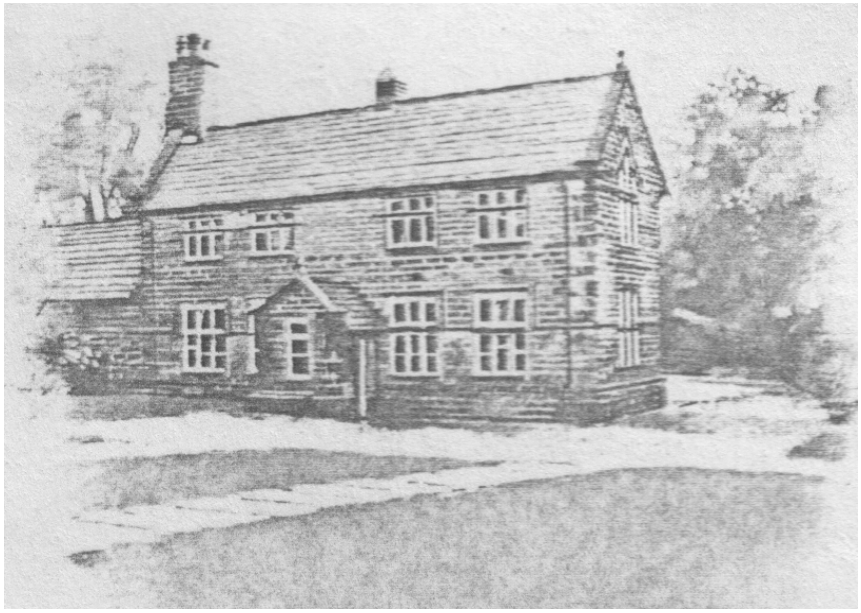
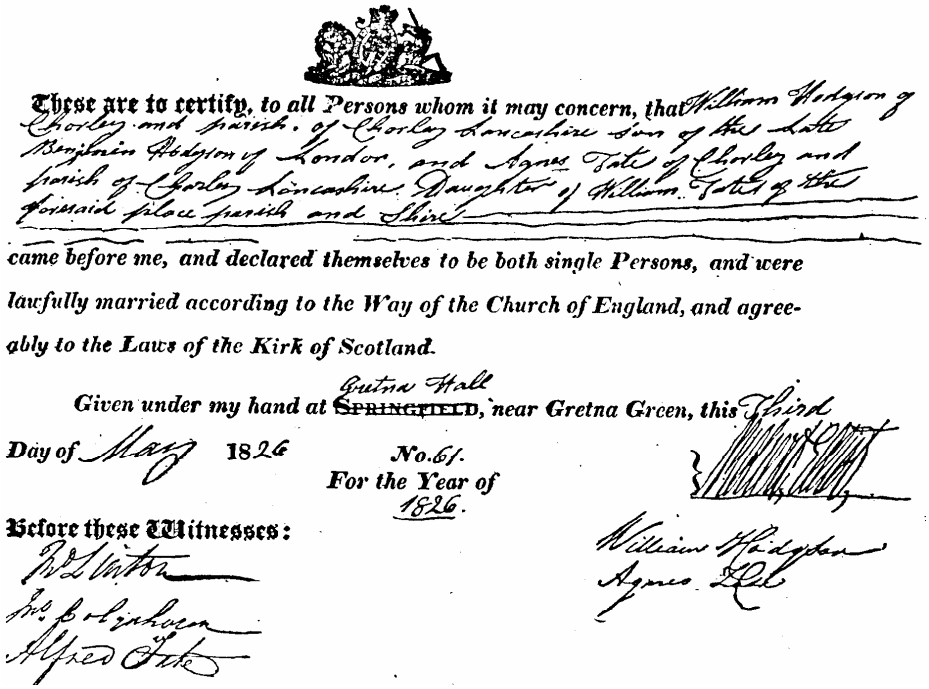


Fig 10: Rivington Grammar School, rebuilt 1714

3 Marriage

William's private life was almost as troubled as his business affairs. Having been orphaned at an early age and raised by his aunt, his next milestone was his marriage in 1817 to Mary Ann Tate, eldest child of William Tate, the Unitarian minister at Chorley. William was 28, his business training presumably completed, and Mary Ann was 18. Sadly, the marriage lasted only a year and a half before his young wife died, childless. The only memento we have of this period in a prayer, dated 11 Sept 1818, running to four handwritten pages, which opens: *When health departs and sickness enfeebles my frame .....*[29] Was it perhaps written for Mary Ann? By her father, Rev Tate?

Nine years later, while still living at Chorley, William formed an attachment for the Rev Tate's third daughter, Agnes, aged 19 and 18 years his junior. Although Agnes had been a mere child of ten at the time of Mary Ann's death, marriage to a deceased wife's sister was unlawful in England, and so the couple eventually eloped to Gretna Green where they were married in 1826, by which time the bride was about four months pregnant. The certificate is now in the Nelson Provincial Museum (fig. 11). It shows that they were supported by at least one of Agnes' brothers, who signed as witness, but the reactions of the rest of the family are not clear.



These are to certify, to all Persons whom it may concern, that William Hodgson of Chorley and parish of Chorley Lancashire Son of the late Benjamin Hodgson of London, and Agnes Tate of Chorley and parish of Chorley Lancashire Daughter of William Tate of the aforesaid place parish and Shire came before me, and declared themselves to be both single Persons, and were lawfully married according to the Way of the Church of England, and agreeably to the Laws of the Kirk of Scotland.

Given under my hand at ~~Springfield~~ Gretna Hall, near Gretna Green, this Third Day of May 1826

No. 61. For the Year of 1826.

Before these Witnesses:

Wm Linton
Jno Colquhoun
Alfred Tate

William Hodgson
Agnes Tate

Figure 11: Marriage Certificate of William Hodgson and Agnes Tate 3 May 1826

[A form of the Royal Cipher appears at the top, but leaning at an angle, almost like a caricature.]
These are to certify, to all persons whom it may concern, that William Hodgson of Chorley and parish of Chorley Lancashire, Son of the late Benjamin Hodgson of London, and Agnes Tate of Chorley and parish of Chorley Lancashire, Daughter of William Tate of the aforesaid place, parish and shire, came before me, and declared themselves to be both single Persons, and were lawfully married according to the Way of the Church of England, and agreeably to the Laws of the Kirk of Scotland. Given under my hand at Gretna Hall, near Gretna Green, this Third Day of May 1826.
No 61 for the year 1826. Robert Elliott.
Before these witnesses: Mr Linton, Mr Colquhoun, Alfred Tate
Signed: William Hodgson, Agnes Tate

Their granddaughter Constance Barnicoat wrote of this affair:

> *But for one circumstance it is probable that William Hodgson would never have left his home and kindred in England. Having the misfortune to lose his young and childless wife, he married her sister, thus violating the well known law which was not removed from the Statute Book till a few years ago. The strong prejudice, social and religious, ordinarily awakened in those days against anyone who ventured to take a step which now appears so innocent and natural was hard to bear, especially for a man of education and refinement, and Mr Hodgson, after having considerably passed middle life, at length determined to escape all the odium and begin a new life with his family under the Southern Cross.*[17]

This view of their emigration in not convincing. In the first place it was seventeen years before they decided to leave England. Their correspondence shows the Hodgsons receiving support and encouragement from many relatives, both Tates and Lees, at the time of their departure. Henry Tate, for instance, signed himself *Your sincere well wisher,*[30] and John Lee wrote in similar vein. William's sister Mary is a possible exception, for although she contributed money, William seems to have deliberately avoided a farewell meeting with this sister, and one senses a coldness in the indirect references to this brother/sister relationship. If William had indeed depleted Mary's income, as the documents seem to suggest, he may well have been too embarrassed to face her.

The question of the legality of a marriage to a deceased wife's sister, contracted in Scotland between English citizens, is complex. It has never been tested in the courts, even though such marriages were not uncommon, and although technically void in Scotland the marriage would be allowed to stand there in default of prosecution. In England it was voidable, but since not voided in the lifetime of the parties it remained good for all time.[31]

The Tates, like William's Lee and Hodgson relatives, held Protestant dissenting views. Agnes Tate's ancestry abounded with dissenting clergymen. Her father, Rev William Tate, preached from 1797 till 1800 at the Baptist Chapel at Gildersome, and it was here that he married Agnes Booth of Gildersome [Agnes Hodgson's mother]. Not long after his marriage, his religious opinions underwent a change and he accepted an invitation to be the minister of the Unitarian Chapel at Chorley, where he remained until his death. Among his 12 children were Joseph Priestly Tate and Caleb Ashworth Tate, named for relatives of Agnes Booth who were well known preachers of the time.

Agnes Booth's mother, Mrs Nathaniel Booth 1735-1798 formerly Miss Alice Ashworth, has been described by her grandson as "*an excellent theologian well acquainted with scriptures, who delighted in the opportunity of entering a controversy with anyone rash enough to encounter her fluent speech and apt quotations. She often put to silence disputants more learned than herself, unable to cope with her vehement, overwhelming volubility*." [32]

Alice's uncle, Rev Thomas Ashworth, and her brother Rev John Ashworth, were each in turn Baptist preachers at Gildersome. Her grandfather, Rev Richard Ashworth, was for 40 years Baptist preacher at Rossendale. Thomas Ashworth's wife was a Miss Priestly of Fieldhead, a first cousin of Joseph Priestly (1733-1804), remembered both as a non-conformist preacher and as the chemist who "discovered" oxygen. In Joseph we find the same combination of

comfortable middle class background, dissenting religious views, and strong interests in education, particularly science, which we have noted among the Lees.

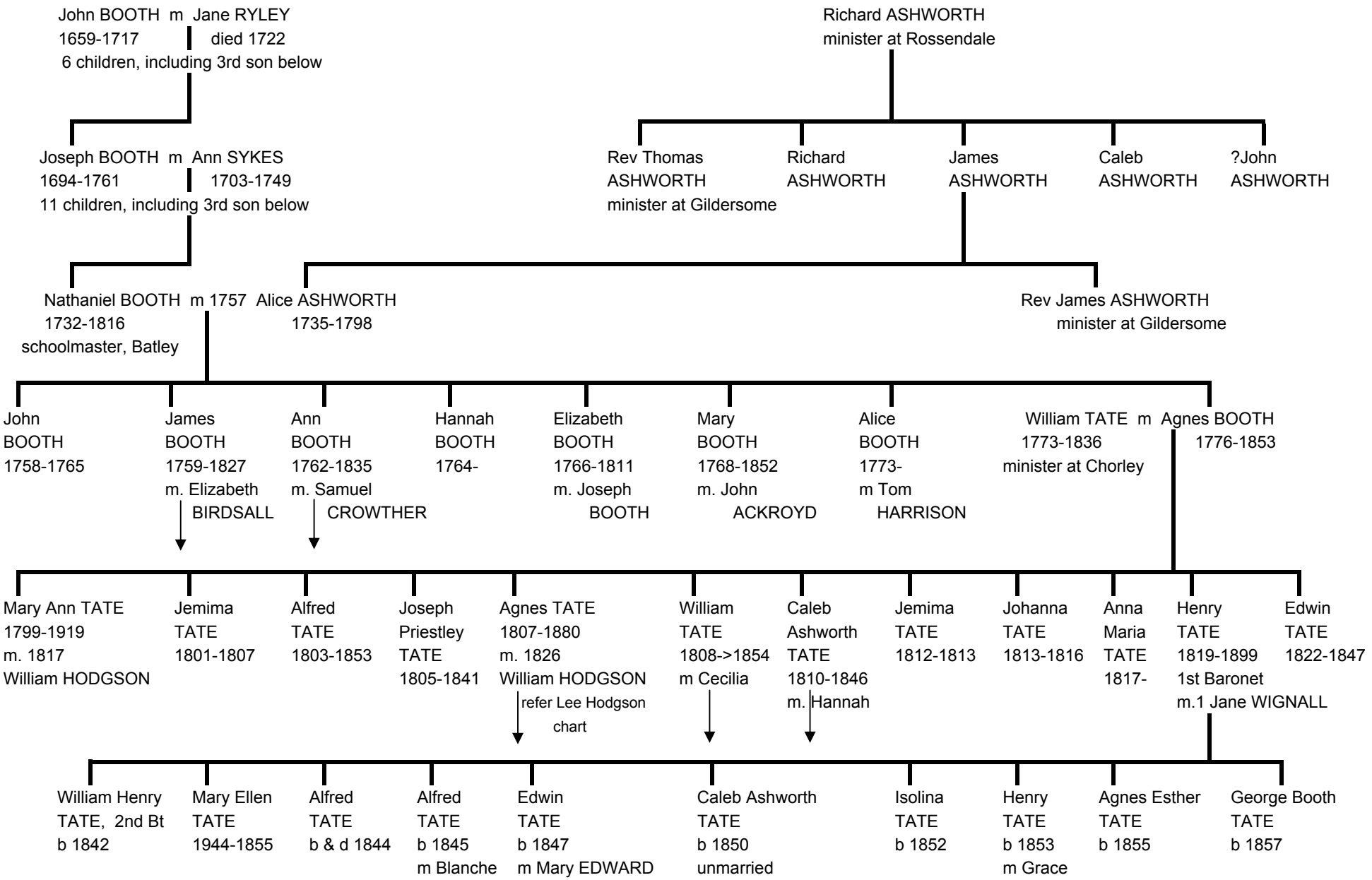
Philip H. Booth has claimed that these Booths of Gildersome descended from the titled Booths of Dunham Massey in Cheshire, [32] and if this were correct Agnes and Mary Ann Tate could claim royal descent from Robert the Bruce. However, my correspondence with Dr Hetherington [31] convinces me that there is no compelling evidence to support the supposed relationship between the Booths of Gildersome and the Booths of Dunham Massey. Against the connection is the considerable leap in status required to bridge this gap. This would seem to be a family tree requiring pruning. New evidence is required before it can be allowed to sprout again.

William Hodgson's brothers-in-law on the Tate side, Joseph, Caleb and Henry, were in the Liverpool grocery trade. Joseph and Caleb had merchant interests in China, but the most successful among them was undoubtedly the youngest brother, Henry, who made his fortune out of sugar cubes (Tate and Lyle), and in his later years received a baronetcy after presenting to the nation the pictures which formed the nucleus of the Tate Gallery collection. Caleb may not have fared as well, as his bankruptcy notices were appearing in the newspapers at the same time as William Hodgson's.

So, as his own fortunes declined, William could see his brothers-in-law prospering, both Eyre Lee and Henry Tate, and he came to regard it as almost their duty to assist him.

Figure 12: Agnes Hodgson *Courtesy Nelson Provincial Museum*

Figure 13: Booth, Ashworth and Tate kindred of Agnes HODGSON (nee TATE)



4 Preparations

To lose both parents at an early age would be rated a handicap for any child, and William could certainly have expected greater financial security had his father lived. But if Fate short changed him in that respect, she certainly dealt him a trump when she gave him his sister Rebecca. She was shrewd and intelligent, forceful and decisive, and above all, intensely loyal to William.

The declining fortunes of the Hodgson family were the continuing subject of worried discussions in the Lee household. In spite of the unfortunate bankruptcy proceedings, Rebecca had been able to prevail upon her husband Eyre to assist William to obtain his insurance agency, and probably also his post with the Salford authorities. But none of these arrangements was to provide a lasting solution to the family's problems, and at last the Lees' attention was drawn to the emigration schemes of the New Zealand Company. These ventures were much talked about at the time, and on his business trips to London, Eyre found the opportunity to discuss the proposals with some of the New Zealand Company directors with whom he was acquainted.

Their reports were reassuring. The settlements at Wellington and New Plymouth demonstrated the soundness of the Company's plans, and although the first settlers had already gone out to Nelson, it was still possible to take up a share in this scheme. If the Hodgsons went out at this stage they would have the advantage of arriving in a settlement then two years old, with public buildings and roading development underway. They would not have to await the completion of the survey for the allocation of their land, but their sections would still be drawn by lot from the original distribution, with an equal chance of the choicest sites - as Rebecca put it so optimistically, conveniently overlooking their chance of drawing one of the poorest sites, which was in fact what happened.

The publicity material obtained from the New Zealand Company was most encouraging, and eventually Eyre Lee was persuaded that here was a worthwhile investment which would provide support for his brother-in-law's family in the short term, and careers for his nephews in the future. Eyre would pay the price of £300 which entitled the settler to three pieces of freehold land: a town section in Nelson of 1 acre, a suburban section of 50 acres, and a rural section of 300 acres. When title deeds were issued he would take a mortgage over this land which could be repaid when the farm began to show a profit. [It appears that no mortgage was ever registered, for by the time title deeds were available the family were clearly in no position to repay their debt to Eyre.]

A curious aspect of the New Zealand Company's plan of emigration was that investors, perhaps we should call them speculators, were asked to purchase land which neither they nor the New Zealand Company had seen. When the ship carrying the advance party for Nelson arrived in New Zealand their first task was to call at Wellington for instructions as to where Nelson was to be located, no news having been available to them at the time they left England. Even by the time of the Hodgson's arrival the 300 acre sections of rural land which settlers had purchased in England had not been surveyed. Instead of purchasing a specific plot of land, investors purchased the right to a choice drawn by lot.

Once Rebecca and Eyre had made up their minds as to the soundness of this proposal, the next task was to convince William of the desirability of emigrating, and this was no easy matter. Being already 54, and in his own words: *an old man, never of robust make, wholly unused to manual toil, and ignorant of agriculture*,[33] it would not be surprising if he had reservations about the enterprise. However, he could hardly go against his sister's recommendation as he was daily

becoming more and more dependent on the Lees for his material support, and he had no prospect of providing suitable careers for his four sons, the two eldest of whom were nearing the end of their education. In Eyre's view, William's salvation lay in his own hands:

> *..... you, who may by self exertion and careful superintendence I feel assured, do well in the colony, if these two qualities are also supported by self denial and perseverance, of which (excuse me for saying it) you ought to be, as head of so large a family, a firm and cheerful example.*[34]

The decision to emigrate was only the beginning - so many other questions followed as a consequence. Foremost was the matter of accommodation for the family on arrival in Nelson. Would they be able to get a builder to put up a house? Would building materials be available? A solution presented itself in the advertisements of Henry Manning which were appearing in the New Zealand Journal, and accordingly an order was placed for a portable panelled cottage, 21 feet by 18 feet, divided into four rooms, at a cost of £72. A foundation and roofing (thatch or canvas) would have to be arranged on arrival. This may seem small for a family of ten people, but according to Mr Newman, a satisfied Adelaide customer ……

> *Your cottages, without exception, are good looking buildings, and I am pleased to see them put up. Most place them on a foot or two of brick wall, and roof them with native shingle. I would not wish to be more comfortable as a temporary residence than I am in your cottages. They are preferable to any I have seen for the simplicity in erecting them. Myself and another man put up mine in two days; the greater portion of the time was spent in unpacking them, so well were they packed.* [35]

This would supply immediate living and sleeping quarters, to which a kitchen and store rooms could be added.

For furniture, Mr Manning was asked to supply 12 portable imitation rosewood chairs, a kitchen dresser, two chests of drawers, two washhand stands with pewter fittings, and a cabin stove. Six iron bedsteads and a table were also ordered.[36] The washstands, the chests of drawers, and the table would be used in the cabins on the voyage, with the other furniture packed in the hold. By May 31st Mr Manning was enquiring on what vessel the Hodgsons would sail, as the house was already being packed and he wished to know how to mark the boxes.[37]

As soon as the plan of emigration had been agreed upon, Mr Lee notified Mr Earp, the New Zealand Company's agent, asking him to prepare the necessary documents, and also to arrange for the family's passage. Thus, on May 30th, Eyre wrote to William at Rivington:

> *Mr Earp called on Monday morning and had a long chat with my wife; we have finally arranged that yourself and family should take your passage in the* Coromandel*, a large vessel of 800 tons, which will positively sail on 15 July from London, and in which Mr Earp originally went out to New Zealand. It is I find an excellent ship, being very lofty, and having eight feet between decks. Mr Earp wishes to arrange your cabins as drawn ..... but of course the arrangements may be varied in any way you think more desirable as Mrs Hodgson and the youngest boy might occupy the two berths in the 9 feet division and yourself and one son one of the five feet divisions.* [38]

What could be more encouraging than the opportunity of travelling in a ship which Mr Earp could personally recommend from his own experience? This satisfaction was to be short-lived

however, as on June 13th the news came that the *Coromandel* had been taken to convey troops for the East India Company.[39] A replacement ship was expected, and also the *Mary* which would sail on September 1st. On June 27th Mr Earp reported further that the *Mary* would now sail on August 20th, and that he would be going out himself on this voyage.[40] Here was a most attractive opportunity to have the Hodgsons travel out in Mr Earp's personal care, with the chance for them to learn so much about the details of colonial life during the long voyage. Accordingly, on July 7th Eyre wrote to William:

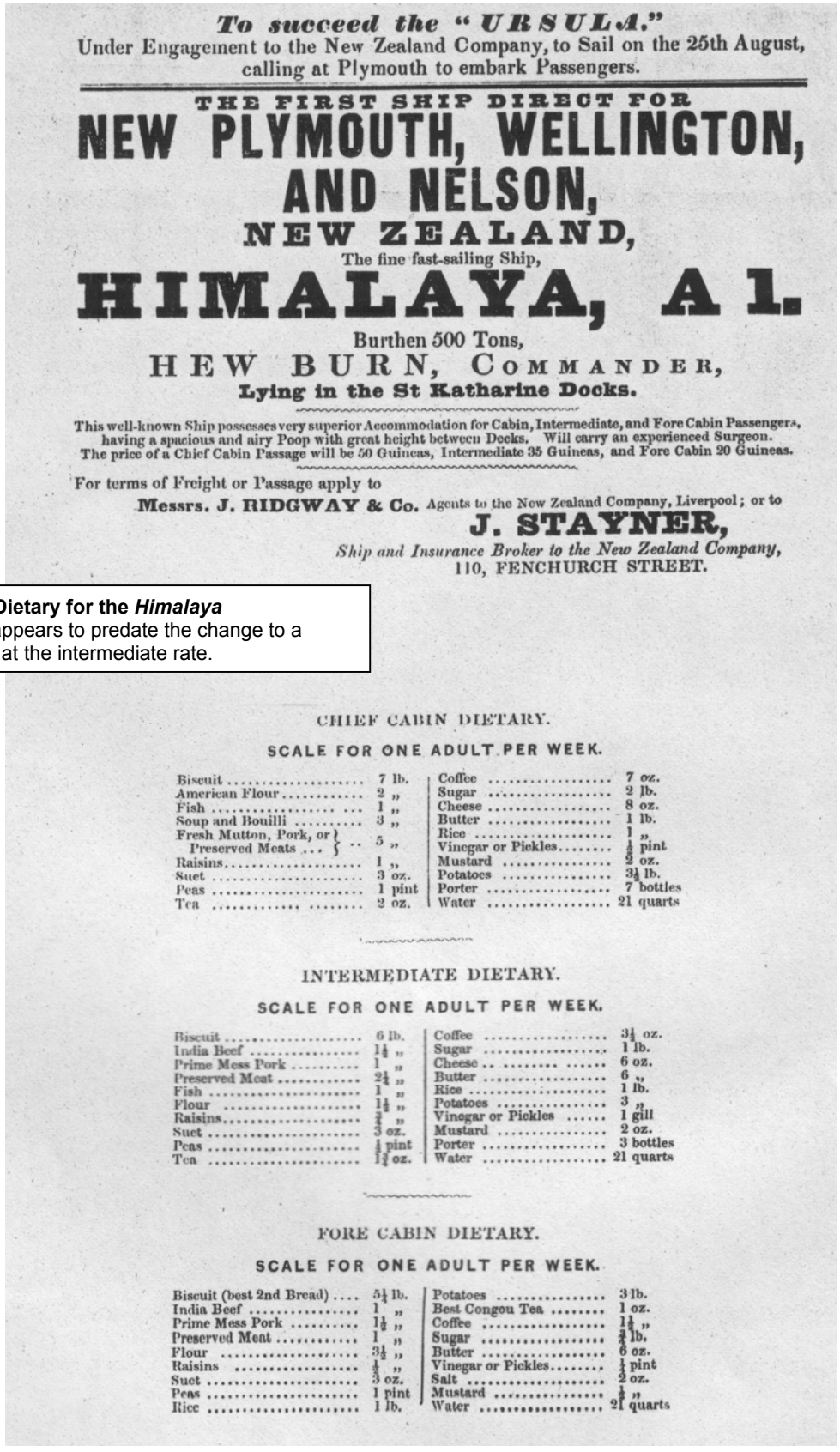
> ..... *I will send you a letter of introduction to Mr Earp, with whom I have made contact on your behalf and in your name as to your going out in the ship* Mary*, and you will take care to recollect that all dealings with the New Zealand Company are in your name and not in mine, and although known to individual directors, I have nothing to do with the New Zealand Company but as T Eyre Lee, agent for William Hodgson, and in such name I signed their documents.* [34]

This plan too was settled only to be changed. On July 10th Mr Earp called on Rebecca once again and she duly reported to her brother that:

> ..... *the* Mary *which was confidently expected to arrive a fortnight ago, is not yet come, and that as there are several parties most anxious to go out directly, the New Zealand Company have asked Mr Earp to take up another ship to sail on the 25th August, to be arranged on the plan of the ???? to take only two classes, cabin and steerage, the former to have more comforts and privileges than the intermediate passages afforded, as well as superior diet, but this last article less expensive than what is generally provided for cabin passengers. The vessel is the* Himalaya*, a=1, what is called a crack vessel, a very fast sailer, and in consequence of your having a passage engaged for so many, and having been disappointed of going in the* Coromandel*, Mr Earp has engaged for you to have one of the two large cabins at the end. He feels 11 feet by 10 feet, in which your berth and that of Agnes with two smaller for Mary and Eliza are to be (fig. 15 page 24). This large cabin will give you the comforts of a private sitting room and will enable you to have the rest of your children near your own. The four boys will sleep in one berth which will be larger for this purpose. There is a window in each little cabin or berth which is made to open, so that, except in wet or rough weather, there will always be free circulation of air. The only disadvantage you will have is that of not going out with Mr Earp, who must wait for the* Mary*, which will not now sail until 1st October. You will have a respectable medical man who has been in practice several years in the Isle of Wight as Surgeon. We are to have a map of the suburban lots as soon as they are out, but I do not expect that it will give any idea as to the nature of the spot, whether open down or woodland.*[41]

Agnes was staying with the Lees at this time, and though not well enough to meet Mr Earp she wrote to William the next day:

> *You will feel as I do the great disappointment of Mr Earp not going out with us. I was sorry I did not see him but I could not speak ..... The allowance of food seems to me small (fig. 14), only three meals per day. The time for the little ones to wait between is too long, 1/2 past 8 breakfast, 3 dinner, 7 tea. We have much yet to go through.* [42]



To succeed the "URSULA."

Under Engagement to the New Zealand Company, to Sail on the 25th August, calling at Plymouth to embark Passengers.

THE FIRST SHIP DIRECT FOR

NEW PLYMOUTH, WELLINGTON, AND NELSON,

NEW ZEALAND,

The fine fast-sailing Ship,

HIMALAYA, A 1.

Burthen 500 Tons,

HEW BURN, COMMANDER,

Lying in the St Katharine Docks.

This well-known Ship possesses very superior Accommodation for Cabin, Intermediate, and Fore Cabin Passengers, having a spacious and airy Poop with great height between Decks. Will carry an experienced Surgeon. The price of a Chief Cabin Passage will be 50 Guineas, Intermediate 35 Guineas, and Fore Cabin 20 Guineas.

For terms of Freight or Passage apply to

Messrs. J. RIDGWAY & Co. Agents to the New Zealand Company, Liverpool; or to

J. STAYNER,

Ship and Insurance Broker to the New Zealand Company,
110, FENCHURCH STREET.

CHIEF CABIN DIETARY.

SCALE FOR ONE ADULT PER WEEK.

Biscuit	7 lb.	Coffee	7 oz.
American Flour	2 „	Sugar	2 lb.
Fish	1 „	Cheese	8 oz.
Soup and Bouilli	3 „	Butter	1 lb.
Fresh Mutton, Pork, or Preserved Meats	5 „	Rice	1 „
		Vinegar or Pickles	½ pint
Raisins	1 „	Mustard	2 oz.
Suet	3 oz.	Potatoes	3½ lb.
Peas	1 pint	Porter	7 bottles
Tea	2 oz.	Water	21 quarts

INTERMEDIATE DIETARY.

SCALE FOR ONE ADULT PER WEEK.

Biscuit	6 lb.	Coffee	3½ oz.
India Beef	1¼ „	Sugar	1 lb.
Prime Mess Pork	1 „	Cheese	6 oz.
Preserved Meat	2½ „	Butter	6 „
Fish	1 „	Rice	1 lb.
Flour	1½ „	Potatoes	3 „
Raisins	¾ „	Vinegar or Pickles	1 gill
Suet	3 oz.	Mustard	2 oz.
Peas	½ pint	Porter	3 bottles
Tea	1¾ oz.	Water	21 quarts

FORE CABIN DIETARY.

SCALE FOR ONE ADULT PER WEEK.

Biscuit (best 2nd Bread)	5¼ lb.	Potatoes	3 lb.
India Beef	1 „	Best Congou Tea	1 oz.
Prime Mess Pork	1½ „	Coffee	1½ „
Preserved Meat	1 „	Sugar	¾ lb.
Flour	3½ „	Butter	6 oz.
Raisins	½ „	Vinegar or Pickles	½ pint
Suet	3 oz.	Salt	2 oz.
Peas	1 pint	Mustard	½ „
Rice	1 lb.	Water	21 quarts

Figure 14: Dietary for the *Himalaya*
This poster appears to predate the change to a single tarrif - at the intermediate rate.

The Himalaya was to be the first of a succession of the New Zealand Company's "*cheap cabin*" ventures. All cabin passages were to cost 35 guineas which it was thought would be better than the "*£90 a head with champagne*" system as it would "*do more to throw working capital into the colony, and in the healthiest possible manner, than anything that could be devised.*" [43]

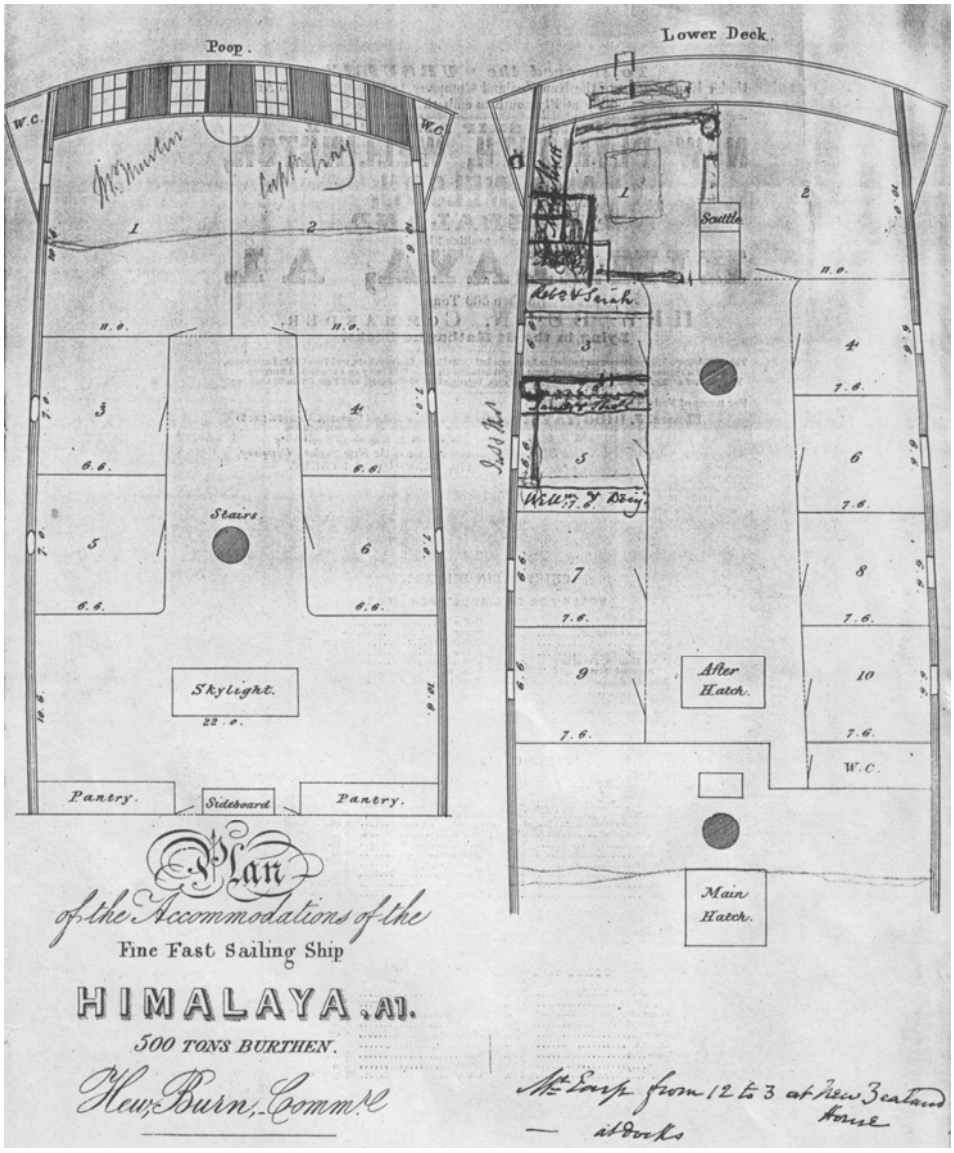


Figure 15: Proposed layout of cabins in the *Himalaya** Poop deck on left, Lower deck on right.

***FOOTNOTE:** The Hodgsons occupied cabins 1, 3, and 5 on the lower deck. The larger after cabin, 10ft x 11ft, provided berths for William, his wife and their two youngest daughters, cabins 2 and 3 totalling 13 x 7'6" were rearranged to provide a smaller space for the two elder daughters, and a larger one for their 4 brothers.

The label "scuttle" appears in the partition between cabins 1 & 2. This may be the feature objected to by William at a very late stage, and referred to in Rebecca's letter as a lazarette. The crew may have needed access through the Hodgson's cabin to this storage area.

While these negotiations were going on there was the house at Rivington to close up, and chattels to be sold. The existing lease expired on May 12th, but it was decided to retain the house for one additional month, and to hold an auction in early June. With all the upheaval of packing and sorting belongings, the younger children would be best out of the way, and Rebecca arranged for them to come to her at Camden Lodge in Birmingham at the end of May. Will and Ben, aged 16 and 15, could help their parents with the packing, make a brief visit to their grandmother in Liverpool, and then in the first week of June go to Mr and Mrs Bickley, farming acquaintances of Mr Lee's, for some concentrated instruction in the rudiments of farming.

On June 6th Will reported to his father:

> *In accordance with your request that I should write as soon as we have become settled at Whorstock, I proceed to give you my account of our proceedings since we left Liverpool. At Camden Lodge we have been treated with the greatest kindness by all, and Ben, so far from being awed, now treats Mr Eyre Lee in the most familiar manner. After remaining till Friday evening at Birmingham to give Ben an opportunity of seeing the sights of that place, among which was the cattle market, to which we were taken by Mr Bickley who was at pains of explaining the different properties of the different breeds and their different values, we arrived at Whorstock on Friday ..... and were most hospitably received. Next day we surveyed the premises and returned to Birmingham on Sunday morning. We took tea at Mr George Lee's in the afternoon, and returned to the farm at night. On Monday we began to work in earnest, Mr Bickley setting us to grub up some furze bushes which he supposed greatly resembled our future operations in Nelson. At night we milked. On Tuesday morning we dug up part of the common on the road side, which we found a very tough job, and in the afternoon we ploughed with a plough, which to my great astonishment went on wheels, but I found it so much easier both for the horses and holder, requiring little or no guiding from the latter, and ploughing all one depth so that a child might guide it, that I earnestly recommend that our iron plough might be provided with a pair. Being movable, if they are not adapted to the soil of New Zealand they could be taken off when not wanted. They are chiefly of service in new land which cannot be ploughed with the instrument generally used. Mr Bickley, though very shrewd in some points, on others is very simple, and often expressed his admiration of Mr Lee and of our scholastic attainment ..... The dialect of the farming men here is most peculiar, quite different from anything I ever heard, and they find us almost unintelligible, protesting we talk Irish. ..... We have excellent cheer here, and their ale in unexceptionable, but we find farming rather laborious, forgetting that* Nil sine labore mortatibus dedit deus. *Mr Eyre Lee went with us to* Hyman's Pantechnitheca *and bought each of us a suit of Barragam, wherein we are resplendent. He is the worst buyer we know, invariably phrasing his intended purchase before the shop man who raises his price accordingly. A pair of umbrellas has been bought us, a pair of ploughman's top boots, a pair of gloves has been given to me, an old hat to Ben, in short there is no end to the kindness of my Uncle and Aunt, but especially the latter.* [44]

Meanwhile, Agnes had many friends to visit in Liverpool, and in particular her mother, brothers, sisters, nieces and nephews. With the sailing date of the *Coromandel*, July 15th, still in view, Agnes was to have had the middle two weeks of June for these visits, and then return to her children in Birmingham towards the end of the month. On June 21st William was expecting to join his wife in Liverpool:

> ..... *I will send you these* [accounts from the sale at Rivington] *from Liverpool, though to tell the truth the visit will afford me little gratification and would not be paid by me except from a sense of duty, and a wish to avoid expense. I am inexpressibly vexed and mortified ..... I gave my wife £5 for the purchase of shoes at Liverpool, where I shall provide myself from the house to be named by Mrs Earp, with a stock of the same articles. I am now almost aground, having only a single pair of boots, which are literally and figuratively on their last legs. .....* [45]

Poor William, obliged to visit his wife's family to avoid the cost of lodgings, and subjected to the humiliation of accounting for all his expenditure to his brother-in-law. For his part, Eyre was understandably frustrated by a situation in which he had assumed responsibility for another man's liabilities without being provided with a clear picture of the remaining assets. On June 21st William was drafting his reply to what had clearly been a strongly worded note from Eyre:

> *Did I not know that you possess most uncommon command of temper, I should suppose that when you wrote ..... you were suffering under a slight fit of indigestion, which had somewhat disturbed your usual equanimity. I really was simple enough to imagine that I had fully discharged every epistolatory duty. This is my fifth letter, to say nothing of my wife's. Positively, if I had written more frequently, I should have been afraid of wearying you outrightly with the very sight of the Horwich postmark. I know not that I have neglected to inform you of a single occurrence or circumstance which you cared to know, or which it was in my power to communicate. I can add nothing, nor am I aware of any deficiencies to be supplied at this moment. All the money arising from the sale has not yet been paid up, nor have all the accounts and lading bills been collected and discharged. You shall have a statement of the whole, together with the Auctioneer's book of the sale, and every other voucher accounting for the proceeds .....* [45]

It might appear from the above that all would soon be revealed, but on July 7th Eyre wrote again:

> ..... *While you were here you had no opportunity, I suspect, to give me any information as to the results of your sale at Rivington, or whether you had settled with Messers Cook, Beevor, and Daniell* [the solicitors engaged to sue the Salford authorities], *or what had become of the monies, or how much remained available towards your present and future expenses, as to which I should not, as it seems to me, remain in entire ignorance. .....* [34]

On July 10th, Agnes tried to get William to comply:

> *I suppose you will have received a letter from Mr Eyre Lee. He expects an early reply. I am afraid you are in a mess. He seems very indignant you should have left his house without once alluding to your own concerns. You had opportunity plenty, he says, and if you think you are to go on spending money without ever giving one receipt or voucher, you are mistaken ..... I this afternoon ventured to the dining room door, ... heard very loud words, and found it was your sister and Eyre Lee quarrelling. I heard little, but sufficient to make me uncomfortable. He has not the same feeling for you she has, and hers is lessened by his repeated representations. She said to me, Eyre thought you took no stimulants. I said not regularly. She said you could not have taken the quantity of their ale if you had not been accustomed to it. All, every action has been noticed ..... You know not who are your enemies and who your friends. Do be advised. Mind how*

you act where you are, or break yourself of the habit of snuff taking, a crying sin here. Malt liquor you must, in that we shall all be thrown upon a desert island ..... When you wish, write to the point upon business, not details about country, characters, etc. More complaints are made here about your lengthy epistles than at Liverpool. Your sister plainly says your words do not suit your actions ..... [46]

The next day Rebecca added her own reproof:

..... I hoped there would be an answer from you to my husband's letter. What can induce you to trifle so injudiciously with your best friends, I am at a loss to guess, or why you should not have availed yourself of the several opportunities to talk with Eyre, both as to your receipts at Rivington and your future plans. I myself gave you one by leaving you with him after dinner on Sunday .....[41]

Agnes reinforced what she had written the previous day:

Do not think, my dear fellow, I wish to blame unnecessarily, but certainly after my writing to you, and Mr Lee's taking the trouble to sit up on Friday night, you ought to have written to him, and not waited to hear what your son had to say. It had nothing to do with the business in hand. Both Mr Lee and your sister persist in it. You studiously avoided entering into a detail of your affairs, either past or for the future ..... Do write, think of nothing else at present. I shall be glad when we meet to part no more. Believe me, your most affectionate wife, Agnes Hodgson. [42]

The message was clear, and at last, on July 11th, William drafted his reply, still offering only promises, no explanations:

I fully expected you would have asked in Birmingham for the explanation now required; and when I returned with you from Whorstock, as well as when I accompanied you from Mosely, I every moment looked for your opening the subject. I was myself frequently at the point of entering upon it, but I was withheld by the notion that you studiously avoided it, and that you preferred communicating with me by letter. I will send you the statements and the numerous vouchers connected with it by Mr J.F. Lee, who will go to Birmingham on Thursday next ..... [24]

Later in the same letter he touched on the question of snuff, and also on his real difficulty in expressing himself adequately to his benefactor:

..... I trust my children have witnessed in me sufficient proofs of self denial and perseverance to inspire them with confidence in their father as guide and support in their new career. This feeling of confidence, I cannot flatter myself, has been undeniably weakened by their observation of my want of resolution in abstaining from snuff. They who labour under certain pressure on the brain, from which this stimulant affords a slight but temporary relief, will readily pardon the indulgence of what, I am willing to acknowledge, to be a most nauseous habit, hitherto carried by me to the greatest excess. I cannot conclude this, as it may be deemed too long letter, without assuring you again, and very solemnly, of my deep and lively gratitude for all your many and great acts of kindness to me. I have always felt my utter inability to express orally to you my sentiments. I have hardly less difficulty in conveying them by writing. I

> *abandon the attempt, and shall only beg that you will always regard me as your sincere, faithful friend, William Hodgson.* [24]

William's visit to Liverpool had left him sadly out of pocket, unable to account for or repay a sum of ten shillings which he had borrowed from his eldest daughter, 12 year old Rebecca. Whether William spent it or lost it on his journey is not clear, but he placed the blame on the railway clerk at Liverpool for short changing him. Henry Tate was asked to look into the matter, but the clerk when questioned would not admit to any surplus in the previous day's takings. [30]

Unfortunately for William, young Rebecca had informed her aunt of her father's propensity for borrowing and spending his children's money, and she demanded that this ten shillings be added to a sum of £50 pounds which had been given by Eyre's aunt, Mrs Coates, to be held until Rebecca turned 21, "*so that, as Mr Lee said very emphatically, her father could not touch it.*" [41] The responsibility of making good her husband's carelessness fell to Agnes. Money that had been given to her, for her own use, was appropriated to this end, but "*because I love you I did it freely*," she wrote.

After bringing Agnes back from Liverpool to join her children in Birmingham, William proceeded to his cousin John Lee's home at Kinver. John had written with obvious warmth on June 30th:

> *My dear cousin, I really feel quite pleased to find that you intend to pay me a visit, and can only wish that it was under more pleasant circumstances. I shall be very glad to see you ..... and hope that you will remain here as long as you can ..... I shall be glad to hear a good report of Mrs Hodgson after her journey, as I feel much interested about you all, having to take such a journey ..... Your affectionate cousin, John F. Lee.* [47]

The fact that this visit lasted almost a fortnight was a matter for further criticism from Camden Lodge, to which William replied defensively:

> *Though I am now perfectly aware that my cousin Lee never calculated upon a visit from me of more than at most 2 or 3 days, I believe the prolongation of my stay is not disagreeable to him because I occasion no interruption of his business, and create as little trouble as possible in his house.* [24]

This period at Kinver obviously provided William with an escape from the realities of his business circumstances, from the need to give a proper account of his affairs to his brother-in-law, particularly as regards the proceeds of the sale at Rivington, and from the necessity to take decisions relative to his departure. Much later he would write from New Zealand:

> *I never look back on the few days I spent at your house, but with feelings of the most pleasing nature. Though my mind and body were both much out of tune at that time, very indisposed to enjoy any thing, I can assure you that I seldom passed more agreeable moments than whilst under your hospitable roof.* [48]

Cousin John was the proprietor of an iron works at the Hyde, and his concern had its practical side. He dispatched a plough, a set of harrows, a bundle of spades, and a case of nails, screws, plough shares, etc. to the *Himalaya*. (The sale of these nails was to have great significance in rescuing the family from the brink of starvation while they awaited the first harvest from their New Zealand land.) In a covering letter to Eyre, John remarked:

> *I am very sorry for them and fear they will have many trials and hard labour to encounter on the other side, and I am sure that it will be a great trouble for Mrs Lee to part from them, but I shall heartily rejoice to hear of their future success, and that your generous assistance will enable them to make a good start.* [49]

Eyre Lee had indeed provided "generous assistance", John Lee had made a handsome gift of ironware, and William's sister, Mary Hodgson also gave substantial help. William's continuing failure to acknowledge Mary's contribution was a constant sore point with Rebecca, who wrote:

> *Your sister Mary has added another £36 to her former contribution, and this makes £400 absolutely given to you since she first came from France. Then there are £200 more, the interest of which my husband guaranteed. How you justify your ungrateful neglect of her .....* [50]

And from Agnes as well:

> *Mr Lee says it is very wrong you have not from time to time told me and your sons what your sister may have done. He told the boys last Sunday £690, and also what he has .....* [42]

To relieve the strain of accommodating eight or more visitors at Camden Lodge, Mary Hodgson was asked to come from Paris to take the five youngest Lee children (aged 13 to 21) to the seaside resort of Redear for a two month holiday, leaving only Mary Lee (22) at home. On July 11th Rebecca wrote to William:

> *I know that [my sister Mary] intends to see you if you are in London at the same time, and it is much my husband's wish that you should meet.* [41]

William had been given ample warning that Mary would be leaving London for Redear on the 17th, but he remained at Kinver until that precise date before he set out for London.

The support of a married woman was of course her husband's responsibility, and failing him, his relatives might be expected to assist, but these were exceptional circumstances, and Rebecca, with her vigorous concern to give this family the best possible chance, could see no reason why Agnes' relatives should not also contribute, much to Agnes' embarrassment. The fact that bankruptcy proceedings had quite recently been taken against Caleb seems to have conveniently escaped Rebecca's notice.

> *She reminds me daily to ask my poor brother [Caleb] for more things such as rice, sugar, treacle, etc. I know not what to do ..... I told her [Rebecca] you said she had promised to let you see Caleb's letter. She denies it. She would not on any account betray anyone's confidence. She has told me to forward it to Caleb so that he may do as he chooses. She was paid of it, but certainly we should both do him an injustice if we suspected him of wishing to do mischief. Caleb may have exaggerated what has been done, but when asked what he had ever done I really said I could not particularize ..... Your sister estimates the things I got at Liverpool at more than £15 without the money .....* [46]

This was only a small part of the tension with which Agnes had to contend. With her husband on the move between Rivington, Birmingham, Liverpool, Kinver, and London, Agnes spent the better part of two months at her sister-in-law's house with her six youngest children, whose ages ranged

from 4 to 12. This was clearly much longer than had been originally intended, and as early as June 21st William was voicing his unease in this respect:

> *I regret the house at Rivington was not retained for two months instead of one beyond 12th May. I shall be sorely displeased if you should be taxed with my children many days longer than was at first anticipated. I know the annoyance which such an influx must create in your family, and shall be most uneasy, absolutely miserable, if they are detained much longer at Birmingham.* [45]

Rebecca's reply gives some indication of the upheavals her visitors were causing, and it was to be another three weeks before the overcrowding was relieved by the departure of the Lee children on their holiday:

> *I must know your plans, as though I could take both you and your wife in when the boys do not sleep here, when they do, I have not room without making entirely new arrangements, which I am quite willing to do if necessary, but would gladly avoid if not called for. You need not make yourself uncomfortable about giving up the house at Rivington. It would have been quite wrong to have gone on spending so much more.* [50]

With all the Hodgsons present seventeen people would have had to be accommodated at Camden Lodge, not counting the household staff, which included at least a housekeeper and a gardener. There were the usual petty illnesses to add to the burden, as for example reported by Eyre on July 7th:

> *You will be glad to know that I am much better, though till this morning I have not left my bed.* [34]

And, on July 11th from Agnes:

> *I have been confined to my bed in my room with one of my severest bilious attacks, which I think has been hanging upon me for some time. I have not tasted since Sunday more than two cups of tea and one basin of gruel. I feel very weak indeed, and have been up about half an hour.* [421]

On August 20th it was Eliza (aged 6) who was giving concern, especially with departure date so close, and the possibility that a sick passenger would have to be left behind:

> *When she got up in the morning she had a violent bowel complaint, accompanied with a* ***deal*** *of fever and pains in her head. She was put to bed after her aunt came down in the morning, and Mr Russell sent for. He sent some medicine, but she became worse again in the afternoon and your sister sent for Mr Russell again. She had a number of effervescent draughts. She had also sick, the draughts did not agree. I sat with her all day, and slept in another bed in her room all night. I was frequently disturbed, but she became better, her feverish symptoms abated. She perspired so much she had not one dry thread on her. It is just three, and she is up and Lydia is nursing her in the drawing room. Mr Russell attributed it entirely to the weather, but in consequence your sister is so fearful lest any of the others should be ill, she will not allow them to taste fruit or green vegetables.* [51]

"*I feel uncomfortable about the vessel not sailing*" wrote Agnes on July 10th, but on August 13th Rebecca was able to look back on this period without regret:

> *The delay in your sailing has not been time lost, I really think, for any one of the family, and to Eyre and myself in particular, and indeed to all our family, the opportunity of becoming acquainted with your sons has been productive of very great pleasure. We all love them dearly, and feel the warmest possible interest in their welfare.* [52]

Many worries for the future confronted Agnes, and letters were a poor substitute for the support which her husband's presence would have provided. Being much Rebecca's junior, both in age and experience, Agnes found herself in a subservient role where even the management of her children tended to be taken out of her hands. She kept her own counsel for several weeks, but eventually, when the waiting was almost over, she unburdened herself to her husband:

> *The number of books, toys, playthings of all sorts that have been given to each child is beyond description. Your sister gave poor James* [aged 11] *a very large box of dominoes. He has not the best way of expressing his gratitude, and at the time said little. At the same time Lydia gave him a large book. Now I know he felt as grateful as any, and I was the more sorry for him because I know that he is not, nor has ever been a favourite. Your sister gave him a severe lecture before all. Now, in William it was overlooked, also in Ben. James did say thankyou several times, but his manner is not lively ..... Rebecca* [aged 12]*, I am sorry to say, appears to me in the most unfavorable light of all, exposing the faults of her parents, and brothers and sisters, rather than hiding them. She appears to me to dislike James because they do, in fact they make her of too much consequence. Poor James knew I liked the musk flower and the lavender, so plucked a head of each and gave them to me this morning. He said Rebecca had been charging him with stealing. I told her it did not amount to that at all, but her aunt invariably takes her part. I got into a sad mess innocently enough here. Ever since I came, all authority has been taken from me, and placed in Rebecca's hands. I was going down the lobby and heard little Tom* [aged 4] *ask for a little more porridge, which was left by someone. He said he had not had enough. Before this he had told me, while walking round the garden half an hour, how hungry he was. I said to Rebecca, let him have it, he will not eat too much plain food. I gave him a little. She told me I talked nonsense, and unknown to me went and told her aunt, whose altered manner I soon perceived at breakfast. When I see you I will tell you what took place. The poor boy was punished for being greedy, and deprived of other things all day. She said I had spoiled all my children with indulgence, that even my son William had frequently whipped James unknown to me, for wetting his bed, and at last took him entirely in hand. I said she had been grossly misinformed, that neither Ben nor Will ever did such a thing. He was a delicate boy and that you took him in hand yourself, and cured him. From Rebecca's representation of the quantity of clothes put upon this poor boy, it seems it is you who has made him delicate..... She cannot see a fault in Rebecca, and I know she thinks she is treated harshly by us both. What will become of her? She is not to be a lady, but she does not care for either of us. I am not wrong, she never comes near me, and never once, either yesterday or today, has asked me if she could relieve me by staying with Eliza. I have not been out today. I chose to stay with Eliza while they all went out to chapel .....* [51]

This sojourn at Camden Lodge provided Agnes and young Will with their first proper understanding of the life which awaited them in Nelson. William had conveniently brushed aside the reality of his lack of capital, and cultivated an impression of himself in the role of gentleman farmer. Rebecca did her best to correct any misapprehension in a letter to her brother, July 11th:

> *I had a conversation with [young] William last Sunday, and, in the course of it, I learned his opinion that you had formed a far more exalted idea of the extent to which you would be able to commence being a farmer at once, than circumstances would warrant. You must have heard me say a dozen times, my dear brother, while you were here, that Mr Earp had distinctly said nothing would answer so well at first as to cultivate a large garden, with a view to the subsistence of your family, both in consuming its produce and in selling what you might raise more than yourselves wanted. I am very sure I mentioned this several times. It is not meant that your attention is to be long confined to the profits of your garden, but that you must begin by bringing a few acres into cultivation, and that the garden will most quickly repay your labours. In a short time it may suffice for you really to farm your land, but it cannot be directly. Neither would it be prudent to give up the market garden in order to farm, if the operations may be carried on at the same time.* [41]

The same afternoon Agnes was writing in similar vein:

> *When you receive William's letter, I hope you will be convinced I did not misunderstand your sister about our subsistence depending upon household gardening and not farming, until we can by our own labour find the means for bringing our own land into cultivation. We must creep. Our plough, our utensils, will not be wanted for some time. I believe one cow will be provided, but no hire of labour, no other cattle [i.e. no draught animals]. You have had false notions, and unfortunately have instilled the same into us all. I am sure William was as astonished as I was. I would much rather have known the real truth long since, and if I had come [to Birmingham] as often as you have, I would have done. Your land will all be mortgaged to Mr Lee as soon as we arrive .....* [42]

As purchasers of New Zealand Company land, the Hodgsons would of course be cabin passengers, though in fact what was provided by way of cabins was no more than the bare space. The Hodgsons would have the privilege of occupying one of the larger cabins in the stern of the ship (fig 13, page 24), but this space, 11' X 10', had not only to accommodate the berths for two adults and two children, but also to provide a day cabin with a table and some chairs where the younger children would spend much of their time. In fine weather they would be able to play on deck, but in rough weather this exercise would be prohibited on safety grounds. Children under twelve would not dine with the other passengers in the cuddy [the day cabin], and in fact would be permitted to enter that sanctum only at restricted hours, and even then on pain of silence.

All the fitting out and furnishing of the cabins was to be arranged by the passengers at their own expense (fig. 14, page 36), and since Mr Earp had considerable experience, Rebecca naturally sought his advice in this matter. For the larger cabin he proposed a 4'6" berth with a sliding piece which would allow it to be converted to a 2'3" sofa by day, with a very useful increase in floor space. When this was explained to William, he appeared to reject the idea, and seemingly indicated that he did not wish to share a bed with his wife. Such a decision surprised Rebecca, but it being a sufficiently delicate matter, she let the discussion rest, with the understanding that William would visit the ship to instruct the carpenters, and that she would provide the bed linen and arrange with Mr Earp for the supply of suitably sized mattresses.

With the date of departure set, the awful reality of the impending separation from her only brother descended upon Rebecca. Her consolation lay in making careful plans to ensure that the emigrants should be as comfortable as possible. In ordering the sizes of the mattresses she gave careful consideration to ensuring they would not only be suitable for the berths on board ship, but would also adapt to the six iron bedsteads which had been ordered for the new home. With the same care, she set about sewing the necessary outfit of linen, making generous allowance for illness and for anticipated difficulties with laundry on the voyage.

William was to go to London in mid-July, but his thoughts were on other matters:

> ..... *I shall write by this day's post to your son* [Thos Yate Lee] *to beg the favour of his procuring for me some precise information as to the nature and terms of admission to the Sanatorium, but, if surgical operations are not performed at this institution, I shall endeavour to obtain admission to some London hospital. I did not chuse, for obvious reasons, to disclose this plan to my wife, or any other person, before yesterday. I shall set off for London on Monday 17th next ..... to domicile myself at your son's. I shall be scrupulously careful not to interfere in any degree with his ordinary occupations .....* [24]

The reaction to this announcement was predictable. Rebecca was all sympathy:

> *I am grieved my dear William, more than I can tell, that you should suffer so much from your head. I wish you may obtain an admission into the admirable institution, to which you refer in your letter to Agnes. You must have advice, and as there is another week, I hope there is ample time .....* [41]

From Agnes came the caution:

> *Mr Eyre Lee, I am sure, will not be willing to bear the expense of the operation performed upon your neck. I wish it had not been named, because I knew you had not the means. I do not know why you did.* [42]

From Eyre himself came the careful advice:

> *If you decide upon having any operation performed, I hope you will not hesitate to inform Mr Green (whom you before consulted), either personally, or through my brother Dr Lee, of your altered situation in life since he before attended you, and I doubt not you will then receive from him every attention without much expense.* [34]

William duly arranged to be admitted to the Sanatorium for the week August 8th - 15th, and with the departure set for August 25th, it might have been expected that he would finalize all the arrangements before his operation. He did visit the ship but declined to make any decisions. Eyre made his displeasure at this delay quite apparent:

> *When I saw you at the Sanatorium I specially pointed out the mode in which your sister and myself had arranged the berths, but said that if, on going to the ship the following day as you intended, any better arrangement suggested itself to you, it might be adopted ..... and why there should be any sort of delay as to the arrangements until your sons are in London, I cannot conceive ..... best to get it all done before the carpenters are busy ..... but now that you are exactly appraised of the position of affairs, I trust you will take*

> *care that there is no other mistake or delay about these said mattresses, which cannot be ordered until the berths be settled. Mr Earp is, I am aware, much occupied, and has behaved to us with much kindness, and will be glad of aid from you toward doing what is, in fact, your own work, if you were in perfect health. I rejoice to hear that you feel able to do what is needful, and hope and trust you will put into practice your ability, without encouraging a habit of procrastination and doubt, which has been, I fear, a sore evil to you and yours.* [53]

The doctors at the Sanatorium advised the use of a seton, and this provides our only clue as to the nature of William's problem. A seton is a skein of cotton, inserted into a wound to promote drainage, and thus healing. The operation to which William referred is unlikely to have been other than of a very minor nature, as, in this period before the introduction of general anaesthetics, no-one voluntarily submitted to major surgery. William probably had an open wound on his neck, possibly the remains of an old tubercular cyst, which he had not been able to heal.*

As always, the Lees had to be involved in William's decision-making. Eyre voiced his concern, but was later reassured:

> *We are all hostile to your plan of having a seton, which Mr Skey forgets could not be dressed if you should encounter any rough weather ..... By a note received from my brother, Dr H Lee, I find that he and Mr Skey have conferred about the seton, and that he would see you and explain, and also that we had forgotten that a surgeon would be on board the Himalaya so as to prevent much difficulty about the seton, which I trust may be beneficial to you.* [53]

In the meantime, while William was in the Sanatorium, Rebecca decided she must " ..... *indulge* [herself] *in the melancholy satisfaction of seeing the vessel in which* [her] *brother and his family were to sail away, 14,000 miles away from their best and truest friends.*"

At this stage, with the cabins still bare of furnishings, they seemed exceedingly gloomy. Some matting for the floors and some bright paint might cheer them up, and so it was arranged. "*I am surprised your sister shall have painted our accommodations in such high colour*" was Agnes' reaction on viewing the results.

This visit to London would have provided Rebecca with her last opportunity to say farewell to her brother, but she chose not to walk to the Sanatorium with Eyre. William's disappointment was evident, but Rebecca wrote later in justification:

> *I must send you a few lines to explain my concern that you have felt regret on account of not seeing me when I was in London last week. I did not suppose it possible, after your own strong expression in your letter to your wife from Kinver, that you would have looked to see me. These were your own words: 'I deprecate beyond everything the misery of a last interview with my sister.' With this sentiment in my heart, and the firm persuasion that the meeting would be too painful, I should have called myself unkind to have sought, or rather, not to have avoided, the occasion of additional suffering to us both.* [54]

***FOOTNOTE:** I am indebted to Dr O.E.F. Hodgson for suggesting this interpretation.

At last, on August 15th, with his Sanatorium treatment completed, it was time for William to face the world and take charge of his own affairs. Postponed decisions could wait no longer. Eyre would be arriving that evening with Will and Ben, and as usual had sent precise instructions:

> *Lodgings you must find, and on as reasonable terms as you can ..... for you and your sons who must not be left to themselves ..... because certainly I cannot undertake the care of your sons in London ..... It is quite clear your active energies must now be wanted if your sons are to see anything of London, and I think they should.* [53]

A clear week was available to arrange the fitting out of the cabins, make last purchases, and show the boys the sights. With his sons for support, William finally found the courage to assert himself on the question of the berths. It is impossible to tell whether he had changed his mind since his first rejection of a double berth, or whether his wishes had been misunderstood from the beginning, but it is evident that he postponed the giving of instructions for as long as possible, anticipating the furore his apparent change of mind would unleash. He visited the ship, discussed the matter with the carpenters, and on their advice ordered that a double berth 3'6" wide be installed for himself and Agnes. Rebecca was naturally horrified to learn of this turn of events. On August 22nd she wrote:

> *As to the alterations in the arrangements of the berths in your cabin, if instead of trusting to Mr Brodie or Mr Anybody Else who knew nothing about you or your affairs, you had simply, when you had been to the ship, written to me, a plan suggested by Mr Earp for your comfort ..... might have been arranged without any difficulty. Your want of consciousness, both now and when I told you in our dining room of the plan of the berths, will, I fear, subject poor Agnes to considerable inconvenience. Nothing but your positive reiterated assertion that you did not mean to occupy the same bed with your wife, would have induced me to find an excuse for putting aside Mr Earp's most sensible suggestion, which I promise you was a sufficiently awkward matter to manage. Mr Eyre Lee was present when Mr Earp saw your new arrangement for the first time, and expressed his surprise at the alteration. I am very much vexed that instead of communicating with me, you have been ruled by a man evidently utterly ignorant both of comfort and propriety, or he would not have advised a bed 3'6" for two people. Why did you not write and tell me you wished to make a different arrangement, and why did you not speak openly to me about your intention of having but one bed with Agnes. ..... I can only beg you to remember that I am, even when vexed, your faithfully attached sister, Rebecca Lee.* [55]

As if this rebuke was not enough, William also received by the same post his wife's account of Rebecca's reaction to the news of the alterations. This was too much, and William could not restrain himself from an indignant reply, which only exacerbated the situation, unleashing yet more from Rebecca:

> *My Dear William, Your most extraordinary letter has arrived most opportunely, very soon after my almost heartbreaking parting with your family. It is come to convince me that those who live in general with truthful, right judging people have no fair chance when they come in contact with those who act with very little judgement themselves, or repeat so inaccurately as almost totally to misrepresent what has been said or done by others. William, I suffer enough. You might have spared me the expression of your*

disgust and indignation, even if you had really yourself heard me speak harshly. Above 50 years of unceasing affection might have been set against the possible exaggeration of any expression used by me when I found that in endeavouring to follow out what I believed to be your own wishes, I had lost the opportunity of making you as comfortable as I wished you to be. I have not been accustomed to have those before whom it is hazardous to express the passing feeling, and it is very difficult to remember how easily want of judgement, rather than evil intention, may produce most grievous mischief. I said nothing that could justify Agnes in writing to you, even as you have quoted from her letter. How much worse those parts may be which you kept back, I do not pretend to guess, but I am sure that I have said nothing to her so strong as what I wrote to you last night ..... It is more easy to wound than to heal, and you have inflicted a wound which will fester long after new scenes and occupations may have drawn off your thoughts from one you have left to mourn ..... Alas, alas, that I should have such a letter to write today ..... The readiness with which you admit unkind suspicions of your friends might well reconcile them, if anything could possibly, to your leaving your native country, for there never can be pleasant intercourse where there is the constant dread of being misunderstood or misrepresented as I have now been. That you may have more comfort in thinking over this day than I can ever have is my earnest wish. It is a dark one to my heart. I am, my dear William, your affectionate but deeply grieved sister, Rebecca Lee. [56]

The situation had become so dire that young Will decided to intervene, writing what he hoped might soothe his aunt's distress. Certainly she was able to respond to him without emotion, summarising events, and analysing where mistakes had been made.

I will answer your letter as a matter of business. If I had had the slightest idea that a double berth would have been considered by your father more commodious and agreeable, I should in the first instance have acquiesced to Mr Earp's suggestion of a mode of constructing one in my brother's cabin. It was a plan of which your uncle quite approved, and was given up solely because I believed that your father considered the single berths more desirable. He did not undeceive me when I talked to him in our dining room, and was planning with him how the berths should be arranged. It was our object for your comfort at Nelson to make the 10 mattresses serve the six iron bedsteads if possible, and the reason that your uncle interfered to advise an extension of the width, was simply that he thought 3'6" too narrow for two persons, and the mattress would not fit any bed at all. I know that he did not make any objections when he saw what was done, except as to the above size being too small for two. How you will have it settled at last I know not. I am only concerned that so much misery has arisen from my having given, in the first place, an opinion about the size and situation of the berths. [57]

Poor Rebecca! poor William! poor Agnes! Each had been under considerable strain for many weeks. They had suppressed their true feelings and tried to put a brave face on it, but now at the last, on this one issue of the berths, all their pent-up and confused emotions burst forth. Misunderstanding piled upon misunderstanding, and many ill considered words were uttered in those last days which would long be a matter for deep regret.

August 23rd was the date set for all goods to be on board the *Himalaya*, and on that morning therefore, Eyre planned to bring the remainder of the family to London.

> *I will leave with Mrs Hodgson and the six children and my servant on Wednesday, and you must be so good as to arrange as to their being lodged. It seems there will be no less than 11 packages, your attention to the arrangement whereof will be essentially necessary, as they must be conveyed in a cart or wagon, and I cannot from here decide what will be the best mode of getting them onto the ship, but I should think a cart from the docks would be best and less cost. Many of these packages are suited to stand in the cabins, but the two skips are packed with articles which are to be transferred from the said skips into the chests of drawers by Bennett [the servant] with the aid of Mrs Hodgson ..... I think you will do well to be at Euston Station with your cart at one o'clock, and you must previously learn as to the process of getting such a carriage admitted ..... P.S. Take care to fix with Mr Stayner as to how these packages are to be got on board without delay.* [58]

The arrangements to transport three adults, six children, and eleven pieces of luggage were planned with careful forethought, right down to the provision of sandwiches, as they would miss their usual dinner. But this was only a small part of the total goods which had been planned, purchased, sewn, packed, inventoried for customs, labelled, and forwarded to the ship by Eyre and Rebecca over the preceding weeks. Rebecca and her daughter had worked till 11 or 12 many evenings to complete the task. The account for the freight (fig. 14), gives some idea of the magnificent contribution made by the Lees in providing a house, its furniture, kitchen utensils, farming equipment, clothing, medicines, groceries, books, etc., not forgetting the land itself on which this enterprise would be founded. It is indeed sad that all this goodwill should have culminated in such an acrimonious departure.

Account to Mr Eyre Lee for freight by *Himalaya*
Captain H Burn, for New Zealand 25 Aug 1843

63 packages	570. 5		
1 case	6. 3		
	576. 8	@ 50/-	36.00.5
Primage			1.16.0
			37.16.5
Allowance 3 1/2 tons			- 8.15.0
			£29.01.5

List of packages:	11	Manning	1	Silver & Co
	3	washhand stands	1	Wingfield
	3	Crowley & Co	1	table
	1	case	13	Sturtland & Co
	10	mattresses	14	with T E Lee
	2	chest of drawers	4	night table and bags

To putting in after cabin 3 sleeping berths, 1 set washhand stands, 1 deal table, 1 shelf on top of locker, 1 for seat, cleating boxes, one pewter washhand basin and bottle and chamber utensil	3.15.0
4 brass lamp hooks, 1 1/2 doz brass hooks	4.6
2 doz hooks and 6 large	3.6
1 pewter washhand stand	4.6
Man assisting	2.6
No 9 putting up 2 berths, washstand etc	1.05.0
No 11 putting up 4 berths, washstand etc	2.10.0
	£ 8.05.0

Figure 16: Accounts for Freight and Carpentry on *Himalaya*

Interpretation of the above account:
The 3 ½ tons allowance refers to the ship's tonnage or volumetric capacity.
1 freight ton = 40 cubic feet.
In this instance 576.8 cubic feet of freight was shipped,
amounting to 14.42 freight tons, which at 50/- per ton = £36
[authority: Dr Russ Rowlett, University of North Carolina, Dictionary of Units of measurement]

[note that the *Himalaya* was said to have a burthen of 500 tons - figure 14, page 23]

5 The Voyage

Departure day arrived at last. For the Hodgsons there were no tearful farewells at the quayside - they had taken their leave of family and friends, one by one, over the past two months, and even Eyre had returned home a day or so before, having first ascertained that all their goods had been safely loaded. The *New Zealand Journal* described the departure thus:

> *The* Himalaya *went out of the dock on the day announced, to the disappointment of a few passengers who could not believe the Shippers could so strictly keep faith with the public, and who are therefore constrained to join the vessel at Plymouth. This punctuality is as it should be, and will, by and by, tell in favour of the Owners, and the Company. The Himalaya was full of passengers and of goods; and already intending settlers are booked for the Ship to follow on the same plan, although its name is not yet announced. A regular line of same is to be laid on immediately. The annexed is a list of the passengers by the Himalaya with their respective destinations; the cabin passengers take with them considerable capital, and a more valuable or more useful set of small capitalists has not yet been secured for New Zealand:- Mr & Mrs Martin and family for Nelson; Mr & Mrs Creag and family for Wellington; Mr & Mrs Hodgson and family for Nelson; Mrs Lowe; Mrs Crouch; Messers Davies for New Plymouth; Mr Farnham; Mr Thatcher for New Plymouth; Mr Hall New Plymouth; Mr & Mrs Pearce New Plymouth; Mr Phelps Nelson; Mr Martin Nelson. Steerage: Wm Grey, Mr & Mrs Wood, H Worthams, Sutton, Levi, Barnes, Walker, Holden. A number of pigs for improving the breed in New Zealand has been despatched.* [59]

Five days sailing took them down the Thames from St Katherine's docks, and along the south coast to Plymouth, where another five days were spent loading the remaining passengers and goods. On September 16th the *New Zealand Journal* reported:

> *The* Himalaya *left Plymouth on Thursday night with fair wind and fine weather, carrying 37 cabin and 19* steerage passengers, with a fair proportion of capital in goods and money. All were in perfect health and high spirits, every attention having been paid to their comfortable accommodation. They individually and collectively expressed themselves well pleased on leaving.* [60]

It was doubtless a comfort to Rebecca to read that all had gone well at the end, though we should remember that the *New Zealand Journal*, being essentially a publicity organ for the New Zealand Company, was bound to present the facts in the most favourable light.

The consequences of being confined at close quarters for four months with a random selection of one's fellow countrymen are unpredictable, and the pleasure of the association is greatly dependent on the compatibility of the individuals concerned. William appears to have had a not particularly attractive personality, but whereas he may have felt more at home aboard the *Lord Auckland*, an earlier emigrant ship to Nelson, whose passengers occupied their time in debating contests, amateur theatricals, and other intellectual pursuits,[61] he found himself very much at odds with the *Himalaya's* contingent who were, in his view, far too prone to drinking.

*** FOOTNOTE:** If correct, this would be an exceptionally small number in steerage. It may be a misprint for 119 or even 219, which would not be unusual for a ship of this size.

Our fellow passengers of the cuddy were not* [he wrote]*, with perhaps two exceptions, of even tolerably gentlemanly habits. For the most part they were a highly disagreeable set, selfish and sneaking, vulgar, gross, and ignorant. They were almost as a matter of course quarrelsome and caballing; but the most odious was the best informed, one who had evidently mixed with good company and seen much of the world. This man, who passed under an assumed name, until his real one was unavoidably discovered on our arrival at New Zealand, and who had, with many circumstances of mystery, been smuggled on board the Himalaya a few hours only before we set sail from Plymouth, proved to be a brother** of the* ***too*** *famous Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who about twenty years ago was imprisoned at Newgate (he richly deserved hanging) for the abduction of Miss Turner. There can be no question that our fellow passenger was flying from his creditors, giving them what is styled leg bail. You probably know something of the history of this worthy, as he married for his second wife a sister of one of the Warwickshire Attwoods, from whom he is separated. He is a barrister, and actually (at the* ***last*** *general election, I believe) was very near being returned to Parliament as representative of Lambeth. He is one of the worst specimens of a rather numerous class in London of needy, briefless barristers, without principle of any kind, ready to devote their pens or tongues to the advancement of* ***any*** *cause or object, for the sake of emolument. This mischievous vagabond was, for the greater part of the voyage, sent to Coventry by most of those on board.*

Never [can I] (nor can any one of my family) look back upon the occurrences of the outward voyage, without feelings of disgust and regret. It was for my children that I suffered the most painful anxiety. It was so difficult (tractable, quiet and well-behaved as they were) to protect them from contamination. The scenes of revolting bestiality, not only not repressed, but shared in and encouraged by the licentious Captain and the hoggish Surgeon, no effort was made to conceal by the actors; and I assure you that the abominations practiced in the lowest Tom and Jerry pot-houses in Manchester scarcely exceeded the revels held regularly ***every night****, by the party of choice spirits in the cabin immediately adjoining my own. The oaths, execrations, and filth and ribaldry which passed in the one, were as distinctly audible in the other as if there had been no partition. Indeed, it was a very thin one, by no means answering effectively the purpose of a separation. I pass over in silence many other serious annoyances which might, in a well governed, well regulated ship, have easily been avoided; I shall make this single conclusive remark that, however differing from one another in other respects, the passengers all united in hearty detestation and contempt of our Captain, and well-*

*** FOOTNOTE:** The cuddy was a day cabin where cabin passengers socialised and took their meals.

**** FOOTNOTE:** This was Daniel Bell Wakefield, who married first Selina Elizabeth, daughter of James Godfrey Lill de Burgh (runaway marriage), and second Angela, daughter of Thomas Attwood. Daniel's wife did not come to New Zealand. He was later Attorney-General for New Munster (all of New Zealand south of the Patea river). William was confused about the abduction of Miss Turner, for which two of Daniel's brothers, Edward Gibbon and William, were imprisoned. Another brother Arthur, was killed in the Wairau Affair while the *Himalaya* was en route to New Zealand, and it was this event which caused Daniel's identity to be unmasked on arrival.

grounded discontent with the conduct of the charterers of the vessel, and with the whole system adopted by the Company in forwarding the settlers. [48]

Not surprisingly, the *New Zealand Journal* took a somewhat different view: "The *Himalaya* came out in much better order than the *Theresa*" (where spirits had been sold on board). For his part, William felt that the tone of the voyage was largely attributable to the example set by Captain H Burn.

Our voyage to this distant shore would, on many accounts, be termed a prosperous one, as we encountered no storms (scarcely more than two or three brisk gales or heavy seas occurring), and few casualties of any kind I think, except one or two exhibitions of a mutinous spirit in the crew, one of rather serious character. How far our brutal and selfish Scottish Captain was to blame in inciting the discontents, I never could ascertain. I from early life conceived a strong dislike of the Scottish national character, and my dislike has been much confirmed by the specimen of cunning meanness, tyranny and grossness in ***Skipper*** *Burn of the Himalaya." The sailors may have had some substantial grievances to complain of, though the ordinary deportment of their Captain was sufficiently unconciliatory towards them, or rather, was brutally offensive to all but his two fellow countrymen - the cook and the carpenter ..... As was to be expected, his sailors deserted whenever there was an opportunity, that is to say, at every port we touched at some were left behind.*

There was on board, in the capacity, or rather in a station similar to midshipmen in a ship of war, four youths of very respectable connections. Besides finding themselves in clothing etc., they paid the Captain £70 for the voyage. They performed all the drudgery of the meanest sailors, but were not considered before the mast, and messed separately. In return, they were to be taught seamanship; but not the slightest pains were taken to instruct them. In short, so abominably ill were they treated, that two of them quitted the ship at Wellington, and I believe worked their passage home to England as common sailors in some other vessel.

One of the regularly bound apprentices, acting before the mast, having committed some offence, was brought before the Magistrate at Wellington by this Captain Burn, and having been condemned to a short imprisonment, was left behind in fact. I understand that no master of a vessel can sail away and leave [men] in confinement in a foreign port, and accordingly this young man's friends brought an action in England against this Captain Burn, who having most undeservedly, but as a matter of course, got witnesses to depose his unimpeachable character, escaped with the insignificant fine of £20.

I have learned from unquestionable authority that the brute drank so much brandy on the return voyage that he became raving mad, and for two months was subjected to the discipline of the strait waistcoat. I am positive that the cuddy or cabin passengers never consumed ***one half*** *of the provisions provided for them by the New Zealand Company, though we would gladly have eaten much more than the stingy Scot allowed. I have the* ***best reasons in the world*** *for believing he appropriated for his own account the surplus, instead of handing it over to the charterers. The proper check to this was the Surgeon, appointed by the Company, but he was a monster in human shape - a compleat tool of the Captain, one who, for an extra glass of brandy, would have done any dirty or wicked work.*[48]

In addition to this summary of the voyage, there is also young Will's daily Journal which follows.[62] It was written at Aunt Rebecca's request, and returned to her in England soon after the colonists arrived in Nelson. There is a telling contrast between the impression conveyed by the Journal, written by a youth of 18 just setting out on life's journey, and the recollections already quoted, written in retrospect by an embittered old man.

Looking back, William remembers chiefly the bad parts, and, courting the sympathy of his readers, probably indulges himself in some colourful exaggeration. Young Will, on the other hand, tells the story day by day, as it happened. He seldom finds reason to comment on the food at all, which would be surprising if his father's claims regarding reduced rations were correct. Unless, of course, Will was editing his account so as to minimise his Aunt's distress.

Will does confirm the lack of harmony among the passengers, and the somewhat oppressive rule of the Captain. As Constance Barnicoat has pointed out, there was a considerable amount of callousness, and even cruelty, practiced on this ship, and this was something the Captain might have influenced. Outstanding among these incidents was the Neptune ceremony at the crossing of the Line, when the young midshipmen had their eyes and mouths stuck up with tar, and the steerage passengers suffered almost as harshly. There was also the disposal of the ship's cat by flinging it overboard, the monkey that was plied with grog, as well as other less serious incidents.

A minor mutiny occurred on November 7th of which William senior wrote rather more colourfully than Will's diary entry of that date:

> *One of the ringleaders of the mutiny was chained for two days to the bulkhead adjoining and facing my cabin and those of the children. Indeed the table at which the latter took all their meals rested at one end on this bulkhead. The children of the cabin passengers below a certain age took all their meals at a separate table below deck. My son James was the oldest of the juvenile party and never shall I forget the terror strongly depicted on the countenances of each little one as the ferocious ruffianly visage of the manacled sailor unable to rise or move, peered fully above the margin of the table. I almost feared at the time that one or other would have fallen into a fit. But this was only one, and an inconsiderable instance of the total disregard of Captain Burn for the feelings of any human being.*

These passengers had the advantage of two landings: at the Cape Verde Islands in mid-Atlantic, and at the island of St Paul in the South Indian Ocean. These landings were an important opportunity to restock the ship with fresh water, and with fruit, vegetables, fish, etc., but they also provided relief to the monotony of the voyage. Many emigrant vessels travelled non-stop to New Zealand, some by choice and others because unfavourable winds prevented planned landfalls en route. In these cases fresh supplies were often very low by the time they reached their destination. Landings at remote mid-oceanic islands were preferred because of the reduced incentive for sailors to jump ship.

Very little mention of Mrs Hodgson or of other female passengers is made in the Journal, and it is apparent that the limited entertainments which were devised by the passengers were very much male oriented. The women must have had a very boring time, when not occupied with their impossible tasks of replacing many outfits of drenched clothing and sodden bedding, as well as comforting the children in their many difficulties.

The *Himalaya* had a reasonably fast passage of 109 days from Plymouth to New Plymouth. They were favoured with fair winds at the outset, reaching Madeira in eight days from Plymouth, whereas some ships spent weeks waiting to clear the Channel or beating about the Bay of Biscay. They experienced cold conditions in the South Indian Ocean, but this was quite usual, as captains preferred to steer well to the south where stronger westerly winds could be expected. They did at least have the advantage of the southern summer, and did not share the experience of some vessels which sighted ice-bergs.

6 JOURNAL OF WILLIAM C. HODGSON SETTLER [62]

WRITTEN WHEN 18* YEARS OF AGE ON VOYAGE TO NEW ZEALAND

At a quarter to eight a.m. we weighed anchor and proceeded down the Thames with a favourable breeze. As we went on, the water at first smooth and nearly motionless, began to roughen. It blew very heavily and off Margate the wind became directly opposed to us so that we had to make slow and laborious advances by continual tacking. At last off Deal we were compelled to cast anchor. At about five in the afternoon several of the children who had for some time been looking rather queer went below. What those apparently harmless words mean and the extent of the misery conveyed by them no-one who has been to sea can fail to understand. At tea time the table, lately so crowded that to stir was a difficult matter and elbow room not to be thought of, was half deserted, a few of those horrible old seasoned hands only remaining whom no mishap by sea or land affects and who overwhelm with ridicule all the suffering part of the community. And the wretched writer of this account was compelled to go below long before he had completed that usually refreshing but then alas to him revolting meal. Over the horrors of that night I willingly draw a veil nor is it I opine necessary to dilate upon the appearance of the numerous wan and haggard beings who crawled upstairs in the morning with the insane hope of being able to partake of the coarse fat beef and onion placed before them for breakfast. That would be indeed "Infandum renovare colorem" to tear open an old wound.

August 27th [29th] Tuesday. It is a fine morning but there is hardly a breath of wind stirring and what there is is contrary so we still remain at anchor. About a mile off is Deal and a very pretty spot too unless "distance lend enchantment to the view." With the ship's glasses we can discern very plainly Walmer Castle. Astern lies the "Camperdown" a ship of the line driven hither by stress of weather. She looks a giant by the side of the surrounding vessels and is perfectly motionless. By afternoon the invalids begin to mend considerably and are most of them on deck. About 4pm we again weighed anchor but after beating about for a few hours were obliged to come to a stand. We begin, and naturally enough, to wonder how long this sort of thing is to last. During the night we were all alarmed by a crash and an outcry. It turned out to be Rebecca whose berth having been put up very slightly gave way, Sarah being underneath. No-one was hurt however though a very great disturbance was made. The carpenter rebuilt it more substantially next day.

August 28th [30th] Wednesday. The wind though very light and partial has at length veered round to the wished for quarter and we are "walking the waters" at the prodigious rate of a mile and a quarter an hour. We can see Dover with its fine old castle and renowned white cliffs and the coast of France like a thin blue line is just visible in the distance. The invalids of our family are nearly well but we fear the demon of the seasickness has not yet paid us his final visit. A pheasant and hare which were being sent out this voyage by the N.Z. Company with a view to stock the islands, died this morning. We are sailing alongside of an emigrant ship for Canada. The wind has freshened and the opportunity is taken by several of the passengers, myself among the number, of the pilots going ashore to write to England.

August 29th [31st] Thursday. Saw the romantic coasts of the Isle of Wight along which we sailed all day with a very light wind. The Captain volunteered "God Save the Queen" on the accordion

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*** FOOTNOTE:** The author had his seventeenth birthday on the voyage.

**** FOOTNOTE:** There is confusion of dates in the early part of this Journal up to the point where Saturday September 9th follows Friday September 6th. This error has now been corrected and the altered dates are shown in square brackets.

and his performance was not bad. A poor gentleman and his wife who are both wretched sailors came upstairs today for almost the first time since our departure. They looked rather spectral and did not appear to relish the raillery with which their fellow voyagers unmercifully assailed them. Several of the younger passengers having incautiously ascended the rigging were much to their own dismay and astonishment followed by the second mate and several of the men who lashed them to the shrouds amid the laughter of the assembled spectators. They were released however upon their giving an order for a glass of grog for each of the crew and some tobacco. "Sic moneti" beware ye would be mariners.

August 30th [Sept 1st] Friday. A good fresh breeze and the vessel going through the water at the rate of six miles an hour. We can discern the rocky coasts of Devonshire which are truly beautiful. We shall reach Plymouth tomorrow morning, we have just seen Edystone lighthouse. A steamer is coming up at a prodigious speed decorated with a number of lights of various hues which make a splendid show by night for it is about ten o'clock. The strange ship has turned out to be the Queen's yacht on its return from Plymouth with her and has left her escort of vessels far behind.

August 31st [Sept 2nd] Saturday. Upon wakening we found ourselves entering Plymouth Sound and passing that stupendous undertaking the breakwater. Going forwards towards the centre of the harbour we anchored about half a mile from the town alongside of the "Inconstant" frigate. The view of the harbour, Mt Edgecumbe, the batteries and the town all taken in at once by the eye is the most magnificent I ever saw. Upon entering the town which my father Benjamin and myself did in a small boat we were greatly disappointed. Instead of the beautifully situated and well built town it seemed to be from the harbour we found a place with narrow crooked and gloomy streets the houses of which were generally very high old and smokey looking and which with the exception of the citadel and hotel did not appear to contain a single handsome public building. We found it a very dear place for all kinds of goods but perhaps we shall have occasion to go ashore again when we may alter our opinion of it. We came home late at night.

September 1st [3rd] Sunday. To those on board the Himalaya at least this has been no Sunday. Owing to the number of passengers embarking for New Zealand here and our limited stay at this place there is nothing but hustle and confusion. I am afraid we shall be terribly crowded being already very full. The mate took out with him in a boat belonging to the ship several of the midshipmen whereof we have five to exercise them in rowing. The laughter of the passengers and crew at their first awkward attempts was tremendous, the poor fellows quite abashed. Several of the passengers having gone ashore to church have come back laden with purchases such as cans mops pots etc. We shall stay here till Wednesday.

September 2nd [4th] Monday. It is very hot and there is very little wind. Already we tire of the prospect as there is no variety the wind being contrary for vessels entering the port. An awning is spread over the deck which makes the heat much less oppressive. We have three carpenters on board fitting up the berths for the newcomers. Fruit women etc come alongside in shoals and several of our live stock have been hoisted on board, the pigs squealing horribly and the sheep remaining quiet as lambs. A ship of war is being towed past us into the inner harbour.

September 3rd [5th] Tuesday. Landed at Plymouth with my father Ben and Rebecca to show her a little of the town and make a few purchases. Mr Earp showed us over the citadel which is well worth a visit. I have not changed my opinion of the town though the upper part is superior to the part I saw before. We could not gain admission to the dockyard without a ticket but returned about nine o'clock pleased with our visit. The passengers are very restless while in sight of land continually passing to and fro in boats. They appear determined to enjoy life as long as they remain in England. Our second mate whom we have long considered an idle and dissolute fellow

though very good natured was turned off by the Captain this morning for going ashore with several of the men without leave. There is no time to get another in his place so we go to sea without one.

September 4th [6th] Wednesday. We were expected to go to sea today but there is no wind whatever and it is very hot. The passengers are now all on board and a pretty crowd too. The sound is as still as a millpond and many small vessels are lying becalmed like ourselves so that the scene is eminently beautiful. The sailors are singing in chorus while they shorten the cable ready to weigh anchor and the sound has a very good effect. Mr Earp and the Captain have come on board in a skiff and we are only waiting for the breeze which will spring up late tonight.

September 5th [7th] Thursday. We weighed anchor late on Wednesday night with a light breeze and tolerably smooth sea. Scarcely had we got out of sight of land when the usual miserable curse of sea sickness began and was much more violent this time than before. Heaps of dreadfully sick passengers are lying about on the deck in every direction. Hardly one has escaped the affliction. I can say no more.

September 6th [8th] Friday. Matters are not at all mended but the sea is rougher. We have had some thunder and rain and have seen a large shoal of porpoises. No-one is well enough to shout at them. A poor little bird from the land has come on board and is hopping about the deck.

September 9th Saturday. There is a fresh breeze and the ship pitches most uncomfortably but we are getting eight miles and a half per hour out of her. The invalids are very little better and the children are continually falling over and hurting themselves. It is very cold. We are now right in the middle of the Bay of Biscay with which we have not fallen in love yet. We are fast overtaking a vessel which this morning was not in sight.

September 10th Sunday. Still going on very well. There is no Divine Service on board though one gentleman proposed to read prayers if the company thought fit. Consequently this to most of the passengers is the dullest day there being no means of amusement at hand. They find however some slight consolation in the dinner which is a superior affair on this day and in the plum pudding which invariably follows.

September 11th 12th 13th Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday have been little better than blank leaves in the book of life and utterly destitute of interest owing to my being confined to my bed by a severe bowel complaint. I hear however that we have been going on at a much greater speed than we had attained before sometimes making eleven knots an hour. I believe that sea sickness has now left all but the very bad subjects though the first very rough weather will certainly bring it back again.

September 14th Thursday. Got upon deck where it is so warm that an awning is spread over us. The air is most balmy and the sea has exchanged its green and lead colour for a beautiful blue. It is the finest weather possible for an invalid and disposed one to be very lazy withal, too lazy to read almost. We shall very soon reach Madeira perhaps tomorrow noon. Mother Carey's Chickens are skimming about the ship and sitting on the waves.

September 15th Friday. We are close to Madeira which we are passing slowly. Imagine an immense mass of rocks apparently lost in the clouds which appear to have been riven assunder in many places with crags and pinnacles of most fantastic and wild forms which seem too sterile to produce anything but wild plants with small platforms here and there covered with verdure and dotted with one or two white cottages, and you will have an idea of the island as it appeared to

us. Owing to the wind we could not see Funchal which I regret. We passed two smaller desert islands at a short distance from Madeira and saw several of the fishermen's boats none of which came near enough to speak to us. We also spoke with the "Elizabeth Jane" for Calcutta by signal. The view of Madeira perhaps rendered more enchanting from our not having seen land for some time is much superior to that of Plymouth. The effect of such a prodigious mass of rock rising abruptly from the deep blue sea is most beautiful. We soon lost sight of the island, a thick fog and drizzling rain coming on which drove us all below.

September 16th Saturday. We have a very fair breeze and fine weather and have seen a shoal of porpoise which came towards us leaping out of the water to a great height and gambolling around the ship. One of them we wounded with a harpoon and dyed the waters with his blood though he contrived to escape; we could see them passing us under the waves at the rate of fifteen miles an hour. This is the only occurrence worthy of mention today.

September 17th Sunday. Still fine weather. We can see Palma one of the Canaries though at such a distance that we can distinguish nothing but a mass of blue mountains. The Captain has read the church service on deck at which nearly all attended. The reading desk was a box with the Union Jack spread over it. A mate one of the passengers acted as clerk and all went off very well. We have come up with a barque of nearly our own size as we do with everything and having displayed the English Ensign found her also English. Our ship is a very fast one as we have found by our passing all the ships on the same tack excepting an American liner near Deal.

September 18th Monday. This is the hottest day we have had yet. We are almost becalmed. The heavier sails do nothing but flap idly against the mast and we are not making above a mile an hour. The thermometer is above 80 in the shade and we have fairly entered the tropics. A gentleman tells us for our consolation that he once made seventeen miles in twelve days in this latitude. The Cape Verde Islands for which we are making are one thousand miles off and the Captain intended to reach them by Friday. Unless a good breeze spring up we shall be much longer in doing it but it is impossible to prophesy with any certainty.

September 19th Tuesday. There is a light breeze but quite in the contrary direction. The Captain wishes for a calm as then a favourable breeze might spring up. All of the passengers who can knit are making drag and garden nets, James among the number. The sailors are taking down the new sails which would be injured by the heat and putting up old patched ones. The phosphoric appearance of the water was more brilliant tonight than we have yet seen it. The ship left a long train of light in her wake.

September 20th Wednesday. The wind though still light is more favourable. In the afternoon the Captain, Surgeon and several of the passengers went off in the boat to a Swedish brig about five miles off. They returned in a few hours with her captain, a German, who went back in a few minutes taking with him letters from several of us including Ben and Papa. He was bound for Rio Janeiro with a cargo of wines and carried despatches from the French government. We backed our topsails to let the brig come up with us which she did in fine style under a press of canvas.

September 21st Thursday. We have left the little Swede a long way astern and in all probability shall not see her again. Mr Martin's horse has been taken out of his crib to exercise him and have his feet washed. The poor animal was so unused to moving that he staggered about like a drunk man and appears not sorry to be led back to his stall. A flock of flying fish has just skimmed by. The flight of these creatures dipping their wings in the waves every few yards is very pretty. I am told they are very good eating and sometimes are driven by the violence of the wind onto a ship's deck.

September 22nd Friday. It is so excessively hot that we are forced to have sides to our awning and a long cylinder of canvas like a chimney is introduced into the cabin one end of it being fastened high in the rigging to admit a current of fresh air. Several dolphins* are playing about the vessel keeping up with her with the greatest apparent ease though we are going very fast through the water. They are very small resembling an eel in shape but their colours are most beautiful being like those of the rainbow though far more brilliant. They are very hard to catch I am told.

September 23rd Saturday. We have found out a substitute for bathing which would be dangerous here on account of the sharks. In the bows of the vessel a foot from the water a narrow plank is suspended immediately beneath the bowsprit. Onto this the person wishing to bathe descends, and clinging to a rope stands as well as he can while a person above pumps onto him a powerful stream of salt water from the forecastle pump. The plank is very slippery and not above three inches wide so that your only stay is the rope and while the water above is descending like a cataract and that below roaring horribly the vessel pitching and plunging all the while your situation at first does not appear a very safe one. But the water is most refreshing and this shower bath keeps you cool for the rest of the day so that a great number of us use it primitive though it be. None but an active young man can of course avail himself of it.

September 24th Sunday. We have an odd sort of bird of the owl species hopping about the masts which several have in vain attempted to catch. Blind as he is, he is far too knowing for that. We are followed by a dove too so that we cannot be very far from land. The wind fell off in the afternoon very suddenly and we were left stationary the sails continually flapping against the mast as if saying we cannot go on. This is a most disagreeable sound and as it occurs every minute is perpetually reminding you of your situation. It is a sort of insult to the becalmed sailor. Although we were stationary in one sense yet we were far otherwise in another for there was a succession of long huge rolling waves which though there was hardly a breath of air stirring made us pitch tremendously. This state of things could not be endured long, to be tossed about so and yet make no progress, so a stiff breeze sprung up most opportunely just as we were all becoming very cross and carried us forward at eight knots an hour putting everyone in good humour.

September 25th Monday. In the morning we found ourselves rather unexpectedly in sight of Bonavista one of the Cape Verde group (fig. 17) and ran along its western coast within two miles of it. Though mountainous it was not nearly so romantic a place as Madeira and had a most unpromising aspect. The hills were black and barren and the soil appeared to be principally white sand. The coast is rocky and dangerous abounding with reefs and breakers which we could see very plainly. There was little verdure, no houses and apparently no cultivated land. This side of the island possessed nothing like a harbour. In the afternoon we sighted Mayo, another of the islands, along which we ran within a very short distance of it. The appearance of this place was much more beautiful than that of Bonavista though it was still more mountainous. It was covered with grass and well wooded and we could discern several villages and a vineyard. Its extent was considerable and the peaks in the interior rose to a great height and were of the most romantic forms. We saw a single ship at anchor in the distance. About eight at night the huge dark masses composing Santiago rose in sight. Their tops were covered with a large dark cloud from beneath which the rays of the setting sun threw a beautiful golden light over the lower parts of the island and the sea, and made a rich yellow fringe for the top of the cloud. We all collected in the poop to admire it and thought that nothing could exceed the effect.

***FOOTNOTE:** The animals referred to are dolphin-fish (*Coryphaena*) also known as dorados. They are predators of flying fish, not to be confused with dolphins, the marine mammals.

Figure 17: Cape Verde Islands - more images at http://www.capeverdetravel.co.uk/

September 26th Tuesday. We are within the harbour of Porto Praya and surrounded by nearly the same description of scenery as that of the other islands. The town is before us and there are several vessels floating in the harbour. One of them an American whaler for the Bay of Islands and another a French vessel for Bordeau. The harbour has only a very small landing place, along the other sides a heavy surf is continually beating. In the morning we were boarded by the custom house officers who left one of their number with us. About ten my father Benjamin and I put off in a crowded boat rowed by negroes for the town. When we were within a few yards of the beach we were astonished at seeing a number of blacks rush into the water with great vociferation and gesticulation and scaring us almost forcibly conveyed us on their shoulders through the surf which was running high at the time. No sooner were the passengers all conveyed ashore than they crowded round us and loudly demanded a recompense, cunningly refusing the coppers tendered them and contriving to exact double pay from the more ignorant of our number. No sooner were we freed from these nuisances than we were stopped by the custom house officers who after examining our bags and baskets let us ascend to the town.

Porto Praya is built on a cliff surrounding three sides of the town and accessible only by a steep narrow path commanded by a fort garrisoned by blacks in white uniforms and officered by Portugese. The houses are mean and small but being well laid out in streets and squares and all white washed do not look ill. The streets are covered in grass and many houses are in ruins. Lazy negroes who comprise nine tenths of the population are lounging about everywhere, bare legged and half clothed. There are many donkies in the place but no wheeled vehicles, not so much as a wheelbarrow, and lattices universally supply the place of glass windows. The language of the islands is a mixture of Portugese, French and English. The shops are few and all the manufactured commodities high.

After making a dinner of goat's milk cheese and sour rolls we went to the gardens behind the town accompanied by two black boys who persisted in following us; and were joined here as we had previously arranged by Mama and several other of the ladies from the Himalaya. These gardens, cultivated entirely by blacks, were most beautiful. We saw cocoa-nuts hanging in huge green bunches from the trees; oranges, bananas and figs, all green and very cheap. We also saw the sugar cane and capsicums and a great number of vines. Wine was to be had at a shilling a bottle. We staid all day in the gardens and amused ourselves with conversing with the black labourers who did not work half an hour in a day. One of them gave me five large cocoanuts for a broken knife and two for an old gimblet.

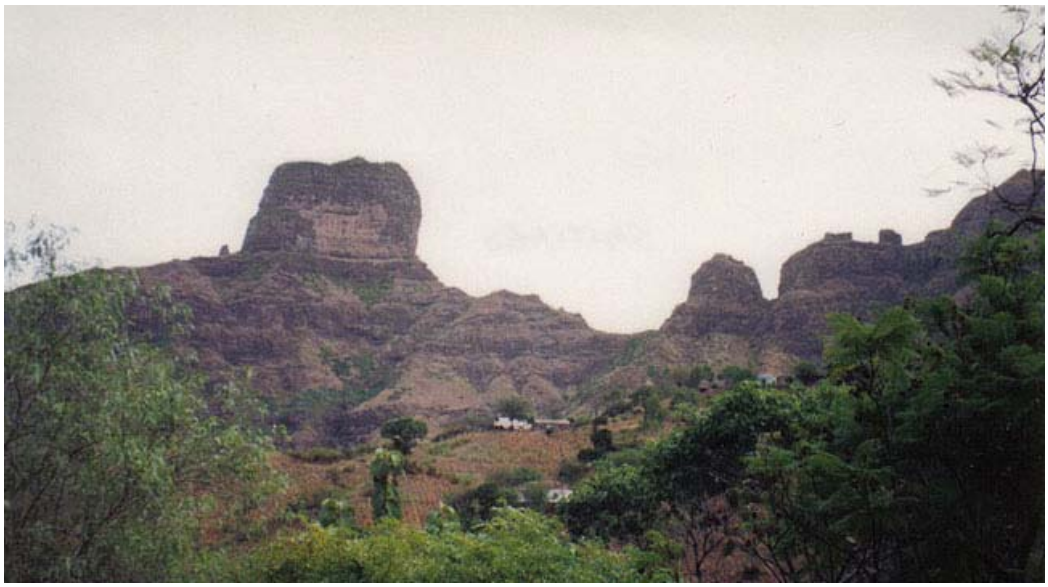

Figure 18: Interior, Cape Verde Island

On leaving the gardens which are nearly a mile long and going to the outside of the town, we found the islands to consist of nothing but a dreary waste of mountain and ravine with here or there a palm or cocoanut tree, and a flock of goats; the herbage is very short and seems parched by the intense heats. In some of the valleys however the soil is more fruitful and there are extensive gardens cultivated entirely by blacks. In the middle of the town is a large covered room containing a tank of beautifully clear water for the convenience of the townspeople and shipping by which the place is almost altogether supported. We returned about seven in the evening carrying with us a quantity of fruit which we got very cheap. Oranges were two shillings a hundred, very large and well flavoured. Several boat loads of our fellow passengers were returning at the same time loaded with fruit bamboos cheeses etc so that there was a terrific bustle and clamour. In carrying us through the surf the negroes let me, Ben and several others fall and wet us to the waist. Two of them began to fight about my father when breast high in the water and nearly let him drop. Our boat was so overloaded as to have its gunwhale nearly level with the water and this with a heavy swell coming in.

September 27th Wednesday. Numbers of boats manned by negroes keep coming alongside and sell to those of the passengers who have not landed oranges, cocoanuts, cheeses, bananas, lemons and limes at a dear rate. These with sugar and wine are all that the island produces to any extent. The Captain and several others who had been on an expedition to the interior to a garden called Trinidad returned about eleven. They rode on hired horses and said that the roads were the most beautiful they had ever seen consisting principally of large round stones from a pound weight to half a ton scattered upon sand at the distance of a few inches, quite loose, over which their beasts were continually stumbling. We were visited by the Captain of the "Pantaloon," a ten gun brig then lying in the harbour together with a small Portugese ship of war. He said that he was on the lookout for slaves of which he had captured two. He had been a year on the station and told us that he had become quite accustomed to the heat but that out of his crew of seventy eleven were then ill of the fever. The Captain gave him a newspaper and he went off very glad of the acquisition which was only five weeks old. He was a young man, rather handsome, and very gentlemanly. We got under way at twelve and as we passed under the stern of the Pantaloon her captain and officers took off their hats and wished us "Bon Voyage."

The wind could not have been more favourable and we soon lost sight of the blue hills of Santiago.

September 28th Thursday. It is hotter than any day we have had yet but we are still proceeding very fast on our course. Captain Creagh* has bought two goats at Porto Praya and has begged us to reserve all our orange and lemon peel for them. They are as black as jet and by night look diabolical. One of the ship's boys has bought a little monkey which is another source of amusement though he is very savage as yet and will bite if he can, seeming unwilling to be touched. (I forgot to say in my account of Porto Praya that the harbour was absolutely alive with fish of all sizes and shapes which played round the vessel in shoals of five or six thousand at a time. The Portugese customs house officer threw out a line and caught six in a very short time.) Today was my birthday but all forgot it including myself til night.

September 29th Friday. It has been very calm all day but towards evening the Captain pointed out to us a long red streak in the west telling us to make all fast for rough weather might be expected. About midnight we were aroused by a great trampling and shouting on deck and found we had got it with a vengeance. It began with a fierce gust of wind which, gradually dying away, was succeeded by such a rush of rain as I never saw before. It came down like a waterspout and, bursting in the tarpaulin which covered the main hatchway, poured down upon those below in streams. The dead lights** were put up and we gradually became quieter though the rain fell during the whole night with unabated violence and our gaff topsail was torn in two; but being an old one it was no great loss.

September 30th Saturday. It continued very wet and gusty. We are all confined to the cuddy and to increase our misery the rain, not content with pouring through the ports and doors which we are compelled to keep open on account of the heat, is continually dropping through the ill caulked seams of the roof making a large pool underneath and giving us the appearance of wetted fowls. We have taken in all but our topsails and foresails the former of which are reefed. During all the time we had been at sea we had never before had occasion to take in a reef. A few grampuses*** are wallowing at some distance from us and a poor bird from the land having hovered round us all morning without daring to alight has just fallen into the water.

October 1st Sunday. The rain has entirely ceased and it is a dead calm but we have no Divine Service today, the Captain being apprehensive lest we should be disturbed by a breeze springing up so that we find it very dull.

October 2nd Monday. Still becalmed but several sharks have been seen playing about the ship and as they appeared to promise some sport we got a shark hook and having baited it with a piece of pork threw it over to one astern. The voracious animal immediately turned on his back and seized it when we all set up a shout of triumph and hauled away on the line. "Look out" roared the Captain as we got him up and over he came floundering about and threshing the deck with his powerful tail so that the whole ship rebounded. He speedily cleared the poop knocking one man down and hitting another with the end of his tail so as to bruise him severely. The others ran up the rigging or into the boats to be out of the way of the infuriated creature. Some of the sailors threw him off the poop onto the maindeck where he was at length killed by repeated blows with an axe. He was a very small specimen measuring only seven feet, but we saw several swimming about the ship which could not have been less than twelve or thirteen. Our capture being hung out at the bows, one of his greedy bretheren leapt up and bit away the greater part of him.

*** FOOTNOTE:** Captain Creagh was one of the cabin passengers
**** FOOTNOTE:** shutters to protect the glass of the portholes
***** FOOTNOTE:** killer whales *Orcinus orca*

October 3rd Tuesday. It has been almost a dead calm all day and we have seen a homeward bound ship but at an immense distance from us. We have been enlivened by a large shoal of albicorns* passing us which at a distance appeared to be like a long dark cloud. One of our number made an artificial flying fish for a bait but a large fish having seized it straightened the hook, tore his fingers open to the bone by his efforts to break the rope, and finally got off.

October 4th Wednesday. The calm threatens to be of long continuance and it is so hot that the pitch is melting all over the decks. Our surgeon, heedless of the sharks which might be lurking under the ship, went overboard for a swim having taken off nothing but his coat and shoes. He returned safe contrary to all anticipation having done his utmost to tempt the "sea lawyers."

October 5th Thursday. The day has been very calm but towards night from the heavy black masses of cloud that hung over us and the repeated flashes of lightning we were prepared for a squall. Accordingly we had it about ten o'clock and it was neither very violent nor of long duration. The lightning was the most magnificent I ever saw. It appeared to be a succession of flashes lasting about half a minute and covering one side of the skies and so brilliant as to be perfectly blinding. I staid on deck to witness it till a late hour.

October 6th Friday. We have had a little wind today, the effect of the squall, but unfortunately it is dead ahead of us. Bad as it is we all prefer it greatly to a calm were it for nothing but the cool breeze. I have been unwell and in bed the greater part of the day.

October 7th Saturday. The wind ahead. We have had a Boneta** for breakfast – captured the preceding day. It is a large fish tasting very like salmon and good eating. We have had another visit from our friends the sharks two of whom we speedily captured and as the Captain would not suffer them to come onto the poop again owing to the alarm and disturbance they made, we towed them forward and executed them on the forecastle. They were accompanied by four or five pilot fish their invariable attendants. These are beautiful little creatures about a foot long marked with red rings alternating with white. They are very shy and it is impossible to catch one with a hook and line.

October 8th Sunday. We have had no service again today and I am afraid it will be discontinued. The Captain says that this though the pleasantest is as far as regards speed the worst possible time of the year. We are now fully prepared for a very long and tedious passage.

October 9th Monday. We are still moving very slowly not making more than a mile an hour. Anything duller or more devoid of novelty than our present life cannot well be imagined. I had once or twice resolved to give up journalizing til we should get within more interesting latitude.

October 10th Tuesday. Still almost a calm. One outward bound ship is within sight in the same predicament with ourselves. Coleridge's lines in the "Ancient Mariner" describing a ship becalmed in a hot climate have struck me as accurately describing our present situation. At these times we all feel most unhappy beings possible being utterly incapable of the slightest exertion such as reading or writing.

October 11th Wednesday. After a calm all day a fine breeze sprang up at night which enlivened us immediately, though coming from the south west it was directly opposed to us. The waves presented a most beautiful appearance from the light which tonight overspread the whole sea

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*** FOOTNOTE:** Albacore or Long-fin Tuna *Thunnus alalunga*

**** FOOTNOTE:** Bonito - a member of the tuna family

illuminating it brilliantly and leaving a long train of light in our wake. This phosphoric appearance had hitherto been nothing but a few sparks here and there and was therefore quite different from anything we had seen before. Upon the moon's coming out this all faded away as if by magic.

October 12th Thursday. We still keep the breeze which has once or twice increased into a squall and has rendered the air much cooler. We have seen a large homeward bound ship which passed within a quarter of a mile of us but without signalling or showing colours. I am afraid we shall have no opportunity of writing to England.

October 13th Friday. We have at length got a breeze which promises to take us across the line when we shall fall in with the trade winds. Several vessels are in sight, one of which, a Frenchman as we ascertained by signalling her, lost her main top mast in a squall of yesterday and has not yet been able to replace it. One of the passengers has just lost his hat, the fifth that has gone overboard this voyage.

October 14th Saturday. We are bowling along very pleasantly and have just been passed by a beautiful brig on the other tack which shot by within a hundred yards of us. We spoke with her and ascertained that she was a Guernseyman out about the same time as ourselves. She went about half a mile astern and came back but though a very fine looking boat of her class we soon dropped her and by eleven at night she was just visible.

October 15th Sunday. The breeze being very steady we had Divine Service after which the majority of us repaired to the forecastle where a shoal of porpoises was playing. The Captain and one of the seamen each harpooned one and we succeeded in throwing a noose round them and drawing them up. Though not so ferocious as the sharks they were by no means quiet under this treatment but thumped and floundered on the maindeck most vigorously snorting all the while loudly. They were skinned and the blubber when boiled will yield about three gallons of oil. We had some of their flesh for dinner made into curry and eaten with rice. It was by no means bad resembling tough beef more than anything else but having of course no fats, and it did not taste at all fishy. In the afternoon we communicated by signal with an English ship near us which six of our number and the chief mate boarded in the afternoon. She proved to be the "Woodbridge" a convict ship for Van Dieman's Land with two hundred female convicts. She carried besides about a dozen ladies who were to be matron and superintendent of the prisoners in the colony and an army surgeon who commanded the convicts. They were going out we understand on a new principle. The ship was very clean and neat and the women all very tidy wearing a sort of uniform of white and brown. She approached to within fifty yards of us and their Captain, a tall stout man, held a long conversation with ours through the speaking trumpet which ended by our sending him some oranges in exchange for some cigars and a fishing spear. She was a great heavy looking craft of about a hundred tons larger than our own.

October 16th Monday. We have left our convict friend who boasted that though he had been becalmed a long time he had started at the same time with us some miles astern. A dolphin has been caught but when dead as its beautiful colours all fade away it is by no means a handsome fish, this one about eighteen inches long and in shape is something like a mackerel but with a larger head.

October 17th Tuesday. We have had a fine breeze all day which carried us over the line at about nine at night. The customary mummeries were dispensed with for the present at least owing to the stiffness of the wind which luckily required the attention of the sailors.

October 18th Wednesday. We now fondly hoped that all ceremonies relating to the line would be omitted but were grievously disappointed. About nine in the evening we heard a great commotion in the forecastle and after the usual parley with the Captain as to the name and destination of the vessel five or six fellows came forward to the poop in full array with tar barrel and brush, razor and soot, Neptune being decked out with a tin crown, painted face and long white beard, his wife a short stout sailor having a tremendous beard with which he scrubbed all those who were unlucky enough to come within his reach. The Captain forbade any shaving and tarring tonight but promised an indemnification on the morrow. They retired apparently for the night but on our following them to examine their equipment more nearly we were surrounded by their associates who drenched us all with bucketsful of salt water and did not desist til we ran below half drowned.

October 19th Thursday. We have had a second visitation by the marine worthies of last night who pursued us even into our cabins, blacking the faces of all the uninitiated males and exacting contributions from us. They then went to the steerage passengers who were much more hardly used being without exception tarred and shaved and then splashed with water from head to foot besides having to pay. The poor midshipmen underwent the same treatment and with their mouths and eyes glued together and blocked up with tar presented a pitiable spectacle.

October 20th Friday. The breeze still continues favourable sending us on at the rate of seven knots an hour. Though so close to the equator with a vertical sun we do not find it nearly so hot as when we first entered the tropics and are beginning to regain our strength and energies both of which were completely prostrated. Indeed we all began to look very ill and thin particularly the older part of the community.

October 21st Saturday. We have had a very fine sunset this evening, the first really splendid one we have seen excepting one at Santiago. Indeed the sunsets at sea are much exaggerated being neither so brilliant nor of so long duration as those on land. Besides they want the accompaniments that even the tamest scenery on land affords them. Such is the rapidity with which the sun sets that it would be impossible for the most active person after it has once become invisible to those on deck to gain another glimpse of it by ascending the rigging. You may fairly see it sink below the waters as fast as if violently pushed down.

October 22nd Sunday. Service today was read by one of the passengers, a barrister, who really improved upon his predecessor wonderfully, reading much more slowly and distinctly and with more devotional feeling as it appeared to me and the rest. Symptoms of a squall appearing we have taken care to close the portholes and make all fast. At no time more than when a squall is coming up is the saying verified “Coming events cast their shadows before them.” Long before it actually reached us we can see the waters covered with a thick mist which is driven towards us with great velocity. Just before its taking us the upper sails are taken in and all is made snug amid the greatest noise and confusion. The wind then whistles in the rigging as it rushes past bending the ship over to one side till her decks are nearly level with the water, and is succeeded by torrents of small blinding rain. It is generally over in about half an hour.

October 23rd Monday. We had a very heavy squall last night which coming on very suddenly we lost our mizzen gaff having no time to furl the sail. It has been very rough all day and we have carried very little canvas and the decks have been frequently washed with heavy seas wetting through those who were unlucky enough to be in the way. Another of the hares and a duck have died this morning being reduced to nothing but skin and bone. All the others will speedily follow them.

October 24th Tuesday. The carpenter has made a new spar in place of the one we lost which has been hoisted up with a great deal of bustle. We also have bent a new topsail and royal, our summer suit being too old and torn for the rougher weather we may expect to encounter shortly. I have just finished reading "Two years before the mast" and find the descriptions of nautical customs and scenes in it very like the reality.

October 25th Wednesday. Our poor monkey Jacko is at length defunct. We had long observed that he was pining and low spirited but last night some of the passengers maliciously injected into the poor animal by means of a syringe a quantity of rum which made him so tipsy that he lay down among the sheep and being unable to rise was smothered. However he was a little disagreeable creature taking every opportunity of biting and scratching the children.

October 26th Thursday. We seem doomed to lose all our live stock for our cat has been thrown overboard by universal consent having been convicted of filching and want of cleanliness. She was thrown in by a young man who volunteered the pleasing task and who actually made it his boast that he once slew fifty cats in as many weeks. We have fastened upon him the sobriquet of "Cat's Meat."

October 27th Friday. Was a day of discord. At dinner, one of the passengers, a quondam innkeeper, having quarrelled with the ship's surgeon for refusing to help him to some pork, and having bestowed a sufficient quantity of abuse upon him our worthy sawbones started up in great wrath and attempted to turn Boniface out of the cuddy. The latter resisted this infringement of the liberty of the subject, the Doctor only succeeded in knocking him down and tumbling over him. The ladies screamed as well they might and the enraged combatants were separated by the mate, the Captain not being present from illness. He came up at last however and the matter ended by the poor innkeeper's being banished *in perpetuum* from the cabin table.

October 28th Saturday. Owing to the increased and increasing motion of the vessel which renders it quite unsafe to leave the children by themselves even for a moment on the poop as a sudden lurch would infallibly send two or three of them skimming to leewards, an edict has been published confining all the younger ones from one year old to eight inclusive to the maindeck on which on account of the great height of the bulwarks it is impossible for them to be washed or blown overboard though occasionally a large wave comes dashing over wetting the poor little things who may be in the way most thoroughly.

October 29th Sunday. We have had no prayers today though the breeze is very steady so that the old plea that they would impede the working of the ship holds good no longer. The banished worthy, finding that his wife and himself are but dull company, has made offers of reconciliation and promises of amendment proposing in true innkeeper fashion we shake hands and "stand glasses round." This magnanimous proposition his adversary has rejected with considerable hauteur.

October 30th Monday. Several Cape Pigeons have been following the ship for some hours, a sure sign that we are not far from land. They are a beautiful bird, larger than our English pigeon, having a white breast, red head and white wings and back with bars of a deep red colour. They are by no means shy coming close under our stern. The Captain fired at one but fortunately without success as I see no use in killing what you cannot get when dead, nor if you could would it be eatable for I am told that these birds are rank carrion.

October 31st Tuesday. It has been blowing very hard all day, the wind being just what we wanted. We are now and have for some days been making above two hundred miles in twenty-four hours so that we find the change in temperature very great and sudden. We have now all

resumed our winter clothing and find great coats necessary at night. We have discovered that our box of soap which was in the after hold has been broken open and about twelve pounds extracted. Suspicion runs strongly against our third mate who had charge of the goods in the hold but has been degraded and sent before the mast for misconduct. Another of the passengers suffered to a much greater extent a few days since. A box of his was broken open and a great number of brushes, some paint, blacking etc were taken.

November 1st Wednesday. The gloomy month of November was appropriately enough ushered in by chilling winds, black clouds and incessant drizzling rains; bringing with them colds, agues and rheumatisms. The intervals when their violence is somewhat abated we employ in endeavouring to walk upon the poop not falling down oftener than at every ten paces. The maindeck is quite impassable being almost constantly washed by the spray.

November 2nd Thursday. The weather is little better and we employ the intervals in catching Cape Pigeons with a hook and line using a bit of pork for a bait. We have caught several and let them go again. That which I supposed was red on the animal's neck and wings is we find a dark brown. The poor creatures were brought into the cabin and set upon the table from which though unhurt they were unable to raise themselves. I believe no sea bird can rise from a hard surface.

November 3rd Friday. We are within a few miles of the islet of Tristan d'a Cunha but it is too hazy for us to see it. The Captain and some others have been amusing themselves with shooting some of the Cape Pigeons and a sort of sea hawk, a very pretty bird with a crimson beak and black and white head and wings. We were near losing one of the crew, who, being rather tipsy, fell off the poop over the side but saved himself by catching a rope; he lost his hat however and was rather frightened.

November 4th Saturday. A number of albatrosses, cape pigeons and other birds are flying round within a few yards of us. We have hooked no less than four and laid them upon the maindeck from which they are unable to rise but sprawl up and down very drolly. They [are] most beautiful birds and quite gigantic measuring above ten feet from wing to wing and having huge webbed feet and long hooked bills with which they bite most savagely at all that comes within their reach. They are elegantly spotted and striped white black brown and grey, no two being alike in colour. The Captain and one of the passengers went out some distance in one of the boats it being perfectly calm. They have shot above a dozen the feathers of which will make very good stuffing for pillows.

November 5th Sunday. It is bitterly cold as the red noses and blue faces of our party sufficiently indicate. No-one (we have several on board who have been here before) remembers having felt it so cold here before even in the middle of winter. The skins of the feet of the albatrosses have been made into tobacco pouches which purpose they answer very well, being waterproof and very elastic. With a steel rim they would make a good lady's work bag.

November 6th Monday. We have got a taste of the Cape in the shape of a strong wind and a very heavy sea which washed the decks from head to stern, not even the lofty poop, hitherto fondly deemed a secure retreat, escaped the deluge which once swept it from end to end wetting to the skin about twenty of us besides rushing in a torrent down the cuddy skylight and half drowning my unfortunate mother who was sitting below at the time. The deadlights are in our cabin window and the poor children (it being quite out of the question for them to go on deck and the cuddy being full of wet and dripping adults) are cooped up in the cabin which is lighted by a candle where they are continually falling down, crying and quarrelling with one another.

November 7th Tuesday. The sea though rather abated is still very rough. About ten o'clock at night the Captain going upon deck found one of the sailors quite drunk. He called for the mate and had him fastened to the mast intending to keep him there all night. Immediately, several of the men, also intoxicated rushed upon deck and attempted to liberate him. In the scuffle which ensued one of them overpowered the Captain who would have fallen overboard had not one of the passengers saved him. The Captain then called upon such of the passengers as were present to assist him and with their help drove the men off the poop and in the meantime the ship's cutlasses having been brought to him he armed the passengers with them and put two of the mutineers into irons for fastening them to the poop. All this we heard next morning being with most of the passengers fast asleep at the time.

November 8th Wednesday. Everybody is in a state of great excitement. The ship's muskets and cutlasses are brought into the cabin and the Captain has had one of the men fastened up to the mast and threatened to flog him unless he confessed where he got the spirits. Two of the men have refused to return to their duty and are confined in the hold in irons as are also the men who were captured last night all of which was accomplished without resistance. It is generally believed that the spirits were obtained from one of the passengers.

November 9th Thursday. The wind is but light though the ship rolls very heavily. The two men who refused to work have given in and are liberated after being confined for twenty-four hours half stifled in the close dark hold on bread and water. It is thought that we shall have no more trouble with them after this. Another hat has been lost which, with one of mine that blew away the other day makes the seventh lost on the voyage. Besides these numberless other articles such as sheets, blankets, handkerchiefs, trousers etc have been lost by various persons.

November 10th Friday. The other two prisoners (one of whose hands is very much swollen owing to the handcuffs being too tight for him) have been set at liberty upon promise of amendment. As it is very cold a number of the passengers have solicited and obtained permission to man the pumps and are now working away with great vigour. As the ship strains a good deal in these heavy seas she has to be pumped every two or three hours. This is by no means pleasant as the loud clank of the pump handles jars terribly on our ears and the stream of water poured out render passing along the maindeck very uncomfortable.

November 11th Saturday. We have had very heavy winds all day which ended by carrying away our fore topgallant mast which however had previously showed symptoms of decay. We also lost our martingale. The mast which was a very handsome one, tall and tapering, has been replaced by a little ugly stump of a spar which detracts greatly from the beauty of the vessel.

November 14th Tuesday. Neither the weather not the ill temper of the passengers has abated. I endeavour to open the port in our berth which has been shut for the last fortnight but being saluted by a tremendous rush of water which dashed over the bed and my face I thought it more prudent to withdraw and close it. The rooms owing to the bad ventilation have become quite unwholesome.

November 12th Sunday. The wind is still very stiff and we roll very much. As there is no Divine Service I sit down to write in our own cabin, the cuddy being full. The misery of writing here is inconceivable. I am seated on a box holding the inkstand and journal with one hand. The ship lurches, the box rolls from under me, I fall over the table, upset the lamp (for the sea is running so high that the deadlights are closed and lights must be burned all day) and imprudently leave go of the inkstand and journal, the former of which is broken and the latter thrown in a corner and blotted.

I rise in considerable discomposure, relight the lamp, get a fresh inkstand, and attempt to go on. The lamp blown out by the wind leaves me in total blackness. I shut up the book in disgust.

November 13th Monday. The squally weather continues with the agreeable variety of rain which confines us to the cabins. This puts us all out of temper and renders us very disagreeable so that having no external objects of amusement we have fallen to abusing and quarrelling with one another. Several of the passengers have got tipsy and are making a great noise in their cabin which happens to be close to our own. We can hear them reviling several of their fellow passengers who cannot fail to overhear all.

November 15th Wednesday. We have now fairly rounded the Cape and are well into the Southern Ocean. We have lost one of our studding sails and the vale with its long pennon. The poor children have a sad time of it in the bad weather especially at meal times when being unable to sit down my father sets them in a row leaning against the berth and gives them their coffee severally and by sips. It is a very ludicrous spectacle to see them rolling over one another.

November 16th Thursday. We have made a very fine run the last twenty-four hours. The Captain informs us that if the weather prove favourable he will stop for a short time at the Island of St Pauls and send out a boat to catch fish, several tons of which have been often taken in as many hours. If the wind continues in this quarter (it is right aft) we shall arrive at the island in a fortnight.

November 17th Friday. The wind is still right aft and being accompanied by a heavy sea we roll tremendously. We have lost another sail which was blown away in the furling. We have also sprung our fore topsail yard. If we go on at this rate breaking and splitting we shall not have one of our old sails or spars standing on our arrival at New Zealand.

November 18th Saturday. We have had a very heavy gale which has lasted all day and is not at all abated yet but luckily the wind being right aft the sea does not break over the decks so much as might have been expected. Still the forecastle is frequently buried in water and seas are continually rushing clear over the bulwarks covering the maindeck a foot deep.

November 19th Sunday. It is blowing a perfect gale sufficiently excusing the non-performance of Divine Service. We have got the monkey hatches on which makes the lower deck very dark and miserable. We are nailing everything moveable up in expectation of a terrible night.

November 20th Monday. Our expectations have not been disappointed. The Captain declares that at one time he expected the main mast to go and that he never knew the ship roll so much. Hardly anyone slept all night and in the morning in spite of our precautions we found all our boxes on the floor, the water over-set, and everything in awful confusion. My mother was thrown out of her berth and has sprained her hand and all our books have rolled off the shelves onto the wet dirty floor.

November 21st Tuesday. The wind has not gone down much but we have some of us continued to crawl upon deck where the scene is very grand for the sea is greater than even yesterday. I defer the description of the fury of the elements to another period to observe that the salt water has proved ruinous to our shoes. One new pair of mine has burst in every direction and several other persons are similarly situated.

November 22nd Wednesday. The gale has subsided considerably and we have been employed in manufacturing some boxes to hold soap out of the spare boards of our berths, several blocks having fallen down onto my father during the night to his no small amazement and annoyance.

November 23rd Thursday. Nothing is more astonishing to me than the sudden transition in the weather here. It is a beautifully fine morning here with a sea so smooth that one might fancy himself still in the channel. A bright warm sun and a breeze so light that our masts are covered with canvas to the very trucks. It is on such a day as this with a wind favourable and not too light that the pleasures of a voyage are felt but in a heavy rolling sea when the only recourse left you is laboriously to struggle and stagger along the wet unsteady slippery decks often with a drizzling rain falling; when the waters penetrate through the ill caulked seams of the poop deck into the cuddy rendering it impossible to sit there; or if this is not the case the motion of the ship preventing anything like reading writing or drawing, then a voyage seems the most insupportable thing imaginable. The proportions of bad disagreeable weather to the pleasant and agreeable is in a voyage such as this at least one of the former to two days of the latter if we include under the former denomination the intense heats of the tropics.

November 24th Friday. The ship has again been made the scene of one of those disgraceful quarrels which are but too common among us. Several of the less important ones I have omitted as being unworthy of notice but this to give some idea of the state of society in the ship I will relate. The disputants were an elderly man calling himself a barrister of sour and sarcastic disposition (who by the way had previously affronted my mother at dinner in a manner that we could not take notice of) and the ingenuous youth whom I before mentioned as entertaining a peculiar antipathy to cats. The cause of the quarrel was a refusal of the latter to lend the former some oil. The dispute took place on the poop where after some high words the lie was given to one another and they fell to blows. The Captain in the hope of stopping such language in the future would not interfere and they had a regular fight in which of course the younger combatant had the superiority. After covering the poop with blood and receiving falls and bruises innumerable they at length desisted from pure exhaustion when the elder combatant took to his bed. The other appeared at dinner but sadly hurt with a black eye and cut lip. He had previously been struck by a young attorney, also conceived himself insulted by him and had not had the courage to resent it.

November 25th Saturday. Our vengeful warrior came up to dinner but with a face horribly disfigured wearing a shade over his left eye a plaster on his nose and a bandage on his hand looking as unlike a member of the legal profession as can well be imagined. He is very taciturn and marvellously crestfallen besides which opinions are unanimous that he was the aggressor in the late fracas.

November 26th Sunday. The wind is getting up again of which the loss of part of our dinner owing to the cabin boy's falling down has forcibly reminded us. In addition to which a rush of water has entered our stern port compelling us to close it with remarkable diligence.

November 27th Monday. We have a magnificent wind carrying us on at a full ten knots an hour. We have had too another little row which has terminated in the expulsion of the doctor from a somewhat obstreperous club as they call it which thinks proper to assemble in the large larboard cabin next to my father's. As the doctor happened to be slightly intoxicated (a thing that he never is oftener than four or five times a week) this proceeding (which they termed a "private conversation") was audible over half the ship.

November 28th Tuesday. Our run of yesterday was 244 miles in twenty-four hours and we still keep the wind. Several whales are throwing their thin misty columns of water into the air near the ship. One of them has just heaved his huge black back above the surface within a hundred yards of the ship's head.

November 29th Wednesday. We have had a beautiful run all day and as the night was very clear and starlit the Captain took my father and myself out for an astronomical lecture. Among other new constellations he showed us the most famous one the Southern Cross. This which is very brilliant is composed of five stars arranged in what may be taken for a cross but which to me appeared more nearly to resemble a diamond. It is this the most brilliant star being at the top.

Figure 19: Harbour St Paul

November 30th Thursday. Early in the morning we came in sight of the much wished for island of St Pauls. About ten we pulled for the beach which was distant about a mile and a half from the ship, in two boats containing all the male passengers. The landing place was a large round basin formerly the crater of a volcano the front of which was almost hidden by a rock ninety feet high of most picturesque shape something like a ninepin or one of the "Needles." Upon entering the bay, the mouth of which is very shallow and narrow, it being surrounded with almost perpendicular rocks of vast height, we saw to our small astonishment the French Tricolor waving on a little pier of loose stones and a soldier in French uniform keeping guard. In the bay was a small schooner and several boats. These we found belonged to a Frenchman who came out to invite us to enter one of the few huts near the landing place and who styled himself the governor. Upon entering we found that he had come there six months ago with a party of men for the sake of the fish of which he caught by hook and line alone two thousand per day. These he salted and conveyed to the Isle of Bourbon where there was a ready market for them. He treated us most hospitably setting before us claret, preserved plums, bread and abundance of broiled fish. He also offered to lend us guns to shoot some of the seafowl which flocked in great numbers on the cliffs. We ascended the hill to the right of the bay which is nearly perpendicular and about eight hundred feet high and up which the French have cut a path, bad enough, but the only means of access to the interior. Upon reaching the top we found the island to be quite barren not possessing so much as a shrub but overgrown with long withered grass. It is full of fissures from which issue sulphuric vapours making the surrounding earth very hot and burning up everything near it. The island is evidently volcanic and possesses no water but a hot sulphuric spring which when cold does not taste very unpleasantly. We rambled to the other side of the island which is composed of lofty abrupt cliffs against which a tremendous surf breaks with a roar like thunder. The "Governor" said that several pigs had been shot but we could see no vestige of anything of the sort. We returned about five bringing back a multitude of fish: cod, sea tench, bream and crawfish with another sort of fish with a yellow back, very rich and oily. A whaler is in the offing and several of their boats landed during the day.

Figure 20: Stone ruins mark two abortive attempts to settle on Saint Paul in the past.
More pictures of the island at http://www.farvoyager.com/siov/stpaul1.html

December 1st Friday. I felt very fatigued with my rambles of yesterday as did most of us. We had some of the yellow fish and crawfish for breakfast, both of which, but particularly the former, were excellent. We have a very fine breeze which if it continues will assuredly enable us to spend Christmas Day at New Zealand.

December 2nd Saturday. The breeze which gave such promise and continued as fresh as ever all night has suddenly fallen off this morning and left us a dead calm. We have brought several young penguins off the island and are much amused with the droll conduct of these creatures which walking erect with their grave demeanour white breast and sturdy short legs forcibly remind us of an old fat man with white spencer and fur comforter. They refuse to eat; so that we have to feed them by cramming fish down their throats.

December 3rd Sunday. The wind has most unexpectedly sprung up and is carrying us along at nine knots an hour. One of our little penguins having been suffered to hop about the deck somehow or other got onto the bulwarks and hopped overboard. The Frenchman at St Paul's had a whole family of tame ones which flew out miles to sea and regularly returned to him.

December 4th Monday. The wind has freshened a good deal during the night and we roll very much. Sarah is very unwell today being delirious and confined to her bed. About a dozen of us have got drenched by a sea breaking over the poop to our no small astonishment.

December 5th Tuesday. A bitterly cold day and our benevolent captain being annoyed at our obstinately persisting in walking on the poop to preserve the vital warmth, has ordered a large sail to be spread on the poop, ostensibly for the purpose of being repaired but really to put a stop to our perambulations. This is the "unkindest cut of all." The children are all confined below the greatest part of the day and when graciously allowed to enter the cuddy are not allowed to speak above their breath upon pain of expulsion, and we ourselves are not permitted to speak there a great part of the morning because it disturbs the Captain's delicate nerves while he is in bed and

this at half past eight o'clock, in the afternoon because a wine club whereat he presides and which excludes everyone not a member from the cuddy unless the intruder wishes to be stigmatised as a spy and a listener, in the evening because it annoys those who are sitting and reading below. All these regulations are enforced in the most insolent and imperious manner to which of course it would be very imprudent to resent. We console ourselves with the idea that this state of things will not last long.

December 6th Wednesday. Colder than ever yesterday so that we are fain to keep ourselves warm by giving an occasional pull at the ropes. A new sort of cap has been made by a young man and has become quite the rage here. It is made of cotton or any other cheap and light material and shaped like a "scotch cap" and is very handy on shipboard never falling off and saving our better ones. Ben, James and I have been equipped with them and about a dozen others.

December 7th Thursday. A fine breeze but showers of rain occasionally which render it uncomfortable sitting in the cuddy as the greater part invariably enters. Having exhausted all our books, indeed all the readable ones on board which are but few, I have commenced as a "dernier résort" the study of phonography which may prove useful to me.

December 8th Friday. We have had a fine run all night but the strong winds and heavy seas have strained the ship so as to open the seams a good deal and this afternoon the water has poured into the berths of several wretched individuals through the seams and the chinks of the ports, wetting their beds, clothing and in fact everything and covering the floor to a depth of several inches. Luckily this is not on our side of the vessel.

December 9th Saturday. A shoal of porpoises has been gambolling before the bows and the harpoon being got out one of them was struck. The harpoon giving way as we had got him to the top he fell into the water and vanished with all his companions. We have had a beautiful view of a whale which ran alongside the ship for some time at a distance of a hundred yards showing his huge black back at short intervals.

December 10th Sunday. It has been a wet cold uninteresting day with frequent and sharp squalls to which we have become quite accustomed. We have made fifteen hundred miles within the last seven days which fully atones for the unpleasant time we have had.

December 11th Monday. We were all awakened by a tremendous squall which came on about four o'clock with which all that we have hitherto had will bear no comparison; there was no time to furl the sails which had to be let loose and by their loud flapping and wrestling alarmed us not a little, but in spite of this precaution we lost our main royal and skysail mast which gave way with an awful crash. We have had several squalls since but not nearly so severe as the first.

December 12th Tuesday. The sea has been calmer but the weather is still very raw and murky. The children suffer from chapped hands and chilblains and I have been unwell all day.

December 13th Wednesday. The wind is right aft and we have now got our new mast up, an interesting operation chiefly managed by the windlass. It is a skimpy affair like our new fore topgallant mast and quite takes away from the smart look of the ship. Indeed with our numerous new rough shaped [masts?] dirty paint, crowded decks and other eyesores of a vessel at the end of a long voyage we shall cut but a poor figure on entering port.

December 14th Thursday. We are now running parallel with Hobart Town with a fine breeze. We go round Van Dieman's Land it being the wrong time of the year for passing through Bass Straits which I should have liked to have done. Nothing is now thought of but packing up, landing etc and numerous wagers have been laid that we shall reach New Plymouth on Christmas Day.

December 15th Friday. It is rather warmer today with but a light wind. I believe I omitted to mention that we lost at St Paul's a fine bloodhound belonging to the Captain; after searching for him for some time we were at last obliged to give him up supposing that he had either fallen over one of the cliffs round the bay or into one of the numerous fissures that rendered walking there so dangerous.

December 16th Saturday. The wind is still light and unsteady. A brig was in sight early in the morning standing in for the land probably Hobart Town which yesterday was only eighty miles off. We can smell the land very plainly and the water is now a deep brown colour.

December 17th Sunday. A find breeze all day which however fell off at seven in the evening when the well remembered ominous flapping of the sails told us plainly enough what to expect.

December 18th Monday. The calm continued till noon when a light breeze springing up carried us on again. We have seen several whales which approached very near us and one of which foundered, that is went down head foremost throwing his tail high into the air, a beautiful spectacle and one not often seen. About an hour afterwards a sail rose in sight which gradually showed the whole of a large ship from which rose a long column of smoke. She turned out to be an American whaler and the smoke was the boiling of the blubber. Her boats were out at a short distance from the ship on the lookout for fish and looked very pretty with their little square sails.

December 19th Tuesday. We shall keep the breeze which is but light and in the wrong direction; but the weather is delightfully warm and pleasant the thermometer being at 63 with hardly any motion in the vessel. The Captain has taken advantage of the fine weather to have his boats painted, the ship's sides washed and the rigging tarred preparatory to entering port. We caught a fine porpoise yesterday but as he was old and tough we gave him to the sailors who ate him all up very speedily.

December 20th Wednesday. The sunshiney weather with occasional showers. Some of the young men who rashly undertook to build a boat out of barrel staves after having consumed above a week in the hopeless task have at length given it up. They intended it to convey themselves and goods through the surf at New Plymouth.

December 21st Thursday. We have had a fine breeze all day with occasional squalls in one of which we lost a studding sail boom and shipped a deal of water through the after port of my father's cabin getting all the beds wetted. The men are now employed in scraping the masts and oars, clearing the deck and washing out the cuddy so that everything is in pretty confusion.

December 22nd Friday. It has been blowing very heavily all day so that the ship would bear no more than close reefs main and fore topsails and rolled till her gunwales were level with the water. We have been within a hundred miles of New Plymouth but it was ridiculous to think of approaching the land in such a gale.

Figure 21:
Sugar Loaf Islands, New Plymouth

December 23rd Saturday. The wind having fallen off a good deal we stood in for the shore and at ten in the morning came in sight of New Zealand. In a few hours we were off Sugarloaf Cape and island, two huge rocks of most romantic forms which form the south side of the bay which is perfectly open on the North and West. We anchored three miles from the shore near the buoy to which we shall moor ourselves tomorrow. The night is misty with a drizzling rain and the mountains are completely shrouded by the fogs. A boat has just come alongside, eight o'clock, with four men and the harbourmaster who has communicated to us the dreadful news that Captain Wakefield with nineteen others has been killed in an affray with the natives about sixty miles from Nelson in June. The massacre which was conducted with the utmost barbarity would seem to have been caused by one of the special constables who were present accidentally discharging his gun and shot a native. The particulars I shall not enter into till my arrival at Nelson where we may expect to hear the most accurate account.

December 24th Sunday. Another boat has come alongside for the mails into which Ben, my father and myself with several others entered. This boat as well as the others on shore is the property of the Company who land passengers and their goods free of expense certainly a great advantage and quite unexpected. It is built like a whaleboat with a sharp head and stern the better to pass through the surf. We got through the surf which is very heavy and at times even dangerous with nothing worse than a wetting, Ben being knocked down on his face by a wave while jumping on land, a bad omen. The other passengers followed a few hours after in the Captain's gig.

On the beach is a boathouse of wood and fern containing four fine large boats of five tons burthen each in which the Company land emigrants and their property. There is also a crane and a capstan on the shore. To the left of the landing place and through the middle of the town runs the river, a very small shallow stream not more than twenty feet wide and two or three deep, but beautifully clear. This is crossed by a rough wooden bridge on the opposite side of which on a cliff facing the sea stands the native pa or fortification surrounded by a tall strong palisade. The site of the town was very hilly and broken and covered with fern. There are a good many houses in the place principally of wood roofed with shingles and not containing more than four or five small rooms. There are however a few of cob and two or three of stone which does not answer well they say owing to the earthquakes of which several slight shocks have been felt lately but have not done any greater damage than shaking down two or three stone and mud chimneys. The houses are very straggling and owing to the broken nature of the land placed quite irregularly but many of them exhibit considerable marks of taste being all built here and of native wood. There are four taverns here, two very respectable apparently, one church, one Methodist Chapple and another for a sect of fanatics.

We did not stay longer in the town but pushed forward into the interior along an excellent road cut out of the fern and on which the rain dries up almost immediately but which is not of course calculated to bear heavy traffic being rather soft and unpaved. It runs northward to Auckland and

was equally good as far as we went in fact there are good roads cut in every direction round the town but not extending far into the interior excepting those to Auckland and Wellington. After walking about a mile along the main road we turned off to the right in order to see the forest for there is very little timber within a mile of the town to the east and three or four to the north and south with the exception of a few clumps in the ravines which have been considerably lessened by the settlers cutting them down for fuel and building. The space between the shore and the forest upon which almost exclusively the emigrants have settled consists of a succession of steep hills of no great height covered with fern which varies in height from three to five feet and closely resembles the English plant though it has a golden tinge at a distance and leaves are much narrower; and narrow ravines overgrown with trees or brushwood generally the latter and mostly having a rivulet at the bottom. Plains there are none, nothing even deserving the name of a valley. On crossing this tract and entering the woods a very different scene presented itself. Immense trees overgrown with parasitical plants barred all further progress except where a narrow and difficult footpath had been cut by the surveyors across which the tough and pliant supplejack extended its long stalks which hang from from tree to tree often at a distance of fifty feet. Huge matted roots covered the surface of the earth for the trees here all put forth their roots nearly on the top of the ground and have no tap roots. The foliage which was of a deep green was as various as the trees themselves. We were most struck with the beauty of the tree ferns which have quite a tropical appearance and the pith of which is said when put into a pie with acid closely to resemble in taste the apple. Another peculiar feature of the woods is a sort of flag which grows in great profusion in the forks of most of the trees and produces every third year a very agreeable fruit. At a distance this plant resembles a rook's nest to which it has often been compared. Many of the trees must have been considerably greater in circumference than twenty feet and were of vast height. Some had fallen through age others were tottering and hung dangerously over the pathway which was sometimes almost blocked up by huge stumps, sometimes by fallen trunks over which we had to scramble. After penetrating about three quarters of a mile we came to the end of the path where there was a quantity of felled timber of great size and a charcoal pit into which my father narrowly escaped falling. All further progress was effectively barred by a stream and a steep ravine.

On our return we saw several wood pigeons which were beautiful birds much larger than the English ones. Two or three pretty green parroquets hopped about close to us. With the exception of these and a fine large bird with a sweet powerful note like the blackbird's called the mocking bird, we saw few of the feathered tribes. In fact we were not sorry in spite of the magnificence of the scenery to revisit the light of day and quit these dark silent and gloomy solitudes which seemed to oppress our spirits in spite of all our efforts at cheerfulness.

On leaving the forest we went along the north road which is the most favourable specimen of the place as the best farms and gardens are along it. The houses all built here of red pine were numerous and many of them were pretty but owing to the great want of capital here the clearings are very small and those pretending to the dignity of a farm very few, the majority not exceeding two acres, many being only one. What most struck me was the great disparity in the crops without any apparent difference in the nature of the land. In one place there is an excellent crop in the very next clearing one far below the average even in England, in a third a complete failure. For this different reasons are assigned some attributing it to grasshoppers which at this season are innumerable others to the poisonous qualities of the fern saying that the soil should be exposed to the sun and air for a year at least; I incline to the latter opinion. We saw a field of wheat, some of the very finest I have ever met with and some very good crops of potatoes but the barley was but poor and thin and the turnips miserable. There are a good many cows and oxen in very tolerable condition being turned into the fern land all day with bells round their necks the tinkling of which is at a distance a very pleasing sound. There are also a good many sheep

brought from Sydney but in wretched condition there being very little grass here. Indeed it is reported that a number of them will be sent off by our ship to Nelson. Goats we found in abundance which appeared to thrive very well, the hilly broken nature of the country being well adapted to them.

On crossing a beautiful little stream about three miles from the town which is spanned by a tolerable wooden bridge we fell in with a party of the natives returning from church (for they have now deserted the Methodist ministers in great numbers). We were greatly disappointed in their personal appearance which is disgusting. Their limbs indeed were large and muscular enough but the expression of their countenances was brutal and their heads, which were covered with a thick brush of hair, very large. They were closely wrapped up in long dirty blankets and carried no weapons. On coming up to us they asked after our health in broken English and shook hands with us, asking for tobacco for they are eternally smoking. They were tattooed, some of them beautifully, and were almost as dark complexioned as a Hindoo. One old fellow thought fit to accompany us as far as the next river about a mile on the road. This is a fine stream about a hundred feet wide but not navigable for anything larger than a skiff. It is crossed by a very good suspension bridge the expense of which must have been considerable. The bridge trembles a good deal and when I went on the middle I began to amuse myself by jumping on it and shaking it whereat the old Maori grew somewhat terrified and clung to the chain; returning to his companions as soon as I left the bridge. We went about a mile and a half further passing two or three more small farms and another little stream when we came to the forest beyond which there are few houses until you arrive at the river Waitera about ten miles off where we were told that the best land lies and which seems owing to its possessing a harbour for small vessels to have been the proper place for the town. On our return the clouds, which had shrouded it ever since we came, drew aside from Mt Egmont which appeared in the setting sun in all its glory showing us its gigantic peak covered with perpetual snows, a long ridge of hills running south and called its back, and the still more distant range stretching to the east. We obtained three tolerable beds in the town in a half finished room.

December 25th Monday. We arose very early in the morning which was dull and misty but without rain and went with one of the settlers to see a farm belonging to Captain King, a large capitalist, who is considered though not the largest to be the neatest and best farm in the place. There were about thirty acres cleared and cultivated, all fern, and more nearly ready for the plough. The house which was built here was of wood and very roomy and tastefully designed being surrounded by think woods in the form of a crescent, the farm being in front and an excellent garden behind. In the outhouses were fifteen cows, several working oxen and two very good young horses. All the garden stuff looked well particularly the Cape Gooseberry which thrives here wonderfully and two young vines which had put forth several long shoots. In the farm things did not succeed so well, the barley in particular being very thin and poor. The wheat was rather better and the potatoes excellent but the grasshoppers which appear to be the bane of this country had destroyed all the turnips. Captain King is the Stipendiary Magistrate and was not at home but his brother-in-law, Mr Cutfield, a practical farmer, was kind enough to leave his work and show us over the place. He told us that the fernland would never produce even a tolerable crop unless exposed for at least six months to the atmosphere and that it was impossible to plough it with less than six bullocks. Indeed he himself always used eight. Timberland he said it was out of the question to think of clearing unless with a large capital as it would cost from £30 - £40 per acre. Leaving his farm by a path through the forest we arrived at a timber clearing of four acres almost the only one in the settlement. The process is most tedious and laborious the felling being the least part of it. After the trees and bushes have been cut down and dragged into heaps they are set on fire; but it is only by repeated burning that the huge trunks can be consumed, the thicker parts requiring to be split with wedge and mallet into billets. Even then all

the stumps are left standing several feet high so that the ground must be dug up only between the roots and stumps. But with all these disadvantages the crops from timber clearings are said to be prodigious being more than double those obtained from fernland. We returned to the town about four o'clock and went to the native pa which is nothing but a strong palisade about nine feet high containing a number of huts built of a species of reed which are very low and filthy in the extreme. There was an immense number of native dogs in the place which are considered a great nuisance by the settlers. The natives were standing in circles reading from testaments printed in the Mauri language to some of their own people who acted as teachers and took one another's places like schoolboys. We saw several small canoes on our return to the beach and got wet again in returning to the ship whose crew had been all day employed in mooring her and had broken her anchor.

December 26th Tuesday. The weather is still misty and unpleasant but there is very little wind. The Company's large eight oared boats have been busy taking off cargo all day carrying three tons at a trip. Two of the Captain's boat's crew ran off as soon as they reached land and are not to be found though the Maoris went in search of them. We shall carry on to Nelson a hundred sheep which have been here some time but do not thrive at all as there is hardly any grass to feed them on and the turnips have been all destroyed by the grasshoppers.

December 27th Wednesday. There is a good deal of surf today and one of the Company's boats has been swamped in it but all the men got ashore without any more serious injury than a good ducking. In consequence of this we have discharged very little today. On the right had side of the bay there are several rocky islets upon one of which several rabbits were put about two years ago and have increased wonderfully. On the top of this rock there is an acre of good level land and it is used by the natives as a place of retreat when attacked by a hostile tribe which happened a few years ago when the assailants who were very numerous were repulsed with loss.

December 28th Thursday. My father and I went off again this morning and being joined by James who went ashore yesterday evening at the request of one of the passengers, proceeded up the country along the north road turning off to the north-east beyond the suspension bridge. The country here is thickly wooded with swampy land occasionally and here and there a patch of fernland but there is very little flax near the town. We passed several neat wooden houses with verandahs each possessing its little patch of garden like an oasis in the desert of fern, and one or two having an acre or two of fine tall wheat. We saw too some miserable huts built of raupo, a sort of reed, crowded with children, not possessing so much as a chimney or a window, and far from being weatherproof. These belonged to some labourers, part of whom worked at a farm a little higher up at the end of the road which is only a branch one. On reaching it we found the master who was an elderly man named Smart, working in a fern clearing with his men. He came forward to meet us and showed us over the farm which is one of the best here. It is surrounded by forest being all fernland and sloped gently down to the Omui river of which and of the sea it commands a delightful prospect. The diversity in his crops was the same as elsewhere, some of his barley being excellent and the rest so bad that he intends cutting it down for fodder. There were some good potatoes and a small patch of land was laid with grass. His house was a miserable affair being only a temporary one. He gave us a deal of information speaking on the whole rather favourably of the colony which he thinks will become prosperous in time. He has cleared neither forest land nor bush, by which latter is meant land not producing fern or large trees but overgrown with shrubs creepers and saplings and usually considered the most desirable land here being less expensive to clear than the forest and yielding a better crop than the fernland. He agreed with all the other settlers in saying that fernland requires an exposure of at least six months after which time it will produce good crops; and derides the notion that the fern when once cleared does not spring up again showing us some land covered with fresh

shoots which indeed I had repeatedly seen before. He thought that bush land which costs £12 or £15 as acre to clear will produce a better crop the first two years but that after that it will not be superior to fernland which he can clear for £6. Owing to the heavy surf we could not return in the evening as no boats would put off but one at 2 o'clock which was two hours and a half in reaching the ship and narrowly escaped being swamped. On ascertaining this, though it rained heavily and was very foggy we made an excursion to the south of the town which had no road and appears to be much neglected for there are not a dozen houses on this side and very little cultivated land. The country here has a desolate and unpicturesque appearance which I have not seen elsewhere in the settlement owing perhaps to there being no timber except a few small trees in the glens and ravines. After walking about two miles along an endless succession of steep hills and narrow dales among fern five or six feet high by a narrow footpath we thought we had seen enough and returned accordingly, wet through and extremely fatigued.

December 29th Friday. We came off to the ship at half past four the morning being cold and foggy but towards noon the weather cleared up and the boats went on loading which they were unable to do yesterday. As nothing else happened worth mentioning I will give some further account of what I heard and saw at new Plymouth. The universal complaint there is want of capital for there are not £100 sterling in the place. There are several good stores but all business is carried on by barter and so much does the supply of labourers exceed the demand for them that the Company is now giving a bounty of 6/- per week to anyone who employs a workman, the farmer giving the remaining 10/-. Mechanics can now with difficulty obtain employment at 5/- a day so much have wages fallen. Provisions such as they are, consisting almost entirely of fresh or salt pork, potatoes, cabbage, turnips and biscuits are not unreasonable considering how young the settlement is still. Pork which is nearly the only meat here with occasionally a little beef is 4d per pound and being all from the native breed and fed entirely on the fern roots is delicious and far milder than any I have tasted in England. Potatoes are cheap and good, for a good sized basketful may be bought from the natives for a shilling. Salt is dear being no less than 4d per pound. Sugar of but inferior quality is 5d and 6d and all kinds of spirits and liquors are very dear and very bad. Tea and coffee are both dear; the former is execrable and milk is 4d per quart. Soap is enormously dear, indeed none was to be had in the place when we landed but a ton has been procured from the ship.

All the settlers agree in describing the Maoris as they call the natives as a worthless indolent set it being impossible to make them work more than four hours a day so that not one is employed by the whites but to fetch wood which they sell at the rate of 2d or 3d for a large bundle and buy tobacco which and a blanket and a gun is the only object of their wishes. About their honesty very different opinions are held, some alleging that they are dishonest to a man and others ranking them in this respect before Europeans. Probably neither are quite right. There are no live fences here their place being supplied by split stakes stuck into the ground close together and bound with supplejack in imitation of the native palings. These though very unsightly and not very durable are an excellent defence while they last against the pigs, goats and native dogs with which the settlement is overrun. There are no rats here now for they all left in a body about six months ago, nobody knows why. I was much struck by the pallid and dejected looks of the settlers here so different from what might have been expected from natives of Devonshire which most of them are. On questioning them about this they said that they felt no diminution of their strength and praised the healthiness of the climate for there are two surgeons here who have hardly anything to do and have been competed to cultivate a garden for subsistence.

December 30th Saturday. The passengers' goods are now all landed but we shall take on board the boats and other gear belonging to a whaling station several miles from the town which has been here some months and had but indifferent success having seen above a hundred whales,

fastened to seven and caught one. The establishment is now broken up and the goods will go to Wellington. It has been much finer than yesterday.

December 31st Sunday. It has been a beautiful day and a fine view of the mount but it has been excessively dull for we have packed up all our books.

January 1st Monday. All the New Plymouth settlers have left us today so that our ship seems quite deserted for besides a good many cabin passengers, all our steerage passengers but two have stopped here. The decks are now covered with above a hundred sheep which were hoisted on board amid great confusion. One boat was so overloaded with them that she shipped several seas and began to sink when she reached the ship's side, her gunwhale being level with the water's edge. One of the sheep was drowned another fell into the water, but the boat being baled with great expedition the rest were got out in safety.

January 2nd Tuesday. We have had our long boat out for the first time since the ship was launched, turning out the poor goats and pigs, but after one or two trips to the whaling station she was found to be so leaky that she had to be hauled up again. Four whaleboats manned in part by natives have kept passing to and fro laden with barrels and huge iron pots for boiling the blubber in. The boats have been taken on board, two of them lying along the maindeck and two along the poop so that we are now quite crowded up.

January 3rd Wednesday. Weighed anchor at eight in the morning with a stiff breeze which carried us out to sea towards Sydney so that we are now further off Nelson than when we started. The poor sheep suffered dreadfully rolling over in great numbers at every lurch and impeding the working of the ship greatly. They are fed upon the leaves of the kraka laurel which they devour eagerly and which are said to be so nutritious that even a stall fed cow will give a great quantity of milk from them but owing to its being in such request among the settlers the tree is now becoming scarce near the town. The poor animals receive their water by having it poured down their throats from a bottle.

January 4th Thursday. We have not made a mile in our course all day but have gone a great way to the westward with a strong wind and a heavy sea. The horse has hurt his leg badly by getting it over the rail of his crib and one of the sheep has fallen down the main hatchway. The maindeck is now rendered disgustingly filthy by these animals who are continually intruding by half a dozen at a time into the cuddy.

January 5th Friday. The wind is not a whit more favourable but has fallen off to almost a calm and we expect a change from the full moon. I have been reading Bright's account of New Zealand which though in point of composition about as miserable a book as ever issued from the press, is as far as I can form an opinion from what little I have seen more correct in its statements than either Heaphy's or Petrie's the former of which is full of errors of the most glaring description such as calling the country round New Plymouth very like French Flanders and recommending iron rings to be fastened to the Sugarloaf Island to moor ships to, everyone here saying that a ship so fastened would not float ten minutes (c.f. fig. 21). He likewise states that the fern when once well cleared off never springs up again, its place being supplied by a strong native grass, whereas the farmers have the greatest difficulty in keeping it under for the first two or three years. Timberland he affirms may be cleared for £10 or 12 an acre and even for less with skill and prudence. The lowest estimates at New Plymouth were £28, the highest £40.

January 6th Saturday. The wind has veered round to the right quarter but we are not making more than four knots an hour. The weather would be delightful did not the thought occur to us

that its very beauty and calmness are the cause of our delay. The rising of the moon here in particular is beautiful and the heavens most brilliant.

January 7th Sunday. It is the most complete calm we have had since leaving England. There is literally not a breath of air not so much as to make the sails flap and the sea is like a vast pond. The heat too is such as to remind us forcibly of the tropics.

January 8th Monday. Almost as bad but we now and then make a knot or two and then remain stationary. A school of whales is blowing a long way off and a lazy shark has been playing before our bows. The sheep have exhausted all their kraka and have to feed on some hay which was luckily left in the long boat for the use of our stock.

January 9th Tuesday. Our wanderings are now drawing to a close. Cape Farewell has been sighted and we are running along the coast under double reefed topsails for it is blowing very hard. We shall lie to all night and enter Tasman Gulf in the morning.

January 10th Wednesday. In the morning we found ourselves running along the rugged western coast of Tasman Gulf with a very light breeze which at ten o'clock fell off entirely leaving us becalmed within a mile of the land. The prospect was by no means inviting. Bald steep hills backed by a range of snowclad mountains without the least appearance of level land were the principal features of the landscape. In about an hour a breeze sprang up, ten minutes after we filled our top gallant, in a quarter of an hour we were rushing through a sea covered with foam under double reefed topsails, so that you may imagine how sudden it was. We sighted Nelson about two o'clock, the most prominent object being a grove of trees in front of the Nook on which the town is built. High and steep mountains surround it in every direction, appearing to hem it in completely. A pilot came off and brought us to an anchor two miles from the haven in which there is a brig, and several more vessels are daily expected to enter. The morning tide will take us in, and the gulf is now as smooth as glass, resembling a vast lake. Several other boats came off in the evening, one of them containing the revenue officer. It rained a good deal towards evening and the hills were hid by the usual mists but the pilot assured us that no rain had fallen for two months and was much wanted.

THE END

Hodgson, William Charles. 1843 Journal of a voyage to New Zealand on the "Himalaya" / transcribed by Mary Skipworth. Tasman Bays Heritage Trust / The Nelson Provincial Museum, Library and Archives collection. qMS HOD

Note: The original appears to be a fair copy made by the author, after his arrival in New Zealand, which may account for the error in the age stated in the heading. The book shows no sign of water damage or of the difficulty of writing aboard a pitching ship.

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