



PORTRAIT OF CAPTAIN COOK
by Nathaniel Dance, 1776

THE JOURNALS OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK
ON HIS VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

*

THE VOYAGE OF
THE *ENDEAVOUR*

1768-1771

EDITED BY

J. C. BEAGLEHOLE

CANNIBALS, HUMAN SACRIFICE, AND FLOGGING

Be sure to scan the footnotes, as they
often contain fascinating additional
excerpts from other members of the
officers and crew.

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the Natives. I made each of those that came on board a small present and after about an hours stay hey went away well satisfied.¹ After having run five Leagues from the place where we anchor'd last night our depth of water gradually decreased to 6 fathom and into less I did not choose to go, and as the wind blow'd right up the inlet and tide of flood we came too an Anchor nearly in the middle of the Channell which is here about 11 Miles over, after this sent two Boats to Sound the one on one side and the other on the other.

MONDAY 20th. Moderate breeze at SSE and fair weather. At 2 PM the Boats returnd from sounding not haveing found above 3 feet more water then where we now lay; upon this I resolved to go no farther with the Ship, but to examine the head of the Bay in the boats, for as it appeared to run a good way inland I thought this a good opportunity to see a little of the Interior parts of the Country and its produce; Accordingly at Day light in the morning I set out with the Pinnace and Long boat accompanied by Mr Banks, Dr Solander and Tupia. We found the inlet end in a River² about 9 Miles above the Ship, into which we enterd with the first of the flood and before we had gone 3 miles up it found the water quite fresh. We saw a number of the natives and landed at one of their Villages the Inhabitants of which received us with open arms; we made but a short stay with them but proceeded up the River untill near Noon, when finding the face of the Country to continue pretty much the same and no alteration in the Course or stream of the River or the least probillity of seeing the end of it, we landed on the West side in order to take a View of the lofty Trees which adorne its banks, being at this time 12 or 14 Miles within the entrance and here the tide of flood run as strong as it doth in the River Thams below bridge.

TUESDAY 21st. After land[ing] as above mentioned we had not gone a hundred yards into the Woods before we found a tree that girted 19 feet 8 Inches 6 feet above the Ground, and having a quadrant with me I found its length from the root to the first branch to be 89 feet, it was as streight as an arrow and taper'd but very little in proportion to its length, so that I judged that there was 356 solid feet of timber in this tree clear of the branches. We saw many others of the same sort several of which were taller than the one we measured and all of them very stout;³ there were likewise many other sorts of very stout

¹ 'Some of them presented us with a large parcel of smoaked eels, which tasted very sweet and luscious.'—Parkinson, p. 106. He renders barbarously the name of the place: 'Ooahaowragee [Hauraki] harbour'.

² The Waihou.

³ The district was famous for its covering of those noble trees, the *kahikatea* or white pine, *Podocarpus dactyloides*—now alas! all gone—and its fine specimens of *kauri*, the greatest of the New Zealand pines. It was a *kahikatea* that was measured.

timber-trees all of them wholly unknown to any of us. We brought away a few specimans and at 3 oClock we embarqued in order to return on board with the very first of the Ebb, but not before we had named this River the *Thames*¹ on account of its bearing some resemblance to that river in england. In our return down the River the inhabitants of the Village where we landed in going, seeing that we return'd by a nother Channell put off in thier Canoes and met us and trafficked with us in the most friendly manner imagineable untill they had disposed of the few trifles they had. The Tide of Ebb just carried us out of the narrow part of the River into the Sea reach as I may call it, where meeting with the flood and a strong breeze at NNW obliged us to come to a grappling and we did not reach the Ship untill 7 oClock in the AM.

Intending to get under sail at high water the Long boat was sent to take up the Kidge anchor, but it blow'd so strong that she could not reach the Buoy and the gale increasing soon obliged us to bear away more Cable and strike Topgallant yards.

WEDNESDAY 22nd. Winds at NNW. The PM fresh gales and hazey with rain, the remainder Moderate and clear. At 3 pm the tide of Ebb makeing we took up our Anchors and got under sail and ply'd down the River untill 8 OClock when we again came to an Anchor in 7 fathom a muddy bottom. At 3 AM weighd with the first of the Ebb and kept plying untill the flood obliged us to anchor again. After this I went in the Pinnace over to the western shore but found thier neither inhabitants or any thing else worthy of note. At the time I left the Ship a good ma[n]y of the natives were along side and on board trafficking with our people for such trifles as they had and seem'd to behave as will as people could do, but one of them took the half hour glass out of the Bitticle² and was caught in the very fact and

¹ 'Capt Cook orderd this River to be Called the River Thams & the Sound [i.e. the Hauraki gulf] Straights Sound'.—Wilkinson. The Canberra log has a heading 'Remarks &c in Straits Sound' and, like others, refers to the river as the 'New Thames'. For Cook's curious extension of the 'river' see his entry for the 24th of this month below. He was no doubt thinking throughout of the English Thames in its lower reaches, the Thames of multitudinous shipping and tidal mud-banks, and as he laid down the eastern side of the Hauraki gulf and the Coromandel peninsula on his chart may have been struck by the distant resemblance to the south shore of the Thames estuary (Add. MS 7085.26). But it is very probable also that when he wrote, at the end of the previous entry, 'here the tide of flood runs as strong as it doth in the River Thams below bridge', he had a vivid memory of the tide-race rushing through the arches of Old London Bridge—a danger spot for Thames watermen; in Cook's day there were still water-wheels there to supply the City with water. All the circumstances conspired to bring on what now seems an unlikely name.

² Bittacle was the old form of binnacle, the box near the helm in which the compass was placed. The logboard, lights, and glasses were kept in compartments of the binnacle—the half-minute or log glass, the half-hour, two-hour, and four-hour or watch glass. See W. E. May, 'The Binnacle', in *Mariner's Mirror*, vol. 40 (1954), pp. 21–32.

←
Maori flogged
on
Endeavour,
Maori reaction

for which M^r Hick[s], who was the Commanding officer, brought him to the gang way and gave him a Dozⁿ lashes with a Catt of nine tails. The rest of the people seem'd not displeased at it when they came to know what it was for, and one old man beat the fellow after he had got into his Canoe, however soon after this they all went away¹.

THURSDAY 23rd. PM Gentle breezes at NNW and fair weather. Between 3 and 4 oClock got under sail with the first of the Ebb and ply'd to windward untill 9 when we anchor'd in 16 fathom over upon the East shore. In the night had light airs and Calm. At 3 AM weigh'd but had little or no wind untill near noon when a light breeze sprung up at NNW at this time we were close under the west shore in 7 fathom water Lat^{de} 36 51 S.²

FRIDAY 24th. PM Fresh gales and dark Clowdy, Squally weather with Thunder lightning and rain. Winds from the NW to the SW and this last carried us by 7 oClock without the NW point of the River. But the weather being bad and having land on all sides of us and a dark night coming on, I thought it most advisable to tack and stretch in under the point where we Anchor'd in 19 fathom water.

At 5 AM weigh'd and made sail to the NW under our Courses and Dble reef'd topsails, the wind being at SWBW and WSW a Strong gale and squally, blowing right off the land, which would not permit us to come near it, so that from the time of our getting under sail untill noon (during which time we run 12 Leagues) we had but a slight and distant View of the Coast and was not able to distinguish whether the points we saw were parts of the Main or Islands laying before it, for we never once lost sight of the Main land. At Noon our Latitude by observation was 36° 15' 20" S being at this time not above 2 Miles from a point of land on the main and 3½ leagues from a very high Island³ which bore NEBE of us, in this situation had 26 fathom water. The farthest point we could see on the main bore from us NW but we could see several small Islands laying to the Northward of that direction. The point of land we are now abreast off I take to be the

¹ Banks notes considerable displeasure and uproar before 'they came to know what it was for'. Cook first has at the end of this paragraph the following passage: 'The punishing this Man in this manner might have had some good effect had we been going to stay any time in this place, but as we were going away it might as well have been let alone'. He deletes it, apparently to avoid any reflection on Hicks, who must have been a much-trying man.

² The following passage is deleted after *west shore*: 'at about Miles with[in] the West entrance of the Bay or River, and where there is a small Cove wherein is shelter from the Northerly and westerly winds, we stud into it with the ship in to 7 fm. Lat. 36° 51' S.'

³ Little Barrier.

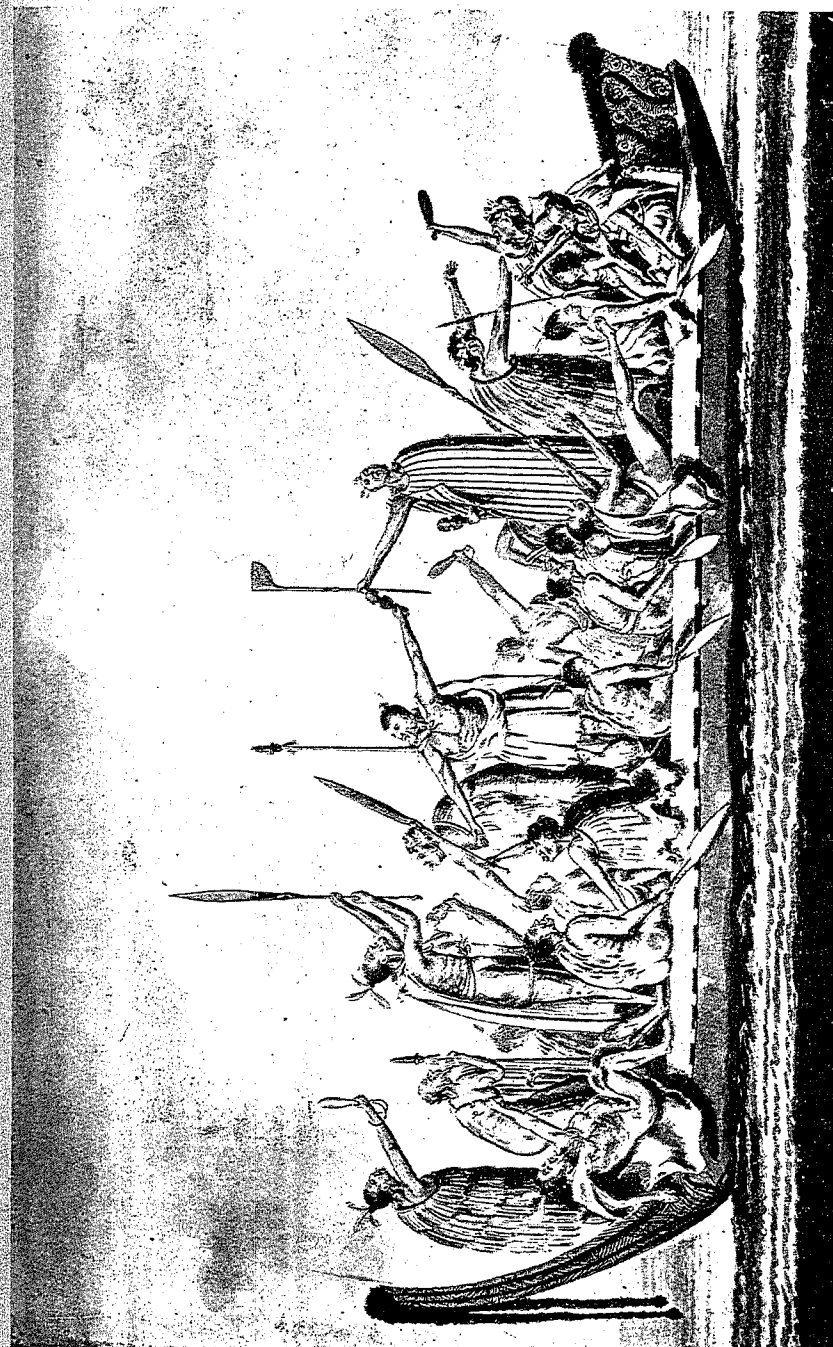


Fig. 38. Maori war canoe, by Sydney Parkinson

New Zealand's Maori Canoes, being a description of the Ship

land we discover'd in the morning, having run 10 Leagues sence Noon. The land seen than bearing s 63° West bore now N 59° West distant 7 or 8 Leag^s and makes like an Island, between this land or Island and Cape Egmont is a very broad and deep Bay or Inlet the sw side of which we are now upon, and here the land is of a considerable height distinguished by hills and Vallies and the shore seems to form several Bays into one of which I intend to go with the Ship in order to Careen her (she being very foul) and to repair some few defects, recrate our stock of Wood, water &c^a with this View we kept plying on and off al[^l] night having from 80 to 63 fathoms water. At day light Stood in for an Inlet which runs in sw.¹ At 8 AM we were got within the entrance which may be known by a reef of rocks stretching off from the NW point and some rocky Island[s] lying off the SE point. At 9 oClock being little wind and variable we were carried by the Tide or current within 2 Cable lengths of the NW shore where we had 54 fathoms water, but with the help of our Boats we got clear.² At this time we saw rise up twice near the Ship a Sea Lyon the head of which was exactly like the head of the male one described [by] Lord Anson.³ We likewise saw a Canoe with some of the Natives Cross the Bay and a Village situated upon a point of an Island which lies 7 or 8 Miles with[in] the Entrence.⁴ At Noon we were the length of this Island and being little wind had the boats ahead towing.

TUESDAY 16th. Variable light airs and clear settled weather. At 1 pm hauled close round the sw end of the Island on which stands the Village before mentioned the Inhabitants of which were all in arms; At 2 oClock we Anchor'd in a very snug Cove which is on the NW side of the Bay facing the s West end of the Island, in 11 fath. water soft ground and moor'd with the Stream anchor. By this time several of the Natives had come off to the Ship in their Canoes and after

¹ From Banks it appears that Cook had first intended to go into one of the openings to the west—Pelorus Sound, Guard's Bay or Port Gore? Cf. his 14 January: '... at night had the appearance of a harbour just ahead of us on the shore of which the natives made a fire: resolv'd to stand off & on all night & in the morn go in.—15. in the course of the last night we were drove to the Eastward more than we had any reason to expect, so much that we found ourselves in the morn past the harbour we intended to go into; another however was in sight into which we went. ...' If this was so it was a stroke of luck, because, as we shall see, it made certain the early discovery of Cook Strait.

² There was, says Clerke, a 'ledge of rocks and breakers at 9 hoisted out pinnace to tow ship off shore, current setting strong to y^e NW'. This was Cook's first, but not his last, experience of the treacherous currents of Cook Strait and its shores.

³ '... the males, who have a large snout or trunk hanging down five or six inches below the end of the upper jaw'; Walter's description of Juan Fernandez, *Voyage*, p. 123. Anson's animal was an Elephant Seal, *Mirounga leonina* L. This has never been known to have bred or been established in New Zealand, but Cook may have seen a straggler, such as visits Queen Charlotte Sound at the present day.

⁴ Motuara.

heaving a few stones at us and having some conversation with Tupia some of them ventured on board where they made but a very short stay before they went into their boats again and soon after left us all together. I than went a Shore in the bottom of the Cove accompanied by most of the Gentlemen, we found a fine stream of excellent water, and as to Wood the land here is one intire forest. Having the Saine with us we made a few hauls and caught 300 pounds weight of different sorts of fish which were equally distributd to the Ships Compney. AM Careend the Ship scrub'd and pay'd the Larboard side.¹ Several of the Natives Visited us this morning and brought with them some stinking fish which how ever I order'd to be bought up in order to incourage them in this kind of trafick, but trade at this time seem'd [not]² to be their object, but were more inclineable to quarrel and as the Ship was upōn the careen I thought they might give us some trouble and perhaps hurt some of our people that were in the boats along side; for this reason I fire'd some small Shott at one of the first offenders, this made them keep at a proper distance while they stayd which was not long before they all went away.³ These people declared to us this morning that they never either saw or heard of a Ship like ours being upon this coast before: from this it appears that they have no Tradition among them of Tasman being here for I beleive Murderers Bay the place where he Anchor'd not to be far from this place but this cannot be it from the Latitude for I find by an observation made this day at Noon that we are at an anchor in 41°5'32" s which is 15' to the southward of Murderers Bay.⁴

WEDNESDAY 17th. Light airs Calms and pleasent weath^r PM righted the Ship and got ready for heeling out the other side, and in the evening hauled the Saine and caught a few fish, while this was doing

¹ 'with Tallow and Venetian Red.'—Anon 153. To pay was to daub or smear all over with various preparations of tar and oil, tallow, resin, red ochre &c., to protect the planks of the ship from water and weather. As the ship was now careened, Cook was having its whole underwater body scraped and treated.

² not is supplied from AM, both of which had followed the MS, and were corrected by Cook himself.

³ The Indians, says Clerke, 'behaved very insolent—the Capt shot one of them in y^e Knee with small shott'. Anon 1771 (pp. 93–4) gives a more sensational account, including an attack on the life of the 'deputy-purser' with 'their hepatoos'; on which Cook seized a loaded fowling-piece 'and fired at the aggressor, who being almost directly under him, received the charge in his knee, which was thereby shattered in pieces, a few scattering shot likewise passed through his great toe. ... he angrily threw the fish which he had sold, and for which he had been paid, into the sea'; and so on.

⁴ Tasman's anchorage was about 70 miles WNW; he made it 40°50' S, but his latitudes were consistently 6' too far south (and his longitudes 1½° to 3° too far east). Although the Maori was tenacious in memory, the Tumatakokiri people, who had occupied that part of the country and had killed Tasman's men, were now themselves on the point of extinction, and the remnant left by tribal war was on the run. The absence of tradition is therefore not surprising. The story mentioned by Cook, 6 February below, may just possibly be a very garbled version.

← Evidence of Maori cannibalism, New Zealand, 1st voyage

some of us went in the Pinnacle into a nother Cove not far from where the Ship lays; in going thether we met with a Woman floating upon the water who to all appearence had not been dead many days. Soon after we landed we met with two or three of the Natives who not long before must have been regailing themselves upon human flesh, for I got from one of them the bone of the fore arm of a Man or a Woman which was quite fresh and the flesh had been but lately pick'd off which they told us they had eat,¹ they gave us to understand that but a few days ago they had taken Kill'd and eat a Boats crew of their enemies or strangers, for I beleive that they look upon all strangers as enemies; from what we could learn the Woman we had seen floating upon the water was in this boat and had been drowned in the fray. There was not one of us that had the least doubt but what this people were Canabals but the finding this Bone with part of the sinews fresh upon it was a stronger proof than any we had yet met with, and in order to be fully satisfied of the truth of what they had told us, we told one of them that it was not the bone of a man but that of a Dog, but he with great fervency took hold of his fore-arm and told us again that it was that bone and to convince us that they had eat the flesh he took hold of the flesh of his own arm with his teeth and made shew² of eating.—AM Careen'd scrubed and pay'd the Starboard side of the Ship: While this was doing some of the natives came along side seemingly only to look at us, there was a Woman among them who had her Arms, thighs and legs cut in several places, this was done by way of Mourning for her husband who had very lately been kill'd and eat by some of their enimes as they told us and pointed towards the place where it was done which lay some where to the Eastward. M^r Banks got from one of them a bone of the fore arm much in the same state as the one before mention'd and to shew us that they had eat the flesh they bit a[nd] naw'd the bone and draw'd it thro' their mouth

¹ "... the Capt bought one of their bones half pick'd to Convince the World that there are Cannibals. Nam'd the Bay Cannibal Bay".—Anon 153. Cannibal Bay is the name commonly given in the logs. Cook's bare statement is not enough for Wilkinson, who likes his horrors: 'they Saw Several Indians round an Oven made of Stones where the[y] Bake their fish or Flesh. . . . even the Intrels was Laying on a Bank of Grass by them'. Nor for Pickersgill: "... we saw one of the Bodys and two arms with flesh upon them which we saw them eat this is the first Proof Possitive we have had of the Inhabitants being CANNIBALS and I beleive these are the only People who kill their fellow creatuers Puerly for the meat which we are well Assured they do by their laying in wait one for another as a sportsman would for his game and they carry this detestable crime so far as to glory in carrying in their ears the Thumbs of those unhappy sufferers who fell in their way . . . their was a young girl seized upon by some People in the same bay & eat one morning whilst we were here and about two hours afterwards they brought the Bones to sell to some of our People these with several other Instances of Barbarous cruelty these savages is guilty of which ought to make them be abhord by all who may have occaision to tutch at these Islands.' This was evidently written up later.

² *M. Signs.*

and this in such a manner as plainly shew'd that the flesh to them was a dainty bit.

THURSDAY 18th. Winds mostly from the sw a gentle breeze and clear settled weather. PM righted the Ship and sent on Shore all or most of our empty Casks, and in the morning the Coopers went about triming them and the Carpenters went to work to black the bends,¹ Caulk the sides and to repair other defects in the Ship, while the Seamen were employ'd in the hold, cutting Wood &c^a &c^a. I made a little excursion in the Pinnacle in order to take a View of the Bay accompanied by M^r Banks and D^r Solander, We met with nothing remarkable and as we were on the west side of the Bay where the land is so closely cover'd with Wood that² we could not penetrate into the Country.

FRIDAY 19th. Winds and weather as yesterday and the employment of the people the same. In the PM some of our people found in the skirts of the wood three hip bones of Men, they lay near to a hole or hoven, that is a place where the natives dress their Victuals, this circumstance trifling as it is, is still a farther proff that this people eat human flesh.³

In the AM set up the Forge to repair the braces of the Tiller and such other Iron work as was wanting. The natives came along side and sold us a quantity of large Mackerel for nails peices of Cloth and paper, and in this traffeck they never once attemptd to defraud us of any one thing, but dealt as fair as people could do.

SATURDAY 20th. Winds Southerly, fair and pleasant weather. Employ'd Wooding Watering &c^a and in the AM sent part of the powder a Shore to be air'd. Some of the Natives brought along side in one of their Canoes four of the heads of the men they had lately kill'd, both the Hairy scalps and skin of the faces were on: M^r Banks bought one of the four, but they would not part with any of the other on any account whatever, the one M^r Banks got had received a blow on the Temple that had broke the skull. This morning I set out in the Pinnacle, accompanied by M^r Banks and D^r Solander, in order to survey the West Coast of the Bay, we took our rout towards the head of the Bay but it was near noon before we had got behond the place we had been before.

¹ The bends or wales of a ship were the planks or timbers, broader and thicker than the rest, which extended along the sides from stem to stern.

² *Sic*; in A deleted by Cook.

³ "We also found human bones in the woods, near the ovens, where they used to partake of their horrid midnight repasts."—Parkinson, p. 116. Mr Parkinson had read too deeply in romance; the Maori epicure would have been shocked at the idea of waiting till midnight.

to attack us with stones and darts and oblige us whether we would or no to fire upon them. Musquetary they never regarded unless they felt the effect but great guns they did because these threw stones farther than they could comprehend. After they found that our Arms were so much Superior to theirs and that we took no advantage of that superiority and a little time given them to reflect upon it they ever after were our very good friends and we never had an Instance of their attempting to surprize or cut off any of our people when they were ashore, oppertunities for so doing they must have had at one time or a nother.

It is hard to account for what we have every w[h]ere been told of their eating their enimes kill'd in battle which they most certainly do, circumstance enough we have seen to convince of the truth of this. Tupia who holds this custom in great aversion hath very often argued with them against it but they always as strenuously supported it and never would own that it was wrong. It is reasonable to suppose that men with whome this Custom is found seldom or never give quarter¹ to those they overcome in battle and if so they must fight desperatly to the very last. A strong proff of this supposision we had from the people of Queen Charlottes Sound who told us² but a few days before we arrived that they had kill'd and eat a whole boats crew; surely a single boats crew or at least a part of them when they found themselves beset and over powerd by number would have surrender'd themselves prisioners was such a thing practised among them. The heads of these unfortunate people they preserved as trophies; four or five of them they brought off to shew to us, one of which M^r Banks bought or rather forced them to sell for they parted with it with the utmost reluctancy and afterwards would not so much as let us see one more for anything we could offer them.

In the article of food these people have no great variety. Firn roots, Dogs, Fish and wild foul is their chief diet, for Cocos, Yamms and sweet Potatoes is not cultivated every w[h]ere. They dress their victuals in the same manner as the people in the South Sea Islands, that is dogs and large fish they bake in a hole in the ground and small fish, birds shell fish &c they broil on the fire. Firn roots they likewise heat over the fire than beat them out flat over a stone with a wooden Mallet, after this they are fit for eating in the doing of which they suck out the moist and glutinous part and spit out the fibrous parts; these firns are much alike if not the same as the

¹ A seldom or ever give any quarters (any inserted by Cook), M seldom if ever give Quarters. In the MS Cook writes seldom if never, and alters the it to nor. The generalization goes too far.

² A that inserted after us by Cook.

Mountain ferns in England.¹ They catch fish with Saines, hooks and lines but more commonly with hooped nets very ingeniously made, in the middle of these they tie the bait such as sea ears,² fish gutts &c³ than sink the nett to the bottom with a stone. After it lays there a little time they haul it gently up and hardly ever without fish and very often a large quantity. All their nets are made of the broad grass plant before mentiond generally with no other preparation than by splitting the blade of the plant into threeds. There fishing hooks are made of crooked peices of wood, bones and shells.

The People shew great ingenuity and good workmanship in the building and framing their Boats or Canoes; the[y] are long and narrow and shaped very much like a New England Whale boat. Their large Canoes are I beleive-built wholly for war and will carry from 40 to 80 or 100 men with their arms &c⁴. I shall give the demensions of one which I measured that lay a shore at *Tolaga*. Length 68½ feet, breadth 5 feet and depth 3½ feet. The bottom sharp inclining to a wedge and was made of three pieces hollow'd out to about 2 inches or an inch and a half thick and well fasten'd together with strong plating; each side consisted of one plank only which was 63 feet long and 10 or 12 Inches broad and about an inch and a quarter thick and these were well fited and lash'd to the bottom part; there were a number of Thwarts laid across and lashed to each gunel as a strengthening to the boat. The head orament projected 5 or 6⁵ feet without the body of the Boat and was 4½⁴ feet high; the stern orament was 14 feet high, about 2 feet broad and about an⁵ 1½ Inch thick, it was fix'd upon the Stern of the Canoe like the Stern post of a Ship upon her keel. The oraments of both head and stern and the two side boards were of carved work and in my opinion neither ill designd nor executed. All their Canoes are built after this plan and few are less than 20 feet long—some of the small ones we have seen with out-riggers⁶ but this is not common. In their war Canoes they generally have a quantity of birds feathers hung in strings and tied about the head and stern as an additional orament. They are as various in the heads of their canoes as we are in those of

¹ Bracken, *Pteridium aquilinum*, var. *esculentum*. The Maori name is *rarauhe*; the root, more particularly, is *aruhe*.

² The shell-fish known in New Zealand as *paua*: *Halotis* sp. It is related to the American Abalone and the Channel Islanders' Ormer.

³ M omits or 6.

⁴ M 4. This measurement, and that for the stern orament in the next line, is far too high, unless he was measuring from the keel. The usual height was about 2 feet for the prow and 5 or 6 for the stern; and very few stern ornaments would be as much as 2 feet wide.

⁵ A omits about an.

⁶ G without rigging: an indication of the careless copying in this MS.

after which a gentle breeze sprung up at south with which we still kept on upon a wind to the westward. At 7 oClock we saw from the Mast head the Land of *Sandy Cape* bearing $SE\frac{1}{2}E$ distant 12 or 13 Leagues. At 9 we discoverd from y^e Mast head land to the westward and soon after saw smooks upon it; our depth of water was now decreased to 17 fathom and by noon to 13, at which time we were by observation in the Latitude of $24^{\circ}28'$ and about 7 Leagues from the land which extended from SBW to WNW. Longitude made from *Sandy Cape* $0^{\circ}45'$ West.

For these few days past we have seen at times a sort of Sea fowl we have no where seen before that I remember, they are of that sort called Boobies;¹ before to day we seldom saw more than 2 or 3 at a time and only when we were near the land. Last night a small flock of these birds pass'd the Ship and went away to the NW and this morning from half an hour before sun rise to half an hour after flights of them were continually coming from the NNW and flying to the SSE and not one was seen to fly in any other dire[c]tion, from this we did suppose that there was a Lagoon, River or Inlet of shallow water to the southward of us² where these birds resorted to in the day to feed and that not very far to the northward lay some Island where they retired to in the night.³

TUESDAY 22^d. In the PM had a gentle breeze at SE with which we stood in for the land SW untill 4 oClock when being in the Lat^de of $24^{\circ}36'$ s and about 2 Leagues from land in 9 fathom water we bore away along shore NNBW. At the same time we could see the land extending to the South South East about 8 Leagues. Near the Sea the land is very low but in land are some moderatly high hills and the whole appear'd to be thickly cloathed with wood. In runing along shore we shoalden our water from 9 to 7 fathom and at one time had

¹ Since Banks does not refer to more than one species of Australian booby it seems likely that these were the Brown Booby, *Sula leucogaster plotus*, described by Solander as *Pelecanus sula* (Sol. MS Z4, p. 23).

² A in y^e Bottom of the deep Bay which I named Hervey's Bay in Honour of y^e Hon Hervey, inserted by Cook. But he has not previously mentioned this bay, and seems to be referring back to the last words of the previous entry: 'from it [Sandy Cape] the land trended away WSW and SW as far as we could see'. On the chart Add. MS 7085.36 the coast of the bay is left blank, on 7085.34 it is conjecturally 'pricked in'. Cook was too far off-shore to see detail, and he here again, as off 'Glass House Bay', joined a large island to the main. Sandy Cape is the north-east point of Fraser or Great Sandy Island, behind which Great Sandy Strait, a long narrow channel, runs north from Wide Bay into Hervey Bay, an opening forty miles across. Hervey was Augustus John Hervey (1724-99) later 3rd Earl of Bristol, a naval officer of great spirit, who became a lord of the Admiralty in the year of the *Endeavour's* return; cf. Introduction, p. cxxi. Presumably he is the 'Harvy' of Harvy's Isles, on 7085.36 but not on the general chart, off Island Head, farther north (see below, p. 329, n. 3).

³ Flinders thought they went to Hervey's Bay for the day, and to the Bunker group ($23^{\circ}54'$ S, $152^{\circ}25'$ E) for the night.

but 6 fath^m which determined me to anchor for the night and accordingly at 8 oClock we came too in 8 fathom water a fine gravelly bottom about 5 Miles from the land. This evening we saw a water snake and 2 or 3 evenings ago one lay under the Ships stern some time, this was about a yard and a half in length and was the first we had seen.¹

At 6 oClock in the AM we wieg'd with a gentle breeze southerly and steerd NW $\frac{1}{4}$ W edging in for the land untill w[e] got within 2 Miles of it having from 7 to 11 fathom water, we then steer'd NNW as the land laid. At noon we were by observation in the Latitude of $24^{\circ}19'$ s, Longitude made from *Sandy Cape* $1^{\circ}14'$ West.

WEDNESDAY 23rd. Continued our Course along shore at the distance of about 2 Miles off having from 12 to 9, 8 and 7 fathom water untill 5 oClock at which time we were abreast of the South point of a large open bay where in I intended to anchor, accordingly we hauld in close upon a wind and sent a boat ahead to sound. After making some trips we anchor'd at 8 oClock in 5 fathom water a Sandy bottom. The South point of the Bay bore $E\frac{1}{2}S$ South distance 2 Miles, the north point NW $\frac{1}{4}$ N about 2 Miles from the Shore in the bottom of the bay. Last Night some time in the Middle watch a very extraordinary affair happend to M^r Orton my Clerk, he having been drinking in the Evening, some Malicious person or persons in the Ship took the advantage of his being drunk and cut off all the cloaths from off his back, not being satisfied with this they some time after went into his Cabbin and cut off a part of both his Ears as he lay asleep in his bed. The person whome he suspected to have done this was M^r Magra one of the Midshipmen, but this did not appear to me upon inquiry. However as I know'd² Magra had once or twice before this in their drunken frolicks cut of his Cloaths and had been heard to say (as I was told) that if it was not for the Law he would Murder him, these things consider'd induce'd me to think that Magra was not altogether innocent. I therefore, for the present dismiss'd him the quarter deck and sussed him from doing any duty in the Ship, he being one of those gentlemen, frequently found on board Kings Ships, that can very well be spared, or to speake more planer good for nothing.³ Besides it was necessary in me to show my immedate resentment against the person on whome the suspicion fell least they should not have stoped here. With respect to M^r Orton he is a man not without

¹ There are many Australian sea snakes and neither Cook nor Banks gives sufficient detail for identifying these.

² M had been told that, alteration by the scrupulous Cook.

³ or to speake . . . nothing, in M deleted very heavily.

← ears cut off
of Cook's
clerk,
1st voyage

faults, yet from all the enquiry I could make, it evidently appear'd to me that so far from deserving such treatment he had not designedly injured any person in the Ship, so that I do and shall all ways look upon him as an enjure'd man. Some reasons might however be given why this misfortune came upon him in which he himself was in some measure to blame, but as this is only conjecture and would tend to fix it up [on] some people in the Ship whom I would fain believe would hardly be guilty of such an act[i]on, I shall say nothing about it unless I shall hereafter discover the Offenders which I shall take every method in my power to do, for I look upon such proceedings as highly dangerous in such Voyages as this and the greatest insult that could be offer'd to my authority in this Ship, as I have always been ready to hear and redress every complaint that have been made against any Person in the Ship.¹

In the AM I went a shore with a party of men in order to examine the Country accompanied by Mr Banks and the other gentlemen. We landed a little within the South point of the Bay where there is a channel leading into a large Lagoon. The first thing I did was to sound and examine this channel in which I found 3 fathom water untill I got about a Mile up it, where I met with a Shoal whereon was little more than one fathom, being over this I had 3 fathom again. The entrance into this channel lies close to the South point of the Bay being form'd on the East by the shore and on the West by a large spit of sand, it is about a quarter of a Mile broad and lies in sbw; here is room for a few ships to lay very secure and a small Stream of fresh water. After this I made a little excursion into the woods while some hands made 3 or 4 hauls with the Sain but caught not above a dozen very small fish; by this time the flood was made and I embarked.

¹ Once again we have a violent reminder of the eighteenth century. Cook's account of this episode is closely-written fair copy, in a blacker ink than the earlier part of the entry for the date, and runs over into the margin, as if he had left a rather inadequate space for a clear and measured, though indignant, statement. Having on 14 June changed his mind about Magra's guilt (see p. 347, n. 5 below) Cook evidently made the alterations noted in M, but still being unable to think highly of the young man's character, he left it at that. Later his unwillingness to prejudice people got the upper hand of him, and he kept the whole story out of A and G. But his annoyance was not merely temporary, as we learn from Parkinson: 'This day the captain's clerk had his ears cut off, and his cloaths also cut off his back. The captain and officers offered, some time after, at Batavia, a reward of fifteen guineas, to any one who should discover the person or persons who cut off his ears, and fifteen gallons of arrack, to any one that should discover him or them who had cut off his cloaths'.—p. 138n. 'One of our midshipmen ran away from us here [Batavia], and it was suspected that he was the person who cut off Orton's ears'.—p. 207. It was Saunders who deserted, and as Batavia was about the least inviting European settlement in the world at which to desert, the case against him looks pretty black. One would give much for the full circumstantial ship-board details: why was Orton himself 'in some measure to blame' (apart from getting drunk)?—and who were the 'people in the Ship whom I would fain believe would hardly be guilty of such an action'? Banks, writing his journal for this date, is so full of natural history that he has no space to spare for the human situation.

in the boat in order to row up the Lagoon but in this I was hindered by meeting every where with shoal water. As yet we had seen no people but saw a great deal of smook up and on the west side of the Lagoon which was all too far off for us to go by land excepting one; this we went to and found 10 small fires in a very small compass and some cockle shells laying by them but the people were gone. On the windward or South side of one fire was stuck up a little bark about a foot and a half high and some few pieces lay about in other places; these we concluded were all the covering they had in the night and many of them I firmly believe have not this but naked as they are Sleep in the open air, Tupia who was with us observed that they were *Taata Eno's*¹ that is bad or poor people. The Country is visibly worse than at the last place we were at, the Soil is dry and Sandy and the woods are free from under-wood of every kind. Here are of the same sort of trees as we found in Botany Bay² with a few other sorts; one sort which is by far the most numerous of any in the woods grows something like birch,³ the bark at first sight looks like birch bark but upon examination I found it to be very different and so I believe is the wood, but this I could not examine as having no ax or any thing with me to cut down a tree. About the skirts of the Lagoon grows the true Mangrove such as are found in the West Indies and which we have not seen during the Voyage before, here is likewise a sort of a Palm tree which grows on low barren and sandy places in the South Sea Islands.⁴ All or most of the same sorts of land and water fowl as we saw at Botany Bay we saw here, besides these Black & white Ducks,⁵ and Bustards such as we have in England one of which we killd that weigh'd 17½ pounds⁶ which occasioned my giving this place the name of *Bustard Bay*⁷ (Lat^d 24°4' Long^d

¹ *taata ino*, the mean or evil folk or *titi* of Tahiti, doomed as the victims of human sacrifice.

² *M Bottonist Harbour, A Bottany Bay.*

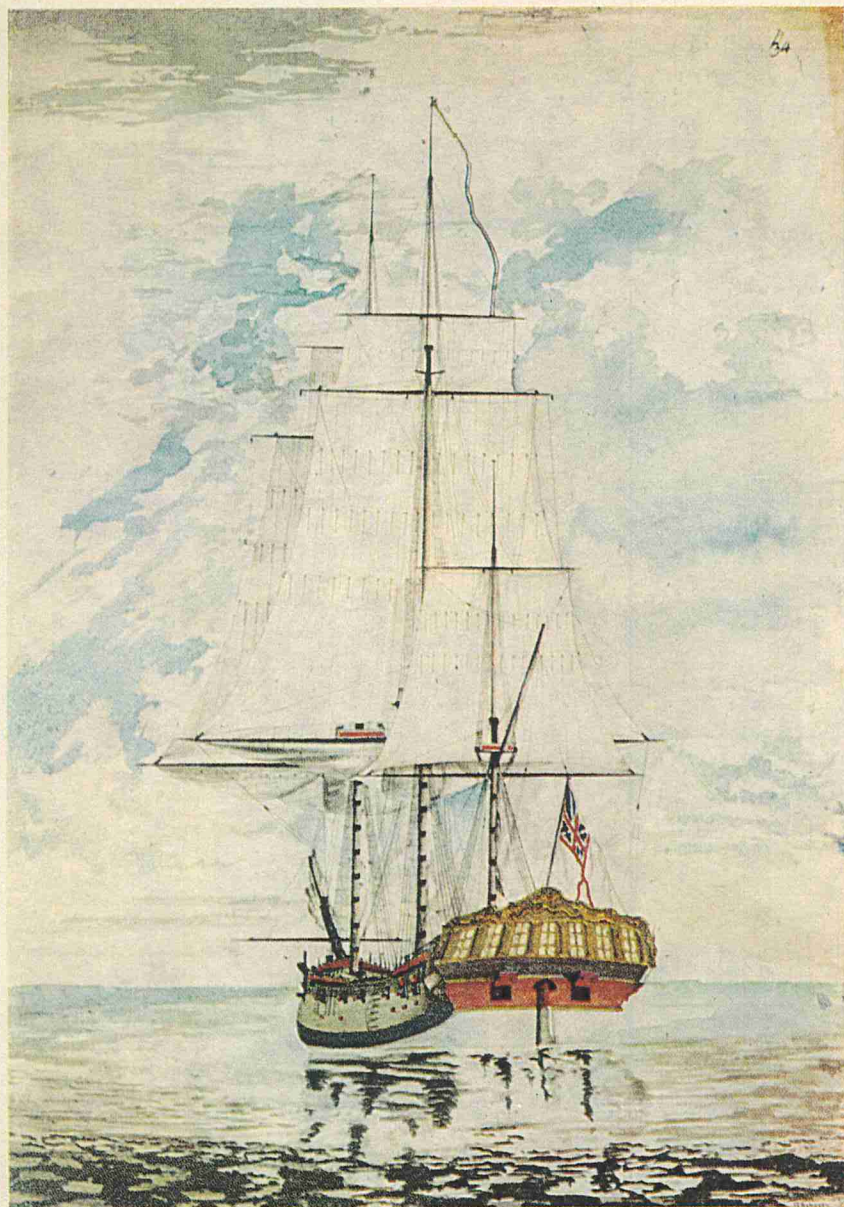
³ Probably the Scrub Ironbark or Grey Birch, *Bridelia exaltata*, common in the coastal scrubs of northern New South Wales and southern Queensland.

⁴ By the 'true Mangrove such as are found in the West Indies' Cook probably means the western mangrove *Rhizophora mangle*—though it is no 'truer' than *R. mucronata*, which grows in Queensland, or any of the other Australian eastern mangroves. The Palm tree was no doubt *Pandanus pedunculatus*.

⁵ Parkinson's notes for this day (p. 138) suggest that these ducks were the White-headed Sheldrake, *Tadorna radjah rufitergum*. *Black & white Ducks*, and is an interpolation, Cook having rephrased his sentence from the M version, which reads *besides these we saw some Bustards . . . 208°22'* we likewise saw some black & white Ducks.

⁶ '... at Dinner we eat the Bustard we had shot yesterday, it turn'd out an excellent bird far the best we all agreed that we have eat since we left England & as it weigh'd 15 pounds our Dinner was not only good but plentyfull.'—Banks, 24 May. This was the Eastern Bustard or Plains Turkey, *Choriotis australis*. A detailed description is in the Sol. MS Z4, p. 105.

⁷ Bustard Bay lies between the two points that Cook names on his chart South Head and North Head (Add. MS 7085.36), now Round Hill head and Bustard head. It gives little shelter, except from offshore winds, and he was lucky in his weather. The channel he



The Resolution

Water-colour drawing by Henry Roberts,
in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, D11, no. 14

THE JOURNALS OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK
ON HIS VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

*

THE VOYAGE OF THE
RESOLUTION AND *ADVENTURE*

1772-1775

EDITED BY

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got the principal parts of the Sloop caulked, the rigging over hauled and in other respects in a condition for Sea,¹ I ordered the tents to be struck and every thing to be got on board.

The Boatswain with a party of men being in the wood cutting brooms, some of them found a private hut of the Natives [in] which were part of the treasure they have had from us with some other articles of their own, soon² after they came and took them all away, but missing a hatchet and some other articles they came in the evening when the brooming party came on board, and made their complaint to me and pitched upon one of the party as the person who had taken the things and for which I ordered him twelve lashes³ after which the complainant went away seemingly satisfied altho he did not recover any of his things nor could I find what was become of them though nothing was more certain than they had been taken away by some of the party if not by the very man the natives had pitched upon.

It has ever been a maxim with me to punish the least crimes any of my people have committed against these uncivilized Nations, their robbing us with impunity is by no means a sufficient reason why we should treat them in the same manner, a conduct we see they themselves cannot justify, they found themselves injured and sought for redress in a legal way. The best method in my opinion to preserve a good understanding with such people is first to shew them the use of fire arms and to convince them of the Superiority they give you over them and to be always upon your guard; when once they are sensible of these things, a regard for their own safety will deter them from disturbing you or being unanimous in forming any plan to attack you, and Strict honesty and gentle treatment on your part will make it their interest not to do it.—f. 149v.

→ TUESDAY 23rd. Calm or light airs from the Northward so that we could not get to sea as I intended, some of the officers went on shore to amuse themselves among the Natives where they saw the head and bowels of a youth who had lately been killed, the heart was stuck upon a forked stick and fixed to the head of their largest Canoe, the gentlemen brought the head⁴ on board with them, I was on shore

¹ . . . and to encounter the Southern Latitudes,

² *own, soon*: own, it is very probable some were set to watch this hut, as soon

³ The criminal was Richard Lee, seaman, as we learn from the other journals.

⁴ *the gentlemen . . . head*: One of the gentlemen bought the head, brought it . . . f. 150.—'Bought a human head onshore, (for two nails) might have had the liver &c—) but found that sufficient . . .—Mitchel. It was Pickersgill who bought the head, according to his own journal.

at this time but soon after returned on board when I was informed of the above circumstances and found the quarter deck crowded with the Natives. I now saw the mangled head or rather the remains of it for the under jaw, lip &c^a were wanting,¹ the scul was broke on the left side just above the temple, the face had all the appearance of a youth about fourteen or fifteen, a peice of the flesh had been broiled and eat by one of the Natives in the presence of most of the officers.² The sight of the head and the relation of the circumstances just mentioned struck me with horror and filled my mind with indignation against these Canibals, but when I considered that any resentment I could shew would avail but little and being desirous of being an eye witness to a fact which many people had their doubts about, I concealed my indignation and ordered a piece of the flesh to be broiled and brought on the quarter deck where one of these Canibals eat it with a seeming good relish before the whole ships Company which had such effect on some of them as to cause them to vomit. [Oediddee] was [so] struck with horror at the sight that [he] wept and scolded by turns, before this happened he was very intimate with these people but now he neither would come near them or suffer them to touch him, told them to their faces that they were vile men and that he was no longer their friend,³ he used the same language to one of the officers who cut of the flesh and refused to except, or even touch the knife with which it was cut, such was this Islanders aversion to this vile custom.⁴ I could not find out the reason of their undertaking this expedition, all I could understand for certain was that they had gone from hence into Admiralty Bay⁵ and there fought with their enemies

¹ . . . lying on the Tafferal

² *most . . . officers*: all the officers and most of the crew.—f. 150. Clerke 8952, 24 November, gives us the circumstantial details: ' . . . I ask'd him if he'd eat a peice there directly to which he very chearfully gave his assent. I then cut a peice of carry'd [it] to the fire by his desire and gave it a little broil upon the Grid Iron then deliver'd it to him—he not only eat it but devour'd it most ravenously, and suck'd his fingers $\frac{1}{2}$ a dozen times over in raptures: the Captain was at this time absent, he soon after came on board, when I cut & dress'd my friend the other steak which he Eat upon the Quarter Deck before Cap^t Cook and both were before the Ships Crew.'

³ The foregoing passage, from 'a seeming good relish', is one that Cook worked over in B, f. 150, a great deal, presumably to get the greatest possible dramatic effect. The page is a mass of correction and rewriting, including the final red ink. In the end we get this: ' . . . surprising avidity. This had such effect on some of our people as to make them sick who came on board with me. Oediddee was so affected with the sight as to become perfectly motionless and seemed as if metamorphosed into the Statue of horror: it is, utterly impossible for Art to depict that passion with half the force that it appeared in his Countenance when roused from this state by some of us, he burst into tears, continued to weep and scold by turns; told them they were Vile men, and that he neither was nor would be no longer their friend he even would not suffer them to touch him. . . . We have here some direct transcription from Wales.

⁴ . . . and worthy of imitation by every rational being.

⁵ . . . (the next inlet to the West) . . .—f. 150v.

many of whom they killed, they counted to me fifty a number which exceeded all probability by reason of the smallness of their own number, I think I understood them for certain that this youth was killed there and not brought away a prisoner, nor could I learn that they had brought away any more which increased the improbability of their having killed so many. We had reason to believe that they did not escape without some loss, a young woman was seen, more than one, to cut and scar herself as is the custom when they loose a friend or relation.

That the New Zealanders are Canibals can now no longer be doubted, the account I gave of it in my former Voyage was partly founded on circumstances and was, as I afterwards found, discredited by many people. I have often been asked, after relating all the circumstance, if I had actually seen them eat human flesh my self, such a question was sufficient to convince me that they either disbelieved all I had said or formed a very different opinion from it, few consider what a savage man is in his original state and even after he is in some degree civilized; the New Zealanders are certainly in a state of civilization, their behaviour to us has been Manly and Mild, shewing allways a readiness to oblige us; they have some arts among them which they execute with great judgement and unwearied patience; they are far less addicted to thieving than the other Islanders and are I believe strictly honest among them-selves.¹ This custom of eating their enemies slain in battle (for I firmly believe they eat the flesh of no others) has undoubtedly been handed down to them from the earliest times and we know that it is not an easy matter to break a nation of its ancient customs let them be ever so inhuman and savage, especially if that nation is void of all religious principles as I believe the new Zealanders in general are and like them without any settled form of government; as they become more united they will of consequence have fewer Enemies and become more civilized and then and not till then this custom may be forgot,² at present they seem to have but little idea of treating other men as they themselves would wish to be treated, but treat them as they think they should be treated under the same circumstances. If I remember right one of the arguments they made use on

¹... i.e. in the same tribe, or such as are at peace one with another.—f. 152.

²... especially if that Nation hath no manner of connections or commerce with strangers for it is by this, that the greatest part of the human race has been civilized, an advantage which the New Zealanders, from their Situation, never have had: an intercourse with Foreigners would reform their manners and polish their Savage minds, or were they more united under a settled form of Government, they would have fewer enemies consequently this Custom would be less in use, and might in time be in a manner forgot.—f. 152.

against Tupia who frequently expostulated with them against this custom, was that there could be no harm in killing and eating the man who would do the same by you if it was in his power, for said they 'can there be any harm in eating our Enemies whom we have killed in battle, would not those very enemies have done the same to us?' I have often seen them listen to Tupia with great attention, but I never found that his arguments had any weight with them or¹ that they ever once owned that this custom was wrong and when [Oediddee] shewed his resentment against them they only laughed at him,² indeed it could not be supposed that they would pay much attention to a youth like him. I must here observe that [Oediddee] soon learnt to converse with these people tolerable well as I am persuaded he would have done with those of Amsterdam had he been the same time with them.³

WEDNESDAY 24th. At 4 o'Clock in the Morning we unmoored with an intent to put to Sea, but the wind being Northerly or NE without and blew in strong puffs into the Cove so that we were obliged to lay fast. While we were unmooring, some of our old friends the Natives came to take their leave of us and after wards took all their effects into their Canoes and left the Cove, but the party which had been out on the late expedition remained, these some of the gentlemen visited and found the heart still remaining on the Canoe and the bowels and lungs lying on the beach, but the flesh they believed was all devoured.⁴

THURSDAY 25th. At 4 o'Clock in the Morning we weighed with a light breeze out of the Cove which carried us no farther than between Motuara and Long-island where we were obliged to anchor, pre-

¹... or with all his Rhetorick could persuade any one of them that this custom was wrong, and when Oediddee and several of our people shew'd their abhorrence against it they only laughed at them.

² B f. 151 is a separate slip of paper, which, though it is similar to the paper of the rest of the journal, from the ink and the writing appears to be an afterthought, probably added in England when Cook was preparing the journal for publication. It is keyed to a red cross at 'when Oediddee and several of our people shewed. . . laughed at them'. It runs as follows: 'Among many reasons which I have heard assigned for the practice of this horrid custom, the want of animal food has been one; but how far this is deducible from either facts or circumstances, I shall leave those to find out who advanced it, as [in] every part of New Zealand which I have been in, Fish have been found in such plenty that the Natives have generally caught as much as served both themselves and us; they have also plenty of Dogs, nor is there any want of wild fowl, which they know very well how to kill. So that neither this nor the want of food of any kind, can in my opinion, be the reason, but whatever m[a]y be it, I think it was but too evident that they have a great liking for this kind of food.'

³ the same . . . them: a little longer with them, for he did not understand the New Zealanders at first no more or not so much, as the Amsterdammers.—f. 152v.

⁴ but . . . devoured: Liver and Lungs were now wanting probably they had eat them after the carcase was all gone

END
READING

together with the Kings Brother,¹ they were shew'd all over the Ship, the Admiral who had never seen such a one before view'd every thing with great attention and express'd much surprise at what he saw.² After dinner he put a Hog on board the Ship and retired before I had time to make him any return either for this or what I had in the Morning and soon after the King and his Brother took leave. The King seem'd not only to pay the Admiral much respect himself but was desirous I should do the same, he was nevertheless certainly jealous of him, but on what account we knew not for it was but the day before he frankly told us the Admiral was not his friend. Both these Chiefs when on board to day Solicited me to assist them against the people of Tiarabou altho at this time the two Kin[g]doms are at peace and we were told go with their joint force against Eimeo. To this request of theirs I made an evasive answer which I believe they understood was not favourable to their request.³

THURSDAY 28th. Remained on board all day. Had a Present of a Hog sent me by Oheatua the King of Tiarabou, for which in return he desired a few red feathers.⁴ In the afternoon M^r Forster and his party set out for the Mountains with an intent to Stay out the night.⁵

FRIDAY 29th. Early in the Morn Otoo, Towha and Several other Grandees came on board and brought with them not only provisions but some of the Most Valuable curiosities in the island which they gave to me and for which I made them such returns as they were well pleased with, I likewise took the opportunity to repay the civilities I had received from Towha.

Last night one of the Natives made an Attempt to Steal one of our Water Casks from the Watering Place, he was caught, sent on board and put in Irons in which Situation he was found by the two Chiefs

¹ together . . . Brother: together with Tarévatoo the Kings younger brother and Tee.—f. 197v. 'Tarévatoo', Te-ari'i-fa'atau. Cf. p. 410, n. 1.

² they were . . . saw: As soon as we drew near the Ship the Admiral, who had never seen one before, began to express much surprise at so new a Sight; he was shewed all over the Ship every part of which he Viewed with great attention, on this occasion Otoo was the principle showman for by this time he was well acquainted with the different parts of the Ship.—f. 197v.

³ . . . Whether this was done with a View of breaking with their Neighbours and Allies, if I had promised them assistance or only to sound my disposition I know not, probable they would have been ready enough to embrace an opportunity which would have enabled them to Conquer that Kingdom and annexed it to their own as it was formerly; be this as it may, I heard no more of it, indeed I gave them no encouragement.—f. 198.

⁴ . . . which were together with other things sent him accordingly.

⁵ Fine weather Employed Watering, Airing and Picking the Bread, overhauling the Rigging &c^a &c^a.—Log.

to whom I made known his crime.¹ Otou beg'd he might be set at liberty which I refused tilling him it was but Just the Man should be punished,² accordingly I orderd him a shore to the Tent, where I went my self with the two Chiefs and others, here I ordered the Man to be tyed up to a Post, Otou his Sister and some others beg'd hard for the Man, Towha said not one word but was very attentive to every thing going forward; I expostulated with Otou on the conduct of this Man and his people in general tilling him that neither I nor any of my people took any thing from him or his people without first paying for it and innumarated the Articles we gave for such and such things and that he well knew that when any of my people broke through these rules they were punished for it and that it was but right this man should be punished also, besides I told him it would be the means of saving the lives of some of his people by deterring them from committing crimes of this nature in which some would be kill'd³ at one time or a nother; I said more to the same purpose most of which I believe he pretty well understood as he was satisfied and only desired the Man might not be kill'd.⁴ I then ordered the guard out to keep the Crowd which was very great at a proper distance and in Sight of them all ordered the fellow two dozen lashes with a Cat of Nine tails which he bore with great firmness, he was then set at liberty and Towha the Admiral began to Harangue the crowd for not a man left us on this occasion, he spoke for a full quarter of an hour and with seemingly great Perspicuity and he was heard with great Attention,⁵ his speach consisted mostly of short Sentences, nevertheless I could understand but few words,⁶ he recapitulated most of what I had said to Otou, named several Advantages they had received from us, condemn'd their present conduct and recommended a different one for the future.⁷ Otou on this occa-

¹ Marra, pp. 180-3, gives an account of this incident, with the wrong date. The attention of the sentry and the watch was distracted, he says, by the sound of splashing in the water. Then the thief swam under water to the cask, made off with it on his back, and concealed it on a sedgy swamp, in a hole in the bushes which he had previously made for the purpose. The trouble given in such ways, it may be added, was partly due to the fact that in the Polynesian pattern theft from strangers was popularly regarded as a challenge to ingenuity and a game of skill, and not at all as a matter of moral obliquity.

² it was . . . punished: sence I punished my people when they committed the least offence against his, it was but just the Man should be punished also, and as I knew he would not do it I was resolved to do it my self.—f. 198v.

³ kill'd: shot dead

⁴ kill'd: Matteerou (killed).—'Matteerou' is probably *mate rava* (*rava* is an intensive, and the pronunciation of the *v* would lean to *w*): quite killed, killed stone dead.

⁵ and Towha . . . Attention: after which the Natives were going away but Towha stepped forth called them back and Hara[n]gued them for near half an hour . . .—f. 199.—' . . . a speech which lasted about four or five minutes', says Forster (II, p. 79).

⁶ . . . but from what we could gather

⁷ . . . The gracefulness of his action when he spoke and the attention with which he was heard bespoken him a great Orator.—f. 199.

sion spoke not one word. As soon as the Chief had ended his speech I order'd the Marines to go through their exercise and to Load and fire which gave the Two Chiefs, especially the Admiral, much entertainment,¹ this done I invited them on board to dinner but they excused themselves took leave and retired with all their attendance.² In the evening Mr Forster³ return'd from the Mountains, where he found some new Plants⁴ and from whence he saw Huaheine which lies to the westward, by this a judgment may be form'd of the height of these hills in Otaheite which I believe will not be found not less than

SATURDAY 30th. I had an opportunity this Morn^g at Matavai to see the people in Ten War Canoes go through their exercise in Padling, they were at the same time properly equip'd for war, the chiefs in their war habits &c^a. I was present at their land^s ⁵ and observed that the moment the Canoe touched the Shore all the padlers jump'd out and with the assistance of a few people on the shore dragged her on the Strand when, without stopping the Canoe those on the Stage and in the Stern got out, all those on the Stage except one Walk'd off with their Arms &c^o but the one which remained walked between the two heads of the Canoe till She was in her proper place where she was left, every one carrying off his Padle, Arms &c^a so that in Five minuets time you could not tell that any thing of this kind had been going forward. I had here an opportunity to see those men on the Stage undress and was not a little surprised at the quantity and weight of Cloth they had upon them and how they could stand under it in the day of battle. I told them that when we fought in our Ships we took off our Clothes (throwing off my clothes at the same time) but they paid little attention to what I either did or said.

*... I thought these Vessels were thinly manned, with rowers especially, the most being not above thirty and the least Sixteen or Eighteen, I observed the Warriors on the Stage encouraged the

¹ Load... entertainment: load and fire in Volleys with ball, and as the Marines were very quick in their Manouevres, it is easier to conceive than to describe the amazement the Natives were under the whole time, especially those who had not seen any thing of the kind before.

²... scarcely more pleased than frightened at what they had seen.

³... and his party.—The party was Sparrman, a sailor and a marine. Guided by Tahitians, they had climbed some steep hills and got wet to the skin, but from the heights had a good view of Huahine, Tetiaroa, and Tubuai-manu. On the way down the elder Forster slipped heavily in a rocky place, and both bruised his leg painfully and ruptured himself.—Forster, II, pp. 81–3.

⁴... and some others which grow in New Zealand.

⁵ I was... land^g they were put off from the shore before I was appriz'd of it, so that I was only present at their landing...—f. 199.

rowers to exert their utmost. Some Youths sat high up in the curved Stern above the steersmen with white wands in their hands, I know not what they were placed here for unless it was to look out and direct or give notice of what they saw as they were elevated above every one else. Tarevato the Kings brother gave me the first notice of these Canoes being at Sea and knowing that Mr Hodges made drawings of every thing curious, desired of his own accord that he might be sent for, I being at this time ashore with Tarevato: Mr Hodges was therefore with me and had an opportunity to collect some materials for a large drawing or Picture he intends to make of the fleet assembled at Oparre which will convey a far better idea of them than can be express'd by words.¹ I was present when the Warriors undress'd and was surpris'd at the quantity and weight of Cloth they had upon them and how it was possible for them to stand under it in time of battle; not a little was wraped round their heads as a Turband and made into a Cap, this indeed might be necessary in preventing a broken head; many had fix'd to one of these sorts of caps dried branches of small shrubs which were cover'd over with white feathers, these however could only be for Ornament.*—G, pp. 191–2.

[MAY 1774]

SUNDAY May 1st. Had a Vast Supply of Provisions sent and brought us by different Chiefs.

MONDAY 2nd. Received a present consisting of a Boat Load of various Fruits and a Hog from Towha sent me by his Servants together with a Message that he would see me in two days, the like present I also had from Otoo, brought by Tarevato his Brother who stay'd dinner after which I went down to Oparre with him visited Otou and return'd on board in the Evening.

TUESDAY 3rd. In looking into the State of our Sea Provisions we found the Biscuit in a state of decay and that the Airing and Picking we had given it at New-zealand had not done it that service we intended and expected so that we were obliged to have it all a Shore here where it has under gone a nother airing and clencing, in which has been found unfit to eat [3420] pounds,² we cannot well

¹ These materials are perhaps the drawings reproduced in this volume as Figs. 59 and 60.
² in which... pounds: in which a good deal was found wholly rotten and unfit to be eat.—f. 200.—See Cook's order to the warrant officers of 28 April, 'Whereas Complaints are daily made unto me, that a part of the Bread on board, is Mouldy, rotten & unfit for men to eat' etc., p. 948 below. The bad bread was to be thrown into the sea. The figure in brackets is from the report signed by Gilbert the master, Gray the boatswain, and Isaac Smith the master's mate, 10 May 1774.



Portrait of Captain Cook
By John Webber

THE JOURNALS OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK
ON HIS VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

*

THE VOYAGE OF THE
RESOLUTION AND DISCOVERY

1776-1780

EDITED BY
J. C. BEAGLEHOLE

PART ONE

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the assembly broke up, but before I left them Otoo desired I would come to him in the afternoon and bring Omai with me. Accordingly a party of us went, he carried us to his Father¹ when the dispute with Eimeo was renewed. I wanted to have found out some method to have made up this breach and sounded the old gentleman on that head, but we found him deaf to any thing of that kind and fully determined to prosecute the war and wanted very much to prevail on me to give them my assistance. On our enquiring into the cause of the War, we were told that some years ago a Brother of Waheatua of Tierraboo, (a boy), was sent to Eimeo at the request of Maheine,² a popular Chief of that island, to be their King, but he had not been their a Week before Maheine caused him to be killed and set up for himself, in opposition to Tieratabunue³ his sisters Son who became the lawfull heir or else was set up by Otaheite upon the death of the other.⁴ T'towha one of the Chiefs of Attahourou and a man of much weight in the island⁵ happened not to be at Matavai at this time consequently not present at any of these consultation, it however appeared that he was no stranger to what had happened and entered with more spirit into the affair than any other chief, for early in the Morning of the 1st of Sep^r he sent to acquaint Otoo that he had killed a Man to be sacrificed to the Eatua, to implore the assistance of the God against Eimeo. This was to be done at the great Morai at Attahourou,⁶ where on this occasion Otoo's presence was absolutely

¹ Hapai or Teu.

² Mahine.

³ Teriitapanui.

⁴ There is a good deal of confusion in all this. I can find no corroboration anywhere of the story about a brother of Vehiatua, nor does there seem to have been any brother at any time in existence who could have fitted into this unhappy role. Nor does there seem to have been any question of the control of the whole of Eimeo, or Moorea; or of a 'lawful heir'. Mahine, according to Henry (*Ancient Tahiti*, p. 94), was the chief of Ati-maha, on the south coast; and according to Arii Taimai, of Opunohu, in the north. Probably he was a powerful man in both districts. Teriitapanui was a chief of Varari, in the north-west. It is unlikely that we shall get very much further than Arii Taimai takes us: 'Mahine [Teraitua i Nuurua, d. 1790] of Opunohu was an uncle of Teriitapanui of Varari. Both of them belonged to the Ahurai family, but for some reason not now to be understood Mahine had quarreled with his nephew. Tetuanui, Tu's [second] wife, was sister of Teriitapanui, and would naturally support her brother against their uncle; but although her family, under the lead of Towha, or Tahua, together with the chief of Paea, collected their strength to support Teriitapanui, Tu could not be induced to aid them.'—*Tahiti*, p. 94.

⁵ Towha or, in the form given in the quotation from Arii Taimai in the previous note, Tahua, chief of Paea or Tefana, and the most important chief of the Oropaa division of the country; the man whom Cook had taken for the 'admiral' of the Tahitian fleet, and an officer of Tu, in April 1774. The preliminary 'T' Cook now adds to his name seems curious. Bligh, collecting information in 1788, and noting his death, refers to 'The famous old Admiral Towah', and adds, 'They call him Tettowah'.—*Log of the Bounty*, I, p. 372. Possibly the correct full form is Te To'ofa or Teto'ofa, as in C. W. Newbury's introduction to John Davies' *History of the Tahitian Mission* (Cambridge 1961), p. xxxvii.

⁶ 'The great Morai at Attahourou': what does Cook mean by this? Atehuru is a district, not a particular place. The only 'great' marae he has mentioned before is Mahaiatea, 'a wonderful peice of Indian Architecture and far exceeds every thing of its kind upon the whole Island' (I, pp. 112-13); but this was in Papara and neither Tu nor Teto'ofa had

necessary. I thought this a good opportunity to see something of this extraordinary and Barbarous custom and proposed to Otoo to accompany him to which he readily consented, accordingly we set out in my boat with Potattow,¹ Dr Anderson and Mr Webber and Omai followed in a Canoe. In our way we landed on a little island which lays off Tettaha² where we found T'towha and his retinue, after some little conversation had pass'd between the two chiefs on the subject of the War Towha asked me to assist them and when I excused myself he seemed angry, and thought it strange that I who had always declared myself to be their friend would not now go and fight against their enemies. Before we parted he gave to Otoo two or three red feathers tied up in a tuft and a lean half sturved dog was put into a Canoe that was to accompany us. We then embarked and proceeded to the Morai at Attahourou, take[ing] on board in our way a Priest who was to assist at the Ceremony. As soon as we landed Otoo desired I would order the Seamen to remain in the boat and that I, Mr Anderson and Mr Webber would take of our hats as soon as we came to the Morai, to which we immediately proceeded, attended by

rights there. In an interesting and quite closely argued article in *Bull. Soc. des Etudes Océaniques*, No. 41 (Tome IV, 1931), pp. 195-203, Kenneth P. Emory strongly suggests Tuteha's Maraetaata, which he describes and figures in his *Stone Remains in the Society Islands* (Bishop Mus. Bull. 116, Honolulu, 1933, pp. 67-9). But this is a quarter of a mile inland, and Anderson, recounting the subsequent ceremony, writes, 'We arriv'd at Attahooroo about two in the afternoon and were soon after carried to a large Ma'rae standing upon a small point of land'—a detail which the printed *Voyage*, used by Emory, omits. Both Cook and Anderson write throughout as if the whole ceremony, whether on the beach or on the marae, were clearly visible to them; and even if a 'point' could have been a quarter of a mile inland, details on the beach could not have been seen from that distance. There was a large marae, Taputapuetea, on Point Punaauia; but Point Punaauia is one of the larger projections of the island, not 'a small point of land'. Emory, *Stone Remains*, pp. 69-70, mentions Marae Narii or Taiaore, 'situated on the north bank of Orofere Stream and directly on the shore'; but neither Cook nor Anderson mentions a stream. There is a further possibility, which the evidence strongly indicates, in the marae Utuaimahurau, not listed by Emory, but given by Teiura Henry (*Ancient Tahiti*, p. 78) as the marae of an ancient sub-division of Paea called Na-ta-o-e-ha of which Te To'ofa was the 'under chief'. Paea, she says, was then called Ata-huru. Utuaimahurau stood on a point of the same name. It was sacred to Oro, whose image was installed there about the middle of the eighteenth century (Newbury, introduction to Davies' *History of the Tahitian Mission*, p. xxxvi; its position is shown on the map, Fig. 2 in that volume). Davies refers to it, p. 45, as 'the great Marae'. It was much used for human sacrifices under Pomare (Tu's later name) in the time of the mission: Davies writes, p. 46, in April 1802, 'At the great Marae in Atehuru, the brethren saw several large hogs on the altar, and several human sacrifices hanging on the trees'. The marae where human sacrifices were offered were few in number—they were the perquisite of Oro; and one may suggest with some plausibility that the 'great Morai' where Cook and his party were taken was this one, Utuaimahurau. But it was a 'complex' of marae, not a single one: Cook below refers to 'some small Morais hard by', which were brought into the sacrificial ceremony.—Dr Emory informs me (August 1963) that after considering the evidence from Anderson he identifies Narii with Utuaimahurau: the site, he adds, is now disappearing into the sea. See also p. 218, n. 2 below.

¹ Potatau, or Poatatau, of Punaauia—and Paea?

² Tettaha is Tataa, an old name for Paea. The little island is Motu Tahiri.

a great many Men and some boys, but not one Woman.¹ When we got to the Morai we found the Priests, four in Number and their attendants, or assistants waiting for us, the Corps or Sacrifice laid in a small Canoe before the Morai and partly in the wash of the Sea; two of the Priests with some of their attendants seting by it, the others at the Morai. The whole company stoped about twenty or thirty paces from the Priests, indeed the bulk of the people were further off, this being Otoo's station and we and a few others were with him. One of the Priests attendants brought a young Plantain tree and laid [it] down before Otoo, a nother came with a small tuft of red feathers with which he touched one of his feet and then retired with it to his companions, who now went to some small Morais hard by and sat down facing those on the beach. One of the Priests began a long prayer, and at set times sent down a small plantain tree and laid it on the Sacrifice.² During this prayer a man who stood by the Priest held in his hands two small bundles seemingly of Cloth, in one as we afterwards found, was the Royal Maro and the other, if I may be allowed the expression, was the ark of the Eatua.³ As soon as this prayer was ended the Priests at the Morais with their attendants went and sat down by those on the beach, carrying with them the two bundles. Here they renewed their prayers during which the Plantain trees were taken one by one at different times from off the Sacrifice and laid down before the Priests, and lastly the Sacrifice, which was partly wrapped up in leaves and small branches. It was laid on the beach with the feet next the Sea round which the Priests place'd themselves, some seting and others standing, and one or more of them prayed Continually, holding in their hands small tufts of red feathers. After some time the Sacrifice was striped of the leaves &c^a and laid in a parallel direction with the Sea shore, one of the Priests stood at the feet and pronounced a long prayer, in which he was at times joined by the others, each holding in his hand a tuft of red feathers. In the Course of this prayer some hair was pulled off the head of the Sacrifice one of the eyes taken out and present[ed] wrapped in a green leafe,⁴ to Otoo, who however did not touch it, but gave it to the Man who presented it the tuft of feathers he got from T'towha, which with the hair and eye was carred back to the priests. Soon after Otoo sent a nother piece of feathers he had given me in the Morning to keep in my pocket. During some part of this last ceremony a Kings fisher

¹ Women were not admitted to such ceremonies.

² These plantain shoots were emblematic of further men, to increase the size of the sacrifice.

³ It contained the 'image', or symbol, of the god.

⁴ A Miro (*Thespesia populnea*) leaf. The tree was sacred.

made a noise in the trees, Otoo turned to me and said "thats the Eatua" and seem'd to look upon it to be a good omen.¹

The Sacrifice was now carried to the foot of one of the small Morais before mentioned and laid down with the head towards it; the bundles of cloth were laid on the Morai and the tufts of red feathers were placed at the feet of the Sacrifice, round which the Priests placed themselves and we were now allowed to go as near as we pleased. The Cheif priest made a set speach or prayer, than addressed the Sacrifice (into whom they supposed the Spirit of the Eatua was entered)² in a nother, the subject of this Speach or rather prayer, was to implore the distruction of their Enim[i]es whom he mentioned several times by name. After this they all prayed in a kind of song in which Potattow and some others joined; in the Course of this prayer a nother piece of hair was pulled of and laid on the Morai. After this the Chief Priest p[r]ayed alone³ holding in his hand the feathers which came from T'towha; when he had done he gave them to a nother who p[r]ayed in like manner, then all the tufts of feathers were laid on the bundles of Cloth which ended the ceremony at this place. They now took the bundles the feathers and the Sacrifice to the great Morai, the two first were laid against the pile of Stones, and at the foot of them the latter was placed round which the Priests Seated themselves and began again their prayers, while some of their attendants dug a hole at the foot of the Morai⁴ in which they burried the Victim. As it was puting into the Grave a boy squeaked out aloud, Omai said it was the Eatua. In the Mean time a fire was made, the Dog before mentioned produced and killed, the hair was got off by holding over the fire, the entrails taken out and thrown into the fire where they were left to consume; the hart liver kidnies &c^a were laid on the hot stones for a few Minutes and the blood was collected into a Cocomat shell and afterward rubed over the dog which was held over the fire for about a Minute, then it together with the heart kidnies &c^a were carried and laid down before the Priests who were

¹ The kingfisher was a very sacred bird all through the Pacific, and naturally enough on this occasion the vehicle for the god, Oro. Its Tahitian name was Ruro; Solander called it *Alcedo superstitiona*, glancing thus at island beliefs. Cf. Banks, *Endeavour Journal*, I, pp. 383-4. One infers that this particular communication was from *Halcyon venerata*; but, to split hairs, it may have been *Halcyon tuta*.

² This is a most unlikely deduction. The sacrifice formed a sort of spiritual food for the god.

³ This seems to have been the critical prayer of the day. Henry (p. 302) gives a text, beginning, '*Teie te matea no te mata moe . . .*', with the translation, 'Here is the awakener for sleeping eyes, for awakening the eyes. Awake thou and look this way, O god, turn not thy face elsewhere!' Hence this first day's ceremony was called *Matea*, th' Awakener; the eyes were the eyes of Oro.

⁴ 'the great Morai', 'the pile of Stones', 'the foot of the Morai': Cook seems to mean here the *ahu* or built-up 'altar' which formed the most striking feature of a large *marae*.

setting round the foot of the grave praying, and which they continued over the dog for some time, while two men beat at times on two drums very loud,¹ and a boy squeaked out as before in a long shrill voice thrice, this as we were told was to call the Eatua to eat of what they had prepared for him. As soon as the Priests had ended their prayers, the dog with what belonged to it was laid on a Whatta or alter close by, where lay the remains of two others and three pigs not yet consumed, so that they stunk most intolerably and kept us at a greater distance than otherways we need to have been, for after the Victim was removed from the sea side we were allowed to be as near as we pleased; indeed after that neither solemnity nor attention was observ'd by the spectators.²

Tues. 2 The Ceremony being thus ended and with it the day we repaired to a house of Potattows where we were entertained and lodged for the night, being told that the Ceremony would be renewed again the next Morning. Being unwilling to lose any part of it, some of us repaired thither pretty early, but found nothing going forward, however soon after a pig was sacrificed and laid on the same alter with the others. About 8 o'clock Otoo took us again to the Morai where the Priests and a great number of men were assembled. The two bundles were lying in the same place they were in the evening before, the two drums stood in the front of the Morai but something nearer it than before and the Priests were without them. Otoo placed himself between the two drums and desired me to stand by him. The Ceremony began as usual with bring[ing] a young Plantain tree and laying down at the Kings feet, after which the Priests began to repeat their prayers, holding in their hands several tufts of red feathers and also a plume of Oysterage³ feathers I gave to Otoo on my first arrival and had been consecrated to this use. When the Priests had made an end of this prayer, they removed to between us and the Morai and there repeated a prayer, during which the tufts of feathers were one by one carryed and laid on the Ark of the Eatua; some little time after four pigs were produced and one was immediately killed, the others were taken to a sty hard by, probably for some future occasion. One of the bundles was now untied and it was found, as I have

¹ These drums were *to'ere*, tall drums about a foot in diameter, the use of which was peculiar to human sacrifices; they were beaten with different strokes at different times in the ceremony. See Webber's drawing, *Voyage*, II, pl. XXV; the elaborate bases there portrayed are curiously Hawaiian, and the artist may have deliberately imported them.

² The engraving from Webber's drawing of this ceremony became a sort of classic of Pacific illustration, adapted more than once to the purposes of the sensational and the pious. See Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 243-4, pls. 152-4.

³ i.e. ostrich.

before observed, to contain the Maro with which they invest their Kings with Royalty. It was carefully taken out and spread out at full length on the ground before the Priests, it was about five yards long and fifteen inches broad, and composed of red and yellow feathers but mostly of the latter; the one end was bordered with eight pieces, each about the size and shape of [a] horse shoe, with their edges fringed with black pigeon feathers; the other end was forked and the ends not of the same length. The feathers were in square compartments ranged in two rows and otherways so disposed as to have a good effect being first paisted or fixed to thair Country cloth and then the whole sewed to the upper end of the English Pendant, Captain Wallis displayed, and left flying a shore the first time he landed at Matavai, so at least we were told and we had no reason to doubt it as it was part of an English pend^t. About six or eight inches square of the Maro was not compleat, that is there were no feathers upon it except a few that were sent by Waheatua as before mentioned. The Priests made a long Prayer over the Maro in different forms which, if I misstake not, they called the prayer of the Maro. When it was finished, the Maro was carefully foulded up put into the Cloth and laid upon the Morai. One end of the other bundle, which I call the ark, was next opened but we were not allowed to go near enough to examine its contents, but was told the Eatua was concealed in it, or rather what is supposed to represent him. This is a thing made of the twisted fibres of the husk of the coca-nut, shaped something like a large fid,¹ that is roundish with one end much thicker than the other. We have very often got small ones from different people, but never knew their use before. By this time the pig was cleaned, the entrails taken out and laid before the Priests, who prayed over them for some time, during which one of them kept turning them gently with a stick and from their appearances some favourable Omens were conceived. After the Priest had done with them they were thrown into the fire and left to consume, the pig and the remainder of the entrails were treated and disposed of as the dog was the day before, and then all the feathers except the plume were put up with the Eatua that is into the Ark which ended the ceremony.² Four double Canoes lay on the beach

¹ Fid, in the sense used here, is defined by Smyth, *Sailor's Word-Book*, as 'a conical pin of hard wood, of any size from 10 inches downwards, tapering to a point, used to open the strands of a rope in splicing: of these some are large, for splicing cables, and some small, for the bolt-ropes of sails, &c'.

² According to Henry (p. 303), this second day's ceremony was known as the *pure arii* (*pure*, a prayer or worship); designed to bring victory to the chief and his forces. The long prayer over the *maro ura* was devoted to this end. There might be a second human sacrifice on this day; and even a third on a third day, the *haea-mati*, the tearing of the fibres of a *mati* or fig-tree, symbolical of the breach between the contending parties. So the ceremonies witnessed by Cook were a comparatively mild affair.

before the Morai all the Morning, on the fore part of each was what they called a Morai made or covered with palm leaves like some of their alters, on each laysome Cocoanuts Plantains and pieces of Bread fruit; they told us that they belonged to the Eatua and were to go with the fleet designed to go against Eimeo.

The unhappy sufferer seemed to be a Middle aged man, and as we were told a *Tou tou* but I never understood he had done any crime so as to merit death; it is however certain that they make choise of such for these sacrifices, or else common low fellows who strol about from place to place and island to island without any vesible way of geting an honist livelyhood, of such sort here are enough at these islands. This man was bloody about the head and face, which we attributed to the manner he was killed having been privatly knocked on the head with a Stone, for those who fall a sacrifice to this barbarous custom are never apprised of their fate till the Moment that puts an end to their existence. Whenever any of the Great cheifs thinks a human Sacrifice necessary on any particular occasion, he pitches upon the Victim, sends some of his trusty Servants who fall upon him and kill him; the King is then acquainted with it, whose presence at the Ceremony, as I was told is absolutly necessary, indeed except the Priests he was the only man that had any thing to do in it. From what we could learn these Sacrifices are not very uncommon, there were in the face of the Morai where this man was buried forty nine Sculls, every one of which were those of men who had been sacrificed at this place; and I have seen Sculls at many of the other great Morais, so that it is not confined to this place alone. This is not the only barbarous custom we find amongst these people, we have great reason to beleive there was a time when they were Canibals;¹ however I will not insist upon this but confine my self to such as we have unquestionable authority for. Besides the cutting out the jaw-bones of the enemy that is slain in battle, they in some Measure offer their bodies as a Sacrifice to the Eatua the day after when the Victors collect all the dead that have fallen into their hands and bring them to the Morai, where with a great deal of ceremony they dig a hole and bury them all in it as an offering to the Gods. But the great cheifs

¹ This is probably true, as cannibalism was a fairly widespread Polynesian trait in Cook's time—e.g. in the Cook Islands, the Marquesas, the eastern Tuamotus, and New Zealand. The ceremonial presentation of the sacrificial victim's eye to Tu, the *arii rahi*, was a relic of this, though the time seems to have long passed since the chief actually swallowed it. The current sentiment of the Society Islanders is no doubt seen in the horror of Hiti-hiti at the spectacle on the *Resolution's* deck in Queen Charlotte Sound in November 1773—II, pp. 293–5; and the aversion displayed by Tupaia—I, p. 282. When Tu became King Pomare I and annexed the Tuamotus he put down the practice there, but the process took some time.

who fall in battle and into the hands of their enemies are treated in a different manner. We were told that the late King Tootaha, Tebourai Tamaida, and a nother Chief who fell with them were brought to this Morai, their bowels cut out by the Priests before the great alter, and the bodies afterwards buried in three different places, which were pointed out to us in the great pile of stones which compose the most conspicuous part of this Morai. And the Common Men who fell also in this battle were all burried in one hole at the foot of the pile. This Omai, who was present, told me was done the day after the Battle, with much Pomp and ceremony, and in the midst of a great Concourse of people, as a thanksgiving offering to the Eatua for the Victory they had obtained, while the vanquished had taken refuge in the Mountains, where they remain'd about a week or ten days till the fury of the Victors was over and a treaty set on foot that concluded with Otoo being invested with the Maro and made King which was done with great ceremony at the same Morai in the presence of all the principal men in the island.¹

About Noon we embarked in order to return to Matavai and visited Towha in our way, who had remained on the little island, some conversation pass'd between Otoo and him on the present posture of affairs and then the Chief asked me again to assist them; by my refusal I intirely lost the good will of this Chief. Before we parted he asked us how we liked the Ceremony we had seen, what our opinion was of it and if we observed such Customs in our own Country. During the Ceremony we were silent but as soon as it was over we made no scruple in giving our sent[i]ments very freely upon it and of Course condemned it. I told the Chief that this Sacrifice was so far from pleasing the Eatua as they intended that he would be angry with them for it and that they would not succeed against Maheine. This was venturing a good deal upon conjecture, but I thought their was little danger of being misstaken; for I found there was three parties in the island, one extremely Violent, one perfectly indifferent about the Matter and the third openly declaring them-

¹ The history has gone rather astray here; and indeed Omai was almost bound to be a source of confusion. Tu was invested with the *maro-ura*, the red feather girdle, at Maraetaata, when it was snatched from the Papara chiefs as a result of the onslaught on Papara in December 1768, led by Tuteha and Vehiatua. It was over four years after that, in March 1773, that the alliance of Tuteha and Vehiatua having broken up, the great battle took place in which both Tuteha and 'Tebourai Tamaida'—Tepau i Ahurai Tamaiti—were killed. Tu's part in the matter was to be dragged into the battle by Tuteha and to flee from it into the mountains, as one of the vanquished, after which his own district was laid waste. But he was left alone, and when peace was made he was left in possession of the *maro-ura*. For a fuller account of these troubles, see I, pp. cxxxii–cxxxvi. Of course Tuteha was not a 'king', any more than Tu was; but Cook never outgrew the impression this chief made on him.

selves friends to Maheine and his party. Under these circumstances it was not likely such a plan of operation would be settled as would insure even a probability of success. Omai was our spokesman and entered into our arguments with so much Spirit that he put the Chief out of all manner of patience, especially when he was told that if he a Chief in England had put a Man to death as he had done this he would be hanged for it; on this he balled out "*Maeno maeno*"¹ (Vile vile) and would not here a nother word; so that we left him with as great a contempt of our customs as we could possibly have of theirs. During this debate most of the people on the spot were present, which were chiefly the Attendants and servants of the Chief, and when Omai began to explaine the punishment that would be inflicted upon even the greatest man in England if he killed his Servant, they seemed to listen with attention and were probably of a different opinion with their master.

END
READING
Wed. 3

Frome hence we proceeded to Oparre where Otoo pressed us to spend the Night and by way of entertainments treated us with a play. The next Morning we proceeded to Matavai, leaving Otoo at Oparre, but his Mother, Sisters and several other Women attended me on board and Otoo followed soon after. While Otoo and I were absent the Ships had been but very spareingly supplied with fruit, and but few people visited them but after our return we had again plenty and had no want of company.

THURSDAY 4th. The 4th a party of us dined a shore with Omai who gave us a very good dinner consisting of Fish, Fowles, Pork and Puddings. After dinner I attended Otoo who was one of the party, home to his house where I found all his Servants very busy geting a quantity of Provisions ready for me, amongst other things there was a large hog which was killed in my presence, the entrails were divided into a eleven parts, in such a manner that each part had a bit of every thing; these shares which were about three quarters of a pound each were served out to the servants,² some dress'd them in the same Oven with the hog others carried them off undressed. There was also a large pudding which I saw the whole process in making, it was made of Bread fruit, Ripe Plantains, Taro and Palm or Pandanes nuts, each rasped, scraped or beat up fine and baked by it self, a quant[it]y of Juice express'd from Cocoa nut Kernels was put into a large tr[a]y or wooden Vessel, amongst it the other Articles pipeing hot as they were taken out of the Oven and a few hot stones just to keep the whole

¹ *Ma ino, ma ino; ino*, bad or evil, *ma*, a comparatively meaningless prefix.

² This was about all a servant would ever get of a hog; for pork was not food for commoners.

semmering; three or four men kept stirring the whole with sticks, till the several articles were incorporated one with a nother and the juice of the Cocconut was turned to oil; so that the whole was about the consistency of hasty pudding.¹ Some of these puddings are excellent, we can make few in England that equals them, I seldom or never dined without one when I could get it, for they were not always to be got. At length when the pudding was made and the hog baked they together with two living hogs and quantity of Bread fruit and Cocconuts were put into a Canoe and sent on board the Ship, followed by my self and all the Royal family. The following evening a young Ram of the Cape breed that was lambd and with great care brought up on board the Ship, was killed by a dog, the loss was the greater as it was the only one I had of that breed and but one of the English.²

The 7th in the evening played of some fire works before a great concourse of people, some were highly entertained but by far the greatest part were terribly frightened, in so much that we had enough to do to keep them together to see the end; a table rocket was the last, it flew of the table and dispersed the whole crowd in a Moment, even the most resolute fled. The next day a party of us dined with Odiddy on fish and pork, the hog weighed about thirty pounds, it was alive dress'd and brought on the table within the hour. We had but just dined when Otoo came and asked me if my belly was full and on my answering in the affirmative, said 'than come along with me'. I accordingly went with him to his Fathers where they were dressing two girls in a prodigious quantity of fine cloth in a manner rather curious; the one end of each piece, of which there were a good many, was held up over the girls heads whilst the remainder was wraped round them under the armpits, then the upper ends were let fall and hung down in foulds to the ground over the other and looked some thing like a circular hooped petticoat. After ward round the out side of all, were wraped several pieces of different Coloured cloth, which considerably increased the Size so that the whole was not less than five or six yards in circuit and was as much as the poor girls could support. To each was hung two *Taame's*,³ or breast plates by way of inriching the whole. Thus equiped they were conducted on

¹ It was the confection known as *pos*.

² "... while the cattle were ashore, a young ram was killed by one of the Spanish Dogs; which vexed Captⁿ Cook so much that he ordered all Dogs of the Spanish breed that were seen near the Tents to be shot. this secured the sheep from farther mischief, for the Otahiteans immediately tied up their large Dogs."—Burney, 27 September.

³ *Tamai*, or more fully *haano-tamai*, a protection of woven sennit or closely braided cocconut husk.

Ships shews, that whatever design Spain might have had on this island, they had at this time laid it asaid. From what we could gather from the Natives, it appears that they must have had some thoughts of making a settlement upon it, for Otoo as also many others, told me that they were to return and to bring with them houses, all kinds of Animals and Men and women who were to settle, live and die on the island; but added Otoo the[y] shall not come to Matávai for it belongs to you. But it was easy to see that the idea pleased him, little thinking that such a step would at once deprive him of his Kingdom and the people of their liberties. This shews with what facility a settlement properly conducted might be made among them, which for the regard I have for them I hope will never happen; indeed it is no ways likely as there is no one inducement that I can see.

The first time the Spaniards were at this island they took away with them four of the Natives, one of them remains at Lima, one died there and two returned back.¹ One of these made me a visit on board, I should not have known he had ever been out of the island had it not been for the conge he made on entering the cabbins and some of his countrymen informing me who he was. I had scarce time to ask him any questions before Omai came on board, and while I was busy about some other matters, got him out of the Ship and I never saw him afterwards; which I rather wondered at, as I had treated him with uncommon civility; but, I beleive, Omai had treated him a little roughly, being displeased there was a traveler upon the island besides himself. Our touching at Teneriffe was a fortunate circumstance for Omai, and he prided him self in having been in a place belonging to Spain as well as these two men. The other I did not see, Captain Clerke did, and looked upon him to be a low fellow and a little out of his senses, and this opinion was confirmed by his country men. In short these two Adventurers seemed to be held in no sort of esteem.

→
Cook's
rampage
on
Mo'orea,
3rd voyage

TUESDAY 30th. As I did not give up the design of touching at Eimeo, at day-break in the Morning after leaving Otaheite I stood for the North side of the island where we were told the harbour lay; Omai had got there long before us and had taken the most necessary measures to shew us the place, we were however not without Pilots, having several men of Otahiete on board and not a few women.² Not

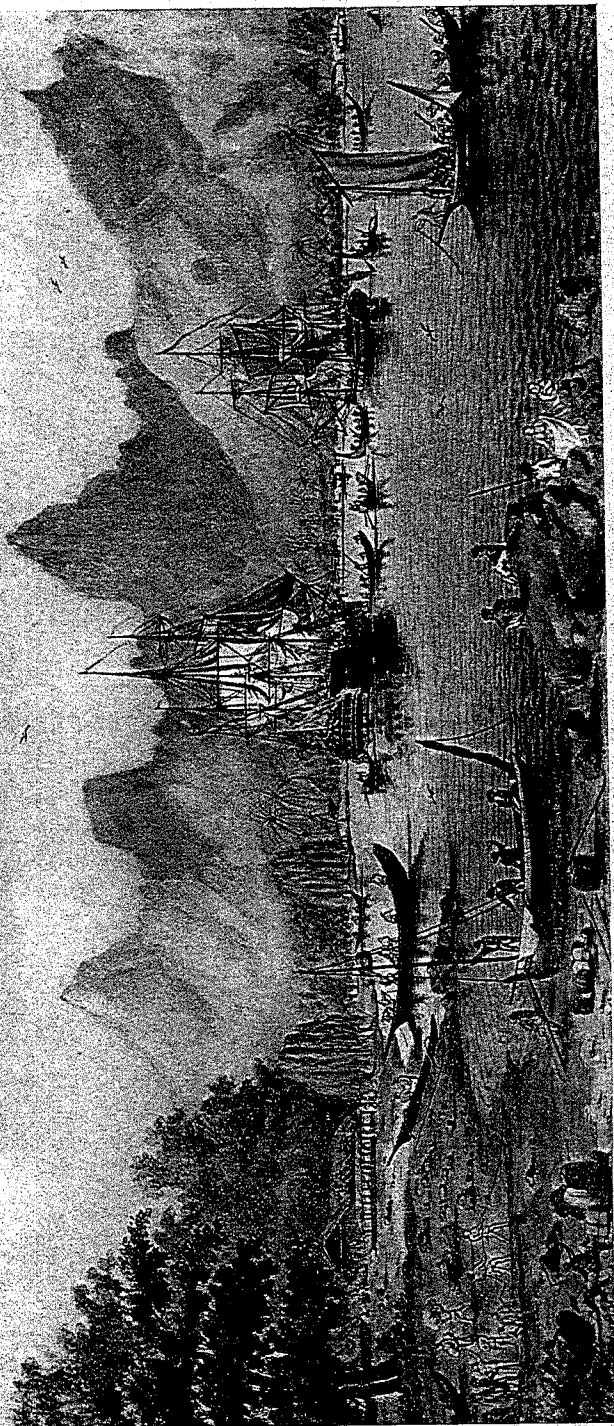
¹ Two did come back to Tahiti, Pautu and Tetuanui; one, Heiao, died at Valparaiso on the *Aguila's* homeward passage in 1773; and the fourth, Tipitipia, died at Lima later in the same year.

² Whilst we were heaving the Anchors up, Otu came on board with a complaint of our taking the girls with us from Otaheite; several staying on board by their own desire: but in



Pl. 20. Vaitepiha Bay

Drawing by Webber.—R. M. Add. MS. 12210. 10



PL. 27. The ships at Eimeo
Drawing by James Cleveley. — Sydney F. Sabin, Esq.

caring to trust intirely to these guides I sent two boats to examine the harbour and on their making the Signal for safe Anchorage, we stood in with the Ships¹ and anchored close up to the head of it in 10 fathom water over a bottom of soft mud and Moored with a hawser fast to the shore.² This harbour is called *Talough*³ it is situated on the North side of the island in the destrict of *Oboonohou*;⁴ it extends in south or SBE between the hills above two miles, for security and the goodness of its bottom it is not inferior to any harbour I have met with in any of the islands, and has this advantage over the most of them, that a Ship can sail both in and out with the reigning trade wind, so that the access and recess are equally easy. There are several rivulets which fall into it, the one at the head is so considerable as to admit boats to go a full quarter of a mile up,⁵ where the water was perfectly fresh; its banks are covered with the Pourau tree⁶ as it is called by the Natives, which makes good firing and which they set no value upon, so that wood and water are to be got here with great facility.⁷ On the same side of the island and about two miles to the eastward is the harbour of *Parouroah*,⁸ that is much la[r]ger within than this, but the

consequence of this complaint, they were all sent on Shore. we learnt afterwards Otu was disappointed, and that we had mistaken his errand, as he did not care about the girls, but expected to have his consent obtained by some considerable present. . . . the day after our arrival, [at Eimeo] most of the Otaheite Girls who had been sent on shore at Mattavi on account of Otus complaint, came on board to take up their quarters with their old friends again." — Burney, 29, 30 September.

¹ They found two entrances through the reef and sailed through the leeward one—i.e. the Tareu passage, about 275 yards wide. . . . found Riding here M^r Omai with his canoe which was given to him by Otahau—he arriv'd here last Night". —Harvey.

² "we haul'd the ship, close to; and secured Her with hawsers to the trees; being within 10 fathom of the beach." —Gilbert, p. 66.

³ Tareu or Tareu. See Chart XLVIII, by Edgar, where it is called 'Tah-rou'. The bay is now generally and officially called Papetoai. The modern name for the island was certainly heard, because Charlton heads his entry for 2 October, 'Moor'd in Moreeah Harbour, at Emcio'; Harvey has the spellings 'Moraeāā' and 'Moriāā Harbour, Emio'; Anderson refers to 'the Island Ei'maio much oftener called Moréā by the natives'; and Zimmermann makes it unequivocally 'Morea'. In 1829 Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, I, p. 150, writes, 'Moorea, the name most frequently given by the natives to this island. . . .'

⁴ Opunohu. 'This Harbour the good People call Opoonahoo.' —Clerke. Ellis, loc. cit., writes, 'Opunohu is the proper name of this harbour; near the mouth of which, on the right hand side, there is a small rock, called by the natives *Tareu*, towards which, it is possible, Captain Cook was pointing, or looking, when he inquired of the natives the name of the harbour his ship was then entering. Tareu might be easily understood as if spelled Taloo. . . .'

⁵ The river is called variously Papetoai, Oponu, and Opunohu.

⁶ Pourau or hibiscus (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*): the bark fibre much used for cordage and for fringes, the timber for canoe-building.

⁷ Further impressions of the harbour: 'it may be known by y^e land at y^e back of it—which has a very remarkable appearance—as it gives you an Idea of the remains of some ancient & Noble Edifice. . . . —Martin, 30 September "Its appearance is truly romantic. . . . —Ellis, I, p. 146. No one who has ever gazed on the volcanic background of Papetoai will think that these gentlemen have too rashly let their feelings run away with them.

⁸ A rendering, I think, of Paraoro, the district name. The harbour or bay was (and is) called Paopao, though now also, frequently, Cook's Bay (Baie de Cook), from a persuasion

entrance, or opening in the reef (for the whole island is surrounded by a reef of coral rock) is considerably narrower and lies to leeward of the harbour, two circumstances that will always give the harbour of Talough the preference. It is a little extraordinary that I should have been thrice at Otaheite before and on[c]e sent a boat to this island and yet not know there was a harbour in it, on the contrary I always understood there was not, whereas there is not only the two above mentioned but one or two more on the South side of the island but they are not so considerable as these two.¹

OCT^r
Wed. 1

We had no sooner anchored than the ships were crowded with the Inhabitents whom curiosity alone brought on board, for they brought nothing with them to exchange. But the next morning they came in Canoes from more destant parts, and brought with them Bread fruit, Cocoanuts and a few hogs which they exchanged for hatchets, Nails and beads, red feathers not being so much sought after as at Otaheite. The Ship being a good [deal] pestered with rats, I hauled her within thirty yards of the Shore, being as near as the depth of water would allow, and made conveniences for them to go a Shore,² being in hopes some would be induced to it, but I beleive we got clear of very few if any. In the Morning of the 2nd *Maheine* the Cheif made me a visit, he approached the Ship with great caution and it required some persuasion to get him on board; he was accompanied by his Wife or Mistress, she was Sister to Oamo of Otahiete who died while we were at this island.³ I made both *Maheine* and his Mistress presents of such things as they most Valued and after a stay of about half an hour they went away, but not long after returned with a large hog, which they meant as a return for my

Thur. 2

that Cook anchored there. It is entered through the Avaroa passage. In spite of what Cook goes on to say, it is 'larger within' than Papetoai only in being wider; it is not so long an inlet. Edgar's chart calls it 'Av,voitce', which may be either a mis-heard *Vaiere*, an old name for the Avaroa passage, or *Ava-iti*, the misplaced name of a passage through the reef further east.

¹ Moorea is roughly heart-shaped, and has scarcely anything that can be called a 'south side'; the eastern coast has good harbours, the south-western scarcely anything at all that can really be relied on for shelter.

² 'Got a Hawser out of the Ballast Port with some Spars lash't upon it with a Design to get some of the Rats out of the Ship, we having a Great Number of them on board.'—Charlton, 2 October.

³ 'We here heard of the death of Oammo, by some people who had followed the ships from Otaheite, who had been ill several days before our departure.'—Ellis, I, p. 145. Although this statement, like Cook's, is positive enough, there is much doubt whether Amo really did die at this time. Moerenhout (*Voyages*, II, p. 416) says he died shortly before the arrival of the *Bounty* at Tahiti, which was in October 1788. And Bligh himself writes, 23 March 1789, 'Terredirri and his father Oamo are still alive at Paparra'.—*Log of the Bounty*, II, p. 62. We may accept the fact that he was *mate*; but it may be pointed out again that *mate* means sick, hurt, as well as dead or death.—*Mahine's* lady *may* have been Amo's sister, but there is no trace of a sister in the genealogies I have seen. *Tuahine* is definite enough for the sister of a man, but is that the word that Cook picked up?

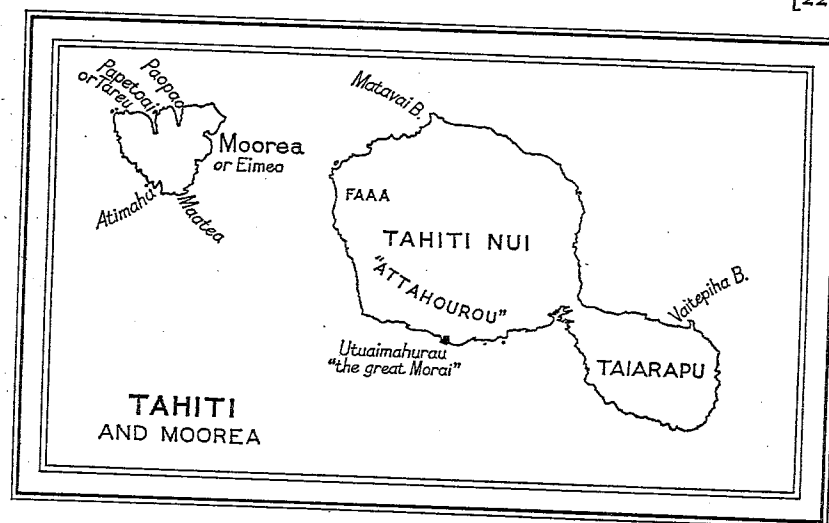


FIG. 7

present but I made them another present to the full value of it,¹ after this they paid Captain Clerke a visit. This Cheif who with a few people has made himself in a manner independant of Otaheite, is between 40 and 50 years of age,² he is bald headed, a thing rather uncommon in these islands at that age, he wore a kind of Turban and seem'd ashamed to shew his head, but whether a bald head is a Mark of desgrace with them or they thought it was so with us I cannot say; we judged it was the latter, as we had shaved the head of a Indian we had caught Stealing. They therefore concluded this was the punishment we inflicted upon all thieves, and one or two of our gentlemen, whose heads were not over burdened with hair, lay und[er] violent suspicions of being teto's.³ In the evening Omai and I took a ride a long the Shore to the Eastward, our train was not very numerous, as Omai had forbid them to follow us and many complied

¹ Hatchets and other tools—' & Cap^t Cook gave him a large morning Gown made of printed Linnen with large flowers such as is used for Bed furniture—he likewise gave his wife many little things that she seemed to fancy.'—Bayly T, 20 October.

² 'We were much dis[ap]po[ri]nted in Our Notions of this Champion of Liberty. We Expected to see A youthful Sprightly Active fellow But Instead of that he Turned out An Infirm Old man more than half Blind. However he was Royaly Attended & Appeared to have the good will & Affection of all the people.'—Home, Otihiti.

³ Cook picked up 'teto' as the word for thief on his first voyage; but Davies defines this (*tito*, presumably) as 'to go softly on tiptoe, as a thief'. Better words would be *eia* or *taatarimarima*. See also Anderson's remarks, p. 956 below.

from a fear of giving offence. It was in this harbour where Towha lay with his fleet and the ruins of war was every w[h]ere to be seen, the trees were striped of their fruit and all the houses were either pull'd, or burnt down.

MONDAY 6th. On the 6th in the Morning hauled the Ship off into the Stream, intending to put to Sea the next day, but a circumstance happened that prevented it and gave me a good deal of trouble, this was some of the Natives in the evening stealing one of our Goats, that we had ashore in the day time grazeing, with two men to look after them. The loss of this Goat would have been nothing if it had not interfered with my views of Stocking other islands with these Animals but as it did it was necessary to get it again if possible. The next

Tues. 7 Morning we got intelligence that it was carried to Maheine the Chief, who was at this time at Parowroah harbour; two old men offered to conduct any of my people I might think proper to send to him to bring back the goat. Accordingly I sent a boat with them and a threatening message to Maheine if the goat was not immediately delivered up and also the thief. It was but the day before that this cheif asked me for two, but as I could not spare any but at the expence of other islands that might never have another opportunity to get any and had heard there were already two on this, I did not gratify him. I however desired Tidooah¹ an Otaheite chief, who was present, to beg of Otoo to send him two, and by way of ensuring it, sent Otoo by the same Chief a large piece of red feathers equal to the Value of the two goats. This I expected would have satisfied, not only Maheine, but all the other chiefs in the island, but the event proved that I was mistaken. Not thinking that any one would dare to take a nother at the very time I was taking measures to recover the first, the Goats were again put ashore this Morning and in the evening a boat was sent to bring them on board for good; as they were getting them into the boat one was carried off undiscovered, As it was immediately missed I made no doubt of getting it again without much trouble, as it could not be gone far. Ten or twelve of the Natives set out at different times to bring it back, or to look for it, for not one would own it was stolen but that it was stray'd into the woods and indeed I thought so my self. But was convinced to the Contrary, when I found that not one of those who whent after it returned, so that their only view was to amuse me till it was out of my reach and night put a stop to all further search. About this time the boat returned with the other and one of the Men who had

¹ ? Taitua. The stolen goat, according to Bayly, belonged to the *Resolution* lieutenants' mess.

Stolen it, the first instance of the kind I had met with amongst these islands.¹

WEDNESDAY 8th. The next morning I found that most of the Inhabitants in the neighbour hood was, according to custom, moved off and that Maheine was gone to the very further part of the island. I was now convinced that a plan had been laid to Steal what I had refused to give, and that altho they had given up one they were resolved to keep the other, which was a she goat and big with kid, and I was determined they should not. I therefore applied to the two old men who had been in[s]trumental in geting back the other; they told me it was carried to *Wate-a*,² a district on the South side of the island, by Hamoah³ the cheif of that place, but that if I would send any body for it it would be delivered up. They offered to conduct some of my people a Cross the island, but on my learning from them, that a boat might go and return the same day, I sent one with two petty officers,⁴ Mr Roberts and Mr Shuttleworth, one to remain with the boat in case she could not get to the place while the other went with the guides and one or two of our people. Late in the evening the boat returned, and the officers enformed me, that after proceeding as far in the boat as rocks and shoals would allow them, Mr Shuttleworth, with two marines and one of the guides, landed and traveled to Watea to the house of Hamoah where the people of the place amused them for some time, by teling them the Goat would soon be brought them and pretending they had sent for it, it however never came and the approach of night obliged Mr Shuttleworth to return to the boat without it. I was now very sorry I had proceeded so far, as I could not retreat with any tolerable credet, and without giving incouragement to the people of the other islands we had yet to visit to rob us with impunity. I asked Omai and the two old men what methods I should next take, they without hesitation, advised me to go with a party of men into the Country, and shoot every Soul I met with. This bloody advice I could not follow, but I resolved to march a party of men a[c]ross the island, and at day break the next Morning set out with thirty five⁵ accompanied by one of the old men, Omai and three or four of his people; at the same time, I ordered Lieutenant Williamson with three Armed boats round the western part of the island to meet

Thur. 9

¹ The man did not deny taking the Goat, but Said he took it because Cap^t Cook's men had taken his bread fruit & Cocoa-nuts, & refused to pay him for them—on which Acc^t he was released, tho' the men deny^d it.—Bayly T, 6 October.

² Possibly Maatea, one of the two most southerly districts of Moorea; or is it a rather garbled form of Ati-maha?

³ Haamoa would be the equivalent of this, with the literal meaning 'to make sacred'.

⁴ i.e. midshipmen.

us. I no sooner landed with my party than the few Natives that had remained fled before us, the first man Omai saw, he asked me if he should shoot him, so fully was he persuaded I was going to carry his advice into execution. I immediately ordered both him and our guide to make it known, that I did not intend to hurt, much less kill a single individual. These glad tidings flew before us like lightning and stoped the flight of the Inhabitants; so that no one quitted either his house or employment afterward. As we began to ascend the ridge of hills over which we had to pass, we got intelligence that the Goat was gone before us, and as we understood not yet gone over the hills, so that we marched up in great silence in hopes of surprising the party that had her; but when we got to the uppermost plantation on the side of the ridge the people there told us, she was kept there the first night and the next Morning carri'd to Watea by Hamoah. We then crossed the ridge, without making any further enquiry, till we came in sight of Watea, when some people shew'd us Hamoah's house and told us the Goat was there so that I made myself sure of getting it immediately, and was not a little surprised to find on my getting to the place, the few people we met with deny having ever seen her, even Hamoah himself. On my first coming to the place I observed several Men running to and from in the woods with Clubs and bundles of darts in their hands, and Omai who followed them had some stones thrown at him, so that it seemed as tho' they had intended to oppose any step I should take by force, but seeing my party too strong dropped the design: a nother thing which made me think so, was all their houses being empty. After getting a few of the people of the place together I desired Omai to expostulate with them on the conduct they were persuing, and to tell them, that from the testimony of so many people, I was well assured they had the Goat and therefore insisted upon its being deliv[er]ed up, if not I would burn their houses and boats. But notwithstanding all I, or Omai could say, they continued to deny having any knowledge of it; the consequence was, my setting fire to six or eight houses, which were presently consumed, together with two or three War Canoes that lay [in] some of them. This done I marched off to join the boats, which lay about seven or eight miles from us, and in our way burnt six more War Canoes, without any one attempting to oppose us, on the contrary many assisted but this was probably done more out of fear than good will.¹ In one place

¹ When Cook joined Williamson, 'he told me he had not yet got y^e goat, but that he had burnt 20 Houses, & as many large war canoes, a damage that I suppose will take years to recover.' Portlock, who was with Williamson, writes, 'At about 2 or 3 oclock we where Joind by Captain Cook and his party much fatigued with their march over the mountains it being exceedingly hot and sultry in their march they met several troops of Indians who

Omai who was in a canoe a little before us, could and told us, a great many men were getting together to attack us, we made ready to receive them, but instead of offensive weapons, they were headed by ten or twelve men with plantain trees in their hands, which they laid down at my feet and beg'd I would spare a Canoe that lay close by, which I did. At length about 4 PM we got to the boats, that were waiting at *Whararade*¹ the District of *Tieratabumue*,² but this Cheif as well as all the principal people of the place were fled to the hills, although I touched not a single thing belonging to them, as they were the friends of Otoo. After resting ourselves at this place about an hour, we set out for the Ships where we arrived about eight oclock and were no account of the Goat had been received, so that all I had yet done had not had the desired effect.³

FRIDAY 10th. Early in the Morning of the 10th I despatched One of Omiais men to Maheine to tell him if he did not send the goat I would not leave him a Canoe on the island⁴ and that I would continue destroying till it came. And that the Messenger might see I was in earnest, I sent the Carpenters to break up three or four Canoes that lay a shore at the head of the harbour; the plank we took on board to build Omai a house at Huaheine, or where he intended to sitle. I after ward went to the next harbour, broke up three or four more and burnt as many and then returned on board about seven in the evening, where about half a hour before, the goat was brought from the very place I had been the day before, in consequence of the Message I sent to the Cheif in the Morning.⁵ Thus this troublesome,

where troublesome but on a few muskets being fired over their heads, disperced and where afterwards very peaceable. there where numbers of houses and large war Canoes burnt, but Captain Cooke was cautious in not destroying any thing but what he was told by some of the chiefs who where our guides belong[ed] to the people concernd in the theft.⁶

¹ Varari, the north-west corner of the island.

² Teritapunui.

³ 'PM the Boat Returnd but without the Goat the Natives behave'd Exceeding Insolent to them & Prided themselves in having Stolen it. . . .—Charlton.

⁴ Which of course did not belong to Mahine: so that, in the first place, the threat was irrelevant so far as he was concerned, and in the second place, if carried out must harm a good many quite innocent people.

⁵ Williamson was sent out to destroy canoes—in spite of which he found, or says he found, the people most friendly to him—'whilst C. Cook went wth y^e rest of y^e boats round the bay destroying Houses, canoes, hogs, dogs &c^s that came in his way. . . . I cannot help thinking the man totally destitute of humanity, that would not have felt considerably for these poor & before our arrival among them probably a happy people, & I must confess this once I obey'd my Orders with reluctance. . . . I doubt not but Captⁿ Cook had good reasons for carrying His punishment of these people to so great a length, but what his reasons were are yet a secret. . . . A good deal was written on this unhappy affair:—(10th) 'at 6 PM Cap^t Cook return'd with the boats, on their arriving at the house, they only found a few Towtous or Servants ab^t it, the Cheif & his family having left, on enquiring for the Goat, they told them they wou'd go & get it, they presently return'd but without it, letting us know that the Cheif had taken it off to Sea in his Canoe, they bu[rn]t his house & several of his Canoe's, then march'd along shore burning all the Houses & Canoes they

and rather unfortunate affair ended, which could not be more regretted on the part of the Natives than it was on mine.¹

SATURDAY 11th. The next Morning we were again all good friends the people bring[ing] to the Ships fruit &c^a to ba[r]ter with the same confidence as at first. About 9 AM we weigh[ed] with a breeze down the harbour, but it prov'd so fai[n]t and Variable, that it was Noon before we got out to Sea, when I steer'd for Huaheine with Omai in his Canoe in company, he did not depend intirely upon his own judgment, but had got on board a Pilot, I observed that they shaped as direct a Course for the island as I could do.²

At Eimeo we filled the Ships with fire wood, we took in none at Otaheite, the getting it at that island is attended with some difficulty, as there is not a tree at Matavai but what is usefull to the Inhabitants. We also got good store of refreshments, both in hogs and fruit that is Bread fruit and Coconuts, little else being in season. I do not know that there is any difference between the produce of this island and Otaheite, but there is a striking difference in the Women which I can by no means accou[n]t for; these are low of Stature, have a dark hue and in general forbidding features, if one sees a fine Woman among them one is sure, on enquiry, to find she is of some other Island.

met with till they arrived at the Place where the Boats lay to take them in, they burnt in all 20 Houses & 18 large War Canoes some of which row'd 100 & 120 Paddles, during their march they was not [the] least interrupted by the Natives, AM Cap^t Cook again sett out to the E^tw^d with the same force as Yesterday were they burnt 7 large Canoes & cut up 3 for Plank to build a house for Omai, Carp^s on shore cutting the Canoes up in the Bay. . . . (11th) 'at 4 PM the Goat was brought on b^d by one of the Natives, he said it was stolen by a Man from Otaheite, & had been carried there, which was the reason they were so long in sending it.'—Harvey.—'The Losses these poor People must have suffer'd' would affect them for years to come, thought Edgar. 'I think as securing the Persons of the Chiefs has always in these cases been found to succeed, it is a pity it was not tried here, as these Losses together with those they suffered by Admiral Tohaw, are very heavy & which we were all Eye witnesses to.' Neither tears nor entreaties could move Cook, reports Gilbert. He 'seem'd to be very rigid in the performance of His order which every one executed with the greatest reluctance except Omai; who was very officious in this business; and wanted to fire upon the natives. . . . all about such a trifle as a small goat . . . I can't well account for Capt Cook's proceedings on this occasion; as they were so very different from his conduct in like cases in his former voyages'

¹ . . . prepared to take our leave of these good people, whose ridiculous conduct in stealing those Goats, and most absurd obstinacy in keeping them, has brought upon them such damages, inflicted as retaliation and punishment, as they will not recover from these many months to come; but it was wholly their own seeking; we solicited their friendship at our arrival by every social attention, and were upon the best of Terms, till the Devil put it in their Heads, to fall in Love with the Goats: when they had taken these, every gentle method was tryed to recover them, and the consequences of their obstinacy, very clearly and repeatedly explained to them, before any destructive Step was taken; but their strange perverseness in this Business, is I think equally foolish and unaccountable.'—Clerke, 11 October.

² 'About Noon both Ships saild from Opoon-a-heu Harbour in company with the Royal George Canoe Captain Omai.'—Edgar.—'at 3 in the Morning Omiah fired a Musket, which we imagined was intended as a signal for land: we learnt afterwards that his canoe had nearly overset in a squall by bad steerage and that his firing was meant to signify his distress.'—Burney, 12 October.

SUNDAY 12th. The 12th at Noon we Anchored at the North entrance of *O Wharre*¹ harbour, which is on the West side of the island; the whole after-noon was spent in warping the Ships into a proper birth and Mooring. Omai entered the harbour with his canoe just before us, but did not land nor did he take much Notice of any of his Country men, though many crowded to see him, but far more came off to the Ships, in so much that we could hardly work for them. Our passengers presently acquainted them with what we had done at Eimeo and multiplyed the number of Canoes and houses we had destroyed by ten at least which I was not sorry for, as I saw it had great effect upon all who heard it, so that I had hopes they would behave a little better than they usually had done at this island.

While I was at Otaheite, I was told that my old friend *Oree* was no longer the chief and that at this time he was at Ulietea, he indeed was never more than Regent during the Minority of *Tareederria* the present Earee rahie,² but he did not give up the Regency till he was forced. His two Sons, Opoony and Towha³ were the first who made me a visit and a present, they came aboard before the Ship was well in the harbour. Our arrival brought the next Morning being the 13th all the principal people in the island together, this was just what I wished, as I wanted to sittle Omai in the best manner I could, he now seem'd inclinable to go to Ulietea and I was not against it,⁵ as there is a piece of land at that island which the Bolabola men despossess'd his Father of and I thought I could get it restored to the Son, but we could not agree upon the conditions, I wanted to reconcile him to the Bolabola men, and he was too great a Patriot to listen to any such thing. Huaheine was therefore the island to leave him at and no other. After the hurry of the morning was over, we got ready to pay a formal visit to the young chief, Omai dress'd himself very properly on the occasion and prepared a very handsome present for the chief and a nother for his Eatua, indeed after he got clear of the gang that surrounded him at Otahiete, he behaved with such prudence as to gain respect. Our landing drew most of the company from the Ship, they

¹ Fare.

² 'Teriitaria the present *arii rahi*.'—'The Aree or King of this Island is quite a Minor and a very mean looking Boy he is, His Name is Terry-Tarea, his Mother is a fine jolly Dame & was formerly a Tio of M^r Banks's.'—Edgar.

³ 'Opoony and Towha': Puni and Tahua, names already familiar to us, but as the names of different people.

⁴ 'Omi is very ill at present & Cap^t Cook is a little indisposed at present. . . . We have 1/2 of our people ill with the fowl disease & 4 or 5 has had 'ae Yellow jaundice.'—Bayly T, 13 October.

⁵ 'Omiah whose intention hitherto, had been to settle at Huaheine, now declared he would fix at Ulietea. this new revolution however did not last above 3 days when he resumed his former plan again. . . .—Burney, 15 October.

Mr Anderson my Surgeon spent the few days we lay here in examining the Country and gave me the following account¹ of its Natural productions, to which I shall only add that the Straight tall trees are not the same as are found in the more Northern parts of this coast. The Wood is very long and close grained and extremely tough, very proper for spars, oars and many other uses, and w[ould] on occasion make good masts perhaps none better if a method could be found to lighten it.²

THURSDAY 30th. At eight o'clock in the Morning of the 30th, a light breeze springing up at West we weighed and put to sea. Soon after the wind veered to the Southward and increased to a perfect storm; in the evening its fury abated and it veer'd to the East & NE. This gale was indicated by the fall of the Barometer, but the Wind no sooner began to blow than the mercury in the tube began to fall: a nother remarkable thing attended the coming on of this wind which was very faint at first, it brought with it a degree of heat that was almost intolerable, the Mercury in the Thermometer rose almost in an Instant from about 70° to near 90°: this heat was of so short a continuance that it seemed to be wafted away before the breeze that brought it, so that some on board did not perceive it.

FEB^{ry}

We persued our course to the Eastward without meeting with any thing worthy of note, till the night between the 6th & 7th of Febr^y, when a Marine belong^g to the Discovery fell over board and was never seen afterwards:³ this was the second Marine Captain Clerke had had the Missfortune to lose sence he left England.

MONDAY 10th. On the tenth at 4 PM we discovered the land of New

same hand. Of these positions, all of which except that for Adventure Bay must have been calculated at sea, it may be said that they come close to accuracy. The greatest divergence in latitude is 4' too high for the two capes; and in longitude 10' too great for Tasman Head and 7' too little for 'Swilly isle'.

¹ The MS omits Anderson's account, which is copied however in Adm 55/111, ff. 50-51v. See below, pp. 789-94.

² 'Here is Plenty of different kinds of fish to be Caught with the Seine and some with Hook, In a Lake of Brackish water near the Place where Our Ships Lay, there are Great Plenty of Bream. Omie Caught several Goose Dishes, this Lake is near the Beach. The Land is much closer Cover'd with Trees here than the Places we were at (To the Norward) in the Endeavour. Birds but few, we saw The Track & Dung of the Congooru, and some Other Animal, Here is a little animal Something Larger than the Cane Rat has a Tale like it, but its Other Parts are more like the Racoon, it runs up Trees, and into holes of trees when Persued, one of our Gentlemen Shot one, here is in small Quantities Plants like wild Parseley, likewise a kind of Purslane which eat verry well Boild, it grows in Clumps on the Beach. Snakes, Lizards & a kind of the Guano are to be found here, Flies, knatts, Musqueto's are Troublesome in the woods. . . .'-Gore, 27 January.

³ This was George Moody.

Zealand, it proved to be Rocks point¹ and bore SEBS about 8 or 9 leagues distant. During this run, the wind for the first four or five days was at NE North & NNW a[nd] blew for the most part a gentle breeze: it afterward veered to SE where it remained 24 hours; it then came to West and sw in which points it continued with very little deviation till we made the land.

TUESDAY 11th. After makeing the land I steered for Cape Farewell, which at day break the next Morning bore sbw distant about four leagues, at 8 o'clock it bore swbs about five leagues distant and in this situation we had 45 fathom water over a sandy bottom; in rounding the Cape we had 50 fathom, the same sort of bottom.

I now steered for Stephens's island which we came up with at 9 PM and at 10 the next Morning anchored in our old station in Queen Charlottes Sound. In the after noon we got a number of empty Water Casks on shore, cleared a place to set up the two observatories, and tents for the reception of a guard and such people whose business made it necessary for them to remain on shore. Wed. 12

We had not been long at anchor before several Canoes filled with natives came along side the Ships, but very few of them would venture on board; which appeared the more extraordinary, as I was well known to them all. There was one man amongst them, that I had treated with remarkable kindness during the whole of my stay when I was last here yet now neither professions of friendship nor presents would induce him to come into the ship. It appeared to me that they were apprehensive we were come to revenge the death of Captain Furneaux's people: seing Omai on board whose first conversation with them generally turned on that subject; they must be well assured that I was no longer a stranger to that unhappy affair, and I did all in my power to assure them of the continuence of my friendship, and that I should not disturb them on that account. I do not know whether or no this had any weight with them, but certain it is that they very soon laid a side almanner of restraint and distrust.

THURSDAY 13th. On the 13th set up the observatory, and began to make observations to find the rate of the timekeeper and other purpose's; erected two tents upon the same spot we formerly had them, and sent the remainder of the empty casks on shore with the Cooper to trim, and hands to fill them, two men were apointed to brew spruce beer² and the Carpenter and his Crew were ordered to cut

¹ On the west coast of the South Island, some 45 miles down the coast from Cape Farewell; named by Cook on the first voyage.

² '... boiling spruce (which grows here in great plenty) for Essence to carry to sea with us for brewing bear.'—Gilbert. It seems clear that the 'spruce' most commonly used by Cook for this purpose in New Zealand was the Rimu, *Dacrydium cupressinum*.

Cook's enquiry on 3rd voyage into killing and cannibalism of Furneaux's men from 2nd voyage



wood; a boat with a party of men under the direction of one of the Mates was sent to collect grass for our cattle, and the people that remained on board were employed in refitting the Ship and getting Provisions to hand. In this manner we were employed during our stay. For the protection of the party on shore I appointed a guard of ten Marines and ordered arms for all the workmen, and Mr King and two or three petty officers remained constantly with them.¹ A boat was never sent any considerable distance from the Ships without being armed, and under the direction of such officers as I could depend upon and who were well acquainted with the Natives. Some of these were precautions I had never taken before in this place, nor were they, I firmly believe, more necessary now, but after the sacrifice which the Natives made of² the boats crew belonging to the Adventure in this place, and the French in the Bay of islands³ it was impossible, totally, to divest our selves of apprehensions of the same Nature.

If the Natives had any suspicion of our revenging these acts of Barbarity, they very soon laid it aside, for during the course of this day a great many Families came from different parts and took up their residence by us; so that there was not a place in the Cove where a Hut could be built that was not occupied by some or another: the place where we had fixed our little incampment they left us in quiet possession of, but they came and took away the remains of old huts that were there.

It is curious to see with what facility they build these little temporary habitations: I have seen above twenty of them erected on a spot of ground that not an hour before was covered with shrubs & plants. They generally bring some part of the Materials with them, the rest they find on the spot. I was present when a number of people landed and built one of these Villages: the moment the Canoes landed men leaped out and at once took possession of a spot of ground, by tearing up the pla[n]ts &c^a or sticking up some part of the framing of the hut, they then returned to the canoe and secured their Weapons by setting them up against a tree or in such a manner as they could lay hold of them in an instant, I took particular notice that no one neglected this precaution. While the Men were employed raising the huts the Women were not idle, some were taking care of the Canoes, some securing the Provisions, and the few utensils they

¹ 'and the whole made a formidable appearance.'—Burney.

² the sacrifice which the Natives made of substituted for what has happened to. Cook must have thought his first words all too neutral. Douglas in his turn improved; *Voyage*, I, p. 121.

³ A reference to the massacre of Marion du Fresne and his men in June 1772.

are possess'd of, and others went to gather dry sticks to make a fire to dress their victuals; as to the Children I kept them, as also some of the more aged sufficiently employed in scrambling for beads till I had emptied my pockets and then I left them.

These temporary habitations are abundantly sufficient to shelter them from the wind and rain, which is the only purpose's they want them for. I observed that generally if not always the same Tribe or Family be it ever so large associated and built together, so that we frequently see a Village, as well as their larger towns, divided into different districts by low pallisades or what answers the same purpose.¹ Mr Webber has made a drawing of one of these Villages that will convey a better idea of them than any written description.

The advantage we received by the Natives coming to live by us was not a little, as some of them went out afishing every day when the weather would permit, and we generally got by exchanges a good part of the fruits of their labour: so that with what we got from them, and with our own nets & lines we seldom wanted fish,² and celery, Scurvy grass and Portable soup were boiled with the Pease and Wheat for both ships companies every [day] during our whole stay and they had spruce beer for their drink:³ so that if any of them had contracted any seeds of the Scurvy these articles soon removed it, but when we arrived here there was only two invalids belonging to the Resolution on the sick lists in both ships.

Besides the people who took up their abode by us, we were occasionally visited by others whose residence was not far off, and other who lived more remote. Their articles of commerce were Curiosities, Fish and Women the two first always came to a good market, which the latter did not: the Seamen had taken a kind of dislike to these people and were either unwilling or afraid to associate with them; it had a good effect as I never knew a man quit his station to go to their habitations. A connection with Women I allow because I cannot prevent it, but never encourage tho many Men are of opinion it is one of the greatest securities amongst Indians, and it may hold good when you intend to settle amongst them; but with travelers and strangers, it is generally otherwise and more men are betrayed than saved by having connection with their women, and how can it be

¹ This is good observation. Different *hapu*, clans or sections within the tribe, larger than the family group, would habitually stick together.

² 'one kind in particular which they call a Mo'gee is supposed to be the most delicious fish in the world; it is about the size of a small salmon and not much unlike in shape, and I believe only met with in this country. . . . '—Gilbert. It is rather surprising that this excellent fish, Moki (*Latridopsis ciliaris*) has not been noted by any journal-keeper before. Several note it now.

³ ' . . . stop'd the Grog and serv'd Spruce Beer to the People.'—Clerke, 18 February.

otherwise sence all their View are selfish without the least mixture of regard or attachment whatever; at least my observations which have been pretty general, have not pointed out to me one instance to the contrary.¹

Amongst those occasional Visitors was a Chief named *Kahoura*² who headed the party that cut off Captain Furneaux's boat and who himself killed the officer that commanded. To judge of the character of this man by what some of his Country said of him, he seemed to be a man more feared than beloved by them: many of them said he was a very bad man and importuned me to kill him, and I beleive they were not a little surprised that I did not, for accord[ing] to their ideas of equity this ought to have been done.³ But if I had followed the advice of all our pretended friends, I might have extirpated the whole race, for the people of each Hamlet or village by turns applyed to me to distroy the other, a very striking proof of the divided state in which they live. We could not misunderstand them as Omai who understood their language perfectly well was our interpreter.

SATURDAY 15th. On the 15th I made an excursion in my boat to look for grass, and visited the Hippah⁴ or fortified Village at the sw point of Motuara, and the places w[h]ere our Gardens were on that island. There were no people at the former but the houses and pallisades were rebuilt and in good order and had been inhabited not long before.⁵ A description of this Hippah is unnecessary now as it is mention[ed] in my first voyage page 395⁶ to which I refer and the drawings N^o & the first represents a part of the inside of the village and the second a distant view of the East side of the isle or rock.

When the Adventure arrived first here in 1773, M^r Baily fixed on this place to make his observations, and he and the people with him at their leasure hours planted several spots with English garden seeds not the least vestige of which now remained, probably they had been all routed up to make room for building &c^a. For at all the other

¹ To which sentiments one may append the Maori proverb *He wahine, he whenua, e ngaro ai te tangata*, 'By women and by land are men destroyed'. There are variants, all to the same melancholy effect.

² Kahura is now the orthodox spelling.

³ This reference to equity is again good observation. The custom of *utu* or 'revenge', was very much in the spirit of 'a life for a life', but also carried the idea of equitable payment. Cf. the unfortunate incident at Mercury Bay, I, p. 196, where the man who made off with Gore's cloth was held to be in the wrong, so that his death was *utu*, recompense paid by him, and no further counterbalancing *utu* or vengeance was called for on the Maori side. Nobody, it is clear, would have resented Kahura's death.

⁴ *pa*.

⁵ It may be remembered that the place was deserted at the time of the second voyage and that Bayly had set up his observatory there.

⁶ i.e. of Hawkesworth, II. Banks, *Endeavour Journal*, I, p. 458. Cook did not describe it himself.

gardens altho wholly over run with the Weeds of the country, there were found Cabbage, Onions, Leeks, Parsley, Radishes, Mustard &c^a and a few Potatoes. The Potatoes were first brought from the Cape of Good Hope and have greatly emproved by change of soil, and were they properly cultivated few would exceed them. As much as the Natives esteem this root it was evident they had not taken the trouble to plant one, much less any other article and if it was not for the difficulty of clearing ground of potatoes there would not be one remaining.

SUNDAY 16th. The 16th at day break, I set out with a party of Men in five boats, accompaned by two of the Natives, Omai, Captain Clerke and several of the officers, to collect grass, we proceeded about three leagues up the Sound and then landed on the East side, at a place I had formerly been, and where we cut as much as laded the two launches. We next proceeded down to Grass Cove, remarkable for being the place where the Natives cut off Captain Furneaux's boat; here I met with my old friend Pedro who was almost continually with me the last time I was in this Sound; he and a nother man received us on the beach armed with the Pat-too and spear, whether out of courtesy or causion I cannot say, but I thought they shewed manifest signs of fear. However if they had any a few presents soon removed them and brought down two or three more of the family but the greatest part of them remained out of sight.¹

Whilst we were at this place our curiosity prompt[ed] us to enquire the reason why our country men were killed, and Omai put several questions to Pedro and those about him on that head, all of which they answered without reserve, and like people who are under no apprehension of punishment for a crime they are not guilty of, for we already k[n]ew that none of these people had any hand in this unhappy affair. They told us that while our people were at victuals with several of the natives about them some of the latter stole or snatched from them some bread, & fish for which they were beat this being resented a quarrel insued, in which two of the Natives were shot dead, by the only two Muskets that were fired, for before they had time to discharge a third or load those that were fired they were all seized and knocked on the head. They pointed to the place of the

¹ 'About Noon some little quarrel arose betwe[e]n the Sergeant of Marines of the Resolution & an old Indian on which the Indian went off in his Canoe in a terrable Rage to a little cove where was a number of Indians at dinner, & they all lunched their Canoes & went across the Sound toward a Cove wher[e] Capt^t Cook had some men cutting grass. Cap^t Cook saw the Inraged Indian & endeavoured to enquire the cause & Passify him; but he could neither do one or the other—he therefore sent his Pinnes man'd & armed to His grass cutters to protect them in case they wanted it; but the Indians altered their rout when they saw the Pinnis coming after them.'—Bayly T, 15 February.

Sun when this happened, and according to it it must have been late in the afternoon: they also shewed us the spot where the boats crew sat at Victuals, and the place where the boat laid which was about two hundred yards from them with Captain Furneaux's black servant in her. We were afterwards told that he was the cause of the quarrel, which happened thus; one of the Natives stealing some thing¹ out of the boat, he struck him a heavy blow with a stick on which the fellow called out to his country men that he was killed, on this they all rose and fell upon the unhappy suffer[er]s who before they had time to recover the boat or arm themselves against the impending danger, fell a sacrifice to savage fury.² The first of these accounts was confirm'd by the testimony of many people who I think, could have no intrest in deceiving us, the second we had from a young man who went away with us and therefore could certainly have none.³ As all agree that the quarrel happen'd while the boats crew were at Victuals, it is highly probable that both accounts are true, for nothing is more likely, than whilst some were stealing from the Man in the boat others were doing the same thing from those on shore. Be this as it will, all agree that the quarrel first took its rise from some thefts which they (the Natives) committed, all agree also, that the thing was not premeditated, and that if these thefts had not, unfortunately, been too hastily resented no ill consequence had attended, for Kahoura's greatest enemies, those who solicited his distruction the most, owned that he had no intention to quarrel, much less to kill till the quarrel was actually commenced. It also appears that the unhappy Victims were under no sort of apprehensions of their impending fate otherwise they never would have sat down to a repast so far from thier boat amongst people who the next Moment were to be their butcherer's.

We stayed here till the evening when having loaded the remainder

¹ A coat, according to Bayly, Adm 55/20, who says that 'Kawoorā' told the story to Omai.

² '... of this accident, the best account I have been able to gather, is, that our people were dining on the beach: during their meal, a Zealander stole something out of the Boat, and was making off with it, on which M^r Rowe fired and killed the Thief on the spot. the Zealanders immediately sallied out of the Woods and got between our people and the boat. they say Rowe fired twice and killed another man, but the people's muskets had been left in the boat, nobody but himself having any fire arms, so that they were easily overpowered and fell from imagining themselves too secure.'—Burney journal. According to Bayly-Omai-Kahura, Rowe jumped up and shot two men dead and cut Kahura across the arm with a sword, on which all the men were knocked down and secured without doing the Maoris the least harm; they were then all killed in the Maori rage. 'Kaoora said he killed the Aree (or officer) with his own hand, together with most of the people.'

³ But then, what about Kahura's story to Omai? It is of course possible that Kahura told two quite different stories; and as Cook goes on to say, both may have been true, or at least partly true.

of the boats with grass, celery, scurvy-grass &c^a we embarked to return to the Ships and prevailed on Pedro to launch his Canoe and accompany us; but we had hardly put of from the shore before it came on to blow very hard at nw and obliged him to put back, and we had a good deal of difficulty to reach the Ships, where all the boats did not arrive till one o'clock the next morning, and if they had not got on board when they did they would have been kept out till the evening, for it afterwards blew a perfect storm with abundance of rain so that no manner of work could go forward. In the evening the gale ceased and the wind veered to the East and brought with it fair weather, and the next day we resumed our works and the natives got out a fishing and Pedro with his whole family came and took up his aboad by us. This cheifs proper name is *Matahouah*¹ the other being a name given him by some of my people last voyage, which I did not know till now: he was, however as well known amongst his Countrymen by this nick name as any other.

THURSDAY 20th. The 20th in the fore noon, we had a nother Storm from the NW, it was not of so long continuence as the former, but the gusts from the hills were far more violent, insomuch that we were obliged to strike the yards & Topmasts to the very utmost and than with difficulty road it out. These Storms are very frequent here,² and sometimes Violent and troublesome, owing to the neighbouring mountains (always at these times loaded with vapour's) which, not only increase the force of the wind, but alter its direction in such a manner that no two blasts follow each other from the same quarter, and the nearer the shore the more their effects are felt, for farther out the wind is more steady and the gusts not so violent.

FRIDAY 21st. The next day we were visited by a Tribe or Family I had never seen before, consisting of about thirty person[s], men Women and children; they came from the upper part of the Sound and were some of the finest people I had ever seen in this place: the cheifs name was *Tomatongeaurooranue*,³ a man about forty five years of age, with a fine cheerfull open countenance, two things more or less remarkable through[ou]t the whole tribe.

By this time more than two thirds of the inhabitants of the Sound were settled about us, and great numbers daily frequented the Ships, and the incampment on shore, what partly induced them to resort to

¹ Probably Matahaua, possibly Matahaua. But 'Pedro' itself may have been the sailors' form of a Maori name, perhaps Pitirau as suggested in II, p. 576. King, 18 February, refers to 'Capt^a Cook's friend whom we call Pee'terro'.

² One is reminded of the storm which fell on the *Endeavour*, anchored in the same place, 1-2 February 1770. She had to let go her sheet anchor.—I, p. 244.

³ Tamatangi-au-uranui.

the latter more than usual, was some Seal blubber we were melting down. No Greenlander can be fonder of train oil than these people, the very dregs of the casks and skimings of the kettle they eat, but a little pure oil was a feast they seemed not often to enjoy.¹

Sun. 23 Having got on board as much hay and grass as was thought sufficient to serve the Cattle to Otaheite, and compleated the wood and water of both ships, we struck the tents and got every thing off from the shore, and the next morning weighed and stood out of

Mon. 24 the Cove. But as the wind was not very favourable, and finding that the Tide of Ebb would be spent before we could get out of the Sound, I came to an anchor a little without the island Motuara to wait for a more favourable opportunity to put into the Strait.

While we were unmooring and getting under sail *Tomatongeaurooranue*, *Matahouah* and many more of the Natives came to take their leave of us, or rather to get what they could from us before we left them. These two Cheifs begged of me some Goats & Hogs: I accordingly gave to Matahouah two Goats male & female the latter with kid, and to Tomatongeaurooranue two Pigs a boar & a sow.² They made me a Promise not to kill them but in this I put no great faith;³

¹ They would even eat candles, says Gilbert; and fell on mouldy biscuit, calling it 'Tarro', says King. Two further impressions of these Queen Charlotte Sound people may be given. 'The Natives here are remarkable keen Traders, Continually begging, and Give them ever so much They will not part with [a] Thing of theirs on the same principle, so that, a Sence of Gratitude they have not. Give one of them a Hatchet, afterwards Ask the same person for the Claw of a Crawfish he'll not Part with it without being Paid, they are Thievish and seem To me Confident of their own Power, Perhaps the Cutting off Cap^t Furneaux's men and our not resenting with any degree Of Severity may make them more so, it is not clear to me That they do not expect a repetition of presents from us in some degree as a Tribute for their friendship.'—Gore.—'The New Zealanders of Charlotte Sound were never so much amongst us as this time: the reason probably, because they found more was to be got and on easier terms than ever before, for our folks were all so eager after curiosities and withal so much better provided than in any former voyage, that traffick was greatly altered in favour of the Indians: a Nail last Voyage purchasing more than an Axe or a Hatchet now. before our departure they carried Hatchets under their Cloaths instead of the Patoo. they often appeared to have a great deal of friendship for us, speaking sometimes in the most tender, compassionate tone of voice imaginable: but it not a little disgusted one to find all this show of fondness interested and that it constantly ended in begging. if gratified with their first demand, they would immediately fancy something else, thier expectations and importunities increasing in proportion as they had been indulged. we had instances of their quarrelling after having begged 3 things because a fourth was denied them—it seemed evident that many of them held us in great contempt and I believe chiefly on account of our not revenging the affair of Grass Cove, so contrary to the principles by which they would have been actuated in the like case. another cause might be, thier getting from us so many valuable things, for which they regarded us as dupes to their superior cunning. As an instance how little they stood in fear of us, one man did not scruple to acknowledge his being present and assisting at the killing and eating the Adventure's people.'—Burney, 24 February.

² According to Charlton, 24 February, Cook not merely gave away these animals, but 'he likewise set 2 Couple of Rabbits on Shore on Mautara unknown to the Natives'. If rabbits had been set on shore nowhere else New Zealand would have been a happier place.

³ 'The Captain bestowed two Goats & two Pigs to Pee'terro & another Chief. Some days ago when Pee'terro was asked how long he would keep the Pigs to oblige Captⁿ Cook, who

those which Captain Furneaux put on shore and soon after fell into thier hands, I was told were all dead, but they seem'd to know nothing of those I left in the West Bay and Cannibal Cove when I was here last voyage, and they all say that Poultry are now wild in the Woods behind Ship Cove, and I was afterwards told by the two youths who went away with us that Teratou¹ had a great many Cocks and Hens and one of the Sows which Captain Furneaux put a shore. When I first arrived I fully intended to have left not only Goats and Hogs, but Sheep and a young Bull and two Heifers, could I have found a Chief powerful enough to protect and keep them, or a place where they would have been concealed from them, but neither the one nor the other presented it self to me. Tiratou a popular Chief was now absent and Tringaboohea another,² with about seventy of his Tribe had been killed about five months before our arrival; and I could not learn that there remained a powerful Tribe in the whole place, and to have given them to any other would not have answered the intention. For in a Country like this where no mans property is secure, they would soon have fallen a pray to different parties and been either seperated or killed but most likely both. This was so evident to every one that I had resolved to leave nothing till these two cheifs solicited for the hogs and goats, as I could spare them I let them go to take their chance. I have at different times left in this Country not less than ten or a dozen hogs, besides those which Captain Furneaux put a shore, so that it will be a little extraordinary if there is not a breed either in a wild or domestic state or both.

We had not been long at anchor before three or four Canoes filled with Indians came off to us from the SE side of the Sound and traded away divers curiosities. In one of the Canoes was Kahourah, the Chief who headed the party that cut of Captain Furneaux's people.

had taken some pains to tell him he must not kill them, [he] said he would keep them a month before he would eat them; indeed there is some reason from seeing no remains of what has already been left, to suppose that either they cannot be brought to have that regard to posterity to let these Animals increase, or that from their very unsettled & dangerous way of life they cannot take care of them.'—King.

¹ This chief at Queen Charlotte Sound remains rather a puzzle. His name is first mentioned by George Forster (*Voyage*, I, p. 225), as one of those who frightened the Sound people on 4 June (Cook says 3 June) 1773: 'We learnt the second orator's name was Teiratu, and that he came from the opposite shore of the northern island, called Teera Whittle'. He may have planted himself somewhere in the Sound more or less permanently. A few lines further down here Cook refers to what must be the same man as Tiratou. They should be different names (Te Ratu and Tairatu) but in this context can hardly be.

² Te Ringapuhi or Te Ringapuhi, a chief Cook met in Tory Channel, 5 November 1774; see II, p. 575, n. 5. When the *Resolution* was last in the Sound, says King (who was not in her then), 'Peeterro a man of great weight was married to the daughter of the principal chief of the Sound, called Tringoboo', and goes on to mention the fight (18 February); it was 'a terrible battle', says Bayly, and left the Sound 'very thin of People'; '& a number of women taken Prisoners & carried off to Admiralty Bay'.—Bayly T, 16 February.

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This was the third visit he had paid us without shewing the least mark of fear, I was a shore when he came but got on board just as he was going away; Omai, who was with me, presently pointed him out, and wanted me to shoot him, he even threatened to do it himself if ever he came again. The chief paid so little regard to these threats that he returned the next Morning with his whole Family, Men Women and Children to the number of twenty and upwards. Omai was the first who acquainted me with his coming and desired to know if he should ask him on board. I told him he might and accordingly he interduced him into the Cabbin, saying 'there is Kahourah kill him' but as if he would have no hand in it himself, retired immediately, but returned again in a short time and seeing the chief unhurt, said 'why do not you kill him, you till me if a man kills an other in England he is hanged for it, this Man has killed ten and yet you will not kill him, tho a great many of his countrymen desire it and it would be very good'. Omair arguments, tho reasonable enough, having no weight with me, I desired him to ask the cheif why he killed Captain Furneaux's people, at this Question he folded his arms hung down his head and looked like one caught in a trap; And I firmly believe expected every moment to be his last, but was no sooner assured of his safety than he became cheerfull, yet did not seem willing to answer the question that had been put to him, till I had again and again assured him he should not be hurt. Then he ventured to till us, that on offering a stone hatchet for sale to one of the people, he kept it and would give nothing in return, on which they snatched from them some bread while they were at victuals. The remainder of his account of this unhappy affair differed very little from what we had been told by other people, but the story of the Hatchet was certainly invented by Kahourah to make the English appear the first agressors.¹

This man would have been one of those that were shot dead, but hiding himself behind the boat was not seen, so that a nother man was killed who stood behind him; as soon as the musket was discharged, he instantly seized the oppertunity to attack Mr Rowe, who commanded the party and who defended himself with his Hanger (with which he wounded Kahourah in the Arm) till over powered by numbers. What became of the boat I never could learn, some said she was pulled to pieces and burnt, others said she was carri'd they knew not where by a party of strangers. Thus I have related the whole

¹ The story may certainly have been invented, as it seems to have come from no one but Kahura; on the other hand, it is not quite possible to rule it out as automatically as Cook does.

I was able to learn of this Melancholy affair, and for which the perpetrators have escaped unpunished for they received no hurt from the party which Captain Furneaux sent the next day to look for his people, under the Command of Lieut^t Burney, for according to the account of the Indian's not one of the Shot which they fired took effect.¹

It was evident that most of the Inhabitants, after seeing Omai on board and therefore could no longer doubt of my being fully acquainted with the whole subject, expected I should revenge it with the death of Kahourah at least, and many of them seemed not only to wish it but surprized I did not.² As he could not be ignorant of this it was a matter of wonder to me that he put himself so often in my power; in the visits he made us in Ship Cove he might [have] confided in the number of his friends that accompaned him, but this could not possibly have any weight with him in the two last visits he made us; we were then at anchor in the entra[n]ce of the Sound some distance from any shore, so that he neither could escape nor have any assista[n]ce from thence, had I thought proper to [have] detained him. But after his first fears were over he was so far from shewing any uneasiness, that on seeing a Portrait of one of his countrymen hanging up in the Cabbin, he desired to be drawn, and sat till Mr Webber had finished without the least restraint. I must confess I admired his courage and was not a little pleased at the confidence he put in me. Perhaps in this he placed his whole safety, for I had always declared to those who solicited his death that I had always been a friend to them all and would continue so unless they gave me cause to act otherwise; as to what was past, I should think no more of it as it was some time sence and done when I was not there, but if ever they made a Second attempt of that kind, they might rest assured of feeling the weight of my resentment.

For some time before we arrived at New Zealand Omai had express'd a desire to take one of the Natives with him to his own Country. We had not been there many days before he had an opper-

¹ King's report is slightly different: 'not one was kill'd, only two or three wounded'.—17 February.

² Clerke's thoughts on the subject: 'however this measure [killing Kahura] now cou'd answer no purpose at all and the Stories these People chuse to tell of such an unfortunate business I think can very little be depended upon, therefore can only lament this unhappy event and leave it to fate with one observation upon Indian matters in general. Whilst you keep the command in your own hands you are at leisure to act with whatever lenity you please, but if you relax so far as to lay yourself open to their machinations, you may be deceiv'd in your expectations. There are few Indians in whom I wou'd wish to put a perfect confidence, but of all I ever met with these shou'd be last, for I firmly believe them very capable of the most perfidious & most cruel treachery, tho' no People can carry it fairer when the proper superiority is maintaind.'

END
READING