



Portrait of Captain Cook
By John Webber

THE JOURNALS OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK
ON HIS VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

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THE VOYAGE OF THE
RESOLUTION AND *DISCOVERY*

1776-1780

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PART ONE

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Whenever the Marine made any motion of presenting, the Croud would recoil back, but it was observable enough that they began to laugh at our threat; we also remark'd that he they call'd Erono, receivd some intelligence which two or three times made the whole body fly to some distance, & we remarked large bodies collect^d in all parts; it was now too late to go farther, & the Captⁿ thought it best to return, but I believe it was not from the smallest Idea of any danger. They conducted us back a very different rout, which was farther from the Sea, & which as we afterwards judgd was designedly done. When we got to the tent the Capt^{ns} Coxswain acquainted him, that he, on seeing us run along, & the small boat of the discovery's in pursuit of a Canoe went to assist, that a fray happend, in which Pareea was the principal actor, by which they all got thrasht, the pinnaces oars broke all except one, & the piece of another which was all they now had. The Captain was exceeding angry at the folly of his Coxswⁿ going to assist others, having no arms in the boat.¹

I went on board with him in order to get a fresh Poultice to a most painful swelling on my breast to which running had done no good;

In going on board, the Captⁿ expressd his sorrow, that the behaviour of the Indians would at last oblige him to use force; for that they must not he said imagine they have gaind an advantage over us. On going on board he turnd all the Women & others out of the Ship. On asking his Commands before I went on shore, he order'd me in my way to call on board the Discovery, & to enquire of M^r Edgar (the Master) who was in the small boat into the particulars of the affair, & as I was to return on board by break of day, in order to fetch the time Keeper on shore, then to report to him what I should hear. From M^r Edgar & M^r Vancouver I got the following account.

The Canoe they pursued landed sometime before them, but that they saw the people in her deliver to another Canoe the Armourers Tongs & the lid of a harness Cask,² which canoe brought them & deliverd them to M^r Edgar; they were very well satisfied with having got the things & were returning on board, but on seeing the pinnacle pull towards them, & Captⁿ Cook, myself, & a Marine arm'd running along shore, they thought it was their Duty to try to get the Canoe that stole the things & the thieves, to carry them on board. The Canoe was pulling out of the Cove, the pinnacle was call'd to, to give

¹ 'Capt. Cook, hearing of the quarrel was very angry and gave our people a severe reprimand for their rashness. . . .—Gilbert.

² *Harness-cask*: 'A large conical tub for containing the salt provisions intended for present consumption. Alluding to the junk, which is often called salt-horse, it has been described as the tub where the horse, and not the harness, is kept'.—Smyth, *Sailor's Word-Book*. O.E.D. gives 1818 for the earliest appearance of the term.

chase, which the Indians observing leapt out & swam on shore; M^r Vancouver got into the Canoe, & was going to paddle her on board, when Pareea to whom she belong'd, & had just left the Ship in order to assist in recovering the Stolen things, hauld her on shore & took away the Paddle. M^r Edgar observing this try'd to wrench the Paddle out of Pareeas hand, who immediately seiz'd on Edgar, & held him in such a manner that he could not stir, he however quitted him on seeing assistance coming to him, but ran towards the pinnacle, where he receivd a stroke from one of our men with an Oar. Immediately on this the stones began to fall in such Showers that all the pinnacle men jump'd out of her & swam to a rock;

The Indians in a short time took every thing they could out of the Pinnacle & began to beat Edgar & Vancouver, till Pareea made them desist, & left them to go & fetch some of the Pinnaces Oars & other things; whilst he was gone, the mob knock'd Vancouver down, & were going to Strip him, & also trying to knock the ring bolts out of the boat, the appearance of Pareea put a stop to these proceedings, who brought down what Oars were left. Pareea complaind of being struck in the head, ask'd if he might come on board tomorrow, to which they answerd yes, after which he paddled over to Kowroowa, that is the Village on the n point where the King resides.

I went on shore, gave orders to the Centry to call out to me if they saw any Indians lurking about at any distance, but that if any should approach so close as to leave it in no doubt that their intentions were bad, to fire without particular orders. By 10 we were disturb'd by 5 Indians creeping round the bottom of the Morai, but they were very wary, shifting their ground. I told the Centry the first that came upon the pile to shoot at him, but to be sure of his mark, about midnight one venturd up close to the Observatory, the Centry's peice missed fire and¹ the Indian fled, & although the Marine afterwards let fly, yet no hurt was done, & for the remainder of the Night we were unmolested.

[CLERKE]

SUNDAY 14. Fine weather with Land and Sea Breezes. Ever since our arrival here upon this our second visit we have observ'd in the Natives a stronger propensity to theft than we had reason to complain of during our former stay; every day produc'd more numerous and

¹ 's peice missed fire and: these words are written over a very thorough deletion, and in the margin, very faint, are the others, 'dropped his peice'; so possibly King thought fit to modify the truth a little.

← Clerke's account of failed attempt to kidnap Kalani'opu'u, Hawaii, 3rd voyage

more audacious depredations. Today they behav'd so ill onboard the Discovery that I was oblig'd to order them all out of the Ship, which I find was likewise the case onboard the Resolution, none but the principal People were suffer'd onboard, however we let them lay alongside in their Canoes and amuse themselves as they thought proper. In the afternoon I had a present of a Cloak and a Hog from King Terre'oboo who with his retinue made me a visit, in the Evening they left the Ship, and soon after a principal Aree whose name was Per'rare¹ call'd on board; during my stay in the Cabin with him a Rascal by some means got up the Ship's side, run across the deck in the face of every body there, snatch'd the Armourers Tongs together with a Chisel & jump'd overboard; this was done so instantaneously that the fellow was in the Water before our People well saw what he was about. A Canoe immediately took him in and made for the shore; I heard the alarm, ran upon deck and being made-acquainted with the business order'd the People to fire at them, at the same time M^r Edgar the Master put off in the small Cutter in chase of the Canoe, which was presently out of the reach of our Muskets, however as I saw the Resolutions Pinnace join the chase, and Cap^t Cook run alongshore to intercept the fellows landing I concluded it impossible for him to escape all, and the closing of the Evening preventing a farther prospect of the business, I was very easy expecting soon to have the Boat back with the Tongs &c, but it was near 8 before M^r Edgar return'd, and then with such a story as I was a good deal hurt at. In the first place Cap^t Cook was led altogether out of the way by those who undertook to be his guides—the Pinnace and Cutter persued and run the Canoe where the Culprit had taken refuge onshore, when the stolen goods were brought off and return'd them, but M^r Edgar thinking some punishment ought to be inflicted for such infamous conduct, he siez'd the Canoe which brought off the Thief; the Boat happen'd to be it of Per'rares that had brought him onboard and was waiting his pleasure whilst he was with me in the Cabin, this looks very suspicious in M^r Per'rare but if he did give countenance to these thefts he added shamefull ingratitude to his perfidy, for I had at various times been very attentive & liberal to him; however he left me soon after the Theft was committed with a promise of a speedy return with the plunder, which to do him justice he had frequently in these cases retriev'd for me; he reach'd the shore as soon as our Boat, when finding his own Canoe in danger he strenuously opposed the seizure and soon rais'd too numerous a Mob for our Boats Crews to deal

¹ This is Clerke's rendering of Pareā, or Palea.

with, who not readily giving up their capture were warmly attack'd by Per'rare and this Gang he had muster'd with Stones, Clubs &c; it unfortunately happen'd that both the Boats were quite destitute of fire Arms (our friendly connections having lull'd us into too great security) and of course had nothing more than equal Weapons to repel this attack, the consequence of which was a defeat being over-power'd by numbers, and after receiving many hard thumps were glad to get their own Boats off with half their Oars broke, lost &c. This was an unfortunate stroke as matters now stood, as it increas'd the confidence of these People which before was too much bordering upon insolence.

In the morning at daybreak Lieu^t Burney, who was the Officer of the Watch, acquainted me that the large Cutter was taken from the Buoy where we had moor'd and sunk her to prevent the heat of the sun which is here very powerfull from renting¹ the Plank;² upon examining part of her Moorings that was left upon the Buoy and was a 4 inch rope I found plainly it had been cut by some instrument or other, which clearly evinc'd she must have been taken away by the Indians, with which circumstances I directly waited upon Cap^t Cook and made him acquainted, and after some conversation upon the subject he propos'd that his Boats should go to the nw Point of the Bay and mine to the se Point to prevent any Canoes going away and if any attempted it to drive them onshore, for he said he would sieze them all and made no doubt but to redeem them they would very readily return the Boat again. It was now between 6 and 7 o'clock in the morning, I return'd onboard to put these orders into execution and sent Lieu^t Rickman with the Launch and small Cutter with their Crews and some Marines well arm'd to the station Cap^t Cook had assign'd them; I soon after took the Jolly Boat (which now was the only Boat I had left) and came to the Resolution with an intention of having some more discourse with Cap^t Cook upon this business, but when I came near the Ship Lieu^t Gore told me that Cap^t Cook was gone with his Pinnace, Launch and small Cutter to a Town situated just within the nw Point,³ where King Terre'oboo and the major part of the People of consequence then resided, upon which I return'd to my Ship, concluding as Cap^t Cook was gone to the King, matters would soon be settled, for we were as yet by no means upon bad terms either with Arees or any body else. There were at this time

¹ i.e. rending or splitting: the form is now obsolete, apart from dialect.

² "... this Theft was the more easily committed as the Boat was left full of Water to preserve her from the Sun; which made the upper part of her Gunnel even with the water's edge."—Burney M.

³ The 'town' of Kaawaloa.

many small Canoes trading about the Ships; soon after I got onboard I observ'd some Muskets discharg'd from my Launch and small Cutter upon which I sent the Jolly Boat to know how matters went, and Orders to Lieu^t Rickman if he had made any seizures of Canoes to send them to the Ship by the Jolly Boat. It was now just 8 O'clock when we were alarm'd by the discharge of a Volley of small Arms from Cap^t Cooks People and a violent shout of the Indians; with my Glass I clearly saw that our People were drove off to their Boats but I could not distinguish Persons in that confused Croud;¹ the Pinnace & Launch however continued the fire and the Resolution who was near enough to throw her shot onshore fir'd her Cannon among them; thus circumstanc'd without any Boat to go to their assistance and consequently destitute of all means of rendering them any kind of service I was oblig'd to wait the return of these engag'd Boats to hear the event of these unhappy differences; the Crews having fir'd away their ammunition return'd to the Resolution and Lieu^t Williamson who commanded them upon this duty soon after came onboard the Discovery with the melancholy account that Cap^t Cook and four Marines had fallen in this confounded fray and that the rest of the Marines who were onshore, were with difficulty sav'd, three of whom were much wounded, particularly the Lieu^t M^r Phillips who was a good deal bruiz'd by blows of stones and had reciev'd a deep stab with an Iron spike in his Shoulder. I immediately went onboard the Resolution, sent a strong party of People to protect the Astronomers at their Tents and Carpenters who were at work upon the Mast on the Eastern side of the Bay, and reciev'd the following account of this most unhappy disaster from Lieu^t Phillips who with his Marines was onshore and present throughout the whole with Cap^t Cook.

↑ Cap^t Cook landed at the Town situate within the nw point with his Pinnace & Launch, leaving the small Cutter off the Point to prevent the escape of any Canoes that might be dispos'd to get off, at his Landing he order'd 9 Marines which we had in the Boats and myself onshore to attend him and immediately march'd into the Town where he enquir'd for Terre'oboo and the 2 Boys (his sons who had liv'd principally with Cap^t Cook onboard the Resolution since Terre'oboo's first arrival among us). Messengers were immediately dispatch'd and the 2 Boys soon came and conducted us to their Fathers house.² After waiting some time on the outside Cap^t Cook

¹ Cf Burney M: '... with Glasses we could see Cap^t Cook receive a Blow from a Club and fall off a Rock into the Water.'

² According to Harvey, 14 February, the king's house 'might be at the distance of an hundred yards from the water's edge'.

doubted the old Gentlemen being there and sent me in that I might inform Him. I found our old acquaintance just awoke from Sleep when upon my acquainting him that Cap^t Cook was at the door, he very readily went with me to Him. Cap^t Cook after some little conversation observ'd that Terre'oboo was quite innocent of what had happen'd and proposed to the old Gentleman to go onboard with him, which he readily agree'd to, and we accordingly proceeded towards the Boats, but having advanc'd near to the Water side an elderly Woman whose name was Kar'na'cub'ra¹ one of his Wives came to him and with many tears and intreaties beg'd he would not go onboard, at the same time 2 Chiefs laid hold of him and insisting that he should not, made him sit down;² the old Man now appear'd dejected and frighten'd. It was at this period we first began to suspect that they were not very well dispos'd towards us, and the Marines being huddled together in the midst of an immense Mob compos'd of at least 2 or 3 thousand People, I propos'd to Cap^t Cook that they might be arrang'd in order along the Rocks by the Water side which he approving of, the Croud readily made way for them and they were drawn up accordingly: we now clearly saw they were collecting their Spears &c, but an Artful Rascal of a Priest was singing & making a ceremonious offering of a Coco Nut to the Cap^t and Terre'oboo to divert their attention from the Manœuvres of the surrounding multitude. Cap^t Cook now gave up all thoughts of taking Terre'oboo onboard with the following observation to me, "We can never think of compelling him to go onboard without killing a number of these People," and I believe was just going to give orders to embark, when he was interrupted by a fellow arm'd with a long Iron Spike (which they call a Pah'hoo'ah)³ and a Stone; this Man made a flourish with his Pah'hoo'ah, and threaten'd to throw his stone upon which Cap^t Cook discharg'd a load of small shot at him but he having his Mat on the small shot did not penetrate it, and had no other effect than farther to provoke and encourage them, I could not observe the least fright it occasion'd; immediately upon this an Aree arm'd with a Pah'hoo'ah attempted to stab me but I foil'd his attempt by giving him a severe blow with the Butt End of my Musket, just at this time they began to throw stones, and one of the Marines was knock'd down, the Cap^t then fir'd a ball and kill'd a Man. They now made a general attack and the Cap^t gave orders to the Marines to fire and

¹ Kaneikapolei.

² "This enraged Cap^t: Cook very much as he was not accustomed to have his intentions, Frustrated, by any person; and had but little command over himself in his anger . . . — Gilbert. But Gilbert was not there.

³ *pahoa*, dagger.

afterwards called out "Take to the Boats". I fir'd just after the Cap^t and loaded again whilst the Marines fir'd; almost instantaneously upon my repeating the Orders to take to the Boats I was knock'd down by a stone and in rising receiv'd a Stab with a Pah'hoo'ah in the shoulder, my Antagonist was just upon the point of seconding his blow when I shot him dead, the business was now a most miserable scene of confusion—the Shouts and Yells of the Indians far exceeded all the noise I ever came in the way of, these fellows instead of retiring upon being fir'd at, as Cap^t Cook and I believe most People concluded they would, acted so very contrary a part, that they never gave the Soldiers time to reload their Pieces but immediately broke in upon and would have kill'd every man of them had not the Boats by a smart fire kept them a little off and pick'd up those who were not too much wounded to reach them.¹—After being knock'd down I saw no more of Cap^t Cook, all my People I observ'd were totally vanquish'd and endeavouring to save their lives by getting to the Boats. —I therefore scrambled as well as I could into the Water and made for the Pinnacle which I fortunately got hold of, but not before I receiv'd another blow from a stone just above the Temple which had not the Pinnacle been very near would have sent me to the Bottom.²

¹ 'the Corporal had loaded again, and received a Stab in the Belly when up to the middle in the Water. he fired at the Indian, who gave it and directly after fell dead.'—Burney M. The corporal was James Thomas.

² To this account may be added some extracts from other journals, though none of the men quoted were on the beach or, apparently, otherwise eye-witnesses. But they were interested enough to record what mixture of fact and opinion they heard in the subsequent talk. Watts records that when the Hawaiians began to be threatening, 'this Cap^t Cook resented by firing a blank charge at one of the most officious of them, but this piece of ill timed humanity in the Cap^t only exaggerated the difficulty & encreased the audacity of the Chiefs. . . . The stone-throwing attack was made. . . . This the Boats perceiving began on their parts a brisk fire. The Cap^t perceiving this done without Orders turned to the Boats waved his hand & ordered with much warmth an immediate cessation, in the mean time the marines with the same undisciplined infatuation begun a fire also & the Attack on both sides became general. In the mean time Cap^t Cook finding his Orders against firing either not heard or disregarded approached the Boats to see them complied with & as he came near the Waters edge received a stab from a Chief behind him somewhere near the shoulder blade upon which he staggered a few paces & fell into the Water when two or three of the Natives jumped upon him & beat [him] about the head with Stones until he expired notwithstanding some brave personal struggles even in the Agonies of Death. Cap^t Cook it seems had beckoned the Boats in, in order to return to the Ship. The Pinnacle came in as far as the bottom would admit. The Launch did not attempt to come in. When our Cap^t fell all was confusion & the Marines plunged into the Water & made for the Boats. . . . The small Cutter commanded by M^r Lanyon Masters Mate came timely to Assistance but M^r Williamson forbade the Boats to approach the Shore & accordingly as soon as those that had escaped were taken in the Boats returned to the Ship. . . . Harvey gives a longer account, with some different points of emphasis; he also pictures Williamson's part as discreditable. The natives arming, were taken notice of by the officer of marines, 'who immediately acquaint^d the Cap^t with what he had seen, and told him that from the behaviour of the Indians that he imagin^d an attack was intended, the Cap^t made light of the intelligence, and from his actions, I imagine he thought that they were only arming themselves to act upon the defensive, that is to say, to protect the King from being taken off by force, which is very natural for them to think so, as the Cap^t had the

This is the substance of Lieu^t Phillips relation of this most unfor-

Marines drawn up close by him, The Indians now began to be more daring & insulting as their arm'd men increas'd, M^r Phillips still kept urging the Cap^t to embark (Well Sir says he Shall I draw up the Marines close to the Waters edge in order to secure a retreat for I see plainly by the Indians actions it will become necessary, the Cap^t reply'd that there was no occasion, but that he might if he wou'd, and seem'd to grant it because the other had ask'd it.) accordingly the Marines was drawn up in a rank intire as close to the water's edge as they cou'd conveniently stand which was upon craggy rocks, the shore bold too, they had hardly gain'd their station, when the Indians began to heave stones at a great rate, for all this the Cap^t instead of repairing to the Boats as he was urg'd to do, but premitted the greatest insults from them to such a degree that for the security of his own person he was oblig'd to shoot two of them, and y^e Officer of Marines another, even after this by an infatuation that is altogether unaccountable continued to trifle away his time on the shore and did not attempt to recover the Boats until the attack was begun when he order'd the Marines to fire and to take to the Boats, no sooner were the Marines peices discharg'd when the Boats began and did great execution, but when being waved to come in to take them off, those in the Boats thought it was to desist from firing which they did as they were rowing towards the shore, which the Indians immediately perceived, and before the Boats cou'd take them off they rush'd in upon them knock'd down the Cap^t, the Corporal and four private Marines which they kill'd. . . . M^r Roberts one of the Master's mates who commanded the Pinnacle behaved with great courage and resolution, as likewise did the Officer of Marines, the whole action . . . had the Launch and small Cutter been as near the shore as the Pinnacle it was a shame that they were not, it wou'd have gone a great way in saving some of those unfortunate men, for it was impossible that the Pinnacle cou'd take them all off, in that confusion which was at that time without her being seiz'd and drag'd on shore for one of them was seen in the water up to his chin very eagerly waving for the Launch to come to his assistance the Launch's crew was as eager to go to his assistance but they were threaten to be shot [altered from the officer threaten to shoot] the first Man that pull'd a stroke; the whole action was so near the water's edge that the Captain & two others were kill'd in the water, supposing the Launch cou'd not have sav'd any of them, but by keeping closer in shore & kept up a constant fire, as they had plenty of ammunition, it wou'd have hinder'd the Indians carrying off the dead Bodys in that triumphing manner as they did, beats of them with Clubs whilst others were dragging them over the rocks before our faces. The Indians fought with that undaunted courage which is peculiar to Indians. . . . [What added to their courage was that they had never felt more than small shot from fowling piece or pistol before.] Bayly records that when news came of a man being killed on the other side of the bay, and the natives began to arm, 'At this time Cap^t Cooke seemed to be in some dilemma how to act . . . he expressed himself to that effect. . . . They begun to be very insolent & one of them threw some Bread fruit against Cap^t Cook's face for which the Cap^t gave him a punch on the Breast with the but of his double barrel'd gun (which he had in his hand) and the man ran away among the crowd. Directly another man aimed a large stone at Cap^t Cook's head but was prevented by the Sergeant of Marines—Cap^t Cooke discharged one of his barrels (loaded with Small shot) at him but wounded an Innocent man in the Back. But seeing the right man he discharged his other Barrel at him & kill'd him. . . . he and M^r Phillips were following after [the Marines] but he seeing a man coming behind him to strike him he turn'd round & the Indian ran back & he walked toward the boat again but a little before he came to the water, a man run across behind him & struck him on the back part of the head with a Stick which stun'd him, he staggered forward & was recovering himself when a man run to him & Stab'd him in the back part of the neck between the shoulders with a *Pahowey* or Iron spike, & he fell into a gully or chasm where the water flow[s] in between the rocks then struck him several times while in the water & then drag'd him out on the Rocks where they Stab'd him in many parts of the Body. . . . During the whole the Launch lay at a distance without firing a shot. M^r Williamson contented himself with sending in the small cutter, the Young Gentlemen in her fired most of their Ammunition which nearly drove the Indians all off the rocks, & had the Launch rowed in, it was the general opinion some Lives might have been saved, or at least some if not all the bodies brought off. . . . NB The above seems to me to be the true state of the affair—from the different relations of the matter, given by the people who were there.' Edgar adds to the testimony that ' . . . had Capt. Cooke come down to the boats directly as he was advised he most probably would have sav'd his life,

fortunate event, to which I must add one circumstance more in justice to his Gallantry and attention—he had not been many seconds in the Boat and of course scarcely recover'd from the disagreeable sensations occasion'd by the Pah'hoo'ah and Stones when he saw one of his marines who was but a very poor swimmer and now farther disabled by wounds just upon the point of sinking, he immediately jump'd overboard again caught the man by the Hair and brought him to the Boat—far the major part of these Pah'hoo'ahs with which many of the Aree's are now arm'd and is their most deadly weapon, were furnish'd them by ourselves—the Aree's ever seem'd very desirous of them and we troubled ourselves very little about the use they propos'd them for.¹ Old Terre'oboo got two from Cap^t Cook & one from me no longer ago than yesterday evening. Some time before the attack was made intelligence was brought from the other side of the Bay, that the Boats there under the command of Lieu^t Rickman had kill'd a man who was somewhat of an Aree,² which our people observ'd seem'd in some degree to disconcert them, but this was some time before they proceeded to violent measures. How this unhappy business was brought about, is very hard to determine, to all appearance it was by no means a premeditated plan. On the part of Terre'oboo if we consider his conduct throughout, we must acquit him of any bad intentions; his Son the young Prince Ka'oo'ah³ was setting in the Pinnacle with M^r Roberts one of the Mates (who then commanded her) with intention of comming off to the Ship at the time the first Gun was fir'd by Cap^t Cook, the poor Boy then said he was frighten'd and beg'd to be put on shore which was immediately comply'd with.⁴ As to their being arm'd with their Pah'hoo'ahs it was always the case, those who had them were so proud of the acquisition that they never went any where without them, and as to their Stones, Nature has furnish'd them most abundantly in every part of their Country. Upon the whole I firmly believe matters would not have been carried to the extremities they were had not Cap^t Cook attempted to chastize a man in the midst of this multitude, firmly believing as his last resource, in case of necessity that the fire of

but he too wrongly thought as he said that the Flash of a Muskett would disperse the whole Island, led on by these Ideas he hearken'd to no Advice, till it was too late.

¹ 'On our first arrival, the best articles of Trade were Beads or Buttons sewed on slips of cloth to wear about their wrists, and Iron wrought into small Adzes in imitation of their own. latterly Iron Spikes from 18 Inches to 2½ feet long, worked in the form of their own wooden Daggers, were given. these were called *Pahooah*: and few things that we set any value upon could be procured without them.'—Burney M, 3 February.

² 'A very principal Chief', says King; see p. 556 below.

³ The younger of the two who were with the king, Keoua Pe'cale.

⁴ 'The People in the Boats, at first had so little apprehensions of any danger from the Indians, that when the firing began on Shore, the Pinnacle put close in to the Rocks to let Kaowwa Land, as he was much frightened and asked to go.'—Burney M.

his Marines would undoubtedly disperse them—this idea was certainly founded upon great experience among various nations of Indians in different parts of the World, but the unhappy event to day prov'd it in this case however fallacious. One very strong argument that they would not have proceeded thus had not Cap^t Cook first unfortunately fir'd is, but a very few minutes before the fray began they readily clear'd a way for the Marines to march down to the Water side just by where the Boats lay (as I have before observ'd) had Cap^t Cook then been dispos'd to go off: M^r Phillips is of opinion from all appearance at that time they would have given him no interruption, now had they been previously determin'd upon the ensuing business, the attack upon the Marines would have been made with more safety to themselves and efficacy to their cause when in the midst of the Mob than when they were properly drawn up; this was too obvious an advantage to escape their sagacity, as to their collecting their Spears &c as M^r Phillips observ'd some time previous to the attack, he is of opinion and I think very justly that this arose from an apprehension that some force might be us'd in getting Terre'oboo to the ship which I believe they were determin'd to oppose to the last extremity—however be these matters as they may the unfortunate business was now done and it behov'd me to take the most effectual methods I could suggest to prevent more. As I before observ'd I sent a strong party of People which were commanded by Lieu^t King to the Eastern side of the bay to defend the Astronomers and the Carpenters at work upon the Fore Mast. I soon observ'd a vast concourse of the Natives assembling near them when by the assistance of a spring upon the Discoverys Cable I was enabled to throw her 4 Pounders about their Quarters, being well within Distance, which in a great measure dispers'd this association; but I could not do it effectually, they had such retreats behind a number of Stone Walls with which their Villages and all the parts adjacent abound and which I now suppose are purpos'd as places of retirement when annoy'd by the Enemy. The vast number of people I observ'd collecting in various parts of the Bay and the resolution they had display'd in the attack as represented by the Lieu^{ts} Williamson and Phillips render'd them I thought rather a formidable enemy, and that the safest and best method we could take would be to get every thing from the Shore to the Ships where we could work at our leisure and they could not possibly annoy us without inevitable destruction to themselves, I therefore order'd the Observatories and Fore Mast to be got off with all expedition. I make no doubt but we might have protected these matters on shore with a good stout party but they would have been continually

harrass'd and the Work impeded, and had any unlucky accident gain'd them the possession of the Fore Mast though only for a few Minutes, we should have been totally ruin'd in respect to another Northern Campaigne, which is certainly now my principal object to forward. Our party onshore under Lieu^t King were arrang'd on an eminence that the Natives had thrown up for a Morai which gave them great advantages, as they commanded every thing around them; the Indians however made 2 or 3 faint attacks with Stones thrown from slings, but they were immediately repuls'd with the loss in the whole of 10 or 12 Men, indeed they could not collect themselves to a formidable body for the fire from the Discovery.¹ By noon we had got all our Men and other Matters on board, and the Foremast alongside; with our Glasses we could clearly discern the Indians busied in conveying the dead bodies over a Hill up the Country. I cannot help here lamenting my own unhappy state of Health which sometimes is so bad as hardly to suffer me to keep the Deck and of course farther incapacitates me for the succeeding so able a Navigator as my honour'd friend and Predecessor, however here are very able Officers and I trust with a firm dependance upon Providence, that with their assistance I may be able to prosecute the remaining part of their Lordships instructions with that zeal and alacrity as may procure me the honour of their approbation. The Marines who fell with Captain Cook were Corporal Thomas, Theophilus Hincks, John Allen & Thomas Fatchet, the Lieu^t Serjeant and 2 others wounded.

END MOND. 15. Little Winds, Sea and Land breezes with fine Wear. As **READING** there was still a vast concourse of People where this unfortunate fray happen'd, I had some notion of taking a stout party onshore, make what distruction among them I could, then burn the Town, Canoes &c for I have no doubt but Fire Arms must drive every thing before them where you take room for action, but the Officers who had been present at the fray observ'd that though our Muskets must in the end prove effectual, such were their numbers, resolution and advantageous retreats behind these Walls that the attempt would doubtlessly cost us some and probably many men; that we labour'd under great disadvantages in Landing which we were there oblig'd to do upon slippery Rocks where our people with Shoes could hardly stand and they having the fair use of the foot were perfectly masters of themselves; upon these considerations as the loss of a very few Men would now be most severely felt by us I thought it would be improper and

¹ 'In justice to the Natives it must be said they were resolute [intrepid *deleted*] & tho we killed several of them they would confront our fire to carry off the Bodies of their Slain.'—Watts.

probably injurious to the expedition to risk farther loss of the People,¹ I therefore determin'd to turn all our endeavours towards forwarding the equipment of the Resolution as we were now really in a tatter'd condition—Our Fore Mast out, our Rigging about the Decks &c—and as soon as we were in any tolerable order, if they did not conduct themselves with some degree of propriety, to warp her within a proper distance of the Town and by landing under our own Guns throughly convince them that it was to our lenity not our imbecility that they ow'd their safety, so we got our Foremast into the Ship, plac'd it Fore and Aft upon the Fore Castle and Quarter Deck and set the Carpenters of both Ships to work upon it: in the Evening I sent the boats of the 2 Ships well man'd and arm'd under the Command of Lieu^{ts} King and Burney with a flag of truce, with orders by no means whatever to land but advance near enough to hold conversation and demand the bodies of our People particularly Cap^t Cooks. Upon M^r Kings arrival near the Shore and making known his demands they appear'd quite elate with joy at the prospect of a reconciliation, threw away their Slings and Mats which were their Weapons and Armour, extended their Arms and in short seem'd happy in suggesting every mode of demonstrating their satisfaction. An old fellow whose name is Co'ah'ah² with whom we had all along been acquainted, with a white flag in his Hand swam off to the small Cutter where our flag was, and promis'd we should have the body of Cap^t Cook tomorrow but that it was carried too far up the Country to be brought down tonight, these assurances M^r King likewise recieved from many other People with whom he convers'd by the Water side.³ M^r Burney was some little distance from M^r King and talk'd with different People, he says he clearly understood some of them that the Body was cut up,⁴ however from their fair promises I hop'd the morrow would

¹ 'The Command now devolv[ing] to Cap^{tn} Clerke who immediately order'd the Ships to be unmoor'd & to warp them before the Town and to destroy it with our great Guns which had been play'd upon [it] ever since the first attack, but after some little consultation, which as we may say the second thoughts are always suppos'd to be the best, the unmooring of the Ships was postpon'd to the discontent of both Ship's Companys, . . . as we wanted the dead bodys to give them a proper interment . . . '—Harvey.

² Koa.

³ 'The Chiefs during the parley behav'd very well not the least appearance of treachery among them, the lower class was insulting, who strutted about with our peoples Jacketts & Trouzers on, others flourishing Cutlashes Hangers & Bayonets, defying us to come on shore making motions how they wou'd serve us as they did our companions, by cutting off the heads arms & legs, if we came on shore, some of them was seen to turn up their naked breach for us to fire at them but as they did not immediately attack us, we were not to fire at them, but being order'd on b^d the boats crews as well as the officers who were all Volunteers were highly vex'd as they went on purpose to be reveng'd for the death of so noble a Commander.'—Harvey.

⁴ 'the reason given why the Bodies were not delivered to night, was that they were carried some distance up into the Country. At another part of the Town, however, the Indians made Motions which we thought Signified they were cut to pieces. and one