



PORTRAIT OF CAPTAIN COOK
by Nathaniel Dance, 1776

THE JOURNALS OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK
ON HIS VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

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THE VOYAGE OF
THE *ENDEAVOUR*

1768-1771

EDITED BY

J. C. BEAGLEHOLE

FIRST CONTACT, PT. 1

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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at day light made sail in for the land. At Noon it bore from sw to NWBN distant 8 Leagues. Latitude Observed $38^{\circ}57' \text{ s.}^1$

SUNDAY 8th. Gentle breezes between the ENE and north, clear weather. At 5 PM seeing the opening of a Bay that appear'd to run pretty far inland, hauled our wind and stood in for it, but as soon as night came on we kept plying on and off untill day light when we found our selves to Leeward of the Bay the wind being at north.² By noon we fetched in with the sw point, but not being able to weather it we tacked and stood off. We saw in the Bay several Canoes, People upon the shore and some houses in the Country. The land on the Sea-Coast is high with white steep cliffs and back inland are very high mountains,³ the face of the Country is of a hilly surface and appears to be clothed with wood and Verdure.⁴

MONDAY 9th. Gentle breezes and clear weather. PM stood into the Bay and anchored on the NE side⁵ before the entrance of a small river⁶ in 10 fathom water a fine sandy bottom; the NE point of the Bay bore EBS $\frac{1}{2}$ S and the sw point south, distant from the shore half a League. After this I went ashore with a party of men in the Pinnace and yawl accompanied by Mr Banks and Dr Solander, we land[ed] abreast of the Ship and on the east side of the river just mentioned, but seeing some of the natives on the other side of the river whome I was desirous of speaking with and finding that we could not ford the river, I order'd the yawl in to carry us over and the Pinnace to lay at the entrance. In the mean time the Indians made off; however we went as far as their hutts which lay about 2 or 3 hundred yards from the water side leaving four boys to take care of the yawl, which we had

¹ The noon log entry in G is, 'dist^{ce} from the nearest part about 5 Leagues saw smoaks on differant parts a sure sign of Inhabitants'.

² This was Poverty Bay. For Cook on the New Zealand coast, from this date till 31 March 1770, see Charts XII-XIX, and Fig. 37.

³ Probably the Huiarau range.

⁴ The main part of the entry in G for this date is as follows: '[8 a.m.] Sounded & had 25 fath fine brown sand being now 3 Leagues from the Land & the depth of water gradually shoaling as we stood in. At 11 Tack'd in 8 fath being a mile from the so pt of the Bay we discover'd & stood in for last night, this Bay now we are near it appeared to be of no great depth, the Land in the bottom being low. . . . The ship's log notes, 'Sailmakers employ'd making covers for the Blunderbusses for Boat-service'.—Add. MS 8959. Monkhouse also mentions this, and it is evident that Cook was taking his precautions. The blunderbusses were presumably the swivel-guns he had asked for specially for boat-service before leaving England.

⁵ G adds 'in 8 fath a fine hard sandy bottom 3 miles within the Entrance'. For a most painstaking and useful discussion of the events that were now to take place, collating all the available accounts in the light of much local knowledge and of Maori tradition, see J. A. Mackay, *Historic Poverty Bay* (Gisborne 1949). Chaps. III-VII of this book are devoted to the period 8-29 October, Poverty Bay to Tolaga Bay. There is a useful sketch-map, based on W. L. Williams, opposite p. 33.

⁶ G adds 'of salt water'. This was the Turanganui, and it would certainly be salt at its mouth. Another stream, the Waikanac, joins it not far from the beach.

no sooner left than four men came out of the woods on the other side the river and would certainly have cut her off, had not the people in the pinnace discover'd them and called to her to drop down the stream which they did being closely pursued by the Indians; the Coxswain of the pinnace who had the charge of the Boats, seeing this fire'd two musquets over their heads, the first made them stop and look round them, but the 2^d they took no notice of upon which a third was fired and killed one of them upon the spot¹ just as he was going to dart his spear at the boat; at this the other three stood motionless for a minute or two, seemingly quite surprised wondering no doubt what it was that had thus killed their commorade: but as soon as they recover'd themselves they made off dragging the dead body a little way and then left it. Upon our hearing the report of the Musquets we immediatly repair'd to the boats and after viewing the dead body we return'd on board. In the morning seeing a good number of the natives at the same place where we saw them last night, I went a shore with the boats man'd and arm'd and landed on the opposite side of the river: Mr Banks Dr Solander and my self at first only landed and went to the side of the river, the natives being got together on the opposite side. We call'd to them in the George Island Language, but they answered us by flourishing their weapons over their heads and dancing, as we supposed the war dance;² upon this we retired untill the marines were landed which I order'd to be drawn up about two hundred yards behind us. We then went again to the river side having Tupia Mr Green and Dr Monkhouse along with us. Tupia spoke to them in his own language and it was an [a]greeable surprise to us to find that they perfectly understood him. After some little conversation had pass'd one of them swam over to us and after him 20 or 30 more, these last brought their arms with them which the first man did not, we made them every one presents but this did not satisfy them they wanted but every thing we had about us particularly our arms, and made several attempts to snatch them out of our hands. Tupia told us several times as soon as they came over to take care of our selves for they were not our friends, and this we very soon found for one of them snatched Mr Greens Hanger from him and would not give it up, this incourage'd the rest to be more insolent and

¹ Maori tradition is good and we know the name of this man: it was Te Maro.

² Thus described by Gore: 'About an hundred of the Natives all Arm'd came down on the opposite side of the Salt River, drew themselves up in lines. Then with a Regular Jump from Left to Right and the Reverse, They brandish'd Their Weapons, distort'd their Mouths, Lolling out their Tongues and Turn'd up the Whites of their Eyes Accompanied with a strong hoarse song, Calculated in my opinion to Chear Each Other and Intimidate their Enemies, and may be call'd perhaps with propriety A Dancing War Song. It lasted 3 or 4 minutes'.

→
First contact
with Maori
at Poverty Bay,
New Zealand,
1st voyage

seeing others coming over to join them I order'd the man who had taken the hanger to be fired at, which was accordingly done and wounded in such a manner that he died soon after; upon the first fire, which was only two musquets,¹ the others retire'd to a rock which lay nearly in the middle of the river,² but upon seeing the man fall they return'd probably to carry him off or his arms, the last of which they accomplished and this we could not prevent unless we had run our Bayonets into them,³ for upon their returning from off the rock we had discharg'd of our peices which were load[ed] with small shott and wound'd three more, but these got over the river and where carried off by the others who now thought proper to retire.

Finding that nothing was to be done with the people on this side and the water in the river being salt I embarked with an intent to row round the head of the Bay in search of fresh water, and if possible to surprise some of the natives and to take them on board and by good treatment and presents endeavour to gain their friendship;⁴ with this View on

TUESDAY 10th. PM I rowed round the head of the Bay but could find no place to land, on account of the great surf which beat every where upon the shore; seeing two boats or Canoes coming in from Sea, I rowed to one of them in order to seize upon the people and came so near before they took notice of us that Tupia called to them to come along side and we would not hurt them, but instead of doing this they endeavoured to get away, upon which I order'd a Musquet to be fire'd over their heads thinking that this would either make them surrender or jump over board, but here I was misstaken for they immediatly took to thier arms or whatever they had in the boat and began to attack us, this obliged us to fire upon them and unfortunately either two or three were kill'd, and one wounded, and three jumped

¹ The name of this second man to be killed was Te Rakau. The two men who fired were Banks and Monkhouse the surgeon. Banks says, of the snatching of the hanger, 'it now appeared necessary for our safeties that so daring an act should be instantly punishd, this I pronounced aloud as my opinion, the Captⁿ & the rest Joind me on which I fired my musquet which was loaded with small shot, leveling it between his shoulders who was not 15 yards from me.' It was Monkhouse, firing with ball, who killed the man. In conjunction with these passages of the journal should certainly be read the draft, Appendix III, 5.

² The name of this rock was Te Toka a Taiau. It was blasted out in the course of developing the harbour at Gisborne.

³ Pickersgill's admiration was called forth: when the man was shot 'another [s]tanding by him seeing him fall ran to take y^e Hanger from him and was very near carrying it off had not one of the Gentlemen got hold of it before him this Peice of courage is un parrelled and is greatly to be Admir'd for it has allways been remark'd amongst Savages lett them be ever so much usd to fire arms that as soon as they see a man or two fall that they immediately fall in to disorder and give way yet these People was so far from shewing any kind of fear that when they saw the man fall they immediately had y^e Presence of mind to attempt it a second time'.

⁴ '... this was certainly a generous christianlike Plan', thought Molyneux.

over board, these last we took up and brought on board, where they were clothed and treated with all immaginable kindness and to the surprise of every body became at once as cheerful and as merry as if they had been with their own friends; they were all three young, the eldest not above 20 years of age and the youngest about 10 or 12.¹

I am aware that most humane men who have not experienced things of this nature will censure my conduct in firing upon the people in this boat nor do I my self think that the reason I had for seizing upon her will att all justify me, and had I thought that they would have made the least resistance I would not have come near them, but as they did I was not to stand still and suffer either my self or those that were with me to be knocked on the head.²

In the morning as I intended to put our three prisoners ashore and stay here the day to see what effect it might have upon the other natives, I sent an Officer ashore with the marines and a party of men to cut wood, and soon after followed my self accompanied by Mr Banks Dr Soland[er] and Tupia, taking the three natives along with us whome we landed on the west side of the river before mentioned; they were very unwilling to leave us pretending that they should fall into the hands of their enemies who would kill and eat them; however they at last of their own accords left us and hid themselves in some bushes. Soon after this we discover'd several bodies of the Natives marching towards us, upon which we retire'd a Cross the River and join'd the wooders and with us came the three natives we had just parted with, for we could not prevail upon them to go to their own people. We had no sooner got over the river than the others assembled on the other side to the number of 150 or 200 all arm'd. Tupia now began to parly with them and the three we had with us shew'd every

¹ '... at 5 PM the Boats ret'd and had been Attackd by the natives in a very bold manner them in their Canoes fighting to the very Last thing they had in their Canoes and tho they saw sev^l Lay Dead in their Canoes Did not Submit till all their ammunition was Spent which Consisted of Pikes or Spears from 18 to 10 Feet long.'—Bootee.—'The Pinnace returning on Board Saw a Canoe Approching her and was Attack'd by the Natives four of them was Kill'd Dead by our People and the other 3 Taken Prisners & Brought on board and Kindly Treated & Cloth'd, our Capt and Gentelman have had a very Sufficient Prooff of their being a Sett of very Obstinate and Stubborn Kind of People and Brave withall by Endeavouring to gitt master of our Boats, and Fought as long as ever they had any things to Throw at us even a Parcel of Fish which they had in the Canoe they flung, and for all there was 2 men laying dead in the Canoe by them they Did Not Seem the Least Daunted or Frighted.'—Wilkinson. The three youths taken up, we find by translating Banks's rendering of their names, were called Te Hourangi or Haurangi, Ikirangi, and Marukauiti.—'... these People in a very little time was Perfectly reconcil'd to us and did not repine in the least at their being taken but seem'd quite joyous and would eat and drink anything that was give them without the least hesitation which made us imagine they had not the Least notion of Poison amongst them'.—Pickersgill.

² Cf. Introduction, pp. ccxi-ii for the different versions of this incident. Banks's summing-up was, 'thus ended the most disagreeable day My life has yet seen black be the mark for it & heaven send that such may never return to embitter future reflection'.

thing we had given them, part of which they laid and left upon the body of the man that was killed the day before, these things seemed so far to convince them of our friendly intentions that one man came over to us while all the others set down upon the sand: we every one made this man a present and the three natives that were with us likewise presented him with such things as they had got from us, with which after a short stay he retired a cross the river. I now thought proper to take every body on board to prevent any more quarrels and with us came the [three natives],¹ whome we could not prevail upon to stay behind and this appear'd the more strange as the Man who came over to us was uncle to one of them. After we had return'd on board we saw them carry off the dead man but the one that was kill'd the first evening we landed remain'd in the very spot they had left him.²

WEDNESDAY 11th. In the PM as I intended to sail in the morning we put the three youths ashore seemingly very much against their inclination, but whether this was owing to a desire they had to remain with us or the fear of falling into the hands of their enemies as they pretended I know not; the latter however seem'd to be ill founded for we saw them carried across the river in a Catamaran and walk leasurly off with the other natives.

At 6 AM we weigh'd and stood out of the Bay which I have named *Poverty Bay*³ because it afforded us no one thing we wanted⁴ (Lat^{de} 38°42' S. Long^{de} 181°36' W) it is in the form of a Horse shoe and is known by an Isl^d lying close und[er] the NE point,⁵ the two points which forms the entrance are high with steep white cliffs and lay a league and a half or two leagues from each other NEBE and SWBW. The depth of water in this Bay is from 12 to 6 and 5 fathoms a sandy bottom and good anchorage but you lay open to the winds between the South and East. Boats can go in and out of the river above

¹ Words omitted in MS: one page ends at *the*, the next begins with *whome*. M 3 *Natives* inserted by Cook; A 3 *Young Men* inserted by Cook.

² Molyneux's entry for this date may be given as a puzzle in language: 'at 8 AM the Boats landed, with a Party of men to Cut wood, the Inhabitants Came down to ye River, and seem'd much Interminated'.—Molyneux 152.

³ From the draft in the Mitchell MSS (see Appendix III, 5) we learn that the name Cook first thought of was 'Endeavour Bay', but he must have changed his mind almost at once, because all the log- and journal-keepers give Poverty Bay. G has Poverty Bay, so that Cook must have altered his log as well as the Mitchell draft.

⁴ G 'it affords no fresh water, or at least that we could find or anything else to recommend it.' The present inhabitants of Poverty Bay are rather pained at Cook's description. It is a rich district, but Cook had little chance to become acquainted with it. Cf. Molyneux, 10 October: '... naming this Bay Poverty Bay as it neither Furnish'd us with Provisions or water tho I believe both might be had at the SW side of the Bay where the country seems populous, but it is wild riding for a ship.'

⁵ Called on the chart Tettua-motu—i.e. Te Tua-motu. *Motu*, as in Tahitian, = island.

mentioned at any time of tide in fine weather, but as there is a bar at the entrance on which the sea some times runs so high that no boat can get either in [or] out which happen'd while we lay here, however I beleive that boats can generally land on the NE side of the river. The shore of this bay from a little within each entrance is a low flat sand but this is only a narrow slip, for the face of the Country appears with a variety of hills and vallies all cloathed with woods and Verdure and to all appearence well inhabited especally in the Vallies leading up from the bay where we dayly saw smooks at a great distance in land, and far back in the Country are very high mountains. At Noon the sw Point of Poverty Bay (which I have named *Young Nicks head* after the boy who first saw this land)¹ bore NW distant 3 or 4 Leagues, being at this time about 3 Miles from the shore and had 25 fathom, the Main land extending from NEBN to South.² My intention is to fowlow the direction of the Coast to the Southward as far as the Latitude of 40° or 41° and then to return to the northward in case we meet with nothing to incourage us to proceed farther.

THURSDAY 12th. Gentle breezes at NW and north with frequent calms. In the afternoon while we lay becalm'd several Canoes came off to the Ship but kept at a distance untill one who appear'd to come from a different part came off and put along side at once and after her all the rest. The people in this boat had heard of the treatment those had met we had had on board before and therefore came on board without hesitation. They were all kindly treated and very soon enter'd into a traffick with our people for George Island Cloth &c^a giving in exchange their paddles (having little else to dispose of) and hardly left themselves a Sufficient number to paddle³ a shore, nay the

¹ This is extremely well documented. 'The captain apprehended that we were near land, and promised one gallon of rum to the man who should first discover it by day, and two if he discovered it by night; also, that part of the coast of the said land should be named after him.'—Parkinson, pp. 84–5.—'Nicholas Young one of ye Boys and the Cap^t having Promisd that the first Person that Discoverd the Land should have some Place Nam'd after him.'—Forwood.—'which we Named Nicholas Youngs head he being the first Person who Discoverd this Land.'—Bootie.—'Young Nicks head ... being A Boy, who was the first Person who saw the Land upon this Coast, his Name was Nicholas Young, a boy abt 12 Years of age.'—Molyneux, 152, 19 October. Molyneux in his journal, Adm 55/39, notes Cook's promise was made as early as 30 September. The name of this sharp-sighted youth is not on the muster-roll until 18 April 1769, when he was taken on the books as a supernumerary. Parkinson refers to him as 'the surgeon's boy'. He seems after this voyage to have entered Banks's service; for 'A List of Men belonging to Mr Banks, that were Victualled on board the Resolution from the 8th of Apl 1772 to the 5th June following' (Adm 1/1610/5) includes his name. (See also p. 589 below.) We may guess that he did not consume the whole of the gallon of rum himself. For what was evidently Midshipman Bootie's mature conviction as to his character see Introduction, p. ccxxv above. It has often been stated, as it was by Parkinson (pp. 85–6) that Young Nick's Head was the land first seen, but this was impossible; Nick sighted the high land in the interior.

² Cook first writes after this sentence, but then deletes, 'the southern extremity seem'd to end in a point behind which we had seen no land'.

³ A *paddle the Canoe*.

During our stay in this Bay we had every day more or less traffic with the Natives, they bringing us fish and now and then a few sweet Potatoes and several trifles which we deem'd curiosities for these we gave them cloth, Beeds nails &c^a. The Cloth we got at King Georges Island and Uliatea they Valued more than any thing we could give them and as every one in the Ship were provided with some of this sort of Cloth, I suffer'd every body to purchase what ever they pleased without limitation, for by this means I knew that the natives would not only sell, but get a good price for every thing they brought; this I thought would induce them to bring to market what ever the Country afforded and I have great reason to think that they did, yet it amounted to no more than what is above mention'd. We saw no four footed Animals either tame or wild or signs of any except Dogs and Ratts¹ and these were very scarce especialy the latter, the flesh of the former they eat and ornament their clothing with their skins as we do ours with furs &c^a. While we lay here I went upon some of the Hills in order to view the Country, but when I came there I could see but very little of it, the sight being interrupted by still higher hills; the tops and ridges of the hills are for the most part barren, at least little grows on them but fern. But, the Vallies and sides of many of the Hills were luxuriously clothed with Woods and Verdure and little Plantations of the Natives lying dispers'd up and down the Country.

We found in the woods Trees of above 20 different sorts, specimens of each I took on board as all of them were unknown to any of us: the tree which we cut for fireing was something like Maple and yielded a whitish Gum,² there was another sort of a deep yallow which we imagined might prove usefull in dying.³ We likewise found one Cabbage tree which we cut down for the sake of the Cabbage.⁴ The Country abounds with a great number of Plants and the Woods with as great a Variety of very beautifull Birds, many of them unknown to us. The soil both of the hills and Vallies is light and sandy and very proper for producing all kinds of Roots but we saw only sweet Potatous and Yamms among them; these they plant in little round hills, and have plantations of them containing several Acres

¹ Neither dogs nor rats were endemic but had first been taken to New Zealand by the Maoris from Polynesia; they were important in Maori diet. The so-called Native Rat or *kiore*, thought to be identical with *Rattus exulans* of Fiji, is now almost extinct.

² *Tarata*, *Pittosporum eugenioides*; early colonists called it maple, though its leaf is quite different; now generally known as lemonwood.

³ Possibly the *taupata*, which grows well near the sea; it is one of the coprosmas (*C. retusa*) from which purple and yellow dyes have been obtained; possibly *kakaramu* (*C. robusta*), also the source of a yellow dye.

⁴ The cabbage tree or *ti*, various species of *Cordyline*, which grows magnificently on that hilly coast.

neatly laid out and kept in good order, and many of them are fence'd in with low pailing which can only serve for ornament.¹

MONDAY 30th. PM Little wind and cloudy weather. At 1 Tack'd and stood in shore. At 7 oClock Tolaga Bay bore West North West distant one League. Tacked and lay her head off; had it Calm, untill 2 AM When a breeze sprung up at sw and we made sail to the northward. At 6 Gable end Foreland bore ssw and Tolaga Bay ssw½w distant 3 Leagues. At 8 being about 2 Miles from the shore some Canoes that were out fishing came after the Ship, but we having a fresh of wind they could not come up with us and I did not chuse to wait for them. At Noon latitude in p^r observation 37°49' s, a small Island lying off the northermost land in sight bore N 16° E distant 4 Miles. Course from Tolaga Bay NBE½E distant 13 Leagues. The Land from thence is of a moderate but unequal height forming several small Bays wherein are sandy beaches. Hazy Clowdy weather prevented us from seeing much of the inland country but near the Shore we could see several Villages and Plantations of the Natives. Sounding from 20 to 30 fath^m.

TUESDAY 31st. At half past one PM hauled round the Island above mentioned which lies East one mile from the NE Point of the land, the land from hence trends NWBW and WNW as far as we could see. This Point of land I have called *East Cape*² because I have great reason to think that it is the Eastermost land on this whole Coast, and for the

¹ This stay at Tolaga Bay was useful to Cook beyond the purposes of wooding and watering. The country hereabouts was thickly populated. He picked up a good deal of information about native life (see his rough notes, Appendix III, 6) and his presence on the coast, as that not of an enemy, became known beyond the limits of the bay. Both the land and its inhabitants made a favourable impression: 'The country round about the bay is agreeable beyond description, and, with proper cultivation, might be rendered a kind of second Paradise'—and so on.—Parkinson, p. 97. Anon 1771 has a circumstantial account of 'an officer' (presumably the writer) who, 'rambling about the country', was hospitably received in one village with crayfish, potatoes, and the ministrations of a beautiful young girl, and, on his way back to the watering-place, was carried over all the ditches and rivulets.—pp. 78-9. This writer thinks much less highly of the modesty of the women than does Cook, or indeed any other person who touches on the subject; though Banks found the ladies at Tegadu 'as great coquetts as any Europeans could be & the young ones as skittish as unbroke fillies'. Tupaia was a great success at Tolaga, and children born later were named after him; Banks describes him discussing Polynesian theology with the local experts. Joel Samuel Polack, that entertaining narrator of 'Travels and Adventures', has an account of his visit to Tolaga Bay in 1835, when he saw beads and spike nails which were mementoes of 1769, and heard the anecdotes which had been handed down of 'the illustrious Cook'. . . . 'It has seldom been my lot to fall in with scenery more romantic than I found in this small bay of Opotoumu [Opoutama], enhanced by the cherished associations of the immortal navigator.'—*New Zealand: Being a Narrative of Travels and Adventures* (London 1838), II, pp. 120-36. See also Mackay, op. cit., Chap. VII. Cook does not mention the cavern pierced naturally through the rock that roused Banks and Parkinson to such heights of romantic enthusiasm—not to say exaggeration, it must be confessed by anyone who has been there; but he drew it (perhaps copying Parkinson) and his 'View of the great Natural Arch in Tolaga Bay' (Add. MS 7085.22) was engraved for Hawkesworth, Pl. 17.

² He at first wrote *Cape East*.

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First contact
with Maori
near Tolaga Bay,
New Zealand,
1st voyage

same reason I have called the Island which lays off [f] it *East Island*, it is but of a small circuit high and round and appears white and barren. The Cape is of a moderate height with white Cliffs and lies in the Latitude of $37^{\circ}42'30''$ South and Longitude $181^{\circ}00'$ West from the Meridion of Greenwich.¹

After we had rounded the East Cape we saw as we run along shore a great number of Villages and a great deal of Cultivated land and in general the Country appear'd with more fertillity than what we had seen before, it was low near the sea but hilly inland. At 8 being 8 Leagues to the westward of Cape East and 3 or 4 Miles from the shore shortend sail and brought too for the night having at this time a fresh gale at SSE and Squally weather; but it soon fell Moderate and At 2 AM made sail again to the sw as the land now trended. At 8 saw land which made like an Island bearing west,² at the same time the swermost part of the Main land bore sw.

At 9 Five Canoes came off to us, in one of which were upwards of 40 Men³ all Arm'd with Pikes & c^a from this and other circumstances it fully appear'd that they came with no friendly intention, and I at this time being very busey and had no inclination to stay upon deck to watch their motions, I order'd a grape shot to be fired a little wide of them. This made them pull off a little and then they got together either to consult what to do or to look about them, upon this I order'd a round shot to be fired over their heads which frightend them to that degree that I believe they did not think them selves safe untill they got ashore; this occasion'd our calling the point of land off which this Happen'd *Cape Runaway* (Lat^{de} $37^{\circ}32'$ Long^{de} $181^{\circ}50'$) and 17 or 18 Leagues to the westward of East Cape. Four Leagues to the westward of the East Cape is a Bay which I have named *Hicks's Bay* because Lieut^t Hicks was the first who discover'd it.

[NOVEMBER 1769]

WEDNESDAY November 1st. PM As we stood along shore, (having little wind and Variable) we saw a great deal of Cultivated land laid out in regular inclosures a sure sign that the Country is both fertile

¹ The correct position is given as Lat. $37^{\circ}42'$ S, Long. $178^{\circ}33'$ E, which puts Cook out 27' in longitude.

² White Island, as he names it on 1 November; but if White Island bore west, and the ship was off Cape Runaway (see next paragraph) Cook could not have been sailing SW since 2 a.m. as he says in the previous sentence—or he had made remarkably little progress. His track marked on the chart makes him sail SW from Cape Runaway. He had sailed roughly NW from East Cape to a point about half-way between Hicks Bay and Cape Runaway (where I imagine he brought to for the night), then west at 2 a.m. 'as the land now trended', and south-west from 8 or 9 a.m.

³ in one . . . 40 Men: G one was a verry large one & had not less then 40 or 50 men [in] her.

and well inhabited; some Canoes came off from the Shore but would not come near the Ship. At 8 brought too 3 Miles from the shore, the land seen yesterday bearing west and which we now saw was an Island bore sw¹ distant 8 Leagues. I have named it *white Island* because as such it always appear'd to us. At 5 AM made sail along shore to the sw having little wind at ESE and Clowdy weather. At 8 saw between 40 and 50 Canoes in shore, several of them came off to the Ship and after being about us some time they venterd along side and sold us some Lobster Mussels and two Conger ells.² After these were gone some others came off from a nother place with mussels only and but few of these they thought proper to part with, thinking that they had a right to every thing we handed them into their boats³ without makeing any return. At last the people in one Canoe took away some linnen that was towing over the side which they would not return for all that we could say to them; upon this I fire'd a Musquet ball thro' the boat, and after that another musquet load[ed] with small shott, neither of which they minded, only pull'd off a little and then shook their paddles at us, at which I fired a third musquet and the ball striking the water pretty near them, they immidiatly apply'd their paddles to a nother use, but after they thought themselves out of reach, they got all together and shook again their paddles at us.⁴ I then gave the Ship a yaw and fire'd a four pounder this sent them quite off and we kept on our Course along shore having a light breeze at ESE. At Noon we were in the Latitude of $37^{\circ}45'$, White Island bearing⁵ N 29° West distant 8 Leagues.

THURSDAY 2nd. Gentle breeze from NW round northerly to ESE and fair weather. At 2 PM saw a pretty high Island bearing west from us and at 5 Saw more Islands and Rocks to the westward of it; hauld our wind in order to go without them but finding that we could not weather them before dark bore up and run between them and the main. At 7 was close under the first Island from whence a large double Canoe full of people came off to us, this was the first double Canoe we had seen in this Country. They stayd about the Ship untill

¹ This is an obvious slip for NW.

² The common New Zealand salt water crayfish is *Jasus lalandi*; the common edible mussel of the North Island is *Mytilus canaliculus*; and the Conger Eel is apparently identical with the European species, *Conger conger*. Pickersgill adds circumstance to the story: 'at day light made sail a Long Shore saw about 40 Canoes along Shore 11 or 12 of which came off to the Ship and sold us some Crayfish and mussels the Last of which made some of the People who eat them sick they were very large and had a greenish colour which md some imagine they were Poisonous but this I do not believe as I eat very hearty of them and felt no bad Effect'.

³ M Canoes.

⁴ shook . . . us; G began again there braging.

⁵ White Island bearing is substituted for the following deletion: 'and the Island before mentioned which is called by the Natives Koakhali'. Koakhali = *Ko* [it is] *Whakaari*.

dark then left us, but not before they had thrown a few stones: they told us the name of the Island which was *Mowtohora*,¹ it is but of a small circuit but high and lies 6 Miles from the Main, under the south side is anchorage in 14 fathom water. SWBS from this Island on the main land, seemingly at no great distance from the sea is a high round mountain which I have named *Mount Edgcomb*,² it stands in the middle of a large plane³ which makes it the more conspicuous. Latitude 37°59' Long^d 183°07'. In standing to the westward we shoalden'd our water from 17 to 10 fathom, and knowing that we were not far from some small Islands, and Rocks that we had seen before dark, after passing of which I intended to have brought too for the night, but now I thought it more prudent to tack and spend the night under the Island *Mowtohora* where I knowd there was no danger, and it was well we did for in the morning, after we had made sail to the westward we discover'd ahead of us Rocks level with and under water;⁴ they lay 1½ League from the Island *Mowtohora* and about 9 Miles from the Main and NNE from *Mount Edgcomb*. We pass'd between these rocks and the Main having from 7 to 10 fathom water. The Double Canoe which we saw last night follow'd us again to day under sail and kept abreast of the Ship near an houre talking to *Tupia*, but at last they began to pelt us with stones but upon firing one Musquet they drop'd a stern and left us.⁵ At half past 10 pass'd between a low flat Island⁶ and the Main the distance from one to the other being 4 Miles, depth of water, 10, 12 and 15 fathom. At Noon the Flat Island bore from NE to E½N distant 5 or 6 Miles, Latitude in per Observation 37°39' s Long^d in 183°30'. The Main land between this and the Island of *Mowtohora* which is [10] Leagues⁷ is of a Moder-

¹ Now called Whale Island or Motuhora.

² M. *Edgcombe*, A. *Edgcumbe*. The spelling of this name was an incitement to variety. It has been suggested that the name was given after John Edgcumbe, Cook's sercant of marines; which is not impossible. Two other possible sources are the Mount Edgcumbe at Plymouth—quite a different sort of hill; or—most likely—George Edgcumbe (1721–95) who became Lord Edgcumbe in 1761 and the Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe in 1789. He was a naval officer of some note, who was at the reduction of Louisbourg and Quiberon Bay, and as rear-admiral was commander-in-chief at Plymouth, 1766–70.

³ a large plane substituted for some low flat land. The MS hereabouts has a good deal of deletion and substitution.

⁴ The Rurima rocks.

⁵ Anon 1771 gives a description of this canoc, 'built after the model of those at Otahitee, but carved and decorated according to their own peculiar manner. . . . she carried a sail of an odd construction, which was made from a kind of matting, and of a triangular figure; the hypotheneuse, or broadest part, being placed at the top of the mast, and ending in a point at the bottom. One of its angles was marled to the mast, and another to a spar with which they altered its position according to the direction of the wind, by changing it from side to side.'—p. 82. *Marled*: literally, fastened with marline, a thin two-stranded cord.

⁶ Motunau or Plate Island; it is hollow in the centre.

⁷ The figure 10 is supplied from M; the MS has a blank. A reads simply *which is of a moderate height*.

ate height and all a level flat Country pritty clear of wood and full of Plantations and Villages; the Villages are built upon eminences near the Sea, and are fortified on the land side with a Bank and a Ditch, and Pallisaded all round, besides this some of them appear'd to have out works. We have before now observed on several parts of the Coast small Villages inclosed with Pallisades, and Works of this kind built on eminences and ridges of hills, but *Tupia* hath all along told us that they were Mories or places of Worship, but I rather think that they are places of retreat or Stronghold where they defend themselves against the Attack of an Enimy as some of them seem'd not ill design'd for that purpose.¹

FRIDAY 3rd. PM Fresh gales at NEBE and hazey weather. At 2 pass'd a small high Island lying 4 Miles from a high round head² on the Main, from this head the land trends NW as far as we could see and appear'd to be very rugged and hilly. The weather being very hazey and the wind blowing fresh on Shore, we ha[u]lled off Close upon a a wind for the weathermost Island in sight which bore from us NNE distant 6 or 7 Leagues: Under this Island we spent the night having a fresh gale at NE & NEBE and hazey weather with rain: this Island I have call'd the *Mayor*.

At 7 AM it bore South 47° East distant 6 Leagues and a Cluster of small Islands and Rocks bore N½E distant one League. At this time had a gentle breeze at ENE and clear weather. The cluster of Islands and Rocks just mention'd we named the *Court of*

¹ Cook was a better judge than *Tupia*, but knowing the *marae*-building habits of the Tahitians and Society Islanders, we can follow the working of *Tupia*'s mind. Cook adds to this paragraph, but deletes (perhaps thinking he might have been deceived) the following: 'We saw haled a shore under one of the Villages Canoes which carried a small Owning [Awning] or little Cabbin a thing we have not seen before on this coast'. On the large chart Add. MS 7085.16 there are a number of legends which find no counterpart in the text. Cook's outline of the Bay of Plenty is much more violently indented than one would have thought possible, studying that even shore on the modern map; but it is possible that from his viewpoint parts of the flat shoreline were only imperfectly visible. Over the eastern part of the district he writes 'Much Cultivated Land', which finishes at 'High Land Point' about the position of Whakatane; perhaps Kohi Point, the north-eastern entrance point of the Whakatane River, 522 feet. He was too far off-shore to notice the entrance to the small Ohiwa harbour, just east of Whakatane. Then comes 'Low-Land Bay', north-west of Mount Edgcumbe; then 'Low Land Point' at the north-west end of this bay—perhaps Maketu, where there is actually a slight projection. Then the legend 'Many Fortified Towns', then 'Town Pt.' south of 'Flat Island' (Plate Island). The name 'Town Point' survives, a perpendicular cliff 124 feet high, which then gradually rises to about twice that height; it is 15 miles ESE of Mount Maunganui. Pickersgill (2 November) also describes the appearance of the country: 'here the Land is of a mod^r. hight being an Open Champain country for many miles with some few woods and many large townes one of which we Pass'd by standing near ye sea and is very Large with a fince and Ditch round it and had upward 500 houses'.

² The 'small high Island' is Karewa; the 'high round head' Mount Maunganui. He describes this better in a deleted passage, 'a high round hill standing near the Sea upon a flat sandy beach'.

END
READING

Shoulders but this is not common especially with the men who hardly ever wear any thing about their middles observing no sort of decency in that respect, neither is it at all uncommon for them to go quite naked without any one thing about them besides a belt round their waste to which is generally fasten'd a small string which they tie round the Prepuce. In this manner I have seen hundreds of them come off to and on board the Ship but they generally had their proper cloathing in the boat along with them to put on if it rain'd &c^a. The women on the other hand always wear something round their Middle, generally a short thrum'd Matt which reaches as low as their knees; sometimes indeed I have seen them with only a bunch of grass or Plants before ty'd on with a peice of fine plating made of sweet sented grass;¹ they likewise wear a peice of cloth over their shoulders as the Men do, this is generally of the thrum'd kind. I hardly ever saw a woman weare a peice of the fine cloth. One day a[t] Tolago I saw a strong proff that the women never appear naked at least before strangers. Some of us happen'd to land upon a small Island where several of them were naked in the water gathering² Lobsters and Shell fish. As soon as they saw us some of them hid themselves among the rocks and the rest remain'd in the Sea untill they had made themselves aprons of the Sea weed and even then when they came out to us they shew'd manifest signs of Shame and those who had no method of hiding their nakedness would by no means appear before us. The women have all very soft Voices and may by that alone be known from the men. The makeing of Cloth and all other Domestick work is I beleive wholly done by them and the more labourous work such as build^s Boats, Houses, Tilling the ground, fishing &c^a by the Men.³ Both men and women wear oraments at their ears and about their necks. These are made of Stone, bone, Shells &c^a and are variously shaped, and some I have seen wear human teeth and finger nails and I think we were told that they did belong to thier deceas'd friends. The men when they are dress'd generally wear two or three long white feathers stuck upright in their hair and at Queen Charlottes sound many both men and women wore round Caps made of black feathers.⁴

¹ *karetu* grass.

² AM *gathering of*.

³ It is possible that, as Cook and Banks sometimes use similar phrases, Cook had a look at Banks's description of New Zealand; but if so, Cook knew when a plain seaman should draw back—as from Banks's flight on this theme: 'They are like those of the fair sex that I have seen in other countries, more lively, airy & laughter loving than the men & have more volatile spirits, form'd by nature to soften the Cares of more serious man who takes upon [him] the laborious toilsome part as War, tilling the Ground &c. That disposition appears even in this uncultivated state of nature, shewing in a high degree that as well in unciviliz'd as the most polish'd nations Mans ultimate happiness must at last be plac'd in Woman'. Even Hawkesworth boggled at this: or possibly he just did not have room.

⁴ See p. 247, n. 4 above.

The old men are much respected by the younger who seem to be governed and dere[c]ted by them on most occasions. We at first thought that they were united under one head or chief whose name is *Teeratu*.¹ We first heard of him in Poverty Bay and he was own'd as Chief by every one we met with from *Cape Kidnappers* to the Northward and westward as far as the *Bay of Plenty* which is a great extent of territory for an Indian prence: when we were upon the East coast they always pointed inland to the westward for the place of his residence which I beleive to be in the Bay of Plenty, and that those Hippas or fortified towns are barrier towns² either for or against him but most likely the former, and if so may be the utmost extent of his dominions to the westward; for at Mercury Bay they did not own him as their prince nor no where else either to the westrd or Southward or any other single person, for at whatever place we put in at or whatever people we spoke with upon the Coast they generally told us that those that were at a little distance from them were their enimies; from which it appear'd to me that they were very much divided into parties which make war one with another, and all their actions and beheavour towards us tended to prove that they are a brave open warlike people and voide of treachery.

When ever we were Visited by any number of them that had never heard or seen any thing of us before they generally came off in the largest Canoes they had, some of which will carry 60, 80 or 100 people, they always brought their best close^s along with them which they put on as soon as they came near the Ship. In each Canoe were generally an Old man, in some two or three; these use'd always to dire[c]t the others, were better Clothed and generally carried a halbard⁴ or battle ax in their hands or some such like thing that distinguished them from the others. As soon as they came within about a stones throw of the Ship they would there lay and call out *Haromai hareuta a patoo age*,⁵ that is come here, come a shore with us and we will kill you with our patoo patoo's, and at the same time would shake them at us, at times they would dance the war dance, and other times they would trade with and talk to us and answer such questions as were put to them with all the Calmness emaginable and then again begin the war dance, shaking their paddles patoo patoo's &c^a and make strange contorsions at the same time, and as soon as they had worked themselves up to a proper pitch they would begin

¹ See Introduction, pp. cli-iii above.

² This was an excellent guess. The fortified pa might quite truly often be regarded as a 'barrier town'.

³ AMG *Cloaths*.

⁴ M *Halburt*, G *halboard*.

⁵ *Haere mai, haere ki uta hei patu ake*: lit., Come here, come to shore to be 'patu-ed'.

to attack us with stones and darts and oblige us whether we would or no to fire upon them. Musquetry 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, opportunities 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 enimies 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 supposition 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 powered by number would have surrender'd themselves prisoners 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 fowl 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*: *Haliotis* 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.

Noon we were by observation in the Latitude of $34^{\circ}21'$, Red Point bearing s 27 w distant 3 Leagues. In this situation we were about 4 or 5 Miles from the land which extended from s $19^{\circ}30'$ West to North 29° East.

 **First contact with Gweagal at Botany Bay, Australia, 1st voyage** SATURDAY 28th. In the PM hoisted out the Pinnace and yawl in order to attempt a landing but the Pinnace took in the water so fast that she was obliged to be hoisted in again to stop her leaks. At this time we saw several people a Shore four of whome were carrying a small boat or Canoe which we imagined they were going to put into the water in order to come off to us but in this we were mistaken. Being now not above two Miles from the Shore M^r Banks D^r Solander Tupia and my self put off in the yawl and pull'd in for the land to a place where we saw four or five of the natives who took to the woods as we approachd the Shore, which disapointed us in the expectation we had of geting a near view of them if not to speak to them; but our disapointment was heighten'd when we found that we no where could effect a landing by reason of the great surff which beat every where upon the shore.¹ We saw hauld up upon the beach 3 or 4 small Canoes which to us appear'd not much unlike the small ones of New Zeland, in the woods were several trees of the Palm kind² and no under wood and this was all we were able to observe from the boat after which we returnd to the Ship about 5 in the evening. At this time it fell calm and we were not above a mile and a half from shore in a 11 fathom water and within some breakers that lay to the southward of us, but luckily a light breeze came off from the land which carried us out of danger and with which we stood to the northward. At day light in the morning we discoverd a Bay which appeard to be tollerably well shelterd from all winds into which I resolvod to go with the Ship and with this view sent the Master in the Pinnace to sound the entrance while we kept turning up with the Ship haveing the wind right out. At Noon the entran[c]e bore NNW distance 1 Mile.

SUNDAY 29th. In the PM winds southerly clear weather with which we stood into the bay and Anchor'd under the South shore about 2 Mile within the entrence in 6 fathoms water, the south point bearing SE and the north point East.³ Saw as we came in on both points of the

¹ The place of this attempted landing has been worked out as near the present Bulli, the beach north of Five Islands and near the entrance to Tom Thumb Lagoon or Lake Illawarra.—*Hist. Rec. N.S.W.*, I, Part I, p. 214, n. 1.

² Probably the great Cabbage Palm, *Livistona australis*, common on that part of the coast, though it flourishes most freely in the valleys and ravines of tropical Australia.

³ This was at Kurnell (native Kundel). The south or south-west head Cook called on the chart Point Solander, the north or north-east one, Cape Banks.

bay Several of the natives and a few hutts, Men, women and children on the south shore abreast of the Ship, to which place I went in the boats in hopes of speaking with them¹ accompanied by M^r Banks D^r Solander and Tupia; as we approached the shore they all made off except two Men who seemd resolved to oppose our landing. As soon as I saw this I orderd the boats to lay upon their oars in order to speake to them but this was to little purpose for neither us nor Tupia could understand one word they said. We then threw them some nails beads &c^a a shore which they took up and seem'd not ill pleased in so much that I thout that they beckon'd to us to come a shore; but in this we were mistaken, for as soon as we put the boat in they again came to oppose us upon which I fired a musket between the two which had no other effect than to make them retire back where bundles of thier darts lay, and one of them took up a stone and threw at us which caused my firing a second Musquet load with small shott, and altho some of the shott struck the man yet it had no other effect than to make him lay hold of a Shield or target to defend himself.² Emmidiately after this we landed³ which we had no sooner done than they throw'd two darts at us, this obliged me to fire a third shott soon after which they both made off, but not in such haste but what we might have taken one, but M^r Banks being of opinion that the darts were poisoned, made me cautious how I advanced into the woods. We found here a few Small hutts made of the bark of trees in one of which were four or five small children with whome we left some strings of beads &c^a. A quantity of darts lay about the hutts these we took away with us. Three Canoes lay upon the bea[c]h the worst I think I ever saw, they were about 12 or 14 feet long made of one peice of the bark of a tree drawn or tied up at each end and the middle kept open by means of peices of sticks by way of Thwarts.

After searching for fresh water without success except a little in a small hole dug in the sand, we embarqued and went over to the north point of the bay w[h]ere in coming in we saw several people, but when we now landed there were no body to be seen. We found here some fresh water which came trinkling down and stood in pools among the rocks; but as this was troblesome to come at I sent a party of men a shore in the morning to the place where we first landed to dig holes in the sand by which means and a small stream

¹ in the boats . . . them; A with the Boat.

² to make . . . himself, M making him lay hold on a target. The additional words in the text are interlinear.

³ Both Mrs Cook and Isaac Smith, in his later years as an admiral, were fond of telling their young friends how Cook, on the point of stepping ashore, said 'Isaac, you shall land first', and himself followed. There seems no reason to doubt the tradition they installed.

they found fresh water sufficient¹ to water the ship. The strings of beads &c^a we had left with the children last night were found laying in the hut this morning, probably the natives were afraid to take them away. After breakfast we sent some empty casks ashore and a party of men to cut wood and I went myself in the Pinnace to sound and explore the Bay, in the doing of which I saw several of the natives but they all fled at my approach. I landed in two places one of which the people had but just left, as there were small fires and fresh muscles broiling upon them—here likewise lay vast heaps of the largest oyster shells I ever saw.²

MONDAY 30th. As soon as the wooders and waterers were come on board to dinner 10 or 12 of the natives came to the watering place and took away there canoes that lay there but did not offer to touch any one of our Casks that had been left ashore, and in the afternoon 16 or 18 of them came boldly up to within 100 yards of our people at the watering place and there made a stand. Mr Hicks who was the officer ashore did all in his power to entice them to him by offering them presents &c^a but it was to no purpose, all they seem'd to want was for us to be gone. After staying a short time they went away. They were all arm'd with darts and wooden swords,³ the darts have each four prongs and pointed with fish bones, those we have seen seem to be intend[ed] more for striking fish than offensive weapons neither are they poisoned as we at first thought. After I had returned from sounding the bay I went over to a Cove on the north side where in 3 or 4 hauls with the seine we caught above 300 pounds weight of fish which I caused to be equally divided among the Ships Company. In the AM I went in the Pinnace to sound and explore the North side of the bay where I neither met with inhabitants or any thing remarkable. Mr Green took the Sun's Meridian Altitude a little with[in] the south entrance of the bay which gave the Latitude 34° 0' S.

[MAY 1770]

TUESDAY 1st. Gentle breezes northerly. In the PM ten of the natives again visited the watering place. I being on board at this time went immediately ashore but before I got there they were going away, I

¹ by which means . . . sufficient. In A this is altered by Cook to read *but searching more narrowly than we had done they found a small stream of fresh Water more than sufficient*. . . Cook's Sketch of Botany Bay, Add. MS 7085.40, marks 'Fresh Water' in six places. See Chart XXII.

² At the end of this paragraph Cook wrote, but deleted, the sentence, 'I likewise saw of the oysters themselves as I rowed over the shoals but being high-water I could not get any having nothing with me to take them up.' It is not in any of the other MSS. They were probably the Common Mud Oyster, *Ostrea sinuata*.

³ wooden swords—throwing sticks; see pp. 395-6 below.

follow'd them alone and unarm'd some distance along the shore but they would not stop until they got farther off than I choose to trust myself; these were arm'd in the same manner as those that came yesterday. In the evening I sent some hands to haul the Seine but they caught but a very few fish. A little after sun rise I found the Variation to be 11° 3' East. Last night Torby¹ Sutherland seaman departed this life and in the AM his body was buried ashore at the watering place which occasioned my calling the south point of this Bay after his name.² This morning a party of us went ashore to some huts not far from the watering place where some of the natives are daily seen, here we left several articles such as Cloth, Looking glasses, Combs, Beads Nails &c^a. After this we made an excursion into the country which we found diversified with woods, Lawns³ and Marshes; the woods are free from underwood of every kind and the trees are at such a distance from one another that the whole Country or at least great part of it might be cultivated without being oblig'd to cut down a single tree; we found the soil every where except in the Marshes to be a light white sand and produceth a quantity of good grass which grows in little tufts about as big as one can hold in ones hand and pretty close to one another, in this manner the surface of the ground is coated in the woods between the trees.⁴ Dr Solander had a bad⁵ sight of a small Animal some thing like a rabbit⁶ and we found the dung of an Animal which must feed upon grass and which we judged could not be less than a deer,⁷ we also saw the track of a dog or some such like Animal.⁸ We met with some huts and places where the natives had been and at our first setting out one of them was seen the others I suppose had fled upon our approach. I saw some trees that had been cut down by the natives with some sort of a blunt instrument and several trees that were barked the bark of which had been cut by the same Instrument, in many of the trees, especially the palms, were cut steps about 3 or 4 feet asunder for the convenience of climbing them. We found 2 sorts of Gum one sort of which is like

¹ The initial T is very clearly written, but must be a slip: the man's name was Forby. AM Forby, G Toby.

² which occasioned . . . name: deleted in M, but in A and G. Cf. p. 304, n. 3 above. This is the inside point of the head of which Point Solander is the outer. Sutherland died 'of Consumption with which he had been Afflicted ever since our departure from Streights le Maire'.—Pickersgill.

³ That is, in the earlier sense of stretches of untilled ground or grass-land.

⁴ The last four lines have Cook's punctuation. M is unpunctuated and Wharton prints . . . in this manner the Surface of the Ground is Coated. In the woods between the Trees Dr. Solander had' &c.—which would be possible.

⁵ M bare.

⁶ Australia was not yet cursed with rabbits. The small animal, one of the smaller marsupials, is not identifiable.

⁷ A kangaroo.

⁸ Probably a dingo.

Gum Dragon and is the same as I suppose Tasman took for gum lac, it is extracted from the largest tree in the woods.¹

WEDNESDAY 2d. Between 3 and 4 o'Clock in the PM we returned out of the Country and after dinner went ashore to the watering place where we had not been long before 17 or 18 of the natives appeared in sight.² In the morning I had sent Mr Gore with a boat up to the head of the bay to dredge for oysters; in his return to the ship he and another person came by land and met with these people who followed him at the distance of 19 or 20 yards; when ever Mr Gore made a Stand and faced them they stood also and not withstanding they were all armed they never offered to attack him, but after he had parted from them and they were met by Dr Munkhouse and one or two more who upon making a sham retreat they threw'd 3 darts after them, after which they began to retire. Dr Solander, I, and Tupia made all the haste we could after them but could by neither words nor actions prevail upon them to come near us. Mr Gore saw some up the bay who by signs invited him ashore which he prudently declined. In the AM had the wind at SE with rain which prevented me from making an excursion up to the head of the Bay as I intended.

THURSDAY 3rd. Winds at SE a gentle breeze and fair weather. In the PM I made a little excursion along the Sea Coast to the southward accompanied by Mr Banks and Dr Solander. At our first entering the woods we saw 3 of the natives who made off as soon as they saw us; more of them were seen by others of our people who likewise made off as soon as they found they were discovered. In the AM I went in the Pinnace to the head of the Bay accompanied by Drs Solander and Munkhouse in order to examine the Country and to try to form some Connections with the natives: in our way thither we met with 10 or 12 of them fishing each in a small Canoe who retired in to shoal water upon our approach, others again we saw at the first place we landed at who took to their Canoes and fled before we came near them: after this we took water and went almost to the head of the inlet where we landed and travelled some distance inland. We found the face of the Country much the same as I have before described

¹ Cook's first encounter with those typical Australian nationals, the *Eucalyptus* or 'gum-tree' family, some of which grow to an enormous size. Gum-dragon or tragacanth exuded from the tragacanth shrub, or any of the species of *Astragalus*, with a respectable classical ancestry; Tasman, on the coast of Van Diemen's Land or Tasmania, would naturally think of gum-lac, the dark-red resinous gum used in the East as a scarlet dye, and the raw material of shellac.

² '... at 5 D° [p.m.] abt 17 Indians came to our party Armed with Launces & Wooding [wooden?] Swords, 2 of them advanced and talked much in an unknown Tongue I believe the purport was either commanding us to go away or daring to single Combat.'—Hicks, Turnbull MS. Anon 1771 also got the idea of single combat into his head.

but the land much richer, for in stead of sand I found in many places a deep black Soil which we thought was capable of producing any kind of grain, at present it produceth besides timber as fine meadow as ever was seen.¹ However we found it not all like this, some few places were very rocky but this I believe to be uncommon; the stone is sandy and very proper for building &c^a. After we had sufficiently examined this part we returned to the boat and seeing some smook and Canoes at another part we went thither in hopes of meeting with the people but they made off as we approached. There were Six Canoes and Six small fires near the shore and Muscles roasting upon them and a few Oysters laying near, from this we conjectured that there had been just Six people who had been out each in his Canoe picking up the Shell fish and come ashore to eat them where each had made his fire to dress them by; we tasted of their cheer and left them in return strings of beads &c^a. Near to this place at the foot of a tree was a small well or Spring of water.² The day being now far spent we set out on our return to the Ship.

FRIDAY 4th. Winds Northerly serene weather. Upon my return to the Ship in the evening I found that none of the natives had appeared near the watering place but about 20 of them had been fishing in their Canoes at no great distance from us. In the AM as the wind would not permit us to sail I sent out some parties into the Country to try to form some Connections with the natives. One of the Midshipmen met with a very old man and woman and two small Children; they were close to the water side where several more were in their canoes gathering shell fish and he being alone was afraid to make any stay with the two old people lest he should be discovered by those in the Canoes. He gave them a bird he had shot which they would not touch neither did they speak one word but seemed to be much frightened, they were quite naked even the woman had nothing to

¹ This passage, like that of 1 May above describing the soil as 'a light white sand' suitable for cultivation, has caused Australian historians and admirers of Cook some distress. About the cultivation he certainly spoke loosely, but he was thinking of the freedom from underwood and from the necessity of felling trees (the great initial task of settlers in, e.g., North America) rather than of the nature of the soil. The 'deep black soil' could not be found by the men of the first settlement, and Governor Phillip lost no time in moving to Port Jackson; but it seems that they looked in the wrong place—at the mouth of the stream known as Cook's River, where there is not meadow but a bog; at the head of the bay reached by rowing up its south shore, on the other hand, there is good soil on George's River near Sans Souci—in fact, to quote Captain King in 1788, 'an exceedingly fine black mould, with . . . very rich grass'. See G. Arnold Wood, *The Voyage of the Endeavour* (Sydney 1926), and C. H. Bertie, 'Captain Cook and Botany Bay', in R.A.H.S. *Journal and Proceedings*, X (1925), pp. 266–74. After the disappointment of the 1788 expedition Cook as a reporter came in for some animadversions, but it must be remembered that it was not Cook, but Banks, who sent the convicts to Botany Bay. Cf. Pickersgill, 5 May: 'The Country is very rich and fertile and has a fine Appearance.'

² near to . . . water, an interpolation and not in M. AG *Fresh water*.

cover her nuditie. Dr Munkhouse and a nother man being in the woods not far from the watering place discoverd Six more of the natives who at first seemd to wait his coming but as he was going up to them had¹ a dart thrown at him out of a tree which narrowly escaped him, as soon as the fellow had thrown the dart he desended the tree and made off and with him all the rest and these were all that were met with in the Course of this day.

→
END
READING

SATURDAY 5th. In the PM I went with a party of Men over to the North shore and while some hands were hauling the Saine a party of us made an excursion of 3 or 4 Miles into the Country or rather along the Sea Coast. We met with nothing remarkable, great part of the Country for some distance in land from the sea Coast is mostly a barren heath diversified with marshes and Morasses. Upon our return to the Boat we found they had caught a great number of small fish which the sailors call leather Jackets² on account of their having a very thick skin, they are known in the West Indias. I had sent the yawl in the morning to fish for *sting rays* who return'd in the evening with upwards of 4 hundred weight; one single one wieghd 240 lb exclusive of the entrails.³ In the AM as the wind still continued northerly I sent the yawl again afishing and I went with a party of Men into the Country but met with nothing extraordinary.

SUNDAY 6th. In the evening the yawl return'd from fishing having caught two Sting rays weighing near 600 pounds. The great quantity of New Plants &c^a Mr Banks & Dr Solander collected in this place occasioned my giving it the name of *Botany Bay*.⁴ It is situated in the Latitude of 34° 0' s, Longitude 208° 37' West; it is Capacious safe and

¹ M he had, he inserted by Cook.

² *Cantherines* sp.

³ It was Gore who got the sting-rays. '... on our return to the ship we found also that our 2nd lieutenant who had gone out striking had met with great success, he had observd that the large stingrays of which there are abundance in the bay followd the flowing tide into very shallow water, he therefore took the opportunity of flood & struck several in not more than 2 or 3 feet water.'—Banks. Gore, it seems, thoroughly enjoyed this sort of employment. Hicks, giving variety to the story, refers to the fish as skate (Turnbull MS, 4-6 May). Parkinson (p. 135) says, 'They tasted very much like the European rays, and the viscera had an agreeable flavour, not unlike stewed turtle'. According to his drawing they were *Dasyatis brevicaudatus*.

⁴ For a discussion of the text on the naming of the bay see Introduction, p. ccix. Cf. Cook's log, Add. MS 27885, 6 May, 'The yawl return'd from fishing having caught two sting rays whose weight was near 600 lb. The great quantity of these sort of fish found in this place occasioned my giving it the name of *Sting ray's harbour*'. This name is also inserted in a blank in the log entry for 29 April. The successive names tried in this spot in the MS are Sting-Rays Harbour, Botanist Harbour, Botanist Bay, Botany Bay. M erases and copies the final version, but omits *New* before *Plants*. A and G have the final version. The other logs and journals have Stingray, Anon 1771 Stingray, Parkinson Botany; Grey MS 51 Botanists altered to Botany, and two running heads Botanists. Some MS charts Stingray (Pickersgill, Hydrographic Dept. 541/2, Stingerray), but Cook's fair copies Add. MS 7085-34, 35 and 40 Botany.

commodious, it¹ may be known by the land on the Sea-coast which is of a pretty even and moderate height, rather higher than it is farther inland with steep rocky cliffs next the Sea and looks like a long Island lying close under the Shore: the entrance of the harbour² lies about the Middle of this land, in coming from the Southward it is discoverd before you are abreast of it which you cannot do in coming from the northward; the entrance is little more than a Mile³ broad and lies in WNW. To sail into it keep the south shore on board untill within a small bare Island which lies close under the north shore,⁴ being within that Island the deepest⁵ water is on that side 7, 6 and five fathom a good way up. There is shoal'd water a good way off from the South Shore from the inner South point qu[i]te to the head of the harbour, but over towards the north and nw shore is a channell of 12 or 14 feet water at low water 3 or 4 leagues up to a place where there is 3 & 4 f^m but here I found very little fresh water. We anchored near the south shore about a Mile within the entrance for the conveniency of sailing with a Southerly wind and the geting of fresh water but I afterwards found a very fine stream of fresh water on the north shore in the first sandy cove within the Island before which a Ship might lay almost land lock'd and wood for fual may be got every where: altho wood is here in great plenty yet there is very little variety, the largest trees are as large or larger than our oaks in England and grows a good deal like them and yeilds a redish gum, the wood itself is heavy hard and black like *Lignum Vitae*;⁶ another sort that grows tall and strait some thing like Pines, the wood of this is hard and Ponderous and something of the nature of American live oaks,⁷ these two are all the timber trees I met with. There are a few sorts of Shrubs and several Palm trees, and Mangroves about the head of the harbour. The Country is woody low and flat as far inland as we could see and I believe that the soil is in general sandy, in the wood are a variety of very boutifull birds such as Cocatoo's, Lorryquets, Parrots &c^a and Crows⁸ exactly like those we have in England. Water fowl are no less plenty about the head of the harbour where there are large flats of sand and Mud on which they seek their food,

¹ A &, altered by Cook.

² M deleted and Bay substituted by Cook.

³ He first wrote a *quarter of a Mile*, which M retains.

⁴ Bare Islet.

⁵ M *deepest of*, of inserted by Cook.

⁶ In spite of Cook's reference to a reddish gum, this can hardly be a eucalypt. He may be describing the Blackbean, *Castanospermum australe*; or the tree commonly called *Lignum-vitae* in Australia, *Vitex lignum-vitae*. Both of these have dark-coloured heart-woods when freshly-cut; but the latter is more characteristic of the northern coast of New South Wales than of the area about Botany Bay.

⁷ We may infer one of the casuarinas, probably the River Oak, *Casuarina cunninghamiana*.

⁸ The South Australian Crow, *Corvus coronoides coronoides*. There are many Australian species of the other birds mentioned.

SUNDAY 15th. Gentle breezes at SE and East. In the PM got on board the spare sails and sundry other Articles. In the AM as the People did not work upon the Ship one of the Petty officers was disireous of going out to catch turtle; I let him have the Pinnace for that purpose and sent the long boat to haul the Sain who caught about 60 pounds of fish. Today we din'd of the animal shott yesterday & thought it excellent food.¹

MONDAY 16th. Fore and latter parts gentle breezes at ENE, in the night had light airs & Calm. In the Evening the yawl came in with 4 turtle and a large sting-ray and soon after went out again but the Pinnace did not return as I expected. In the AM employ'd geting on board the Cables. At the same time I went upon one of the high hill[s] on the north side of the River from which I had an extensive view of the inland country which consisted of hills vallies and large planes agreeably deversified with woods and lawns.

TUESDAY 17th. Wind at SE a fresh breeze. People employ'd as yesterday and seting up the rigging. In the evening the Pinnace returnd with three turtle, two of which the Yawl caught and sent in. At 7^h 41' 17" PM Observed the first Satillite of Jupiter to Emerge; the same Emersion happen'd at Greenwich at 10^h 00' 52" in the AM, the difference is 14° 19' 35" = to 214° 53' 45" of Longitude.² The observation made on the 29th of last month gave 214° 42' 30", the mean is 214° 48' 7½" which this place is west of Greenwich.

WEDNESDAY 18th. Winds at ESE a gentle breeze. In the PM I sent the Master and one of the mates in the Pinnace to the northward to look for a Channell that way clear of the shoals. M^r Banks, D^r Solander and my self took a turn into the woods on the other side of the water where we met with five of the natives and altho we had not seen any of them before they came to us without shewing the least signs of fear, two of these wore necklaces made of shells which they seem'd to Value as they would not part with them. In the evening the yawl came in with three turtle and early in the AM she went out again. About 8 oClock we were viseted by several of the natives who now became more familiar then ever. Soon after this M^r Banks and I went over to the south³ side of the River and travel'd six or 8 Miles along shore to the northward, where we assended a high hill from

14 July, after Orton had made his first copy; but Banks says the weight of the animal was 38 lb. This was quite likely the young Great Grey Kangaroo, the skull of which was given by Banks to John Hunter and preserved in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons until destroyed in the second World War.

¹ This sentence interlinear and not in M.

² In A the time of emersion at Greenwich is given as 20h 00' 52".

³ south presumably a slip for north.

whence we had an extensive view of the Sea Coast to leward; [which] afforded us a Meloncholy prospect of the difficultys we are [to] incounter, for in what ever direction we turn'd our eys Shoals inum[erale] were to be seen.¹ After this we return'd to the Ship without meeting with any thing remarkable and found several of the natives on board; at this time we had 12 Turtle² upon our decks which they took more notice of then any thing else in the ship, as I was told by the officers for their curiosity was satisfied before I got on board and they went away soon after.

THURSDAY 19th. Gentle breezes at SE and fair weather. Employ'd geting every thing in readiness for sea. In the AM we were viseted by 10 or 11 of the natives, the most of them came from the other side of the River where we saw six or seven more the most of them women and like the men quite naked; those that came on board were very desirous of having some of our turtle and took the liberty to haul two to the gang way to put over the side, being disapointed in this they grew a little troublesome and were for throwing every thing over board they could lay their hands upon; as we had no victuals dress'd at this time I offer'd them some bread to eat, which they rejected with scorn as I believe they would have done any thing else excepting turtle. Soon after this they all went a shore, M^r Banks my self and five or six of our people being a shore at the same time; emmediatly upon their landing one of them took a handfull of dry grass and lighted it at a fire we had a shore, and before we well know'd what he was going about he made a large circuit round about us and set fire to the grass in his way and in an Instant the whole place was in flames, luckily at this time we had hardly any thing ashore besides the forge and a sow with a Litter of young pigs one of which was scorched to death in the fire. As soon as they had done this they all went to a place where some of our people were washing and where all our nets and a good deal of linnen were laid out to dry, here with the greatest obstinacy³ they again set fire to the grass which I and some others who were present could not prevent, untill I was obliged to fire a musquet load[ed] with small shott at one of the ri[n]g leaders which sent them off. As we were apprised of this last attempt of theirs we got the fire out before it got head, but the first spread like wild fire in the woods

¹ to leward . . . seen not in M, which copies Cook's first version, *which was covered with shoals as far as the eye could see*. He had again been looking at Banks's journal. He seems to have deleted *which* by mistake; for in A he inserts *it* to fill the logical gap (the other square brackets denote trimmed-off letters). Wharton prints an amalgam of the two versions. The 'high hill' was evidently Indian Head, 1124 feet.

² M *tortoise* or *Turtle*. Cook first wrote *tortoisés* simply, and by a rather involved process of alternative and deletion reached *Turtle*.

³ A omits, and *expedition* is written in, but not in Cook's hand.

and grass. Notwithstanding my firing, in which one must have been a little hurt because we saw a few drops of blood on some of the linnen he had gone over, they did not go far from us for we soon after heard their Voices in the woods; upon which M^r Banks and I and 3 or 4 More went to look for them and very soon met them coming towards us. As they had each 4 or 5 darts a piece and not knowing their intention we seized upon six or seven of the first darts we met with, this alarmed them so much that they all made off and we followd them for near half a Mile and than set down and call'd to them and they stoped also; after some little unintelligible conversation had pass'd they lay down their darts and came to us in a very friendly manner; we now returnd the darts we had taken from them which reconciled every thing. There were 4 strangers among them that we had not seen before and these were interduced to us by name by the others: the man which we suppos'd to have been struck with small shott was gone off but he could not be much hurt as he was at a great distance when I fired. They all came along with us abreast of the ship where they stay'd a short time and then went away, and soon after set the woods on fire about a Mile and a half and¹ two miles from us.

FRIDAY 20th. Fresh breezes at SE and fair weather. In the PM got every thing on board the Ship, new birth'd her and let her swing with the tide. In the night the Master return'd with the Pinnace and reported that there was no safe passage for the Ship to the northward. At low-water in the AM I went and sounded and buoy'd the bar, being now ready to put to sea the first opportunity.

SATURDAY 21st. Strong breezes at SE and Cloudy weather. In the PM sent a boat to haul the sain which return'd with as much fish as came to 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ lb a man. The yawl return'd with only one turtle which was caught in the nett for it blew too hard for the boat to strike any. In the morning I sent her out again but she was obliged to return not being able to get to windward. Carpenters employ'd in repairing the boats and overhauling the pumps and as the wind would not permit us to sail I sent the boatswain with some hands a shore makeing² rope and a petty officer with two men to gather greens for the Ships company.

SUNDAY 22^d. Fresh breezes at SE and ESE. Employ'd as yesterday. In the AM as the wind would not permit us to sail I sent the yawl out to catch turtle;³ in opening one to day we found sticking thro' both

¹ AMG or.

² I . . . turtle, M sent the Turtles out again.

³ M to make, alteration by Cook.

shoulder bones a wooden harpoon or turtle peg 15 Inches long bearded¹ at the end such as we have seen among the natives, this proves to a demonstration that they strike turtle, I suppose at the time they come ashore to lay their Eggs for they certainly have no boat fit to do this at sea or that will carry a turtle and this harpoon must have been a good while in as the wound was quite heald up.

MONDAY 23rd. Fresh breezes in the SE quarter which so long as it continues will confine us in port. Yesterday in the AM I sent some people into the Country to gather greens, one of which straggled from the rest and met with four of the natives by a fire on which they were broiling a fowl and the hind leg of one of the animals before spoke of, he had prescience of mind not to run from them (being unarm'd) least they should persue him, but went and sit down by them and after he had sit a little while and they had felt his hands and other parts of his body they suffer'd him to go away without offering the least insult, and perceiving that he did not go right for the ship they directed him which way he should go.²

END
READING

TUESDAY 24th. Winds and weather continues the same. Employ'd making rope, caulking the Ship, fishing &c³.

WEDNESDAY 25th. Fresh gales at SE and fair weather. In the evening the yawl came in having not been able to strike one turtle on account of the blowing weather nor can we catch much fish with the sain in the harbour.³

THURSDAY 26th. Winds and weather as yesterday. Such people as can be spared from the necessary duties of the Ship are employ'd fishing and gat[h]ering greens and other refreshments.

FRIDAY 27th. Very fresh gales at SEBS and fair weather. In the AM caught in the sain as much fish as came to⁴ $\frac{3}{4}$ lb a man and M^r Gore shott one of the Animals before spoke of which weighed 80 lb and 54 exclusive of the entrails, skin and head, this was as large as the most we have seen.⁵

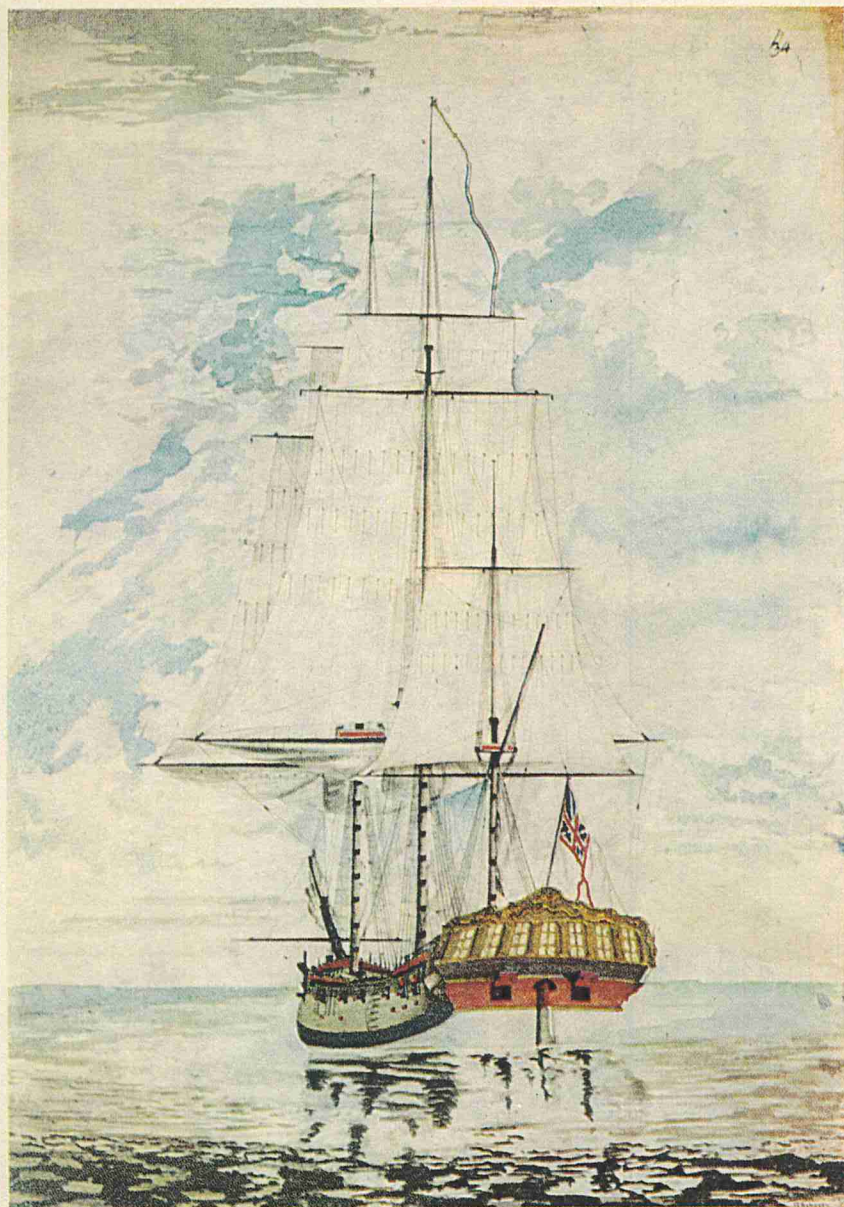
¹ The word is carefully written, but one cannot know whether he means *barbed* or *bearded*. A *bearded*, M *burded*, G *bearded*.

² *he should go*, AM *to go*.

³ ' . . . boild Cabbage (of the Cabbage Tree) in the Pease'.—Bootie. Similarly on later dates.

⁴ *came to*, M *servd*.

⁵ Banks records dining next day upon 'the animal, who eat but ill, he was I suppose too old'. A very small one, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb, was killed on the 29th: 'My greyhound took him with ease tho the old ones were much too nimble for him'. The animal which Gore shot is thought to have been a Wallaroo, *Macropus robustus*, subspecies indeterminable. A skull drawn by Nathaniel Dance is quite possibly the skull of this one. Those curious in kangaroos will find an interesting discussion in T. C. S. Morrison-Scott and F. C. Sawyer, *The Identity of Captain Cook's Kangaroo* (Bull. of B.M. [N.H.], Zoology, I, No. 3, London 1950).



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

J. C. BEAGLEHOLE

CAMBRIDGE

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West). Having no time to loose to attempt a landing altho' this seemed Practical on the NW side, we reassumed our course to the West. In the night had a few hours Calm which was succeeded by a fresh trade wind at SE attended with some showers of rain.

SATURDAY 25th. Winds SE. Course S 79° W. Dist. Sailed 119 Miles. Lat. South 19°52'. West Longd. Greenwich Reck.g. 162°26' Watch 162°26'. West Longd. Ulietea 10°47'. Fresh gales and Clowdy with some flying showers. To day we began again to use of our Sea Bisket, the fruit which has served as a substitute (viz Plantans and Bananoes) Sence our arrival at Otaheite being all expended, but our stock of Pork still continues each man having as much every day as he can consume. Swell from SSE.

SUNDAY 26th. Winds SEBE. Course S 73° W. Dist. Sailed 107 Miles. Lat. South 20°23'. West Longd. Greenwich Reck.g. 164°15'. West Longd. Ulietea 12°36'. Fresh gales and Clowdy with some few sho[we]rs of rain. Saw some Tropic Birds and a Small Sea Bird which by choise we believe cannot go far from land.¹ A great Swell in the direction of the Wind.

MONDAY 27th. Winds ESE. Course S 81° W. Dist. Sailed 110 Miles. Lat. South 20°40'. West Longd. Greenwich Reck.g. 166°12'. West Longd. Ulietea 14°33'. Var. 11°41' E. Fresh gales and fair weather. Saw some Tropic Birds.²

TUESDAY 28th. Winds ESE. Course S 80° W. Dist. Sailed 130 Miles. Lat. South 21°3'. West Longd. Greenwich Reck.g. 168°29'. West Longd. Ulietea 16°50'. Fresh trade and pleasent Weather & Moon light most part of the night.

WEDNESDAY 29th. Winds E & ESE. Course S 76½° W. Dist. Sailed 110 Miles. Lat. South 21°29'. West Longd. Greenwich Reck.g. 170°18' Watch 170°18'. West Longd. Ulietea 18°38'. Var. 10°45'. Gentle Trade and pleasent weather. Swell as before.

Tuamotus, possibly Niau, the approximate position of which is lat. 16°15' S, long. 145°20' W —well to the east and north of the Herveys. Quiros's discoveries anywhere near the latitude of these islands did lie about 17 or 18 degrees to the east. Wallis may have seen one of them, but he certainly did not see La Dezena-Niau; his landfalls, apart from Mehetia, were to the south and east. For Dalrymple's chart, see I, p. cxciii, Fig. 18.

¹ by choise . . . land: is seldom seen but about the shores of the isles.—f. 121v. Cook virtually repeats himself from 21 September. Forster (I, pp. 421-2) says that this bird resembled a sandpiper in its flight and note; it actually settled in the rigging but was not identified.

² ADV 'The Indian that came with us from Huaheine is in high Spirits he being well of the Sea-sickness common at first going to sea—and has forgot his country in some Measure.'—Bayly.

THURSDAY 30th. Winds ESE to SE. Course N 81½° W. Dist. Sailed 128 Miles. Lat. South 21°10'. West Longd. Greenwich Reck.g. 172°33' Watch 172°35'. West Longd. Ulietea 20°53'. Fresh Trade and Clear Weather. Being by observation 9 miles to the South of Amsterdam Island we steer'd w ½ North in order to get into the Latitude of the Said Island. At 5 pm being in the Latitude of 21°26' Longitude w the variation was 10°45' E. In the am got all the Bread out of Bread room upon deck to sift and air. Saw one of those small birds which we look upon to be a sign of the vicinity of land.

[OCTOBER 1773]

FRIDAY 1st. Ther. 70. Winds SE to East. Course S 82°30' W. Dist. Sailed 85 Miles. Lat. South 21°21'. West Longd. Greenwich Reck.g. 174°4'. West Longd. Ulietea 22°36'. First part fresh gales remainder gentle gales and Clowdy. At Sun set the People at the mast head said they saw land to the westward, this occasioned us bring[ing] to during the night. Day light shew us our misstake when we again made sail to the West.

→
First contact
at Eua Island,
Tonga.
2nd voyage

SATURDAY 2nd. Winds Easterly. Fresh gales and fair Weather. At 2 pm Saw the Island of Middleburg¹ bearing wsw. At 6 o'Clock we were about 12 miles from the East side the extreams bearing from SWBW to NW and another land bearing NNW, at this time we hauled to the Southward in order to get round the South end of the Island. At 8 o'Clock we discovered a small Island lying wsw from the South end of Middleburg,² not knowing but these two Islands might be connected to each other by a reef the extent of which we must be ignorant of and in order to guard against the worst, we haul'd the wind and spent the night makeing short boards under an easy sail.

At the return of Day-light we made Sail and bore up for the sw side of the Island, passing between it and the little Island above mentioned where we found a Channell of 2 miles broad. We rained the sw side of the Island³ at the distance of half a mile from shore on which the Sea broke with great [violence] as to leave us no hopes of finding Anchorage⁴ this continuing till we came to the most western point of the Island (from which the land trend NNE and NEBN) we bore up for the Island of Amsterdam which we had in sight but before we had time to trim our sails the Shore of Middleburg assumed

¹ Eua.

² This is the islet Kalau, 2½ miles off the coast of Eua; in spite of the fact that in B Cook calls it a 'small low Island' it is 120 feet high.

³ Island: greater Island

⁴ Anchorage: either anchorage or a landing place . . .—f. 122.

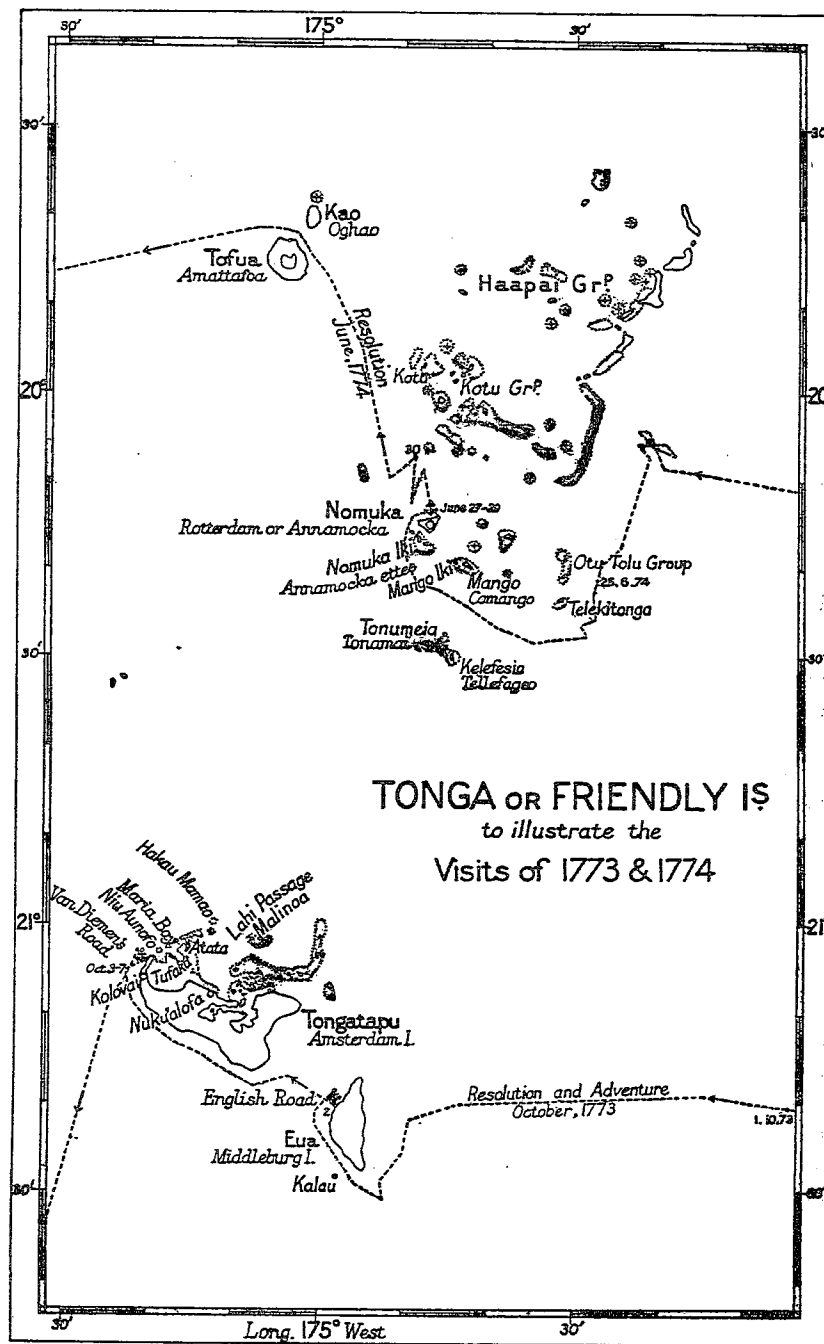


FIG. 45

1773]

WELCOME AT EUA

[245

another aspect and promised fair to afford Anchorage, upon this I hauled the wind again in order to get under the land. Soon after two Canoes, each conducted by two or 3 men came along side and some of the people into the Ship without the least hesitation, this mark of confidence gave me a good opinion of these Islanders and determined me to anchor if I found a convenient place and this we soon met with and came to in 25 fathom water about 3 Cables length from the shore and before a small creek formed by the Rocks which made landing in Boats easy,¹ the highest land on the Island² bore from us SEBE, the north point NE½N distant miles, the West point SBW½W distant miles and the Island of Amsterdam extending from NBW½W to NW½W.³ By this time we had a great number of Canoes about the sloops and many of the Islanders aboard, some bringing with them Cloth and other Curiosities which they exchanged for Nails &c^a. There was one man aboard who from the authority he seem'd to have over the others I discovered to be a chief and accordingly made him a present of a hatchet, Nails and several other things with which he seemed will pleased, thus a friendship between this chief, whose name is Tioonee,⁴ and me commenced. Soon after we had come to an Anchor, I went a shore with Captain Furneaux and some of the officers and gentlemen, having in the Boat with us Tioonee who conducted us to the proper landing place where we were welcomed a shore by acclamations from an immense crowd of Men and Women not one of which had so much as a stick in their hands,⁵ they crowded so thick round the boats with Cloth, Matting, &c^a to exchange for Nails that it was some time before we could get room to land, at last the Chief cleared the way and conducted us up to his house which was situated hard by in a most

¹ This anchorage, on the north-west side of Eua, Cook called English Road: Chart XXXV. By a stroke of luck or good observation he was anchored off the only possible landing-place on this side of the island, an anchorage which is itself unsafe with a westerly wind or swell. The 'small creek' is not more than sixty feet across, and leads directly to the shore, the reef here being very close in. The land rises immediately in a pleasant ascent from what beach there is, though there is also a narrow flat piece on its south side. The present village, Ohonua, straggles up and about the grassy slope, looking rather unlike the eighteenth century; but, perhaps because the ground is relatively clear, it is possible to visualise the incidents of the landing more clearly than at most places.

² The highest point, towards the south end, rises to 1078 feet.

³ Cook does not give these distances in B, but they were all small—Eua itself being a small island, no more than about 11 miles on its longest side, from north to south. The distance between it and Amsterdam or Tongatapu is 10 miles.

⁴ Taioni or Taione? Tongan tradition does not know the chief by this name: he is said to have been called Tavui. Cook on the third voyage, curiously enough, refers to him as Taofa (Ta'au'fa). He may by then have changed his name. Taione is still a chiefly name in Vava'u.

⁵ stick . . . hands: stick or any other weapon in their hands, a strong proof of their good intention . . .—f. 122v.

delightfull spot, the floor was laid with Matting on which we were seated, the Islanders who accompanied us seated themselves in a circle round the out sides. I ordered the Bag-pipes to be played and in return the Chief ordered three young women to sing a song which they did with a very good grace. When they had done I gave each of them a necklace, this set most of the Women in the Circle a singing, their songs were musical and harmonious, noways harsh or disagreeable.¹ After we had sat here some time I desired to see the adjoining Plantations which were fenced in on every side,² accordingly we were conducted into one of them through a door way, the door was hung in such a manner as to shut of itself. In this Plantation the Chief had a nother house into which we were interduced, Bananas and Cocoa nuts were brought to us to eat and a bowl of liquor, made in our presence of the Plant,³ to drink of which none of the gentlemen tasted but my self, the bowl was however soon emptied of its Contents of which both men and Women pertook, by this time it was noon when we return'd aboard to dinner with the Chief in our company, he sat at table but did [not] eat any of our victuals. In the after-noon went a shore again and was received by the crowd as before. Mr Forster and his party and some of the officers walked into the country as soon as we landed, Captain Furneaux and I were conducted to the Chiefs house where we had fruit brought us to eat, afterwards he accompanied us into the Country through several Plantations Planted with fruit trees, roots &c⁴ in great tast and ellegancy and inclose by neat fences made of reeds.⁴

¹ Forster (I, p. 429) gives us a specimen of these songs, or rather its tune, taken down by Burney, who records it himself in Ferguson MS.

² which . . . side: as the elegant and judicious manner they seemed to be laid out and fenced in rendered them worth the looking into; . . .—f. 123.

³ of . . . Plant: of the juice of Wawavouru or Pepper root . . .—f. 123. The 'Pepper root' was of course *kava*, which no Tongan or other Polynesian ever called 'wawavouru'. Cook may have heard some descriptive phrase—e.g. in Maori *ua* meant the underground branches of the *kumara*, and may have had some more general significance in Tongan; and one of the meanings of Tongan *ulu* was thick or bushy, which is a fair description of the *kava* root. But this is pure speculation. Cf. p. 237, n. 1 above.

⁴ Bayly, who 'walked into the country' with Forster and the officers, gives us an interesting description of these fences, which we get nowhere else. He speaks of what we may call the Tongan 'roading system', a series of 'walks', with small ones intersecting longer ones about every quarter-mile, and so breaking up the plantations. 'The sides of these walks are made of Bambo canes of the bigness of a mans little finger these are about 10 & 12 feet high in general; the method of making is this. Along the sides of these walks are trees planted very regular, at every 3 or 4 feet there is bambo canes of the Size of a mans thumb lashed horizontal one over each other, then the small canes are taken & the lower end stuck into the ground to make an angle of 45 degrees, & 3 or 4 Inches from each other these are carried on to the whole extent of the fence, & then there is another row of canes stuck into the ground in the same manner only to incline the contrary way so that the fence is composed of two rows of Bambo canes which makes it in dimonds, these are lashed to the horizontal canes, with fine line made of Cocoa nut rind, & are the neatest fences I ever beheld.'—3 October.

*. . . it was some time before we could get room to land; they seemed to be more desirous to give than receive, for many who could not get near the Boats threw into them over the others heads, whole bales of Cloth and then retired without either asking or waiting to get any thing in exchange. At length the Chief caused them to open to the right and left and make room for us to land, he then conducted us up to his house which was situated about 300 yards from the Sea, at the head of a fine lawn and under the shade of some Shaddock trees, the Situation was most delightfull, in front was the Sea and the Ships at Anchor, behind and on each side where pla[n]tations in which were some of the richest productions of Nature; . . . After siting here some time we were at our own request conducted into one of the adjoining Plantations where the Chief had another house into which we were conducted; Bananoes and Cocoa-nuts were set before us to eat and a bowl of liquor prepared in our presence of the Juice of Eava for us to drink; pieces of the root was first offered to us to chew, but as we excused our selves from assisting in the opperation it was given to others to chew which done it was put into a large wooden bowl and mixed with Water in the manner already related and as soon as it was properly streaned for drinking, they made cups of Green leaves which held near half a pint and presented to each of us a Cup of the liquor, but I was the only one who tasted of it, the manner of brewing had quenished the thirst of every one else; the bowl was however soon emptied of its contents, of which both men and women pertook, I observed that they never filled the same Cup twice, nor did two persons drink out of the same, each had a fresh Cup and fresh liquor.

This house was situated at one corner of the Plantation, had an Area before it on which we were Seated, the whole was planted round with fruit and other trees whose spreading branches afforded an agreeable shade and the air was perfumed by their fragrancy. Before we had well viewed the plantation it was Noon and we returned on board to dinner with the Chief in our Company, he sat at Table but eat nothing, our dinner was fresh Pork roasted which made it a little extraordinary. After dinner we landed again and were received by the Crowd as before. Mr F. with his Botanical party, some of the officers and gentlemen walked into the Country, Captain Furneaux and my self were conducted to the Chiefs house, where fruit and some Greens which had been stewed, were set before us to eat, as we had but just dined it cannot be supposed we eat much, but Odidde and Omiah, the man on board the Adventure, did honour to the feast.*—ff. 118v-19.

In the lanes and about their house[s] were runing about Hogs and large fowls which were the only domestick Animals we saw and these they did not seem desirous to part with, nor did they during this day offer to exchange any fruit or roots worth mentioning, this determined me to leave the Island in the morning and go down to that of Amsterdam where Tasman in 1643 found refreshments in plenty. In the evening we all returned aboard every one highly delighted with his little excursion and the friendly behavior of the Natives who seem'd to [vie] with each other in doing what they thought would give us pleasure.

SUNDAY 3rd. Early in the morning while the Sloops were getting under sail I went a shore in company with Captain Furneaux and Mr Forster to take leave of the Chief and to carry him an assortment of garden seeds and to make him some other presents.¹ I gave him to understand that we were going away at which he neither seem'd pleased nor sorry, he² came into our boat with an intent to accompany us aboard and came off about half way, but when he saw that the Resolution was already under sail he call'd to a Canoe to come and take him in together with a nother or two of his friends who were in the boat. As soon as I was aboard we bore away for the Island of Amsterdam all sails set, we ran a long the South Side of the Isle half a mile from shore and had an opportunity with the assistance of our glasses to view the face of the Country every acre of which was laid out in Plantations,³ we could see the natives in different parts runing a long the shore, some having little white flags in their hands which we took for signs of Peace and answered them by hoisting a St Georges Ensign.⁴ The people were as little afraid of us as those of Middleburg, while we were but midway between the Isles we were met by 3 or 4 Canoes, each conducted by 2 or 3 men, who strove hard to get aboard, but this was not to be done as we were runing at the rate of 5 or 6 Knots, we threw the end of a lead-line into one which they held fast till it brok, they afterward made the like but unsuccessfull attempt to get aboard the Adventure who was a stern of us. After we had opened the West side of the Isle we were met by sever¹ more Canoes with two and 3 men in each, they

¹ ... he received us at the landing place and would have conducted us up to his house had we not excused our selves.—f. 123v.

² ... and two or three more

³ ... not an acre of waste land was to be seen

⁴ ... Three men belonging to Middleburg, which had somehow or other been left on board the Adventure now left her and swam for the shore, not knowing that we intended to stop at the isle and having no inclination as may be supposed to go away with us.—f. 120.

brought with them and presented to us some of the [Pepper] root after which they came a board without farther ceremony.¹ After making a board or two we anchored in Van diemens Road in 18 fathom water about a Cables length from the Rocks or breakers off the shore and moored with the Coasting Anchor and Cable out to sea to prevent the Ship from tailing ashore in case of a shift of wind or a Calm,² by this time we had a great number of the Islanders aboard and about the sloops, some coming off in Canoes and others swimming off, bringing little else with them but Cloth and other curiosities, things which I did not come here for and for which the Seamen only bartered away their clothes.³ In order to put a stop to this and to obtain the refreshments we wanted, I gave orders that no Curiosities should be purchased by any person whatever either aboard or along side the Sloops or at the landing place on shore; this had the desired effect for in the morning the Natives came off with Bananas and Cocoa-nutts in abundance and some Fowls and Pigs which they exchanged for Nails, and peices of Cloth.⁴

MONDAY 4th. After breakfast I went a shore with Captain Furneaux, Mr Forster and several of the officers, a chief, or man of some note, to whom I had made several presents was in the Boat with us, his name was Hātago⁵ by which name he desired I might be called and he by mine (Ootootee). We were lucky in having⁶ anchored before a narrow creek in the rocks which just admitted our Boats within the breakers where they laid secure and at high water we could land dry on the shore;⁷ into this place Hatago conducted us, there [were] on the

¹ ... and invited us by all the signs of friendship they could make to go to their island a thing we had already determined upon.—f. 124.

² ... this last anchor laid in 48 fathom water, so steep is the bank on which we anchored.—ff. 120, 124.—Cook thought his anchorage was in what Tasman called Van Diemens Road, but so far as one can tell from Tasman's not very satisfactory chart, it was a good deal closer to the north-west end of Tongatapu, though off the coast of the same Hihifo district.

³ ... the effects of which it was probable they would soon feel.—f. 120.—'... a great number of the inhabitants on board many in their Canoes alongside a great many swimming off both men and women promiscuously together and some thousands assembled on the shore opsite to the ships'.—Gilbert.

⁴ ... even old raggs of any sort was enough for a Pigg or a Fowl.

⁵ Cook tries this name in various ways—Hātago, as here, Attago, and finally settles for Otago. Forster 'Attahha or Attagha'. He was Ataongo—not to be confused with a later Ataongo, the son of Mumui the Tui Kanokupol ʻ from 1793 to 1797. See Fig. 50a.

⁶ lucky in having: lucky, or rather we may thank the Natives for having ...—f. 120v.

⁷ The western shore of the Hihifo district generally is of coral rock a few feet high, iron-hard, irregular and knife-sharp, cut here and there by little gulleys between the sea and the vegetation a few yards off. The beach on which Cook landed—according to Tongan tradition, which there seems no reason to doubt—is the more northern of two, and is called Pokula; it is a short distance from the present village of Ha'atafu, the last on the road which runs from Nuku'alofa almost to the north-west point of the island. There are two small breaks in the reef, through either of which the boats might have come.

shore an immense crowd of men Women and children who Welcomed us in the same manner as those of Middleburg and were like them all unarm'd. All the officers and gentlemen set out into the Country as soon as we land, excepting Captain Furneaux who stayed with me on the shore, we two Hatago seated on the grass and ordered the People to set down in a circle round us¹ which they did, never once attempting to push themselves upon us as the Otahietans and the people of the neighbouring Isles generally do. After distributing some trifles among them we signified our desire to see the Country, this was no sooner done than the chief shewed us the way, conducting us along a lane which led us to an open green on the one side of which was a house of Worship² built on a mount which had been raised by the hand of Man about 16 or 18 feet above the common level, it had an oblong figure and was supported by a Wall of Stone about three feet high, from the top of this Wall the mount rose with a gentle slope and was covered with a green turf, on the top of the mount stood the house which was of the same figure as the mount about 20 feet long and 14 or 16 broad. As soon as we came before this place every one seated him self on the ground about 50 or 60 yards from the house, presently after came three elderly men and seated them selves between us and the house and began to speak what I understood to be a prayer, their discourse being wholly directed to the house, this lasted about ten minutes and then the three priests, for such we took them to be, came and sit down with us and the rest of the people when both Captain Furneaux and I made them presents of Nails, Medals &c^a giving them to understand that we did it to shew our respect to that house which I now desired leave to examine, the chief contrary to my expectations immediatly

¹ B f. 120v enlarges the foregoing passage, from the beginning of the entry, as follows: 'Matters being thus established and proper persons appointed to trade under the direction of the officers, to prevent disputes, after breakfast, I landed, accompanied by Captain Furneaux, M^r F. & several of the officers, having along with us a Chief or person of some Note whose name was Attago and who had attached himself to me from the first moment of his coming on board which was before we had anchored. I know not how he came to discover that I was the Commander but certain it is, he was not long on deck before he singled me out from all the other gentlemen and made me a present of some Cloth and other things he had about him and as a greater testimony of Friendship we now exchanged names, a Custom which is practised at Otaheite and the Society Isles: . . . As soon as we were landed all the gentlemen set out into the Country, accompanied by some of the Natives, but the most of them remained with Captain Furneaux and me who amused our selves some time in distributing presents amongst them, especially to such as Attago pointed out, which I observed were not many and such as we afterwards found were of superior rank to himself, at this time he however appeared to us to be the principal person and seemed to us to be obeyed as such. After we had spent some time on the beach we complained of the heat. Ottago immediatly conducted us off the beach and seated us under the shade of a tree & ordered the people [to] form a circle round us

² It was a *faitoka* or chiefly burial place. (*Faitoka* is now the Tongan word for any cemetery.) Ataongo had led them over the narrow neck of land towards Maria Bay.

went with us without shewing the least backwardness and gave us full liberty to examine every part of it. In the front were two steps leading up to the top of the wall, after which the ascent was easy to the house round which was a fine good Walk, the house was built in all respects like to their common dwelling houses (viz) with Posts and rafters and the Covering of Palm thatch, the eaves came down to within 3 feet of the ground which space was fill'd up with strong Matting made of Palm leaves which formed a kind of Wall, the floor of the house was laid with gravel, except in the middle where it was raised with fine blew pebbles to the height of about Six Inches and had the same form as the house that is oblong. At one corner of the house stood a rude image and on one side laid a nother, each about two feet in length, I who had no intention to offend either them or their gods, did not so much as touch them, but asked the chief as well as I could if they were Eatua's; whether he understood me or no I cannot say, but he immediatly turned them over in the doing of which he handled them as roughly as he would have done any other log of wood, which raised a doubt in me that they were representations of the Divinity.¹ I was curious to know if their dead were enterr'd in these Mounts and asked my friend several questions relating thereto but I was not certain that he understood any of them, at least I did not understand the answers he made.² Before we queted the house we laid³ upon the blue Pebbles some Medals, Nails and other things which my friend took up and carried away with him.⁴ The Stones on which the wall was made that inclosed the Mount were like flags, some of them 9 or 10 feet by 4, and about Six inches thick, it is difficult to conceive how they could cut such stones out of the coral rocks.⁵ This Mount stood in a kind of grove open only on one side which fronted the high road and green on which the people

¹ raised . . . Divinity: convinced me that they were not there as representations of the Divinity.—f. 125v. What they were is not absolutely certain, but it is not impossible that they were purely decorative.—E. W. Gifford, *Tongan Society* (B. P. Bishop Mus. Bull. 61, Honolulu 1929), p. 318.

² understood . . . made: understood me well enough to satisfy my enquiries, for the reader must know that at our first coming among these people we hardly could understand a word they said, even my Otahiete youth and the man on board the Adventure were equally at a loss, but more of this by and by.—f. 125v.

³ we laid: we thought it was necessary we should make our offering at the altar, accordingly laid down

⁴ which . . . him: which we had no sooner done, than my friend took them up and put in his pocket.—ff. 125v-6.

⁵ The limestone of the coral reef was indeed difficult to quarry, and was used only for the largest structures of the sort Cook is describing—generally royal tombs or *langi*. But the most commonly used limestone, found stratified in quarries ashore, or even to be found sometimes lying in slabs on the beach, was much more easily cut out with basalt tools.

were seated, at this green¹ was a junction of five roads and two or three of them appeared to be very publick ones: the grove was composed of several sorts of trees among which was the Eatua tree or² and a kind of low Palm which is very common in the northern parts of New Holland.³ After we had [d]one examining this place of worship which in their Language is called *Afiā-tou-ca*,⁴ we desired to return, but instead of conducting us directly to the Water side they struck into a road leading into the Country, this road which was a very publick one, was about [16] feet broad and as even as a B[owling] green, there was a fence of reeds on each side and here and there doors which opened into the adjoining Plantations; several other Roads from different parts joined this, some equally as broad and others narrower, the most part of them shaded from the Scorching Sun by fruit trees. I thought I was transported into one of the most fertile plains in Europe, here was not an inch of waste ground, the roads occupied no more space than was absolutely necessary and each fence did not take up above 4 Inches and even this was not wholly lost for in many of the fences were planted fruit trees and the Cloth plant, these served as a support to them,⁵ it was every where the same, change of place altered not the scene. Nature, assisted by a little art, now appears in a more flourishing state than at this isle. In these delightful Walks we met numbers of people some were traveling down to the Ships with their burthens of fruit, others returning back empty, they all gave us the road⁶ and either sit down or stood up with their backs against the fences till we had pass'd. At several of the cross Roads or at the meeting of three⁷ or more roads, were generally an *Afiā-tou-cā*, such as above described with this difference, that the Mounts were Palisaded round in stead of a stone wall.⁸ At length⁹ we came to one larger than common, near to which was a large House belonging to a Chief¹⁰ which was with us, here we were desired to stop which we

¹ . . . or open place

² *Eatua tree* or : *Etoa tree*, as it is called at Otahiete, of which is made clubs &c³ . . . —f. 126. 'Eatua' is of course a slip: in B, Cook having written it, he erases it and substitutes 'Etoa'. Toa or ironwood, *Casuarina equisetifolia*.

³ Forster refers to pandanus and the wild sago-palm—which would certainly not be wild but cultivated, if there at all. The palm, however, was probably the 'cabbage tree' or *Ti*, *Cordyline terminalis*, a tree of sacred associations all over the Pacific.

⁴ *faitoka*.

⁵ *fruit trees . . . them*: some usefull trees or plants . . . —f. 126.

⁶ . . . by turning either to the right or left and sitting down

⁷ *three*: two

⁸ These mounds seem to have been *esi* or resting-places for chiefly persons on a journey; they would generally command a pleasant view, to which Tongans were very partial.

⁹ . . . after walking several miles . . . —f. 126v.

¹⁰ *a Chief*: an old Chief

accordingly did and had some Cocoa-nutts brought us; we were no sooner seated in the house than the oldest of the Priests began a speech or prayer which was first directed to the *Afiā-tou-cā* and then to me and it alternately, when he address'd me he paused at each sentence, till I gave a nod of approbation. I however did not understand one single word he said. At times the old man seem'd to be at a loss what to say, or perhaps his memory fail'd him, for every now and then he was prompt by a nother¹ who sat by him. Both during this Prayer and the one before mentioned the people were silent but not attentive. At this last place we made but a short stay, our guides conducted us down to our Boat and returned with my friend Ata-go aboard to dinner. We had but just got aboard when an old gentleman came a long side who I understood from Atago was some King or great man, he was according introduced into the Ship when I made him a present of some red Cloth, Nails &c² and seated him at Table to dinner, we now saw that he was certainly a man of some consequence for Ata-go would not sit down and eat before him, but as the old gentleman was almost blind, he got to the other end of the table and sat and eat with his back towards him,³ the old gentleman eat a bit of fish and drank a glass of Wine and then returned a shore. After Ata-go had seen him out of the ship he came and took his place at Table finished his dinner and drank about two glasses of wine. As soon as dinner was over we all went a shore again where we found the old Chief who presented me with a Hog and he and some others took a Walk with us into the Isle,⁴ our rout

¹ *a nother*: one of the other priests

² *according . . . &c*: accordingly ushered on board when I presented him with such things as he most valued (being the only method to make him our friend) . . . —f. 128.

³ It was forbidden to eat in the presence of a superior. Turning the back was a sort of fictitious absence, sometimes practised.

⁴ . . . Before we set out I happened to go down with Atago to the landing place and there found Mr Wales in a laughable, tho distressed situation. The Boats which brought us on shore, not being able to get near the landing place for want of a sufficient depth of Water, he pull'd off his Shoes and Stockings to walk through, and as soon as he got on dry land he put them down betwixt his legs to put on again, but they were instantly snatched away by a person behind him, who immediately mixed with the Crowd. It was impossible for him to follow the Man bare footed over the sharp coral rocks, which compose the shore, without having his feet cut to pieces. The Boat was put back to the Ship, his Companions had each made his way thro' the crowd and he left in this condition alone. Otago soon found out the thief, recovered the Shoes and Stockings and set him at liberty. —f. 127. —This is an insertion in the text of B (and not in G), which from the ink and writing looks as if it were later reminiscence; or Cook may have been reminded of it by his perusal of Wales's journal; see p. 812 below. The story, one feels, is probably the origin of the later Christ's Hospital schoolboy legend, as related by Leigh Hunt in his *Autobiography*. . . Mr Wales, a man well known for his science who had been round the world with Captain Cook; for which we highly venerated him. . . When he was at Otahete, the natives played him a trick while bathing, and stole his small-clothes; which we used to think a liberty scarcely credible.

was by the first mentioned Afā-tou-ca before which we again seated our selves, but had no praying¹ on the contrary here the good natured old Chief interduced to me a woman and gave me to understand that I might retire with her, she was next offered to Captain Furneaux but met with a refusal from both, tho she was neither old nor ugly. Our stay here was but short. The Chief, probably thinking that we might want water on board the Sloops conducted us to a Plantation hard by and there shewed us a pool of fresh Water without our makeing the least enquiry after such a thing. I believe it to be the same as Tasman calls the Washing place for the King and his nobles,² from hence we were conducted down to the shore of Maria Bay or NE side of the Isle, where in a Boat house the old chief shewed us a large double Canoe not yet launched and did not fail to make us sencible that it belonged to him, here we left him and returned aboard.³ Mr Forster and his party spent the day in the Country botanizing and several of the officers were out Shooting, every one met with sevel treatment from the natives and found the Country just as I have described. We had also a brisk trade for Bananas, Cocoa-nutts, yams, Pigs and fowls all of which were purchass'd with nails and pieces of Cloth, a Boat from each Sloop was employed tradeing a shore bring[ing] off their cargo as soon as they were loaded which was generally in a short time, by this method we got a good quantity of fruit as well as other articles⁴ from people who had no canoes to bring them aboard, bought them cheaper and with less trouble.⁵

TUESDAY 5th. Pretty early in the morn my friend Otago came off and brought me a Hog and some fruit for which I gave him a Hatchet and some Cloth,⁶ I also sent the Pinnace with a petty officer to trade with the People, she soon return'd before she was quite loaded, the officer informed me that the natives were very troublesome and were for takeing the oars and every thing out of the boat,⁷ the day before they had stolen the grapling whilst she was riding by it and carried it off undiscovered, having first dived and unbent the rope

¹ *praying*: prayers although the old Priest was with us

² In B f. 128 Cook here gives a reference to 'Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages Vol 2. Page 80.' This page includes a key to the engraving of a diagrammatic picture of 'Amsterdam', taken from 'Tasman's journal, where 'L' marks a little pond inside a palisade, which contains also a number of coconut palms and a house where the 'king' received the Dutch.

³ *here . . . aboard*: Night was now approaching, we took leave of the old Chief and returned on board, being conducted by Attago down to the Water side.—f. 128v.

⁴ *articles*: refreshments

⁵ With the result that in the *Resolution* they 'stop'd serving bread'.—Clerke.

⁶ *and some Cloth*: a Sheet and some Red Cloth

⁷ . . . and in other respects very troublesome

from it.¹ From this report I judged it necessary to have a guard on shore to protect the Boats and people whose business made it necessary for them to be there and accordingly sent Lieutenant Edgcomb with the Marines for that purpose. Soon after I went myself with my freind Otā-go, Cap. Furneaux and several more of the gentlemen, at landing we found the old King who presented me with a Pig which I desired might remain there till I went aboard as Mr Hodges was then going with me into the country to make drawings of such places and things as were most intresting; when these were done we returned aboard to dinner with Otago and two other Chiefs one of which sent a Hog a board the Adventure for Captain Furneaux several hours before without stupelating for the least return the only instance we had of this Kind. My friend took care to put me in mind of the Hog the old Chief gave me in the morning and for which I now gave him a chequed Shirt and a piece of Red Cloth, I had tyed them together for him to take a shore, but he was not satisfied till he had them put on, which was no sooner done than he went on deck and shew'd himself to all his Countrymen that were in and about the Ship, he did the very same thing in the Morning with a clean white sheet I had given him, Captain Furneaux friend was complimented with an Ax which was what he wanted. In the evening we went ashore again and saw the old chief who took to himself every thing my friend and the others had got. The different tradeing parties were so successfull to day as to procure for both Sloops a tollerable supply of refreshments² in consequence of which I gave the next morning every one leave to purchass what curiosities and other things they pleased,³ after this it was astonishing to see with what eagerness every one catched at every thing they saw, it even went so far as to become the ridicule of the Natives by offering pieces of sticks stones and what not to exchange, one waggish Boy took a piece of human excrement on the end of a stick and hild it out to every one of our people he met with.

*To day a man got into the masters Cabbin through the out side

¹ The grapnel, says Bayly, weighed nearly 100 lb, so the exploit was no mean one; they then attempted to sieze the Pinnes but the people beat them off without firing but 2 or 3 of them were cut with cutlashes. . . .—p. 98.

² All this while it was fine pleasant weather, we learn from Clerke (6 October), and trade was good: 'a cheap and plentiful Market—a happy Climate with friendly Benevolent People, who are anxious to oblige and give you welcome'.

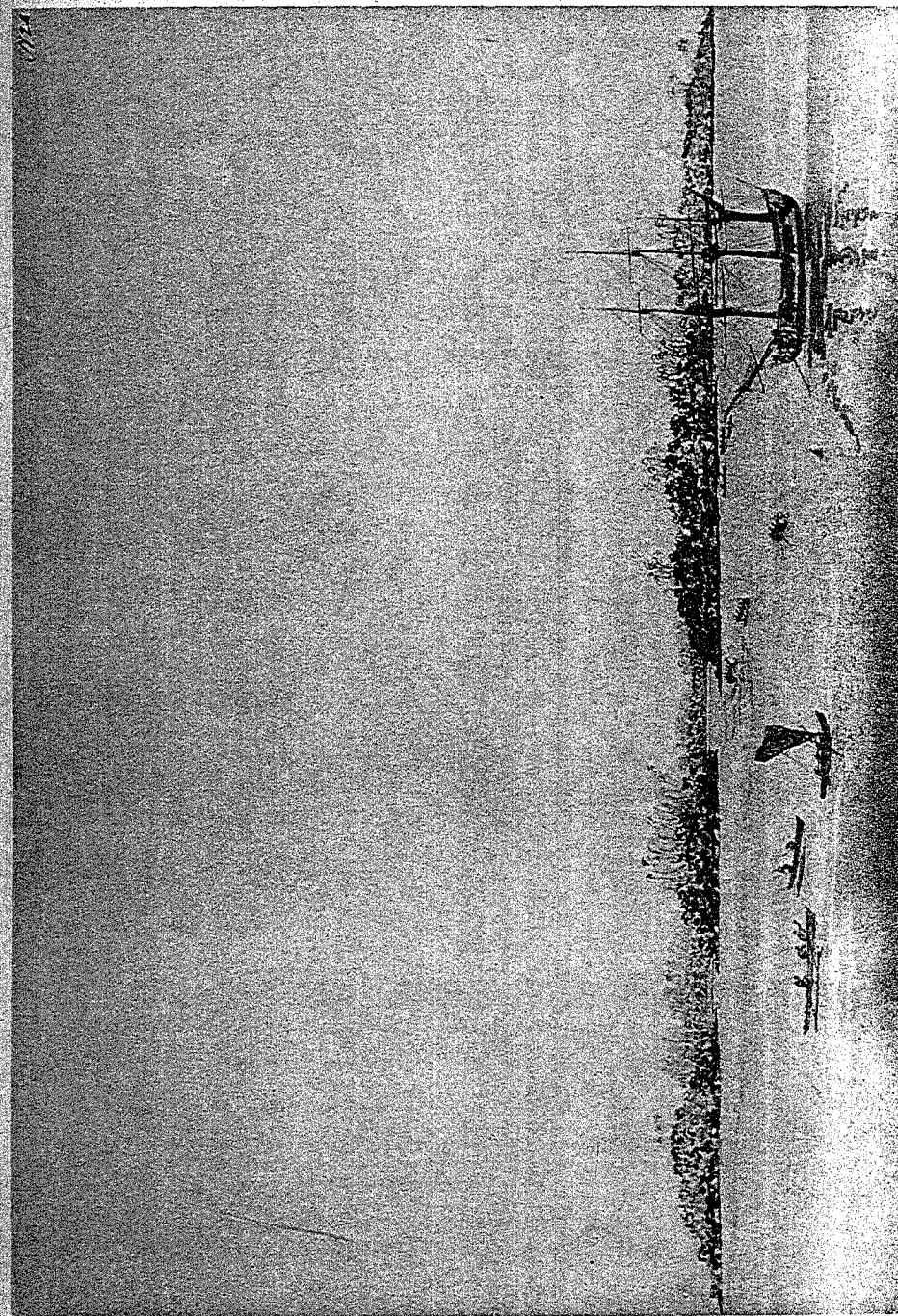
³ Forster (I, pp. 458–9) notes one disappointment of the sailors. They had enjoyed themselves thoroughly cock-fighting with fowls bought at Huahine; and now, finding at Tongatapu a large race of bird, with highly decorative plumage, hastened to buy more to carry on the contests. Alas! the Tongan cocks would not fight, and had to be eaten; they were, however, 'extremely well-tasted'.

scuttle and took out some Books and other things, he was discovered just as he was getting out into his Canoe and pursued by one of our boats which obliged him to quit his Canoe and take to the Water, the people in the boat made several attempts to lay hold of him but he as often dived under the Boat and at last, unship'd the rudder which rendered the boat ungovernable by which means he got clear off;¹ some other very daring thefts were committed at the landing place, one fellow took one of the Seamen's Jackets out of the Boat and carried it off in spite of all they could do, nor would he part with it till he was both pursued and fired at by our people in the boat nor would he have done it then had not his landing been intercepted by some of us who were on shore. The rest of the Natives who were very numerous took very little notice of the whole transaction, nor were they the least alarmed when the Man was fired at.^{2*}—f. 129v.

WEDNESDAY 6th. My friend Otago visited me this morning as usual, brought with him a Hog and assisted me in purchasing several others, after this I went ashore, visited the old Chief where I stayed till noon and then returned aboard to dinner with my friend who never quitted me. As I intended to sail the next day, I made up a present for the old Chief whom I proposed to take leave of in the Evening, when I landed for this purpose I was told by the officers on shore that there was a far greater Chief no less than the King of the whole Island, come to visit us; he was first seen by Mr Pickersgill and some others of the officers who were in the Country and found him seated in a lane with a few people about him and soon saw that he was a man of some consequence by the extraordinary respect paid him, some when they approached him fell on their faces and

¹ Forster, giving instances of theft, begins by remarking, 'The harmless disposition of these good people could not secure them against those misfortunes, which are too often attendant upon all voyages of discovery'; and goes on to this incident, describing how a nimble fellow, 'luckily slipping into the master's cabin stole from thence several mathematical books, a sword, a ruler, and a number of trifles of which he could never make use'. Seen escaping, he displayed wonderful agility diving and doubling in the water, until he was caught under the ribs with a boat-hook, which caused some loss of blood. He then escaped again, and altogether. 'It is remarkable that even such a disposition for cruelty, as had been displayed in the pursuit of this poor wretch, did not deprive us of the confidence and affection of his countrymen.' I, pp. 464-5. The heightened tone of this account was another reason for Wales's later onslaught on Forster's book: *Remarks*, pp. 32-4.

² Forster (I, p. 464) remarks that the firing was without the captain's orders, and agrees that the natives 'heard with unconcern the balls whistling about their ears'. But 'several innocent people were wounded'. Bayly is rather more dramatic: '... one of the Natives took a man's Coat out of the Boat & walked off with it, there was two muskets fired at him but missed him when the first Lieut^d of the Resolution hit him in the Jaw with a ball he threw down the Coat but run off holding his Jaws with his hands & Several more cases of the like kind happened wherein several of them were wounded but none killed so that at last they were in fear of a Gun'.—Bayly, p. 98.



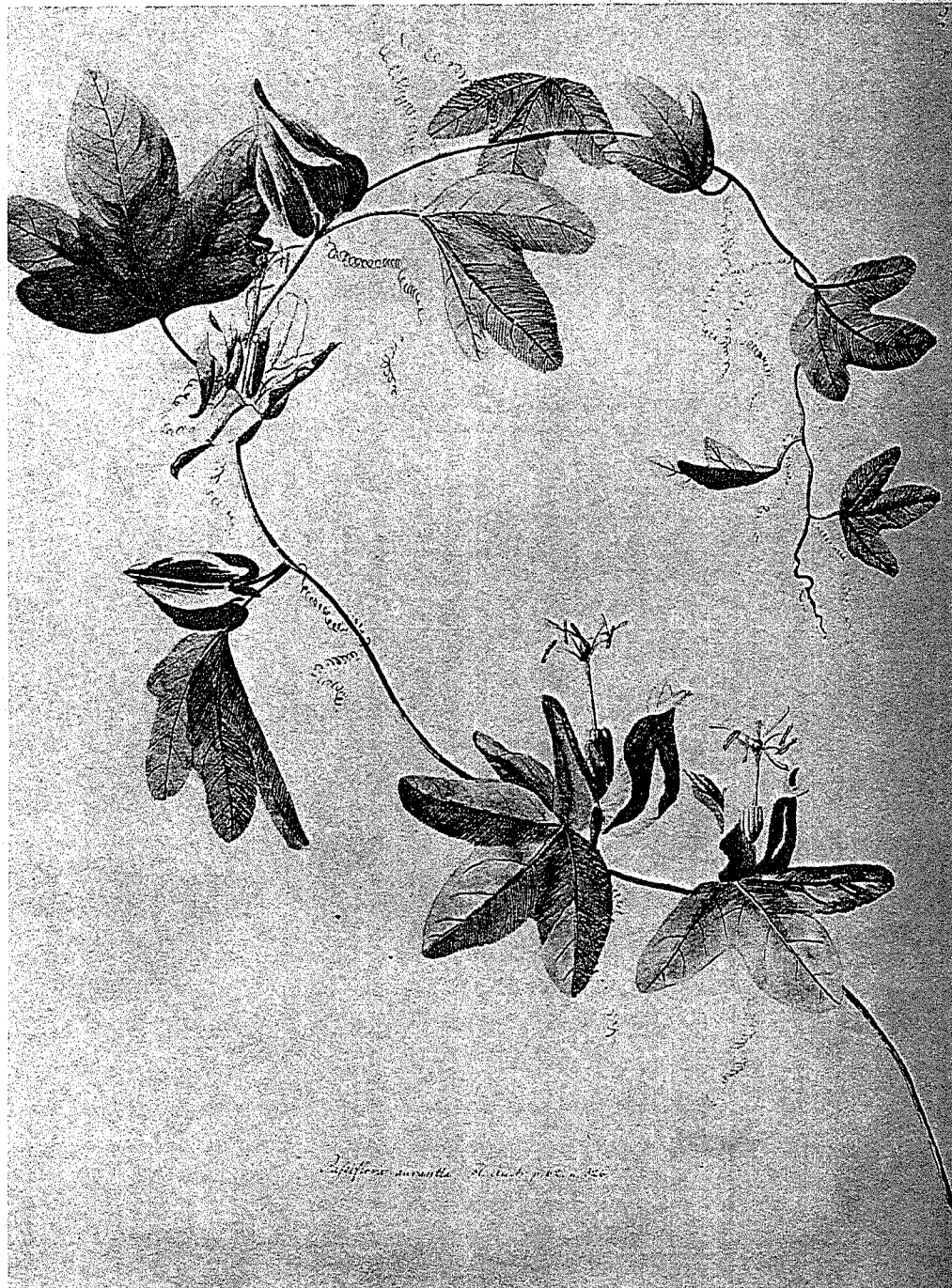


FIG. 53. Passion flower of New Caledonia (*Passiflora aurantia*)
Drawing by George Forster in B.M. (N.H.)—'Botanical Drawings', II, pl. 248

put their heads between his feet¹ and what was still more no one durst pass him till he gave them leave. M^r Pickersgill took hold of one arm and a nother of the gentlemen the other and conducted him down to the landing place where I found him seated with so much sullen and stupid gravity that² I realy took him for an ideot which the people were ready to worship from some superstitious notions, I salluted him and spoke to him, he answered me not, nor did he take the least notice of me or alter a single feature in his countenance, this confirmed my former opinion and [I was] just going to leave him when one of the natives an intelligent youth under took to undeceive me which he did in such a manner as left me no doubt but that he was the principal man on the Island, accordingly I gave him the present I had intended for the old chief which consisted of a Shirt, An axe, a piece of Red Cloth, a looking glass & some Medals and Beeds, he still preserved his sullen gravity, I got not one word from him nor did he so much as turn his head or eyes either to the right or left but sit like a Post stuck in the ground just as I found him so I left him and soon after he retired.³ I had not been long aboard before word was brought me that a quantity of Provisions was sent me from this chief, a boat was sent to bring it aboard, it consisted of about 20 baskets containing roasted Bananas, sour bread and yams and a Pig of about twenty pound weight. M^r Edgcumb with his party was just imbarcking when these came down to the Water side, the bearers thereof told him that it was a present from the King of the Island to me,⁴ that is the same person as I have been speaking of, after this I was no longer to doubt his dignity.

THURSDAY 7th. Early in the Morn while the Sloops were unmooring I went a shore with Captain Furneaux and M^r Forster in order to make some return to the King for his present, we were met at our landing by my friend Otā-go, we asked for the King whose name is [Kohagee-too-Fallangou] or [Latoo-Nipooroo].⁵ Otago undertook to

¹ This was the ceremony of *moemoe*, obeisance to one's hereditary chief.

² . . . notwithstanding what had been told me . . . —f. 130.

³ *he still . . . retired*: He received these things or rather suffered them to be put upon him and laid down by him without loosing a bit of his gravity, speaking one word or turning his head either to the right or left but sat the whole time like [a] statue in which situation I left him to return on board and he soon after retired. —f. 130. This may be taken as an example of revision wherein Cook's writing lost its original force.

⁴ *from . . . me*: from Areike that is King of the Island to the Areike of the Ships . . . —f. 130v.

⁵ I take the first of these names from B, the second from Forster, I, p. 466. It is possible to work out a plausible equivalent for 'Kohagee-too-Fallangou', but none known otherwise to Tongan history; the name, whatever it was, has sunk out of sight. 'Latoo-Nipooroo' (given elsewhere as 'Latooliboula') is Latunipulu, the personal name of a male Tamaha—a man of very great importance, though not a king; it is of Fijian origin.

conduct us to him but whether he misstook the man we wanted or he did not know where he was I know not, he certainly took us a wrong road, but we had but gone a little way before he stoped and after a little conversation between him and a nother, we return'd back and presently after the King appeared¹ when Otā-go sat down under a tree and desired us to do the same, the King seated him self on a peice of elivated ground about 12 or 15 yards from us, and appeared with all the Sullen gravity he had done the day before; here we sat facing each other for some minutes, I waited for Otago to shew us the way, but seeing that he did not offer to rise I got up my self and went to the King and saluted him, Captain Furneaux did the same and then we sat down by him and gave him a White Shirt which we put upon him, a few yards of Red Cloth, a brass Kettle, a Saw, two large spikes, three looking glasses and put about his neck about a Doz² Medals and some strings of beads, all this time [he] preserved his former gravity, he even did not seem to see or know what we were about, his arms appeared immoveable at his sides, he did not so much as raise them when we put on his shirt. I told him both by words and signs that we were going to leave his Island, he scarce made me any answer to this or any other thing we said or did, we therefore rose up but I yet remained near him.³ At length he entered into some conversation with Otago and an old woman whom we took for his Mother. I did not understand any part of the conversation it however made him laugh in spite of his assumed gravity. I say assumed because I think it could not be his real disposission unless he was an idiot indeed, as they are, like all the Islanders, a people of a good deal of levity and he was in the prime of life; at last he rose up took french leave and retired with his Mother and two or 3 More. Otā-go who remained with us conducted us to another circle where was seated the old Chief and several respectable old people of both sex among whom was the old priest seated at the chiefs right hand, this reverend Father seemed to be troubled with a disease that is not very uncommon, we observed that in a morning he could Walk as well as any other man but in the evening he was obliged to be led home between two people, we supposed that the juce of the [Pepper root] plant had the same effect upon him as Wine and other strong liquors has upon people in Europe who drink a large portion of them, it is very certain that these old gentlemen seldom sit down without preparing a Bowl of this Plant,³ I believe with an intent to

¹ ... with very few attendance

² ... to observe his actions.—f. 131.

³ plant: liquor which is done in the same manner as at Ulietea. ...

treat us, the greatest part however generally fell to their share. I was not well prepared to take my leave of this old chief having exhausted almost all our store on the other and those about him, however by rumageing our Pockets and Trade Bags (for my treasurer constantly attended me where ever I went) we made up some tolerable presents for him and his friends. This old chief had an air of dignity about [him] which commanded respect that the other had not, he was grave but not sullen, he would crack a joak, talk on different subjects and endeavour to understand and be understood, for it must be observed that we knew but little of their language nor could the two Islanders we had on board understand them which surprised [me] as the difference between the two Languages is certainly not very great.¹

At length² we took leave of the old people who express'd niether sorrow nor joy at our departure. Otāgo and some others accompanied us aboard, stayed breakfast, after which I made them presents and then they departed. Otā-go was very desirous for me to return again to the isle and to bring with me Cloth, Axes, Nails &c^a telling me that I should have Hogs, Fowls, Fruit and roots in a bundance, he particularly desired me³ to bring him such a sute of Cloths as I had then on and which was my uniform. This good natured Islander was very serviceable to me on many occasions, during our short stay he constantly came aboard every Morning soon after it was light and never quited me during the remainder of the day, he was always ready either aboard or a shore to do me all the service that lay in his power, his fidelity was rewarded at small expence and I found my account in having such a friend. In unmooring the Coasting Cable parted about the middle of its length, by this accident we lost the anchor⁴ which laid [in] 40 fathom Water without any Buoy to it. We also found the Cable of the Bower Anchor much rubed by the Rocks where it had laid upon the ground, by this a judgement may be formed of the sort of anchoring ground we laid in.

At 10 o'Clock we got under sail but as our decks were very much lumbered with fruit &c^a we kept plying with our Top sails under the land till they were cleared. The Supplies we got at this Island were

¹ for it must ... great: During this viset the old preist repeated a short prayer or speech, the purport of which we did not understand, indeed he would frequently at other times break out in prayer, but I never saw any attention paid him by any one present.—f. 131v.

² At length: After a stay of near two hours

³ ... more than once,

⁴ the anchor: the other half together with the anchor

⁵ ADV '... Came to sail In Company with the Resolution who as well as ourselves were very well stored with Plantens &c which we hung round our Taphrail & Awning.—Falconer.

END
READING

art of catching them.¹ The sw swell as high as ever. Saw a Tropic and Man of War bird.

TUESDAY 8th. [Therm.] $75\frac{1}{2}$. [Winds] Easterly. [Course] N 52° W. [Dist.] 124 Miles. [Lat.] $27^{\circ}4'$. [Long. by reckoning] $103^{\circ}58'$. [Long. by watch] $105^{\circ}3'$. Gentle gales and fine pleasant weather. In the AM saw many Birds, such as Tropic, Men of War and Egg Birds of two sorts, grey² and White,³ many sheer-waters or Petrels of two or three sorts, one sort small and almost all black, another sort much larger with dark grey backs and white bellies.⁴ Swell not much and from the East.⁵

WEDNESDAY 9th. [Winds] Easterly. [Course] W 2° S. [Dist.] 106 Miles. [Lat.] $27^{\circ}7'$. [Long.] $106^{\circ}00'$. Weather and winds as yesterday. Judging our selves by observation to be nearly in the Latitude of Davis's land or Easter Island we steer'd nearly due west meeting with the same sort of Birds as yesterday.⁶

THURSDAY 10th. [Therm.] $76\frac{3}{4}$. [Winds] Easterly. [Course] West, Southly. [Dist.] 102 Miles. [Lat.] $27^{\circ}9'$. [Long.] $107^{\circ}55'$. In the evening took in the Studding Sails and ran under an easy sail during night, at day-light made all sail again, meeting with the same sort of Birds as yesterday and abundance of Albacores & flying fish not one of which we could catch.

FRIDAY 11th. [Therm.] 75. [Winds] Easterly. [Course] W 2° S. [Dist.] 60 Miles. [Lat.] $27^{\circ}11'$. [Long.] $109^{\circ}2'$. Gentle breeze and pleasant weather. At Midnight brought to till day-light then made sail and soon after saw the Land from the Mast head bearing West.⁷ At Noon it was seen from the deck extending from W $\frac{1}{2}$ N to WBS. Distant about 12 Leagues.⁸

¹ In the AM... them: We also saw plenty of fish, but we were such bad fishers that we caught only four albacores, which were very acceptable, especially to me who was just recovering from my late illness.—f. 167. Wales calls the fish caught bonitos: 'Caught five & ought to have got many More if our Tackling had not been bad'.

² These were almost certainly the Grey Noddy, *Procelsterna cerulea skottsbergii* Lönnberg.

³ The White Tern, *Gygis alba royana* Mathews.

⁴ These birds are unidentifiable: various migrating petrels might be in the vicinity of Easter Island at this time of year, and since the Forsters give no additional notes it is impossible to say which species were seen.

⁵ 'Caught two more Bonitos, and lost several others through the badness of our Tackle.'—Wales.

⁶ 'Several small pieces of Sponge went past the Ship & a small dried leaf not much unlike a Bay-leaf... Many Men-of-War and Tropic Birds about the ship. Passed by a sea snake: it was speckled, black & white, & in every respect like those we used to see at Tonga and the Society Islands.'—Wales. Cook lifted most of this entry and incorporated it in his own for 8 March in B, f. 167—forgetting that Wales's 8th was his own 9th, ship time.

⁷ 'The joy which this fortunate event spread on every countenance is scarcely to be described. We had been an hundred and three days out of sight of land...'—Forster, I, p. 552.

⁸ '... I made no doubt but this was Davis Land or Easter Island, as its appearances from this situation corresponded very well with Wafers accou[n]t and we expected to

First contact
at Easter Island,
2nd voyage

SATURDAY 12th. At 7 o'Clock in the pm being about 5 Leagues from the island which extending from N 62° W to N 87° W we sounded but had no ground with a line of 140 fathoms; we now Shortned Sail

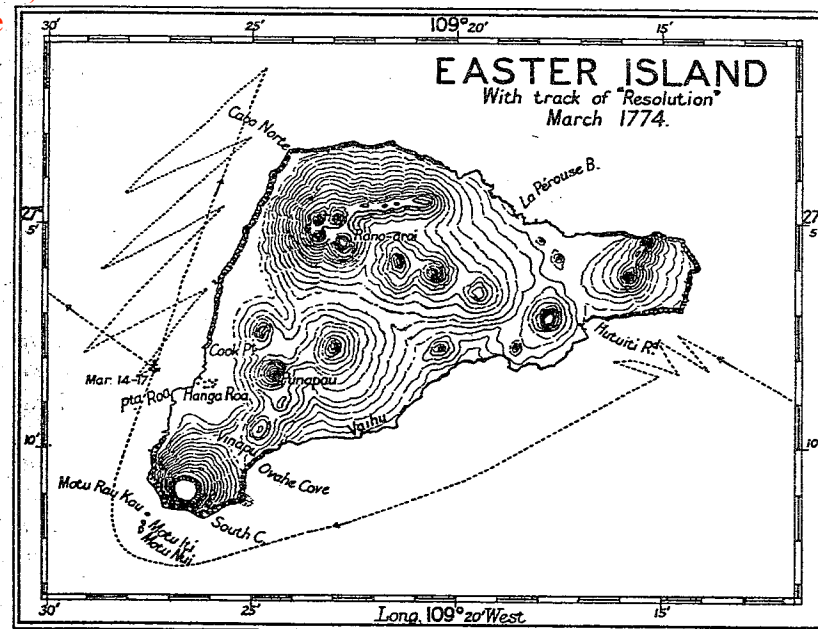


FIG. 54

and Stood off SE & SSE having but very little wind and at 2 am it fell quite calm, and continued so till 10 AM when a breeze sprung up at sw & wsw with which we stood in for the land the extremes of which at Noon bore from NW to west by North distant 4 or 5 Leagues. Lat obd 27° South.

have seen the low Sandy Isle which Davis fell in with, which would have been a confirmation, but in this we were disappointed.—f. 167–7v.—They were disappointed because of course Easter Island was not Davis Land. Wafer's account (in his *New Voyage*, 1699), as printed by Dalrymple (*Collection*, II, p. 123), runs, 'We steered S and by E, half easterly, until we came to the lat. of $27^{\circ}20'$ S; when, about two hours before day, we fell in with a small, low, sandy island, and heard a great roaring noise, like that of the sea beating upon the shore, right a-head of the ship. . . we plyed off till day and then stood in again with the land; which proved to be a small flat island, without the guard of any rocks. We stood in within a quarter of a mile of the shore, and could see it plainly, for it was a clear morning, not foggy nor hazy. To the westward, about twelve leagues by judgment, we saw a range of high land, which we took to be islands, for there were several partitions in the prospect. This land seemed to reach about fourteen or sixteen leagues in a range; and there came hence great flocks of fowls'.

SUNDAY 13th. In stretching in for the land we discovered¹ people and those Monuments or Idols mentioned by the Authors of Roggeweins Voyage² which left us no room to doubt but it was Easter Island. At 4 o'Clock we were within about half a League of the NE point, bearing NNW where we found 35 fathom a dark sandy bottom. We plyed to windward in order to get into a Bay which appeared on the SE side of the isle,³ but night put a stop to our endeavours, which we spent making short boards, Soundings from 75 to 110 fathoms, bottom dark Sand. During night the wind was variable, but in the morning it fixed at SE, blew in squalls attended with rain which ceased as the day advanced. The wind now blowing right on the SE shore on which the Sea broke very high and there being no bay or Harbour as we had immag[in]ed, I steer'd round the South point⁴ of the Island in order to explore the western side, accordingly we ran along the western and NW side at the distance of one mile from the Shore, untill we open'd the nothern point without seeing any safe anchoring place. The Natives were collected together in several places on the shore in small companies of 10 or 12. The most likely anchoring place we had seen was on the West side of the isle ⁵ miles to the northward of the South point before a small sandy beach where we found 40 and 30 fathoms one mile from the Shore, Bottom dark sand, here a Canoe conducted by two Men came off and brought us a Bunch of Plantans⁶ and then returned a shore.⁷ Seeing no better an-

¹ we discovered: by the help of our glass we discovered

² By 'the authors of Roggeweins Voyage' Cook certainly means the authors quoted in Dalrymple's *Collection*, vol. II. Dalrymple uses, first, the French translation (1739) of the German account of Behrens (Leipzig 1738), who commanded Roggeveen's marines (pp. 89-95); and second, an anonymous Dutch account, printed at Dordrecht in 1728 and reprinted in 1758 (pp. 111-15). Of the first, he says (p. 85), it is 'a very poor performance, written with much ignorance, though with the parade of knowledge'; of the value of the second he also has his doubts. Both accounts refer to 'idols', pp. 94-5, 114-15.

³ From the look of the chart, XXXIa, this was the cove or anchorage of Hutuiti, but as Cook found next morning, there was nothing there in the nature of a harbour.

⁴ The text of B here varies without adding anything, except that 'South point' is followed by 'off which lies two small Islets, the one nearest the point is high and peaked and the other low and flatish'.—f. 167v. The first, a rock 230 feet high, was Motu-kaukau (or Rau Kau); the second was really two rocks, Motu-iti and Motu-nui, Motu-nui being larger than the others; these two are steep though flattish, and the highest point is 174 feet—hardly 'low', except by contrast. Cook could easily miss seeing Motu-iti, which lies behind Motu-nui. The South Cape is itself high and conspicuous. See the view, Chart XXXIa.

⁵ The distance is not mentioned in B. It is about three miles.

⁶ ... which they sent into the Ship by a rope... f. 168.—'Some Hours before we Anchor'd a couple of the Natives came off and brought us a Bunch of ripe Plantins (a most gratefull Present) then return'd again to the shore seemingly exceedingly pleas'd and happy with a couple of Medals which they got in return.'—Clerke, account of Easter Island, following 16 March.

⁷ ... This gave us a good opinion of the Islanders and inspired us with hopes of getting some refreshments which we were in great want of.—f. 168.

chorage than the one just mentioned we Tacked and Plyed back to the South in order to gain it.

MONDAY 14th. At half past 6 o'Clock pm Anchored at the place before mentioned in 36 fathom Water, the bottom a fine dark sand.¹ Having sent the boat in shore to sound one of the natives swam off to her, came on board and remained with us all night and next day, this confidence gave us a favourable Idea of the rest of the Natives.² At 3 am a breeze from the land drove us off the bank, which after the Anchor was up we plyed in for again and in the mean time I went a shore³ to inform my self if any refreshments or Water were to be got. We landed at the sandy beach where about 100 of the Natives were collected who gave us no disturbance at landing,⁴ on the contrary hardly one had so much as a stick in their hands. After distributing among them some Medals and other trifles, they brought us sweet Potatoes, Plantains and some Sugar cane which they exchanged for Nails &c⁵; after having found a small Spring or rather Well made by the Natives, of very brackish Water, I returned on board and anchored the Ship in 32 f^m Water, the bottom a fine dark sand, something more than a mile from the Shore.⁵

TUESDAY 15th. PM Got on board a few Casks of Water and Traded with the Natives for some of the produce of the island which appeared in no great plenty and the Water so bad as not to be worth carrying on board, and the Ship not in safety determined me to shorten my stay here. Accordingly I sent Lieutenants Pickersgill and Edgcumb with a party of Men, accompanied by M^r Forster and several more of the gentlemen, to examine the Country; I was not sufficiently recovered from a fit of illness⁶ to make one of the party.

¹ The anchorage was off the south point of Hanga-roa bay, Punta Roa. It is about 1½ miles from here to the north extreme of the bay, Cook point. From this point to Cabo Norte, the north-western extremity of the island itself, is 4½ miles; Cook had this cape visible from his anchorage. The island is not big; its longest direct distance, from west to east, is only 13 miles.

² one of ... natives: one of the Natives swam off to her and insisted on coming on board the ship where he remained two nights and a Day. The first thing he did after coming on board, was to measure the length of the Ship by fathoming her from the Taffel to the Stern and as he counted the fathoms we observed that he called the Numbers by the same names as they do at Otaheite, Nevertheless his Language [sic] was in a manner wholly unintelligible to all of us.—f. 168. Forster describes this man at length (1, pp. 560-2), and gives his name as 'Maroowahai'.

³ ... accompanied by some of the gentlemen

⁴ where ... landing: where some hundreds of the Natives were assembled and who were so impatient to see us, that many of them swam off to meet the Boats.—f. 168.

⁵ ... the women (which seem very few) soon came in the boats & settled their matters'.—Mitchel.

⁶ The reader will note that this is Cook's first mention of his illness in this MS.

At the Ship employed geting on Board Water and tradeing with the Natives.

WEDNESDAY 16th. About 7 in the evening the exploaring party returned and the next morning Mr Pickersgill made me the following report.

'Remarks'

'Sir,

'At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 o'Clock we left the beach, and took to a Path leading a cross the Isthmus,¹ as we advanced we pass'd some few Plantations (chiefly Potatoes) but the Country had much the same barren appearence as near where the Ship lays, being full of Stones Rocks and dry hard clay; but when we came about the Middle of the Isthmus the land towards the South hills seem'd more fertile, bore a longer grass and was free from stones tho' as we came towards the eastern shore we again got amongst the Stoney ground.

'At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 we got to the Eastern Sea side where we found a row of Stone Images whose names we got from the Natives and by what I could understand from them, they were erected to the memory of their chiefs; for they had all different Names and they allways call'd them *Areekes*² which I understood to be King or chief; and they did not seem to pay that respect to them, that I should think they would to a Deity; they bore the same figure as the rest and wheather they are Sement or Stones I'm sure I cannot tell only from their appearence they seem'd to be the latter.³

'The East shore is all steep cliffs and the shore so rocky, which with the great surf I think renders it impossible for a boat to land;⁴ here we search'd for water but could find none nor could the Natives tell us of any. We had many of the Natives went with us a cross the Isthmus and one man constantly kept a head of us carrying a white flag who seem'd to direct the crowd.⁵

¹ i.e. the south-west corner of the island, from Hanga-roa to Ovahe cove.

² *ariki*, a chief, nobleman.

³ A note I have not the least doubt but it is stone. . .—They were, of course, stone, but the rough surface of the trachyte, the volcanic stone out of which they were hewn, might perhaps convey an impression that they were moulded out of some cement mixture—and thus, to use Cook's word, p. 358 below, 'factitious'.

⁴ A note: This must depend on which way the wind blows, for when this is the lee side of the isle, it must be as good landing there as any where else. I believe it to have been on this side of the isle where Admiral Roggewein landed. . .—Cook is perfectly correct about landing; for Ovahe cove is the alternative anchorage to Hanga-roa in summer northerly gales. But he is wrong about Roggeveen, whose anchorage and landing were on the more eastern part of the northern coast, probably somewhere about La Pérouse bay, where there is a beach.

⁵ This 'flag' was a sign of honour and friendship, such as was brought before the king.

'From this place we traveled about 3 miles further a long shore,¹ the man still carrying his flag and the Natives flocking round us to about 150 in Number; this part of the Country was very barren, hardly a house or Plantation to be seen and the rocks seem'd to contain Iron ore;² here the Path struck up a little from the Sea side and we pass'd some Plantations where the people behaved exceedingly civil, bring us dress'd Potatoes and plenty of Sugr Cane but we could get no water but what was brackish. After passing this vally³ we saw a number of men collected upon a hill some distance from us and some with spears but on the people which were with us calling to them they dispers'd except a few amongst [them] which was a man seemingly of some note, he was a stout made man with a fine open countenance, his face painted, his body tatowed and some thing whiter than the rest and he wore a better ah-hou,⁴ he salluted us before we came to him by stretching out his arms with both hands clinch'd lifting them over his head, opening them wide and leting them fall gradually down to his sides, they told us he was the arreeke of the Island which they call'd *Wy-hu*, this they seem'd all to agree in.⁵

'Walking on further we stop'd on a hill to rest when one of the people taking off his bag to get some thing out, one of the natives caught it up and run off but Mr Edgecumb seeing him and being load^a with small shott fired at him on which he dropped the bag and run off in the crowd, most of the rest run away tho' some few stayed and one man throwing off his ah-hou talked a good deal and then ran several times round us, and which they again spread their flag and we again went on passing by a number of very large Images many of them fallen down and broke the names of which I took going along, here we found a well of Midling water but very little of it and here the King came again to us and we persued our Journey to a hill from whence I saw all the East and North shores on which I could not see either Bays, places for boats to land or

¹ i.e. to the eastward.

² This was a bad guess: he may have been struck by the appearance of weathered lava. Pickersgill knew nothing about geology. Perhaps he got the idea from Wales: see p. 824 below.

³ 'this valley': it is very difficult to guess what Pickersgill means by this, topographically, especially as he has not mentioned it before. He may mean that the path ran up a depression; Easter Island has no deep valleys.

⁴ Tahitian *ahu*, cloak; the corresponding Easter Island word was *kahu*.

⁵ 'Wy-hu' was Vaihu: the man may very well have been the *ariki* of the small district of this name, on the south coast, but not of the whole island. The 'king', the *ariki-mau*, would not have announced himself in that casual fashion. Nor did the island in general have a name at that time; the modern Polynesian name Rapa-nui seems to have been given some time in the nineteenth century. See Alfred Métraux, *Ethnology of Easter Island*, (B. P. Bishop Mus. Bull. 160, Honolulu 1940), pp. 33-6.

signs of Water, the flat land at the north end where we saw the num^r of Images from the Ship seem'd to be better inhabited than the rest, from the number of houses and Images upon it. As we had no occasion to go farther we stop'd, dined and prepared to return over the hills, just as we were going away those few which were with us ran off and said there were bad men coming, and looking we saw a number of men coming in a body with the same flag they had before, but what terms they were coming upon we had not time then to wait to know, so taking our road a Cross the hills for the ship the Natives left us except one man and a boy and Walking over a most desert barren country full of rocks and only three or four bushes not 5 feet high we arrived at the beach all heartily tired about 7 o'Clock having been by my estimation about 20 or 21 miles.

Rich^d Pickersgill.⁷

This report of M^r Pickersgills so far as it regarded the Produce of the Island was confirmed by the whole party and determined me to quit the island without further delay, a breeze of wind about 10 o'Clock Coming in from Sea, attended with heavy showers of rain made this the more necessary, accordingly we got under sail and stood out to Sea, but as we had but little wind I sent a boat a shore to purchase such refreshments as the Natives might have brought to the Water side.

*Not one of them had so much as a stick or a Weapon of any sort in their hands. After distributing a few trinkets amongst them, we made signs for some thing to Eat, on which they brought down a few Potatoes, Plantains and Sug^r Cane and exchanged for Nails, Looking Glasses and pieces of Cloath. We presently discovered that they were as expert thieves and as trickish in their exchanges as any people we had yet met with. It was with some difficulty we could keep the Hatts on our heads, but hardly possible to keep any thing in our pockets not even what themselves had sold us, for they would watch every opportunity to snatch it from us, so that we some times bought the same thing two or three times over and after all did not get it. Before I sail'd from England, I was informed that a Spanish Ship had visited this isle in 1769,¹ some signs of it was seen among the people now about us. One Man had a pretty good broad brim'd European hat on; a nother had a Greko Jacket² and a nother had a

¹ The Spanish visit was in November 1770.

² A 'grego' was a sort of jacket with a hood, made of coarse stuff, and worn in the Levant—hence 'Greek'.

red silk handkerchief. They also seemed to know the use of a Musket (of which they stood in much awe) but this they probably learnt from Roggewein, who, if we are to believe the authors of that Voyage, left them sufficient tokens.¹ Near the place where we landed, were some of those Colossean Statues before mentioned, which I shall discribe in another place. The Country appeared barren and without wood, there were nevertheless several plantations of Potatoes, Plantains and sugar cane; we also saw some Fowls and found a well of Brackish Water. As these were articles we were in want of and as the Natives seemed not unwilling to part with them, I resolved to stay a day or two. With this view I repaired on board and brough[t] the Ship to an anchor in 32 fathom Water the bottom a fine dark Sand. Our Station was about a mile from the nearest shore, which was the South part of a small Bay in the bottom of which is the Sandy beach before mentioned, which bore *ESE* distant one and a half Mile. The two rocky islots lying off the South point of the Island were just shut behind a point to the North of them and bore *S* 6°30' *W* four Miles distant, and the other extreme of the island bore *N*. [25°]² *E* Distant about Six Miles. But the best Mark for this anchoring place is the beach, because it is the only one on this side the island. In the after-noon we got on board a few Casks of Water and opened a trade with the Natives for such things as they had to dispose of, and some of the gentlemen made an excursion into the island to see what it produced and returned again in the evening with the loss only of a hat which one of the Natives snatched of the head of one of the party.³

TUESDAY 15th. Early in the Morning I sent Lieutenants Pickersgill and Edgecumb, with a party of Men, accompanied by several of the Gentlemen, to examine the Country; As I was not sufficiently recovered from my late illness to make one of the party, I was obliged to content my self with remain^g at the landing place among the Natives. We had at one time a pritty brisk trade with them for Potatoes, which we observed they dig up out of an adjoining Plantation. But this traffick, which was very advantageous to us, was soon

¹ On 10 April 1722 Roggeveen was proceeding in elaborate military order to march into the country, but had hardly left the beach when the men in his rear, taking alarm at the behaviour of the 'Indians', fired without orders, and killed ten or twelve before he could stop them.

² The MS lacks the figure, which is supplied from the printed page.

³ This was Hodges, who was sketching. Wales, who was standing by him with a musket, philosophically reflected that Hodges's hat was hardly worth a Polynesian life.—p. 822 below, and Forster, I, p. 573. The Easter Islanders had a special passion for headgear: Roggeveen, Gonzalez, Cook's men, La Pérouse, as well as later visitors, all report hat-snatching.

TUESDAY 14th. Winds Easterly, SW. Course N 82° W. Dist. 74 Miles. Long. in West Reck.g. 162°45'. Long. in Ulietea 11°6'. Lat. in South 18°35'. First part fresh gales, remainder little wind. Reeved Several new ropes, the old decay'd.

WEDNESDAY 15th. Winds SW, Calm, SW quarter. Course NW. Dist. Sailed 12 Miles Long. in West Reck.g. 162°53'. Long. in Ulietea 11°14'. Lat. in South 18°27'. PM Calm, remainder light Airs, Saw several Men of War and Tropic Birds.¹

THURSDAY 16th. Winds South & SBE. Course N 50° W. Dist. Sailed 25 Miles. Longde. in West Reck.g. 163°13'. Longitude in Ulietea 11°34'. Lat. in South 18°11'. Light breezes and clear weather. At 7 AM saw land from the Mast head bearing NNE, bore down to it.² At Noon saw it was a low reef Island or rather a number of small Islots connected together by sand banks & breakers,³ the extremes bore from NNE to NEBE distant from the Shore six or eight Miles.

FRIDAY 17th. Winds Southerly. Courses N 84° W. Dist. Sailed 72 Miles. Longde. in West Reck.g. 164°28'. Longitude in Ulietea 12°49'. Lat. in South 18°3'. Gentle breeze and pleasant weather. PM ranged the West and NW sides, so near the Shore that at one time we saw the rocks under us.⁴ We saw no inhabitants or signs of any except Birds of which there were a good many and of different sorts and the Coast seem'd to abound with fish. After runing down from its Southern to its Northern extremity which is 2 Leagues without finding anchorage or a Convenient landing place we at 4 o'Clock resumed our Course to the westward. This Isle which I named Palmerston is situated in Lat 18°4' S, Longitude 163°10' West, it is composed of six small Islots connected together by Sand banks and breakers and incloseth a Lake which seemed to have a good depth, but we saw no Channell into it. The little Islots were covered with Wood.⁵

¹ 'Served Bread: All our Bread-Fruit & Plantains bring done; a circumstance which would be regretted at any time, much more so now, as the bread is grown very bad.'—Wales.

² 'Early in the Morning many Men of War Birds about the Ship, a great Number of Fish of various kinds, Dolphins, Bonetas, Albecores &c &c—none of which however cou'd we get hold of excepting 2 confounded hungry Sharks—the fish & Birds became exceeding numerous as we drew in with the Land.'—Clerke 8952.

³ ... inclosing a Lake into which we could see no entrance.

⁴ 'Contrary to most of those [islands] we have seen before, the Water seemed very shallow within the reef, and a long Shoal runs off from its S^o West Point which we crossed in very shallow Water, and the Ship raised several hundreds of small Sharks, which lay at y^e Bottom.'—Wales.

⁵ ... The Situation of this Isle is not very distant from that assigned by M^r Dalrymple for La Sagitaria discovered by Quiros, but by the discription the discoverer has given of it, it cannot be the same, [deleted besides I am not satisfied that Quiros took the rout M^r Dalrymple has traced out on his chart.] For this reason I looked upon it to be a new dis-

SATURDAY 18th. Winds SE. Course W³/₄S. Dist. Sailed 77 Miles. Lat. in South 18°14'. Longde. in West Reck.g. 165°58'. Longde. made Ulietea 14°19'. Gentle breezes and Cloudy Weather.

SUNDAY 19th. Winds Easterly. Course W³/₄S. Dist. Sailed 80 Miles. Lat. in South 18°25'. Longde. in West Reck.g. 167°11'. Longde. made Ulietea 15°32'. Varn. 10°36', 10°9'. Gentle breezes and Clear pleasant weather. Nothing seen remarkable.

MONDAY 20th. Winds East. Course S 75°30' W. Dist. Sailed 99 Miles. Lat. in South 18°50'. Longde. in West Reck.g. 168°52'. Longde. made Ulietea 17°13'. D^o gales which freshned towards Noon at which time thought we Saw Land to the ssw and accordingly hauled up for it.

TUESDAY 21st. Winds East to NE. Course S 81° W. Dist. Sailed 47 Miles. Lat. in South 19°23'. Longde. in West Reck.g. 170°20'. Longde. made Ulietea 18°41'. Gentle breezes and fair Weather. At 2 PM found what we took for land was only Clouds, reassumed our WBS Course, and an hour after saw land from the Mast head in the same direction, as we drew near found it to be an Island the body of which at 5 bore due West distant five Leagues, Shortned Sail and spent the night Plying under Top-sails. At Day break bore up for the Nother point of the Isle and ran along the West Shore at the distance of one Mile from it. A little before Noon preceiveing Some People runing along the Shore and Seeing landing was Practical, Brought-to, hoisted out and Man'd two Boats in one of which I went my self and M^r Pickersgill in the other. M^r F. and his party and M^r H. accompanied us.

WEDNESDAY 22nd. As we came near the Shore some People who were on the rocks retired to the woods, as we supposed to meet us and we afterwards found our conjectures right. We landed with ease and took Post on a high rock to prevent a Surprise as the whole Coast was all over run with woods, Shrubery &c^a and began to Collect plants &c^a under the protection of the Party under Arms, but the approach of the Indians soon made it necessary for us to join which was no sooner done than they appeared in the Skirts of the woods not a Stones throw from us, one of two men who were ad-

covery and named it Palmerston Island, in honour of my Lord Palmerston one of the Lords of the Admiralty.—f. 226.—La Sagitaria was probably Makatea, lat. 15°50' S, long. 148°14' W; Palmerston is lat. 18°02' S, long. 163°12' W. The two are about 870 miles apart.—Henry Temple, 2nd Viscount Palmerston (1739–1802), a Lord of the Admiralty 1766–77, and of the Treasury 1777–82; his distinction was in social life rather than in politics. He was a member of the Literary Club, and was a pall-bearer at the funerals of both Garrick and Reynolds. For his island, see Chart XXXIVa and Fig. 44, p. 240 above.

First contact
at Niue,
2nd voyage

vanced before the rest threw a Stone which Struck M^r Sparman on the Arm, upon this two Musquets were fired without order¹ which made them all retire under cover of the woods and we saw them no more. Seeing nothing was to be done here we imbarqued and proceeded down a long shore, in hopes of meeting with better Success in a nother place. We proceeded several miles down the Coast without seeing any human being or convenient landing place, at length coming before a small Beach on which lay four Canoes, here we landed by means of a small creek in the rocks, just to take a View of

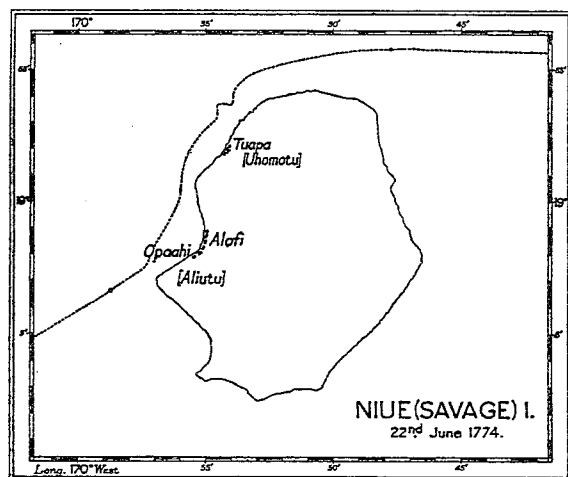


FIG. 63

the Boats and to leave in them some trifles to induce the Natives to believe we intended them no harm. I left a party on the rocks under Arms to keep a good lookout while some of us went to the Canoes where we were but a few minutes before the Indians rushed out of the woods upon us, it was to no effect our endeavouring to bring them to a parly, one of them with the ferocity of a wild Boar advanced a head of the others and threw a dart at us, two or three Musquets discharged in the air did not hinder him from advancing still farther and throwing a nother, at this instant the party on the rocks

¹ 'One of them threw a large lump of coral at me with his left hand, and hit my left forearm. Lieutenant Pickersgill, who was standing immediately behind me, and came near to receiving this stone on his forehead, carried no musket, and therefore insisted that I should shoot, which I did. Although the small-shot only whistled about the ears of our spiteful enemies (a few may have pierced the skin) it frightened them away. The Captain, however, perhaps with justification, was displeased at this shooting, for he believed that, with more patience, some reconciliation could have been reached.'—Sparman, p. 129.

began to fire at others who appeared on the hieghts over us, this abated the Ardour of the party we were engaged with and gave us time to retire and then I caused the firing to cease, the last discharge sent them into the woods from whence they did nor return, we had reason to beleive none were hurt. Seeing no good was to be got of these people or at the isle we return'd on board hoisted in the Boats and made sail to wsw.¹ The Conduct and aspect of these Islanders occasioned my giving it the Name of *Savage Island*,² it lies in the Latitude of 19° 1', Longitud 169° 37' West, is about 11 Leagues in circuit, of a tolerable hieght and seemingly covered with wood amongst which were some Cocoa-nutt trees. These Islanders were Naked except their Natural parts, some were painted black. The Canoes were like those of Amsterdam and full as neatly made.

*As we drew near the shore, some people who were on the rocks retired to the Woods, as we supposed to meet us and we afterwards found our conjectures right. We landed with ease in a small creek³ and took post on a high rock to prevent a Surprise: Here we displayed our Colours and M^r F. and his party began to Collect Plants &c^a; the Coast was so over run with woods, shruberry, Plants, Stones &c^a that we could not see forty yards round us. I took two men and with them entered a kind of Chasm which opened a way into the woods; we had not gone far before we heard the Indians approaching upon which I called to M^r F. to retire to the party which I did likewise: we had no sooner joined than the Natives appeared at the entrance of the Chasm not a stones throw from us. We began to speak and make all the friendly signs we could think of to them, which they answered by menaces and one of two men who were

¹ 'return'd on board and Quited this Inhospitable and Savage Isle. . . .—Log. Wales had too much to do on board to go ashore, to his regret, but he makes a comment or two. 'We now learn that they had been attacked twice by the Natives. The first time they landed they took possession of the Island in form, erecting the English Colours as is usual on these Occasions; but whether the Natives took Umbrage at this or not is uncertain; certain it is they attacked them in the very Act & pelted them with stones, and w[h]ether Our people drove away the Natives or the Natives them is a little doubtful. . . . This is the substance of what I had from M^r Hodges whose intelligence I have made use of before when I was not present my self & dare say it is pretty Just.'

² It was Niue. Chart XXXIVb, Figs. 63, 64.

³ The Niuean landing-places are not altogether easy to identify, even on the spot, and none of them is good, even though Cook says he landed here 'with ease'. The high up-raised coral cliffs are broken only by narrow precipitous gulleys, at the bottom of which are masses of rock and a few minute changing bits of sand (they can hardly be called beach) bare at low tide. An occasional canoe is perched among the rocks. Native tradition about Cook is quite unreliable, because it has confused his landings with those of missionaries and other later-comers, and fantastically embroidered as well. This first landing seems to have been at a place called Tuapa; near by was the chief village of the island, Uhomotu, the residence of the kings of Niue, so that anybody who had known that Cook was on the point of ceremonially annexing the island in the name of his own monarch could have been duly affronted.

advanced before the rist, threw a stone which struck M^r Sparman on the arm; upon this two muskets were fired, without orders, which made them all retire under cover of the Woods, and we saw them no more. After waiting some little time¹ and till we were satisfied nothing was to be done here, the Country being so over run with Shrubery that it was hardly possible to come to parly with [the] Natives, we imbarqued and proceeded down a long shore in hopes of meeting with better success in a nother place. After ranging the Coast for some miles, without seeing a living soul, or any convenient landing place we at length came before a small beach on which lay four Canoes;² here we land[ed] by means of a little Creek formed by the flat rocks before it, with a View of just looking at the Canoes and to leave some Medals, Nails &c^a in them, for not a soul was to be seen. The situation of this place was to us worse than the former; a flat rock lay next the Sea, behind it a narrow stone beach, this was bounded by a perpindicular rocky cleft of unequal height whose top was covered with Shrubery, two deep and narrow chasms in the cleft seem'd to open a Communication into the Country, in or before one of these laid the four Canoes which we were going to look at, but in the doing of this I saw we should be exposed to be attacked by the Natives, if there were any, without our being able to defend our selves. To prevent this as much as could be and to secure a retreat in case of an Attack, I orderd the Men to be drawn up on the rock from whence they had a view of the hieghts and only my self and four of the gentlemen³ went up to the boats, where we had been but a very few Minutes before the Natives, I cannot say how many, rushed down the Chasm out of the wood upon us; the endeavours we made to bring them to a parly was to no purpose, they came with the ferocity of wild Boars and threw thier darts, two or three Muskets discharged in the air did not hinder one of them from advancing still farther and throwing a nother dart or rather a Spear which pass'd close over my Shoulder;⁴ his Courage would have cost

¹ During which they performed 'the idle ceremony of taking possession'.—Forster, II, p. 165.

² This was most likely Opaahi, a little south-west of what may be regarded as the present island 'capital', Alofi. But we must allow for certain changes in the appearance of these spots in the course of almost two centuries. There was a large village a mile or so inland called Aliutu, now disappeared; so that Cook had perforce picked on another centre of potentially hostile population for his activities.

³ The Forsters, Sparrman and Hodges. Hodges proceeded to make a drawing of the canoes, till interrupted.

⁴ '... one of the Natives rushing suddenly upon him with a Spear, and Cooks piece Missing fire, the Man threw his Spear which pas'd close over Cooks shoulder; and at this moment young M^r Forster made his appearance, and fir'd, wounding the Man, who now retir'd, and join'd his friends with whom they had some skirmishing before; but had it not been for this providential circumstance, Cooks life would have been in most eminent

him his life had not my musket missed fire, for I was not five paces from him when he threw his spear and had resolved to shoot him to save my self, but I was glad afterwards that it happened otherwise. At this instant the party on the rock began to fire at others who appeared on the heights,¹ this abated the ardour of the party we were engaged with and gave us time to join our people when I caused the fireing to cease, the last discharge sent all the Indians to the woods from whence they did not return so long as we remained, we did not know that any were hurt. It was remarkable that when I joined our party I tried my musket in the air and it went off as well as a peice could do. Seeing no good was to be got of these people or at the isle, as having no Port, we imbarqued and returned on board, hoisted in the boats and made sail to wsw. I had forgot to mention in its proper order, that we put a shore, a little before we came to this last place, where three or four of us went upon the cliffs,² where we found the Country as before, nothing but Coral rocks all overrun with Shrubery so that it was hardly possible to penetrate into it and we embarked again with intent to return directly aboard, till we saw the Canoes above mentiond, being directed to the place by the opinion of some of us who thought they heard people.

The Conduct and aspect of these Islanders occasioned my nameing it *Savage Island*,³ it is situated in the Latitude 19° 1' S, Longitude

→
END
READING

danger.'—Elliott *Mem.*, f. 29v. This is too dramatic. George Forster was there all the time, and was nearly hit by another spear, which 'slid along my thigh, marking my clothes with the black colour with which it was daubed'. According to Forster, all the party tried to fire, but their muskets missed fire till at last his, loaded with small shot, went off. Hodges then fired with ball, but hit no one.

¹ They were 'coming down by a different path to cut us off', says Forster.

² This could only have been at Alofi, about the middle of the west coast of the island. Between Tuapa and Alofi the coast consists of nothing but sheer cliffs; there is one possible landing place, but only through a long cave in the cliffs. This may have been one of the 'curious Caverns' which Cook remarks on later; but its nature he could not have guessed.

³ The modern Niueans, cheerful industrious people, give a rather pained consideration to the name which Cook bestowed upon their island, and explain the whole matter as one of mistaken intentions. Nothing was farther from the minds of their forebears, they argue, than to attack the visitors; the man who advanced 'with the ferocity of a wild Boar' and threw a dart, and those who did likewise later, were displaying friendship and not enmity—they were merely going through the ritual of the 'challenge', an essential though alarming part of any ceremony of welcome. (The Maoris of New Zealand have a similar ceremony; but it pales into insignificance before the fury and vehemence of the Niuean version.) In addition to this, the challengers had adorned their lips with a scarlet dye, the juice of the *hulahlula* banana, and Cook flew to the conclusion that they were cannibals, dripping with the blood of their victims. This tradition, one feels, is rather too obviously made-up. The last part of it is of course a bit of native mythology, 'rationalization', to make the story more persuasive; nor does it explain the first stone-throwing which so alarmed Sparman and Pickersgill. The daubing black and the feathers of some of the men, on the other hand, might seem to give it some colour; but these were also the panoply of war. Assuming that the Niueans were as savage as Cook thought, they were