

FROM TASMAN TO MARSDEN.

BY ROBERT MCNAB.

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FROM TASMAN TO MARSDEN.

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A HISTORY
OF NORTHERN NEW ZEALAND
FROM 1642 TO 1818.

BY

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PREFACE.

THIS work is one of a series intended ultimately to cover the period of New Zealand history between the discovery of the Islands by Tasman in 1642, and the Proclamation of British Sovereignty and the appointment of a Governor over them in 1840. So far the author has covered, of that ground, the history of the southern portion of New Zealand and of the islands lying to the south, all geographically, but not all politically, connected with New Zealand. This will be found in "Murihiku," for the period from 1642 to 1829, and in "The Old Whaling Days," for the period from 1830 to 1840. This volume makes a commencement on the history of the northern portion, and brings it down, with more or less completeness, to 1818.

The division into northern and southern districts is largely artificial, and the author has found it necessary, here and there, to repeat portions of his former work. This is so in the case of Tasman's movements on the coast, and of Cook's discovery of Queen Charlotte Sound and Cook Strait; and his doings in that locality had to be reviewed to make complete a narrative of his survey of the North Island. The story of the *Betsy* had to be given once more to complete the northern events of the year 1815. In all cases only so much material was repeated as was necessary to bring the events then being dealt with to a suitable stopping place.

The author has treated the Kermadec Islands as within the area of Northern New Zealand, but he has not thought it advisable to deal with the latest additions to the Dominion in the form of the Cook Islands. These can be best treated in a work dealing with the South Pacific Islands generally; there is nothing to connect them with New Zealand, any more

than with Australia or with South America. In the case of the Kermadecs the sperm whaling ships formed a connecting link between them and the Bay of Islands, but even then, beyond the facts of their discovery, stray mention by whalers, and the description of the great volcanic upheavals of the year 1814, they are rather barren of story or incident.

On the occasion of the publication of his last book the author intimated his intention of reviewing the whole field after he had completed the northern area. As a consequence of this decision he has reduced the size of this volume by one-half, and will make an effort to bring out a volume every year, it now being no longer necessary to delay proceeding to press until the field is exhausted. The author hopes that the change in his plans will be found acceptable to his readers. The Appendices found in former volumes have now been discarded, the intention being to carry them all forward to the volumes of the "Records" published by the Government, thus avoiding duplicate publication.

Since "The Old Whaling Days" was published last year the author has had a remarkable illustration shewn him of the hopelessness of delaying publication until every fact of historical importance was unearthed. By the kindness of the Chief Justice of New South Wales he was permitted to peruse the Supreme Court papers of the very earliest days of the Sydney Settlement, and in them he found a great quantity of material relating to the New Zealand sealing trade, principally in the form of disputes between master and man in the interpretation of their contracts of employment, but also claims for insurance on damage done by ships, administration papers, &c. So valuable is this material from the point of view of New Zealand history, that had it not been already in the author's mind to republish later on, his examination of these papers would have rendered it necessary for him to have done so. Life is too short, and one's readers are in too great a hurry, to wait until a work is complete before publishing the results.

The Natives and Native history is a subject on which the author has always felt himself weak. This did not matter

when dealing with Southern New Zealand, as the Natives did not bulk largely in the narrative, but as we come north that is altered. Although the work is limited to Europeans, and treats of the Natives only so far as they come into contact with the Europeans, the author is having gradually to import the Native race more and more into the narrative. In doing this he has accepted the identity of chiefs, and the spelling of their names, adopted in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, and, where there is no mention of them there the name as given in the source of information is adopted. It will be of inestimable value to the author if Maori scholars, and others who are familiar with any Maori name or word wrongly reproduced, would communicate that fact to the author in time to have it corrected for his final work. In this connection the author would tender his thanks to Mr. S. Percy Smith for reviewing all references to Maoris and Maori names in "The Old Whaling Days." Owing to the word "Maori" not having been found by him applied to the aboriginal race up to the year 1818, the author in his narrative designates them "New Zealanders" or "Natives," except where his feelings get the better of him and he calls them harsh names.

The period of 176 years dealt with in this volume may be divided into several periods. The first covers the days of the great discoverers, commencing in 1642 with Tasman, continuing with Cook, De Surville, Marion, and Furneaux, and ending, in 1793, with D'Entrecasteaux. We have thus to deal with the doings of three Frenchmen, two Englishmen, and one Dutchman.

To obtain the material used when dealing with Tasman, Heere's translation of that navigator's Journal, published in Amsterdam in 1898, has been used as the last and most critical word on the question; in addition, the sailor's Journal has been copied, translated, and utilised. The chapters relating to Cook have been compiled largely from his Journal, and from that of Banks. A log of the *Endeavour*, supposed to be Lieutenant Hicks', now in the possession of Mr. A. H. Turnbull, of Wellington, has also been consulted. Cook's

"Voyages" have been drawn upon, but with caution, for, as the reader knows, they were written by a man who did not accompany the Expedition, and naturally must be adopted only after careful consideration. In the case of De Surville, the story of his visit to New Zealand had only been told in the most meagre manner, and the Journals of his Expedition had not been seen for probably a century when they were unearthed by the author during a visit to Paris in 1910. The author claims to be supplying to his readers the first full account of De Surville's visit to New Zealand ever written. Marion's fate was recounted from Journals kept on board the two ships belonging to the Expedition, and as none of them was utilised in the preparation of the French account, given to us in English by Ling Roth, a fair amount of new matter is now available. A hitherto unpublished Journal kept on board the *Adventure* supplied the information regarding Furneaux's visit, and D'Entrecasteaux's short visit is taken from his published work. All the Journals which have been used relating to Tasman, De Surville, Marion, and Furneaux, as well as Hicks' Journal, will be found reproduced in Vol. II. of the "Historical Records of New Zealand," now on the eve of publication, and the author would commend their perusal there, to all readers of this book, as objects of the greatest interest.

The second period deals generally with the beginning of trade in timber and in oil, and material for the narrative of it had to be picked up in all manner of places. In the first volume of the "Historical Records of New Zealand" has already been published a great deal of correspondence under this head, and, for the rest, up to 1803 when the *Sydney Gazette* was first published, the gaps were filled from King's manuscript Journal now in the Petherick Collection in Melbourne, and a few very early books containing isolated references to still more isolated incidents. From 1803 onwards, the outward and inward movements of the whalers at Port Jackson supplied many valuable references. The details of the massacre of the *Boyd* and its sequel were got, in the main, from Mr. Berry's letters to the *Scots Magazine* of 1818 and 1819,

found one day while examining an old book shop in Motherwell, Lanark, Scotland, and identified as the original Articles relative to the *Boyd* in "Adventures of British Seamen," published by Constable in 1827.

The third period covers 1814 to 1818, the days of the first European Settlement which was established by the C.M.S. to pave the way for the coming of the missionaries. Its arrival at the Bay of Islands brings into the narrative an entirely new class of material, as the work of the missionaries had to do with the Natives almost wholly. While the author hopes to do justice to the Mission, it is not his intention to follow the movements of its members with that detail which would be expected of him were he engaged on a work dealing wholly with it. The Mission will be treated as a Settlement, and anything connected with its doings which influenced European trade will be recorded as well as the author can with the limited means at his disposal. The missionaries were naturally biassed—not using the term offensively—and in their eyes the Natives could do no wrong. We know what the sailor was; in his eyes the Natives could do no right. Between these two conflicting authorities—because these are our only authorities—we have to try and come to an accurate conclusion. Aiding us are the *Missionary Register*, published in London by the Church Missionary Society and containing great quantities of material in the form of Letters and Reports, Nicholas' "Voyage to New Zealand," published in 1817, and the *Sydney Gazette*, which opened its columns alike to missionary and sailor. Of unpublished manuscripts relating to the Mission, the largest collection in the world is in the Hocken Library in Dunedin, and it is to be hoped that at no distant date we may have these available for the general reader as well as the student in the "Historical Records." Unfortunately the author was unable to get to London during the past year, otherwise the papers of the C.M.S. would have been searched for further and more detailed information. However, there is a good time coming.

Owing to the great number of applications for information regarding the dawn of agriculture in New Zealand, the author has gone to special pains to give details of the very earliest arrival of domestic animals, and of the introduction of the plants and vegetables of civilised countries. Under the heading of "Agriculture" will be found in the Index the material set out in chronological order. As usual, some of the old ideas have to go by the board, for example Cook's introduction of the pig into New Zealand. It was to King, first as Lieut.-Governor of Norfolk Island, and then as Governor of New South Wales, that we are indebted for the pig and the goat, and horses and cattle were introduced by Marsden in 1814. It will come as a shock to "Old Identities" of 25 years standing to learn that if the first white child born of New Zealand settlers in New Zealand were alive to-day he would have celebrated his 99th birthday last February.

Before concluding, the author would again remind his readers that if they have access to manuscripts relating to New Zealand, of a date earlier than 1840, to kindly let him know, so that he may be able to preserve them by giving them due publicity. Any scrap of writing dealing with New Zealand, and dated prior to 1815, is of such importance that it will be printed in the "Records" if the editor gets hold of it. This, of course, is an extreme case, but almost anything has a place. During the later "thirties" of last century there were great numbers of European settlers and whalers along the coast, and their descendants are with us to-day; any manuscripts handed down by them are the very material wanted to reproduce the life and times of these old veterans. As generations may pass before another individual is found foolish enough to worry out all the detail of our early history, and as by that time the material will have become even more difficult to get than it is now, every descendant of a settler who came to New Zealand before the Treaty of Waitangi (1840), and who desires to see perpetuated a record of his people, should put what material he has at the author's disposal.

The author has introduced into this work a system of recording the names given by the first discoverers, and in the exact form given by them. So many changes have taken place in local names that it is not always easy to ascertain whether a name was given by or on account of one of the great voyagers. Mount Cook was not named by Cook, although Cook Strait was. Again, the name originally given has sometimes been altered without being materially changed, as for instance the Thames River, so named by Cook, is now Hauraki Gulf down near the open sea, the Firth of Thames where more confined higher up, and the Waihou River where, in the form of a fresh-water river, it runs into the sea. The recording of the names, with the reasons given in the discoverer's own words, should prove useful to students. Where, as in the case of De Surville and Marion, the names have not been adopted, they are given for reference. Though Lauriston Bay was given after Cook had called it Doubtless Bay, there is no reason why Chevalier Cove and Refuge Cove should not, even now, be adopted as the first names given by the discoverer to these spots.

In compiling the Bibliography, which is done in the form now adopted for the first time, only those works are quoted which contain matter of sufficient importance to be regarded as authorities; mere rearrangement of matter already published does not entitle an author to have his work mentioned. In connection with events like the massacre of the *Boyd*'s crew, where later writers have recorded other versions of the catastrophe, the author intends to leave these to be dealt with when the history of that date is being chronicled, and then include them in the Bibliography. Whether they are more correct than the earlier recorded stories of the massacre will never be known, but not having been made public they played no part in the conduct of the Europeans whose actions the author seeks to chronicle, which were controlled, not by what had happened, but by what the Europeans were told had happened.

Duplicates of the notes taken and used by the author in the preparation of this volume have been deposited in the

McNab Collection in the Carnegie Library, Dunedin. There they are available to the student.

The author desires to express his thanks to Captain Lambert, of the T.S.S. *Arahura*, for fixing Tasman's anchorages in the South Island; to Captain Bollons of the G.S.S. *Hinemoa* for identifying the anchorages and the coves mentioned by De Surville in Doubtless Bay, and for checking the calculations made by the author to determine the spot on the East Coast where Cook and De Surville passed one another; and finally, to Mr. J. B. Thompson, the engineer to the Hauraki Plains drainage works, for investigating the site of the great kahikatea forest discovered by Cook on the west bank of what he called the Thames, but which is now known as the Waihou River. Amongst the Libraries to which he was indebted for material the author would mention those of Mr. A. H. Turnbull of Wellington, the Hocken of Dunedin, the Mitchell and the Free Public of Sydney, the Petherick of Melbourne, and the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris.

KNAPDALE, GORE,

11th July, 1914.

ADDENDA.

Page 203, following after the advertisement :

On 21st December the *Queen Charlotte*, a brig belonging to J. Birnie, called in at the Bay on her road to the Society and Marquesas Islands. She had on board the Rev. Wm. Ellis, later on author of a work, "Polynesian Researches," but now on his road to the Society Islands to commence his missionary labours. When opposite Whangaroa numbers of Natives approached the vessel to trade with fish, lines, hooks, and curios, but the Captain refused to allow them on board and compelled all barter to take place direct from the canoes. The day after Ellis' arrival being Sunday, and the second anniversary of Marsden's first sermon in New Zealand, the reverend gentleman was invited to take the service, which he did, and preached to a Native gathering not far from where Marsden's impromptu Church was. The *Queen Charlotte* remained a week at the Bay, during which time Ellis took every opportunity of becoming acquainted with the country, and accompanied the Captain and William Hall in their expeditions to the great kauri forests, from whence the ships obtained their supplies. After procuring a supply of water, food for cattle and sheep, and some timber to build the houses of the Society Islands missionaries, the *Queen Charlotte* sailed on 28th December.

Page 209, at the end of the year 1817 :

These comprised the Rev. John Williams, afterwards to become one of the best-known of the Polynesian missionaries, his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Threlkeld, and Mr. and Mrs. Barff. On 13th September New Zealand was sighted, but, owing to a gale springing up, it was not until the sixteenth that the *Active* anchored in the Bay. Shortly afterwards the Mission settlers came on board and invited their Tahitian brethren to reside on shore with them during their stay. This invitation was readily accepted, and the whole party lived at the Mission Station for the nineteen days the *Active* remained in the Bay.

FROM TASMAN TO MARSDEN.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY BY TASMAN, 1642 AND 1643.

PREPARATORY to giving an account of the discovery of these islands of ours it is well to explain what knowledge of the coastline of this part of the world was available to the voyagers of the early portion of the seventeenth century.

Early as it was, a considerable shipping came round the Cape of Good Hope and made northwards to its destination on the shores of India, or further to the east at Batavia. The duration of these voyages in the slow sailing craft of those days was very protracted, until it struck some enterprising mariner to make his “easting” in the latitude of the Cape, and steer north when about the longitude of his destination. The first man to do this found that it shortened his journey very materially, discovered the western shore of a great continent, and left his name in Dirk Hartog Island, on the west coast of Western Australia. Others followed, until the regular course of the Dutch East India Company’s vessels was to sail east from the Cape of Good Hope until the Australian continent was picked up, and then northwards to their destination.

It was not long before the discoveries of a succession of captains began to evolve the coastline of Australia from well into the Great Australian Bight, round the western fringe of the continent and away north, with larger or smaller breaks, as far as the vicinity of Cape York. The names of these navigators, and the names of many of their ships, are still to be found along the coast. From this rudely ascertained coastline, right across the South Pacific, no navigator had ever explored, and many scientists tenaciously held to

the belief that there existed a great continent, the eastern boundary of which was the said line, and the western extremity, Staten Land, to the south of South America.

Batavia, on the little island of Java, was the centre of civilisation and of commerce of all the land known to the north of this mythical South Land, and in Batavia the Dutch East India Company, holding undisputed commercial sway in the East, had at the time when our narrative opens—1641–2—established its headquarters. To profit by the position, and also to ascertain if a route could be found to South America round the land which had up to now blocked their passage eastwards, considerable correspondence took place between the Directors in Holland and the Governor-General and Councillors in Batavia. Both favoured the scheme and both were eager for it to be put into execution at as early a date as possible, but it was not until August 1642, that there was ready for sea at Batavia the Expedition which was to establish the insularity of Australia and place the western outline of New Zealand on the map of the world.

The best men the Dutch commanded were selected for the Expedition—Abel Janszoon Tasman as commander, and Francis Jacobszoon Visscher as pilot major. The former was a man of 39 years of age, of which nine had been spent in the employment of the Company in India, and was easily the foremost navigator in the Company's service at Batavia at that time. The latter had acquired a wonderful reputation for his close study of navigation, his observance of the ocean currents, and his skill in surveying and charting the various coastlines. Some considerable delay took place in the departure of the Expedition, owing to the necessity of utilising one of the vessels selected on another mission, and Visscher spent a portion of his enforced holiday preparing a "Memoir concerning the discovery of the South-land," dated January 22, 1642, which afterwards was made the basis of the "Instructions" issued to the commander. So much for the principal persons connected with the Expedition.

The two ships selected for the task were the *Heemskerck*, a small war-yacht of 60 tons, and the *Zeehaen*, a flute or long

narrow ship of 100 tons. The former had on board 60, and the latter 50, "of the ablest-bodied seafaring men" to be found in Batavia. They were provisioned for 12 to 18 months, and had a large supply of trade for the inhabitants of any countries they might discover.

The Instructions required the Expedition to make for the Mauritius, thoroughly recruit the health of the men there, then proceed south as far as 52° or 54° , and, if no land was by that time found, steer due east to the longitude of New Guinea or the Solomon Islands, then home to Batavia. If land was found on the eastern trip, its course was to be traversed. Thus would be determined whether there existed a passage from the Indian Ocean to the Southern Pacific, and this might lead to the discovery of a route to South America and enable trade relations to be established between Batavia and that country.

Even at that early date an idea was prevalent that the great unknown South-land might contain gold, owing to the presence of the precious metal in South America. On this point Tasman was instructed to preserve the greatest innocence of demeanour ; he was to inquire "after gold and silver, whether the latter are by them held in high esteem ; making them believe that you are by no means eager for precious metals, you will pretend to hold the same in slight regard, showing them copper, pewter, or lead, and giving them an impression as if the minerals last mentioned were by us set greater value on." As every reader knows, the land when found and explored proved to have some of the richest gold mines in the world.

The eventful voyage was commenced on 14th August 1642, and the run to the Mauritius was completed by 5th September. A month was spent procuring refreshments for the crews and refitting the vessels, and, after a great deal of trouble, Tasman got to sea on 8th October, bound south. When in the 48th parallel it was decided, on the advice of Visscher, to sail eastward on the 44th parallel. The selection of the parallel of latitude was a fortunate one as it enabled Tasman, on 24th November, to sight a new land to which

he gave the name of Antony van Diemen's Land, after the Governor-General who had sent the Expedition out. From 24th November until 5th December, the two ships remained on the coast of what is now known to the world as Tasmania, and then made eastward to carry out the latter part of their instructions, which required them to go east until they reached the longitude of the Solomon Islands.

Still running to the east, under date 13th December, the following entry is to be found in the Journal :—“Towards noon we saw a large, high-lying land, bearing south-east of us about 15 miles distance.” Thus is the discovery of New Zealand recorded. The discovery too was quite unexpected, as on the previous day Tasman had entered in his Journal “The heavy swells still continuing from the south-west, there is no mainland to be expected here to southward.” Within 24 hours he discovered what he thought was a continent stretching across to South America.

No sooner was the land sighted than Tasman turned his ships towards it and summoned the officers of the *Zeehaen* on board his own vessel, when it was resolved to touch at the land as quickly as possible. The high ground between Hokitika and Okarito is generally supposed to have been that first seen by Tasman. By evening enough of the coastline could be discerned to indicate to the voyagers that it was not particularly inviting, and the course was altered more and more to the east to run along the land within easy view of the breakers. The following day Tasman approached Cape Foulwind, and cast anchor for the night, the weather being very calm.

The Cape was passed about midday on 15th December, and Karamea Bight during the afternoon. All the coastal features were detected, but there were no signs of inhabitants on a “very desolate” coast. By evening on the following day Tasman found himself opposite the north of the South Island, and summoned his second council, which decided to follow the outline of the land stretching away towards the east.

On the seventeenth, as the two vessels sailed along the sandy coast towards where the lighthouse now stands, the first indications of inhabitants, in the form of smoke ascending from fires on shore, were observed. During the afternoon of that day the two vessels came very near to the sandspit, and, in the evening, anchored near its extremity. Over this low spit the sailors could see the waters of Golden Bay stretching south to the mainland.

Next day being fine the Expedition sailed into Golden Bay, and, by the afternoon, had reached Separation Point, when a boat was sent ahead from each ship to look out for a fitting anchorage and a convenient watering place. At sunset the anchor was let go in fifteen fathoms. About an hour afterwards lights were observed, and four canoes of Natives were seen close inshore, two of which were coming towards the ships, whereupon the ships' boats returned and reported that they had found 13 fathoms of water half-a-mile from the shore. So far as we can now locate the anchorage it was near Waramanga Beach. As the evening wore on, the Maoris, whose curiosity had prompted them to visit the strange Dutch craft, began to shout out, and to blow an instrument which sounded to Tasman's men like a Moorish trumpet. To the latter the ships' trumpeters replied, and, after an exchange of blasts, the Natives paddled away in the gathering darkness.

To prevent surprises, double watches were kept on board, and muskets, pikes, and cutlasses, were held in readiness for instant use.

The nineteenth of December commenced with every prospect of getting into peaceful touch with the Natives of the new land. In the morning there came off from the shore a boat with thirteen occupants; it consisted of two long narrow prows, set side by side, with planks placed across. The language of the people could not be made out from the vocabularies which had been supplied to the Expedition at Batavia, but the Dutchmen noted their rough voices, their strong boned appearance, the colour of their skins, and the Japanese style of tying the hair in a knot at the back of the

head, surmounted by a large thick white feather. Every effort was made to induce them to come on board, and linen, knives, etc., were displayed, but all to no purpose. After a while the Natives returned to the shore.

Tasman had, on the previous night, summoned a meeting of the Council, and now, in obedience to that summons, the officers of the *Zeehaen* came on board the *Heemskerck*, when it was decided that, as the people appeared to be friendly disposed, and there was good anchoring ground, the vessels should move in closer to the shore. Before this decision was carried into effect, the vessels were visited by seven more canoes. Two of the larger of these appeared specially to direct their attention to the *Zeehaen*; one, with seventeen men on board, paddled round behind, while the other, with thirteen occupants, came within half a stone's throw of the *Heemskerck*. As if they contemplated united action of some kind, the Natives in the two boats kept calling to one another, and paid no attention to the efforts which were made from the *Heemskerck* to divert their attention by a display of goods. At this juncture, and while his vessel was evidently the object of close attention by the Natives, it was unfortunate that the captain of the *Zeehaen* was on board the *Heemskerck*; and the steps he took to put the crew of his vessel on their guard caused a fearful disaster. Why he did not rejoin his ship in the hour of danger cannot be explained; it can only be stated that he sent his quartermaster, with six men, to warn his second mate to be on his guard, to use caution, and, if the Natives offered to come on board, not to allow too many on at one time. He appeared satisfied to leave the vessel without either its captain or its first mate.

When the boat conveying this warning was passing from the one ship to the other, the Natives in the canoe alongside the *Heemskerck* contented themselves with merely calling to those behind the *Zeehaen*, and waving their paddles; the moment, however, that the instructions sent to the junior officer of the *Zeehaen* had been delivered, and the boat was on its return journey, the Natives in the smaller canoe

paddled furiously towards the Dutchmen, the two crafts collided, and in the excitement, one Native, with a long blunt pike-looking instrument, knocked the quartermaster overboard, and the others set upon the Dutchmen with their *meres*, killing three, and mortally wounding a fourth. Three of the sailors, including the quartermaster, plunged or were thrown into the water and swam for the *Heemskerck*, and were picked up by a boat sent to their aid. The Natives had no sooner committed the deed, than they took one of the dead bodies into their canoe, threw another overboard, and paddled off without injury, although a heavy fire was directed against them from the ships. Holman, the captain of the *Heemskerck*, then manned a boat and rowed to the unfortunate craft which had been turned adrift, and in it he found one man dead, and one mortally wounded.

In "Harris' Voyages," published in 1744, Tasman is described as being on board the *Zeehaen*, not on the *Heemskerck*, and the Natives are stated to have come on board the latter vessel, whereupon Tasman sent a boat to put the officers upon their guard. Another variation from our narrative is contained in some of the older authorities in the description of the fight, which is stated to have taken place as the boat was making its way from the *Heemskerck* to the *Zeehaen*, instead of when returning from the latter vessel. Of the authorities for the latter, Burney, in his "Voyages and Discoveries," written in 1813, may be taken as an example. In view of the elaborate care taken in the translation and publication of Tasman's Journal in 1898, by J. E. Heeres of Amsterdam, and the careful scrutiny to which all existing copies were subjected, the version therein contained, which is that adopted by the author, must be accepted as against Harris' and Burney's renderings of the earlier and less exhaustively prepared translations.

Horrified at the awful scene of which the two ships' crews had been witnesses, the captains weighed anchor and set sail.

Emboldened by the success of their first venture, no less than eleven canoes, swarming with Natives, now approached

the Dutch vessels. They were allowed to come close alongside, when they were greeted with a number of shots from the guns, but beyond one man hit by the discharge from the *Zeehaen*, no one appeared to be injured. The Natives, terrified by the volley, paddled away rapidly for the shore. In two of the canoes sails were seen to be hoisted.

About noon, another meeting of the Council was held, when the awful tragedy was discussed, and the following resolution drawn up : "Seeing that the detestable deed of these Natives against four men of the *Zeehaen*'s crew, perpetrated this morning, must teach us to consider the inhabitants of this country as enemies, that therefore it will be best to sail eastward along the coast, following the trend of the land, in order to ascertain whether there are any fitting places, where refreshments and water would be obtainable."

There seems little reason to doubt that the terrible calamity just described could have been averted, had the captain of the *Zeehaen* rejoined his vessel on the first sign of danger. Possibly the deliberations of the Council were not completed, and Janszoon, his place being still on the *Heemskerck*, had no alternative but send instructions to his junior officer what course to follow should the Natives attempt to come on board, but all experience is against a captain absenting himself from his vessel on such an occasion. The instructions having been given to the officers on the *Zeehaen*, the boat had to return to the captain on board the *Heemskerck*, which would not have been necessary had Janszoon rejoined his vessel, instead of simply sending a message. The appearance of the boat passing from one ship to the other suggested to the Natives an attack, the return gave the opportunity. Tasman, while recording with great detail the events connected with the massacre, does not give the names of those killed. Another log, kept by a sailor, gives no information about the attack, but records the names of those who lost their lives—the first Europeans to meet death at the hands of New Zealanders—Jan Tyssen of Oue-ven, Tobias Pietersz of Delft, and Jan Isbrantsz. The fact that one of the dead bodies was taken into the canoe, though it suggested nothing

to the Dutchmen, indicates to us how the victory was that night celebrated by the New Zealanders on the shores of Golden Bay.

The name Staten Land was given to the mainland, "since we deemed it quite possible that this land is part of the great Staten Landt, though this is not quite certain," and that of Murderers Bay to the scene of the disaster.

After a perusal of Tasman's Journal and the charts accompanying it, the scene of this encounter is capable of fairly accurate determination. In coming to a conclusion the author has also had the benefit of the very valuable opinion of Captain Lambert, one of the most experienced navigators on that part of the coast, who has kindly worked out a very careful analysis of Tasman's remarks. His anchorage was in Golden Bay, off Waramanga Beach, and two miles W. by N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. of Separation Point. This spot is ascertained by taking the error known to be present in his calculations at fixed points on the coastline, and applying it to the figures given when recording his anchorage. It also fits in with the position shown in his chart.

Leaving the anchorage, Tasman sailed on a N.E. by N. course, which would take him past Stephens Island and well over to the mainland near the mouth of the Rangitikei River. His first thought was that here he would find a passage into the open South Sea, but as his soundings indicated the near approach of land, he tacked to await the day.

On the twentieth, land was visible on all sides, and Tasman, who was disappointed at not finding a passage to the open South Sea, endeavoured to get out by the road he had come in. At noon he tacked to the north and sailed on until, after breakfast on 21st December, he again picked up the coastline towards the Patea River. Beating about, to get out of the bay in which he appeared to be, his next southern tack brought him across to the South Island, in a direct line with Stephens Island, which he picked up during the afternoon. After running down the coastline of D'Urville Island until Stephens Island was N.N.W. of him, Tasman cast anchor.

Here the Expedition remained from the 21st to the 26th December. The weather proved very unsatisfactory, and as the anchorage was rather exposed, Tasman did not enjoy a very comfortable time. During the second night both ships had to drop second anchors, and the *Heemskerck* was compelled to strike her tops. Throughout the third day the weather was even more threatening. On the twenty-fourth, during a lull in the storm, Tasman summoned the officers of the *Zeehaen* on board his ship, and again pointed out to them the evidences of a passage to the south-east, and intimated that it would be well, when the weather moderated, to search for it and see whether fresh water could be got in that direction. On the 25th the weather moderated, and the vessels were got ready for sea. On the 26th they sailed.

Speaking of this anchorage, Tasman says: "We are lying here in $40^{\circ} 50' S.$ Latitude and Longitude $192^{\circ} 37'$." Counting his errors as present in all his New Zealand reckonings would put him in the same latitude as when anchored in Murderers Bay, and $1^{\circ} 7'' E.$ of that anchorage. The Rangitoto Islands are in the same latitude as Separation Point and $1^{\circ} E.$ of it. If, therefore, the first anchorage was W. of Separation Point, the second must have been just outside the Rangitoto Islands. This position would place Stephens Island N.N.W. as described by Tasman, would also provide a limited protection from the westerly winds which prevailed while the Expedition was at anchor, and would, at the same time, suggest a removal when the wind shifted round to the east.

The sailor differs from Tasman in giving the twenty-second as the date when the vessels anchored, but his description is generally fully as good as that of the commander's. He says they "came into a creek about one mile from the shore." As he is speaking of Dutch miles, which are equivalent to four English miles, he is evidently referring to the shores of D'Urville Island. Our sailor friend also tells us that, on the twenty-fifth, the master of the *Zeehaen*, and the merchant, came on board the *Heemskerck* as guests of the commander, two pigs were killed for the crew, and a tankard

of wine given to every mess "as it was the time of the fair"—the first Christmas celebrations on the coast of New Zealand.

While Tasman's Journal gives the same, Visscher's chart shows, and the sailor's journal gives, a different, latitude for the two anchorages. The site marked on Visscher's chart would place the second anchorage well into Admiralty Bay leading up to the French Pass, which might be read as the "creek" mentioned by the sailor. Roughly speaking the chart would indicate that they were anchored as far south of the Rangitoto Islands, as these are south of Stephens Island, in 33 fathoms, in such a position that the last-mentioned Island bore N.N.W. From this spot one could look straight into the French Pass, and from the same place the jutting headlands to the south and east would hide the Sounds and convey the idea of a straight run of coastline away to the east, exactly as it is shown on the chart.

On the twenty-sixth, easterly weather brought a suitable opportunity of getting away, but when the ships were clear of their anchorage the weather changed to south-easterly and southerly with a stiff breeze. Tasman therefore abandoned the idea of examining whether a passage existed to the south-east, and followed the coastline which he had seen stretching away to the northward. So satisfied was he that a passage would be found to the south-east that the map prepared by Visscher contains a break in the coastline, at the very spot where, 127 years afterwards, Cook discovered the strait.

When the soundings on the northern run gave 60 fathoms Tasman altered his course to the westward, and, at night, wisely lay-to. No land was sighted on the twenty-seventh, and the course was altered to N.E. Again the vessels lay-to for the night. At noon on the twenty-eighth, after running some time on an easterly course, Mt. Karioi, to the south of Whangaroa Harbour, was sighted. This was the first land sighted, so Tasman records in his Journal, since that "seen in 40°," and that was on the twenty-first. What we now call Cape Egmont was not seen, but the lay of the land was surmised and charted. "As far as I could observe," says Tasman, "this coast extends south and north," and, to the Cape, the

name of Pieter Booreel was given, after one of the members of the Council at Batavia. This same day Tasman paid a visit to the *Zeehaen*.

Land was seen on the thirtieth, and on the thirty-first was again in sight, high in some places, and covered with dunes in others. New Year's Day of 1643 was calm, and the ships drifted along a "level and even" coast, "without reefs or shoals," and the boats were on one occasion lowered to tow the *Heemskerck*.

On the morning of 4th January Tasman sighted a Cape with an island off it, and immediately summoned his Council, when it was decided to touch at the island. From the Cape the land was seen falling away to the east, but a course was laid for the island. No landing was made that day however, as it was decided, after consultation with the *Zeehaen*, to run on if the weather proved favourable.

On the fifth, about noon, two boats were lowered, one from the *Heemskerck*, under Visscher, and the other from the *Zeehaen*, under supercargo Gilsemans, to look for water. In a safe but small bay they found good fresh water "coming down in great plenty from a steep mountain," but owing to the surf on the shore it was almost impossible to get at it. The boats then rowed round the island, looking for a better spot. As they rowed along some 30 or 35 Natives were seen moving about—"men of tall stature . . . who called out to them in a very loud voice," and who, "in walking on, took enormous strides." Cultivation was seen only near the solitary stream of running water. After exploring the possibilities of the island the boats returned to the ships, which, towards evening, cast anchor, a small swivel-gun-shot's distance from the land.

The sailor, whose journal is available, accompanied the *Heemskerck's* boat, and says that the Natives threw stones at them as they passed.

On 6th January 1643, the two boats were again sent to the watering place, the men well armed, and the boats provided with water casks. When they were about half-way there, and were attempting to pass "between a certain point

and another large high rock or small island" they found the current so strong that it was all they could do to hold their own in the empty boats, and those in command decided not to expose their small craft to further peril, and made back for the ships. By this time the breeze had freshened, and they were recalled to the ship by a gun. Visscher reported that any attempt to land was too dangerous, as the sea near the shore was everywhere full of rocks, without any sandy ground, thus imperilling both the safety of the men and of the casks. The officers and the second mates were summoned to the inevitable Council, when it was decided to weigh anchor directly, run to the east, as far as longitude 220°, and then shape their course northward.

Thus ended Tasman's visit to New Zealand. From 13th December 1642, to 6th January 1643, the Dutch Expedition was on the coast, and surveyed with wonderful accuracy many hundred miles of it. In all else attempted, however, nothing but the most miserable failure appears to have attended the efforts of the officers. What the real cause of the want of success was is hard to say. The Dutch Authorities were not at all satisfied with the work accomplished, and, in the Memorandum penned on the occasion of the return of the Expedition to Batavia, stated that the real situation and nature of the lands would require to be further ascertained. In the Instructions, too, given to the subsequent Expedition, Van Diemen speaks of Tasman as having been "somewhat remiss in investigating the situation, conformation and nature of the lands discovered, and of the natives inhabiting the same, and as regard to the main point, has left everything to be more closely inquired into by more industrious successors."

When the previous history of Tasman is taken into consideration, it is difficult to believe that the repeated failures on the New Zealand coast were due to any personal fear on his part. Rather are they to be traced to the peculiar powers given to the Council, which consisted of six officers associated with Tasman. This Council decided all matters relating to the progress of the voyage and the execution of the instructions, Tasman having only a deliberative and a

casting vote. Disciplinary questions required the presence of the master boatswains ; navigation questions, the presence of the second mates. What could a body of this kind do, where majority of votes reduced, almost to the level of the average of his sailors, the genius of the commander ? Without reflecting on the ability and bravery of Tasman, the author thinks, that the terror inspired in the officers by the massacre of 19th December, prevented all attempts to land while anchored for about five days in Admiralty Bay, upset one after another the decisions arrived at by the Council, hurried the Expedition away when the question of the strait called for a settlement, stopped a landing on the Three Kings, pictured to the imagination the island as peopled with giants, and ultimately sent the Expedition away from New Zealand, without the refreshments which were so much needed by themselves, without the commercial information which was of such advantage to the Company, and without the geographical knowledge which was of such importance to the world.

Speaking, before we leave the work of this great man, upon the subject of the retention of the names given by Tasman, the author is compelled to admit that his countrymen have scarcely been fair to the Dutch Expedition. Staten Land is now New Zealand, Rocky Cape is Cape Foulwind, Murderers Bay is Golden Bay, Abel Tasman's Road is Admiralty Bay, Zeehaen Bight has no name, and Cape Booreels is now Cape Egmont. The only names given by Tasman now retained, are Steep Point, in the South Island, and Cape Maria van Diemen and the Three Kings Islands, in the North. Names, it is true, have been given indicative of Tasman's visit. We have Abel Head and Tasman Bay, but Tasman never saw the Head, nor did his ships sail in the Bay.

Of the names given in the North Island, the name of Pieter Booreel for the Cape, now known as Egmont, cannot claim to be retained, as Tasman only concluded the existence of such a Cape, he never saw it. The northern cape was called Maria van Diemen, after the wife of the Governor-

General at Batavia. The name Three Kings was given to the islands off the north of New Zealand because Tasman anchored there on 5th and left on 6th January—Epiphany, a religious festival which commemorates the meeting of the *three Magi* with the infant Christ. The name New Zealand was not given to Staten Land, until Brouwer, later on in the year, proved that Staten Land to the south of South America was a small island, and no part of a continent stretching across to the site of Tasman's discovery.

Some very accurate and painstaking observations of Mr. T. F. Cheeseman on the Three Kings Islands enable us to fix with perfect confidence the various spots mentioned. The stream of water—the only one on the islands—falls over a cliff 200 feet high, “coming down in great plenty from a steep mountain” as Tasman said, into a little bay, Tasman Bay, into which the G.s.s. *Hinemoa* entered and found an excellent landing place “with the wind off shore.” Tasman's chart shows that he anchored to the north of Great Island, in North-West Bay, where 40 fathoms of water is still recorded. “Half-way to the watering-place between a certain point and another large high rock or small island,” where the boats got into trouble, will be between Great Island and Farmer Rocks.

CHAPTER II.

COOK ON THE EAST COAST, 1769.

THE period from 1643 to 1769 is a long call, and, when we consider the eagerness of the explorer of to-day to go out into the unknown, it looks all the longer for the explorers of that day to sit calmly down and make no effort to clear up the mystery of the South Pacific. Whatever energy was expended elsewhere in geographical exploration, the Australian coastline and the shape of New Zealand were left as Tasman marked them on the map of the world. And it is difficult to say how long that state of things would have continued, but for the interest awakened among scientists by the approach of the Transit of Venus in 1769. A Memorial was presented to the King, in the year 1768, praying for a thoroughly equipped vessel to be sent out to the South Seas to observe the Transit, and, the Royal Consent having been obtained, the project was at once put under way.

It was the intention of the Royal Society that Alexander Dalrymple, the author of a work on discoveries in the South Pacific, should command the Expedition, but that gentleman would only do so if he had the management of the ship intended for the service. This was out of the question from an Admiralty point of view, and James Cook, who was a master in the Royal Navy and an able mathematician—two things not always combined—was given a lieutenant's commission, and the command of a cat-built bark called the *Endeavour*, formerly in use in the North Country coal trade, and which had been purchased by the Admiralty for the express purpose of the Expedition. The Royal Society fell into line with the selection of Cook and went so far as to appoint him one of their observers, the other being Charles Green, the astronomer.

The natural history side of this Expedition was catered for by Joseph Banks, whom the Royal Society asked to be allowed, with his suite of seven persons, to accompany the

Endeavour. Consent was readily given, more especially as Banks had fitted out the party for scientific research at a cost of some £10,000 out of his own pocket. It is very doubtful if much natural history work would have been provided for at all but for the self-sacrifice of this gentleman. On Banks' staff were two men whose names will afterwards come into our narrative—Dr. Solander, the great botanist, a pupil of Linnæus, and young Parkinson, the artist.

Although the object of the Expedition was astronomical, additional instructions were given to Cook. The old idea of Tasman's day, of an immense continent in the South Pacific, had not been disproved by the discoveries of 1642 and 1643. All that Tasman had done was to confine the range of the unknown to a smaller portion of the earth's surface. It was still believed that a large area of land must exist somewhere in the south, to compensate for the known area of land in the north, and the New Zealand coastline of Tasman was thought to be the margin of the long talked of territory. To solve this problem, Cook had instructions to proceed to the south, after he had finished his Transit observations, and then sail westward along the fortieth parallel until he came in contact with the New Zealand of Tasman. That country he was to explore thoroughly before he returned.

Cook sailed on 26th August, and in due course reached Tahiti, the spot which had been selected for the observing of the Transit, and there, on 3rd June 1769, successfully carried out the object of his mission. The primary work of the Expedition being thus accomplished, Cook made what arrangements were necessary for his further voyage of exploration, and set sail for the south on the thirteenth of the following month.

Before leaving Tahiti Banks made a notable addition to his staff by taking with him Tupaea, a well-born priest of that island, who possessed a wonderful knowledge of the other islands scattered over the Pacific. Cook was at first unwilling to take the young man on his own account, but Banks, realising how valuable his knowledge would be to the Expedition, overcame the difficulty by placing him on his

own staff. In his Journal Banks says : "I do not know why I may not keep him as a curiosity as well as my neighbours do lions and tigers at a larger expense than he will ever probably put me to." And Banks never regretted his decision ; in fact, if he had been possessed of all the Polynesian knowledge at the disposal of the student of to-day, he would have found it profitable to have paid Tupaea a very high rate of remuneration for his services, rather than be without them where the Expedition was going.

New Zealand was first detected from the masthead by Nicholas Young, boy to the surgeon's mate, at 2 p.m. on Saturday, 7th October 1769. For some days it had been expected, on account of the presence of certain birds usually associated with land, but soundings had always failed to find bottom.

Next morning land could be seen from the deck, and, by five in the evening, a bay, now known as Poverty Bay, came into view, and the *Endeavour* was steered for it. Unable to enter it before night, Cook stood off. Canoes on the bay, dwellings on the shore, and fortifications and great columns of smoke far and wide, on hill and plain, indicated that the Expedition had reached a populous country. At four o'clock on the afternoon of Monday 9th October, the anchor was cast two miles from the entrance of the river on which Gisborne is now built. The spot where the *Endeavour* rode at anchor can be ascertained from the following bearings :— the N.E. point of the Bay bore E. by S. $\frac{1}{2}$ S., and the S.W. point bore S., distance from the shore half-a-league.

The events of Cook's first day in New Zealand did not augur well for the success of his Expedition. The first day Tasman came in contact with the New Zealanders in 1642, three Europeans were killed ; the first day Cook came in contact with the same race in 1769, one New Zealander was killed. It happened thus. Cook, Banks, and Solander, with a party of men, went ashore in the evening in the pinnace and yawl, and landed abreast of the ship on the east bank of the river. Seeing some Natives on the west side, Cook, leaving four boys in charge of his boat, crossed the river, but the

Natives fled at his approach, and he had to content himself with visiting the huts which stood about 200 or 300 yards from the water's edge. While he was thus occupied four Natives came out of the bush and made for the boys, whom they would have cut off had not the coxswain of the pinnace seen their plight and directed them to drop down stream, which they did, closely followed by the New Zealanders. Two shots were fired over the latters' head, but without effect, upon which a third was fired and a Native killed, just as he was on the point of throwing his spear at the occupants of the boat. The death of their comrade in this mysterious manner so astonished the remainder that they stood motionless for a minute or two and then dragged away the body to a spot about 100 yards distant, where they left it. The shots quickly brought Cook and his party on to the scene, and, after examining the body, they returned to the ship.

The second day on shore was even a more disastrous one. Cook landed in the morning and tried to get into touch with the Natives. After some vain parleying Tupaea spoke to them in his own tongue, and, to the surprise of all present, the Natives thoroughly understood him. Some then crossed the river and readily accepted the presents which were offered them. Then Natives came across armed and began to manifest thievish tendencies, until at last they stole Mr. Green's sword. Unable to persuade them to give it up, Cook ordered the thief to be fired at, with the result that he was mortally wounded. Three more were wounded before the conference broke up.

Later on in the day Cook went for a sail round the Bay, to look for fresh water, and to try and capture some Natives. Two boats were seen coming in from the sea, and one of them was approached, but when Tupaea summoned its occupants to surrender they made off. A shot overhead, instead of frightening them into surrendering, made them seize their arms and turn the war on to the attackers. Such a desperate fight did they put up that four of them were killed, and three, who had taken to the water, were captured. The ages of these valiant youths ranged from 10 to 20 years.

This incident is probably the one most open to question in the whole of Cook's life. His statement reads :

"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 their Boat, nor do I myself think that the reason I had for seizing upon her will at 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 myself or those that were with me to be knocked on the head."

Banks, who was in the boat, puts it in these words :—

"Thus ended the most disagreeable day my life has yet seen ; black be the mark for it, and heaven send that such may never return to embitter future reflection."

More New Zealanders had now been killed by Cook, than had sailors of Tasman by New Zealanders.

While ashore on this occasion the country was taken possession of for George III. Parkinson says : "After having taken possession of the country, in form, for the King, our company embarked." Strange to say neither Cook, Banks, nor Hicks mention this interesting ceremony, but, outside of what Parkinson says, there is the fact that a strong body of marines and seamen had been landed in the boats, and, according to Dr. Hawkesworth, who probably got it from the officers, the marines marched "with a Jack carried before them." The presence of a body of marines with a Union Jack, when we think of Cook's mission, is sufficient corroboration of Parkinson's statement, even in the face of Cook's silence. Banks does not even mention the Mercury Bay hoisting. The result is that Gisborne is entitled to the honour of being the site of the first hoisting of the Union Jack in New Zealand, and the date was Tuesday, the 10th of October 1769.

On the following day the three captured boys were taken ashore, but, strange to say, they expressed the greatest disinclination to rejoining their own people. When the

Natives appeared in force, Cook crossed the river, and, with the stream between the two parties, Tupaea addressed the New Zealanders. After a short time one Native came across and presents were given to him ; the others remained seated on the sand. To prevent the possibility of trouble again, Cook took every one (including the three boys), on board the *Endeavour*. In the afternoon the lads were again put ashore and this time rejoined their people. It was noticed that the body of the New Zealander first killed still remained near the scene of his death, but that of the second had been removed.

Those interested in following up the account of Cook's first landing on New Zealand should study an Article from the pen of the Ven. Archdeacon Williams, in the Transactions of the N.Z. Institute, Vol. XXI., pp. 389 to 395.

The name first given to the bay by Cook was Endeavour Bay, but, on second thoughts, it was changed to the singularly inappropriate one of Poverty Bay.

From here Cook sailed south on the twelfth. Evidently the lads had given a good report to their countrymen, because a canoe from the Bay, taking advantage of a calm, caught up on the *Endeavour*, and the occupants came on board without any hesitation, and traded. They even went so far as to offer their canoe for trade. When the time came for leaving, three remained, intentionally, it was thought, to prevent the ship sailing away. It did not have that effect, however, as Cook pursued his course, much to the alarm of the Natives. The following day two other canoes approached the ship, and the services of their occupants were utilised to get the Poverty Bay Natives returned to their homes. In their attempts to get the canoes of the visitors alongside, the imprisoned Natives hailed them with the information that the members of the Expedition did not eat men—a very significant intimation of one of their own characteristics.

The *Endeavour* rounded Portland Island about midday on 13th October, and Cook commenced his survey of Hawke's Bay, keeping as close to the land as possible in search of a suitable watering place. All along the coast Natives came out and visited the *Endeavour*. At noon on 15th October

Cook was opposite Ahuriri Bluff, where Napier now stands. "On each side of this bluff," says Cook, "is a low narrow sand or stone beach; between these beaches and the Mainland is a pretty large lake of salt water as I suppose."

Cook had another unfortunate Monday. On his first, one man was killed, this time "Two or 3," to quote his own words. The trouble happened thus. At 8 a.m. when abreast of Cape Kidnappers, Cook was negotiating with a Native for a black dog-skin robe for a piece of red cloth, but the Native, having secured the cloth, made off. The canoe shortly afterwards returned, and its occupants seized Tiata, the servant of Tupaea, and made off with him. The canoe was fired on, and, in the confusion, Tiata plunged into the sea and was picked up by a boat from the ship. What Cook actually did is not recorded, but it is significant that the entry in his Journal is "Two or 3 paid for the daring attempt with the loss of their lives, and many more would have suffer'd had it not been for fear of killing the Boy." From this incident the Cape was called Cape Kidnappers. This brought the number of Natives killed to eight or nine.

When opposite Cape Turnagain, Cook decided to retrace his steps, and accordingly put his ship about to search for a harbour to the north, instead of the south.

When opposite Tokomaru, on the twenty-first, Cook made another attempt to secure water, and brought his ship to an anchor in the Bay. The Natives came on board without any hesitation, but the first attempt to land early in the afternoon was prevented by the surf, although the canoes readily negotiated it. In the evening a landing was effected, and water was found in plenty, but difficult of access. Next morning Lieutenant Gore took a party ashore for wood and water, but it was noon before the first cargo could be shipped, and then the difficulties of transport were felt to be so great that Cook determined to leave, and did so early on the twenty-third.

While in the Bay the scientists were not idle. Banks and Solander went ashore and ranged all over the place, the Natives going on with their shore occupations and their

fishing, as if nothing unusual was taking place. The only domesticated animals seen were "very small and ugly dogs," and the cultivations, varying in size from 1 to 10 acres, covered 150 to 200 acres, for not more than 150 persons visible. On setting out for the ship Banks had a novel experience in a canoe, which, on the first occasion, got upset in the breakers, but, on a second attempt, landed four dripping men on the deck of the *Endeavour*.

Directed by the occupants of some friendly canoes, Cook took the vessel into Tolaga Bay, and Lieutenant Gore, who had been sent to examine it, brought back favourable reports, which were confirmed, after anchoring, by Cook himself. From the twenty-fourth until the thirtieth the *Endeavour* remained at this anchorage. During that time Cook surveyed the Bay, and determined its correct position. Ever mindful of the health of his men, he daily sent on board "sellery and scurvy grass" to be supplied to the crew as an antiscorbutic. Lieutenant Gore and his party procured 70 tons of water and a full supply of wood. Banks and Solander took advantage of the opportunities which were afforded them by the stay in the Bay, and found the Natives very accommodating, showing them everything, without restriction. Tupaea got into touch with their priests, and his discourses on intricate matters of their common religion were received by them with the greatest attention. Amongst other things he found that they practiced cannibalism on their fallen enemies. Every day the Natives visited the *Endeavour* and traded with fish and sweet potatoes, for cloth, beads, and nails.

The spot where Cook procured water is thus described by him : "Close to the N. end of this Island, at the Entrance into the Bay, are 2 high Rocks ; one is high and round like a Corn Stack, but the other is long with holes thro' it like the Arches of a Bridge. Within these rocks is the Cove, where we cut wood and fill'd our Water." To this day a small artificial well is known as Cook's Well, or, to the Natives, Tupaea's Well ; it was probably used by the men, but not to fill the water casks. Sporing Island alongside receives its name from Herman Sporing, Banks' secretary.

From Tolaga Bay Cook continued his course northward, passing East Cape on the thirty-first, and Cape Runaway the following day. This Cape received its name from the action of a big armed canoe which "threatened us with their lances and dared us to fight." After a round shot had been fired over their heads, "I believe they did not think themselves safe until they got ashore," says Cook. Hence the name.

On 2nd November a great number of canoes visited the *Endeavour*, with crayfish, mussels, and large conger eels, for trade, but the Islanders could not resist their thievish propensities, and, before they were warned off, first by muskets, and then by a four-pounder, stole several of the sailors' shirts which were being towed astern.

It was now nearing the day for the Transit of Mercury, and Cook was anxiously looking for a port where he could get a clear observation. On the evening of the fourth an inlet was found and the anchor dropped. Several canoes were in attendance. They stopped about until it was dark, and then left, threatening to return and attack the ship in the morning. This design they proceeded to carry out, but got no further than a parade in force, a little trading, and a little trickery. With a view of enabling them to understand their enemy's powers, Cook caused a few muskets and a big gun to be fired.

After a careful examination of his surroundings in Mercury Bay, Cook took the *Endeavour* into what is now known as Cook Bay, and cast anchor $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles N.N.W. from the mouth of Oyster River.

On Friday, 10th November, Cook, Banks, and Hicks went ashore to observe the Transit, and were fortunate in securing a perfect day. Mr. H. D. M. Haszard, a surveyor who has specially investigated Cook's stay at Mercury Bay, located the site of the Observatory on the promontory immediately above Shakespeare Cliff. It is "situated on a little rounded knoll on the end of a plateau about 250 ft. above sea-level, with a clear view of the horizon, and is easily reached by a track leading up a gully from a small sandy bay immediately to the south of the cliff." While Cook was engaged in ob-

serving the Transit, the *Endeavour* was left in charge of Second Lieutenant Gore, and that officer, when a New Zealander, who had received a piece of red cloth in exchange for a robe, refused to hand over the robe and paddled away, fired at, and killed him. Cook did not seek to defend such an extreme punishment for theft, and says that he considered they were long enough in contact with the Natives now to know how to punish their offences without resorting to the death sentence.

Although the action of the Natives alongside the *Endeavour* had not been too satisfactory, and their misdeeds had resulted in the death of one of them, Cook did not hesitate to go ashore and move among them. On the thirteenth a large party, with Cook at its head, visited and examined a strongly fortified village built on a high promontory on the north side and near the head of the Bay. Cook considered it a very strong and well-chosen post "where a small number of resolute men might defend themselves a long time against a vast superior force." The *pā* was prepared for a siege by being provided with a great quantity of fern root and dried fish, though fresh water appeared to be wanting. Cook's opinion was that wars must be very common among them to enable them to develop such well defended fortifications, and, while expressing his surprise at the absence of bows, arrows, or slings, states that with the exception of the loaded musket he had nothing equal to their long pikes or lances.

Before sailing on the sixteenth, Cook cut out, upon one of the trees near the watering place, the ship's name, date, etc., and after displaying the British colours, took formal possession of the place in the name of George III. Cook does not give the date, but it was probably on the thirteenth or fourteenth.

It was during the stay of the Expedition here that kauri gum was first detected. It was found lying on the sea beach, or sticking to the mangrove trees, from which latter circumstance it was thought to be a product of that tree. Great oyster beds were discovered, and one of the rivers was named after the delicious bivalves which were found in great quan-

tities in its neighbourhood, and which were gathered in boat-loads, and taken to the ship to be eaten by the men without let or hindrance. Generally speaking, the Natives maintained a good fish market alongside the *Endeavour*, so good on one occasion that the sailors were able to salt down four puncheons for future use, after getting enough for present requirements for all hands.

While the Expedition was in Mercury Bay, Banks took particular notice of the absence of the most elementary indications of civilisation ; of the presence of immense piles of shells, pointing to a numerous population ; and of the custom of the Natives to pass the night in the open air, with the women and children inside a circle formed of the men, indicating an ever present fear of attack, which could only come from an enemy of their own race.

On clearing Mercury Bay, Cook steered a course outside the islands lying to the N.E., and, following the line of the land, hauled round Cape Colville, and entered the Hauraki Gulf early in the morning of 19th November. While lying under the land, two canoes, one of which contained 62 men, visited the *Endeavour*, but confined themselves to singing some of their war songs, and then throwing stones at the ship.

Cook continued his course up the Firth of Thames for about 21 miles, when he anchored for the night. The following day he continued his course, but could not determine whether he was in a strait, bay, or river. The next day the *Endeavour* was visited by three canoes, whose occupants remained on board for about an hour. After running another 15 miles and finding the water decreasing to 6 fathoms, Cook anchored and sent out Molineux the master, and two boats, to examine the coasts on each side. When their report showed that not more than three feet more water could be found to the south, Cook decided to pursue his further investigations in boats.

The next morning, accompanied by Gore, Banks, Solander, and Tupaea, Cook set out with the pinnace and longboat for the head of the bay, and, at about nine miles from the ship, found the mouth of a river, afterwards called the Waihou. A mile up this River was a Native village,

built on a bank of dry sand, and surrounded by mud which prevented an approach at low water, while a strong fence gave protection when the tide was in.

After a short and very friendly intercourse with the Natives Cook pushed on up the River until about 12 or 14 miles from the entrance, when he landed to examine a forest of very fine timber which grew on the bank. With his quadrant he measured one of the largest of the trees and found it to be 19 feet 8 inches in girth, 6 feet from the ground, and 89 feet to the first branch. After giving the river the name Thames, the party left with the ebb tide for the ship, but bad weather coming on them they were compelled to run under the land for the night, so that they did not get on board until 7 o'clock the next morning.

At 3 p.m. on Wednesday, 22nd November, the anchor was lifted, and the ebb tide taken advantage of to get out of the Firth. At 8 the anchor was again cast until 3 a.m. the next day, when the assistance of the friendly ebb was again utilised. On coming to anchor at the flood, Cook went over in the pinnace to the western shore, but found nothing. While the Captain was away, Lieutenant Hicks was in command, and one of the Natives on board was caught in the act of stealing the half-hour glass. Hicks ordered him on to the gangway, where he received a dozen strokes of the "cat." Far from being angry at this treatment, the other Natives, when they learned the cause and got him back into the canoe, continued to administer what they considered was further necessary to make the punishment complete.

By the evening of the twenty-fifth Cook had passed Cape Rodney and was clear of the Hauraki Gulf. In this hurried visit he had crept along the eastern peninsula, and after coming out of what is now known as the Firth of Thames had steered towards Cape Rodney. Cook gave the name of Thames River to what is now known as the Hauraki Gulf, the Firth of Thames, and the Waihou River. While passing down the eastern peninsula he noted the small islands at Coromandel Harbour, which, he says, "together with the Main seem'd to form good Harbours." Although the course

steered prevented him seeing Waitemata Harbour, he mentions the islands off its mouth and says of them : "It appear'd very probable that these form'd some good Harbours." Never was his judgment more accurate, as behind these islands lay what is now known as Auckland Harbour.

Sailing along the coast, the anchor was cast, on the evening of the twenty-fifth, in Bream Bay, at the head of which is Whangarei, the name being given on account of a catch of 90 to 100 bream, while lying at anchor. Cook remained here only for the night, and the following day continued his survey. In the afternoon another "incident" happened with the Natives. Hicks thus enters it in his journal :

"Some of the Indians came on board. We gave them presents, at length they began to be Insolent, throwing Stones, brandishing their Launces, and Cheating us in Trade One fellow who had taking a piece of Cloth We fired at with small Shot and some Balls over their Heads they retreated abt. a hundred yards and then began to threatening and flourish singing their War Song We fired a four Pounder, the report, ye Wistling of the Shot over their Heads sent them to the shore as fast as they could Paddell the Number of Indians in the Canoes was about three Hundred."

Cook thus describes the effect of "ye Wistling of the Shot" : "As no harm was intended them, none they received, unless they hapned to over heat themselves in pulling on shore." The next morning, however, they were again around the vessel, and some came on board, but could not be induced to engage in trade.

At 3 p.m. on Monday 27th November, the *Endeavour* passed Cape Brett.

In giving names to the various places Cook showed a wonderful aptitude for taking advantage of some circumstance connected with their discovery. We have already had Young Nick's Head, Poverty Bay, Cape Kidnappers, Cape Runaway, Hicks Bay, Mercury Bay, and a host of others ; but in giving the name Cape Brett, Cook was disclosing another

side of his character. The name Brett was given to the Cape because about a mile from it there is a "high Island or Rock with a hole *pierced* thro' it like the Arch of a Bridge." Brett's name was Sir Piercey Brett; "and this was one reason," says Cook, "why I gave the Cape the above name, because Piercy seem'd very proper for that of the Island." Brett's name, therefore, was given to the Cape to enable Cook, by calling the perforated island, Piercy, to perpetrate a geographical pun upon the name of Sir Piercey Brett.

When Cook first noted the bay on the west side of Cape Brett, he did not appear to have had any desire to visit and explore it. As he passed it he noted the villages on the S.W. side and upon the islands, and great numbers of the Natives came off to trade with the ship, in which trade they evinced little desire to carry on a friendly intercourse, but cheated whenever an opportunity presented. So numerous were the Natives that, while sailing along the coast for a distance of 24 miles, not less than 400 or 500 were alongside and came on board of the *Endeavour*.

Cook sailed along as far as the Cavalle Islands, and there, as elsewhere, found it necessary "to pepper 2 or 3 fellows with small Shott" to stop being "peppered" with stones from the canoes. On the 28th the weather changed round to the westward, and the *Endeavour* gradually began to lose ground until she was once more off the bay near Cape Brett. N.W. weather continuing, Cook decided to enter the bay and spend the bad weather inside exploring its coastline, rather than be tossed about, learning nothing, on the open sea. He accordingly entered, and, finding the water shoaling rapidly cast anchor at 11 o'clock on the thirtieth, under the S.W. side of Motu Arohia, and sent out Molyneux the master, to sound.

From the first moment of contact with the Natives there was trouble. At half-past twelve, the boats sent out to sound returned and reported that the pinnace had been attacked and nearly boarded by the New Zealanders. By two o'clock there were 33 canoes, with some 300 Natives on board, round about the *Endeavour*. Some of the Natives were recognised

as having already visited the ship at sea, and knew enough of the merits of the big guns to trade for a short time honestly. At a signal given by one of the chiefs, the canoes went ahead and attempted to carry off the buoy attached to the anchor. Musket fire was tried in vain, then small shot, and a New Zealander was wounded, which caused them to desist. Cook then fired "a Great Gun" over their heads, which so terrified them that, had it not been for the persuasion of Tupaea, they would have left the ship. They were induced to remain, and their behaviour seemed to indicate that they would give no further trouble.

At three o'clock, Cook, Banks, and Solander, took two boats, manned and armed, and went ashore. The canoes straightway left the ship, and, after landing at different parts of the island, concentrated on Cook and his party until they were surrounded by some 200 or 300 Natives. Cook, who grew anxious at the appearance of things, straightway drew a line on the sand and indicated to the Natives that they were not to pass it. They at once set up their war dance, and some of them tried to draw the boats ashore. This was immediately followed by pressing in on the line, so Cook discharged his musket at one of the leading men, and Banks and two others followed suit, with the result that the attacking party fell back in confusion. One of the Chiefs rallied and led them forward, when Dr. Solander, whose musket was undischarged, let him have the contents of it, and this local champion joined the retreating throng. The New Zealanders were now out of reach of small shot, so ball was tried, but they still remained in a body at some distance. In this state of suspense the two parties remained for about a quarter of an hour. Meanwhile, Lieutenant Hicks, who had seen the attack, "got a Spring on the cable & brought the broad side to bear," and fired four four-pounders over their heads. This was enough, and the Natives fled. Some who hid themselves in a cave were afterwards interviewed and given presents, after which Cook visited another part of the island where he found the Natives "as meek as lambs." He loaded his boats with "sellery" and returned on board in the evening.

Early in the morning of 1st December the anchor was weighed with the intention of leaving the Bay, but it fell a calm, and the anchor had again to be let go. The previous night three of the sailors had left their duty when ashore and had dug up some of the Natives' potatoes ; they were given a dozen lashes each, and one of them, who contended that he had committed no offence, was sent back to durance vile. This day the conduct of the Natives was quite changed, and, when trading, they acted very fairly and friendly. In the afternoon, Cook and the botanists rowed to the south side of the harbour, where was a small sandy cove, two small streams of fresh water, and plantations of sweet potatoes and yams. Everywhere the Natives were friendly.

The next day found the *Endeavour* still detained by contrary winds, and advantage was taken of the facilities for obtaining grass, to procure some for the sheep. This state of things continued over Sunday and Monday. On Sunday, Cook, Banks, and Solander visited one of the islands near the anchorage, and found it well cultivated, planted with roots, and having abundance of water. To the same place two boats went the next day for supplies of water and grass, and Cook and the botanists went to the mainland. On the road they stepped aside to examine a *pa*, the Natives of which extended a hearty invitation to them. Here was seen a wonderful Native seine of not less than 400 or 500 fathoms long, and 5 fathoms deep. It looked as if every house in the place had nets in the making, kept in small heaps like hay cocks, and thatched over. The ordinary King's seine, which the *Endeavour* had on board, on account of its diminutive size, was a source of great amusement to the Natives.

Early on Wednesday 6th December, the anchor was weighed, but owing to continued calms the *Endeavour* was almost ashore. Hardly had she been got out of danger, with the help of the pinnace towing, than, near midnight, she struck Whale Rock, but got clear without sustaining material damage. The following morning the *Endeavour* was clear of the Bay and stood out to sea.

Cook made no accurate survey, as it required too much

time, but certified that the Bay contained good anchorage and every kind of refreshment for shipping. Fish could be caught by hook and line, and seine, or bought from the Natives, in great quantities and endless variety. From the treatment given to him by the Natives a note of warning to shipping might have been expected, but none was given, Cook contenting himself by praising their *pas*, and commanding their judgment in the selection of sites, and their ability in making good any defects.

By Saturday 9th December, the *Endeavour* was close under the Cavalle Islands, where she was approached by some canoes, but Cook would not wait for them to come up and trade. The same day Knuckle Point, and the next morning Doubtless Bay, were seen and named, but the wind would not permit of a close examination. At 6 a.m., while lying becalmed off the Bay, five canoes came off, but their occupants would not come on board. Later, six more came out, boldly ranged alongside, and sold a considerable quantity of fish to the ship's company. The occupants of the canoes freely entered into conversation with Tupaea, and, in reply to his questions, told him that at the end of three days' travel in canoes the land turned to the southward. When asked whether they knew of any other country they said no, but that their ancestors told them that to the N.W. by N. there was a large country to which some people had sailed in a large canoe in a month, that in that country they were told were hogs, which they called *booah*, the same name as the Islanders use. These Natives were inhabitants of Doubtless Bay, and were the last alongside the *Endeavour* while off the coast of the North Island.

Making northward, Cook found the rate of progression very slow against a wind which was generally from the west and north. At noon, on Tuesday 12th December, the *Endeavour* was in latitude $35^{\circ} 12'$ and within $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the shore on the East Coast. An hour before, De Surville, from the deck of the *Saint Jean Baptiste*, sighted the West Coast of New Zealand in latitude $35^{\circ} 37'$, or almost directly opposite where Cook then was.

CHAPTER III.

DE SURVILLE VISITS DOUBTLESS BAY, 1769.

A RECITAL of the events which brought the first French explorer to New Zealand, and which caused him to pass Cook, without the one knowing of the proximity of the other, has in the past never been attempted, and its first complete publication now makes this chapter of more than passing interest.

When Captain Wallis returned from Tahiti in May 1768, his report on that Island was so favourable that advantage was taken of the fact of the Transit of Venus being visible from it, to direct the Expedition, then being fitted out to observe that phenomenon, to make Tahiti its place of observation. There is no doubt that the great natural advantages of the place lost nothing by being repeated from mouth to mouth, and nothing could prevent that exaggerated report getting to other countries. As a matter of fact, it reached the ears of three Frenchmen—Law, Chevalier, and De Surville—and the action they took on hearing it brought the last-named to New Zealand on board the *Saint Jean Baptiste*.

The three men named had met in Bengal in 1765 and formed a partnership to engage in the trade of India. Law and Chevalier found the capital, and De Surville was to carry their schemes into effect. The last-named, on returning to France, obtained the requisite permission from the French Company of the Indies to engage in the trade of India, and was nominated by the King as Commissary for the recovery of the French possessions in India, and Governor of the same in case of the absence or death of Law.

This commercial partnership was ready for operations when the story of Captain Wallis' discovery of Tahiti fired their ambitions to anticipate the British Government in taking possession of the Island, and every preparation was made for an extraordinary voyage. To lull suspicions it was intimated throughout India that the *Saint Jean Baptiste*,

their vessel, was bound on a trading voyage to Manilla, China, and Batavia, when, on 3rd March 1769, she sailed from the Bay of Ingleby on the Ganges. On 2nd June, De Surville sailed from Pondicherry with M. de St. Paul, Captain of Grenadiers, and a troop of 24 soldiers belonging to the French Indian troops put on board by Law. It shows how completely India was then cut off from the news of Europe when an Expedition, destined to anticipate any steps the British might take to secure Tahiti, should leave the shores of India six weeks after the British had actually landed at that place. Cook cast anchor at Matavai Bay on the morning of 13th April, and Law put his troops on board the *Saint Jean Baptiste*, to be there first, on 2nd June.

De Surville's route was through Malacca Strait, and on to the Philippine Islands. At Bashi Island three of the French sailors deserted, and De Surville secured and brought away with him three of the Natives "in order," he recorded, "to get from them the information about their country and their ways of living." Later on another Native was captured and taken away by force at Port Praslin at the Salomon Islands. When in the latitude of 14° S., De Surville decided that the state of health of his ship's crew rendered it absolutely necessary to make for New Zealand, and he accordingly steered south until he reached the thirty-fifth parallel, when he altered his course to the east and picked up New Zealand at 11 a.m. on 12th December 1769. A day later would have made it the 127th anniversary of Tasman's discovery.

De Surville came upon the land in latitude 35° 37', or just to the south of Hokianga Harbour, and his first view was one of rather high sandhills, a range of mountains some 3 or 4 leagues back from the coast, and a country closely settled, as the number of fires indicated. As De Surville intended to double New Zealand in the north, and the wind was unfavourable for that, he kept tacking about until the fourteenth, when suddenly the wind changed to the W.N.W. and blew with such great violence that several times the Expedition looked like coming to an end. From their position and the direction of the wind it was impossible to so tack as to double

the land either towards the north or the south. All night of the fourteenth and the following day, constant tacking had to be kept up to avoid drifting, and the only gleam of hope lay in the fact that the currents had, in the meantime, carried the ship a little off the land. When slightly to the south of Reef Point, De Surville made a daring attempt to double it to the north ; he crowded on more sail, and held to it in spite of some of his sails being carried away, with the result that, on the afternoon of the fourteenth, he got safely past the danger, and made his way, without further interruption, northwards.

On 16th December De Surville rounded Cape Maria van Diemen, sighted the Three Kings Islands, and sailed round the northern part of New Zealand. In doing so the name Cape Surville was given "by the officers" to the "most northern land." This would indicate that it is the point now known as Kerr Point which was called Cape Surville, and not the point called by Cook North Cape. As the eastern coast opened up, Surville found a large bay without any shelter. This bay Cook, only six days before, had named Sandy Bay. Moving on, another bay opened up, but whether Rangaunu or Doubtless Bay, is not quite clear. Here a boat with five or six Natives came forward and exchanged fish and shellfish for calico.

Shortly after the visit of the pioneer canoe, three big canoes came up, and, in a little while, came alongside the *Saint Jean Baptiste*, and traded with large quantities of fish which they had, for calico. The chief, clad in a dog-skin mantle, came on board and was taken to the council room, where De Surville presented him with a coat and a pair of red breeches, to which the chief replied by presenting De Surville with the dog-skin robe. As the chief was some time out of sight the New Zealanders grew uneasy at his prolonged absence, but it was all right when he appeared on deck and explained to his assembled subjects that he was having the time of his life. Several more Natives came on board and were not there long before they showed De Surville that they were expert thieves.

On 17th December the anchor was cast in Doubtless Bay, in 25 fathoms, about three miles from the entrance, and in front of a sandy cove, at the foot of a little mountain on the top of which was a village. The next day trading with the Natives was continued, and in the afternoon De Surville went off to sound the Bay and to make the acquaintance of its inhabitants. This he did, and was greatly delighted with the prospect in front of him. He had been received by the chief of the village with great ceremony, the Natives doing him honour by bending themselves, and waving their dogskin robes and bundles of grass which they held in their hands.

On board the *Saint Jean Baptiste* the condition of the crew was terrible. Since leaving Port Praslin on 21st October —only two months before—60 of De Surville's men had died, and the scurvy had got so strong a hold of nearly all the rest of them, that one officer's journal records the opinion that a few days more without seeing land and only a miracle would have enabled the *Saint Jean Baptiste* to get away again.

At five o'clock in the morning of 19th December De Surville landed. To such straits had the crew come that they could not launch the longboat, and one of the smaller boats had to be taken. Arrived ashore, they found the Natives, all armed, standing about in groups and talking excitedly as if they meant to attack. The chief, who had been well treated by De Surville, and who had come out in his canoe to meet the French Commander, made a sign for the party to remain on the beach while he went and harangued his people. Leaving them, he returned and asked for De Surville's gun, and, on that being refused, asked for his sword, which was given him, whereupon he went from one group to another, showing everyone the naked weapon. After this there was no further trouble until the sailors commenced scooping out holes in the creek for the water casks, but when the Natives saw the casks being filled up, not only were they assured, but they rendered every assistance to roll the full casks down to the water's edge.

At the chief's own request he was taken on the boat to go on board the ship, but they had no sooner put off than the

Natives ashore got anxious and cried to him to return. He hesitated a moment, and then asked to be put ashore, which was done.

On Wednesday the twentieth, De Surville again took a party of the sick men ashore for wood and water as before. Some little difficulty was again apparent at the landing, but after something in the nature of a council of the Natives had sat for half-an-hour, the chief advanced to De Surville and pressed noses ; De Surville, on his part, presented to the chief a hatchet, a cask, a bucket, and a white aigrette of feathers. In spite of all this there seemed some indifference on the part of the Natives, but the Frenchmen got what wood and water they wanted, and a fair supply of vegetables pulled up by the Natives. During the afternoon the position of the vessel was changed to about two miles from the Native village. The following day the *Saint Jean Baptiste* drifted a little as the weather was stormy, but with 80 fathoms more cable given out the vessel held.

On Friday the ship was visited by three canoes, and the chief went aboard and down into the council chamber, where he was loaded with presents. At 11 o'clock the anchor was hoisted, and the vessel tacked about until 1.15 p.m., when the anchor was again let go. On Saturday the Natives were early aboard with vegetables, and for the delectation of the chief one of the big guns was fired out to sea, after which De Surville went ashore, taking with him two little pigs for the chief. About 9 o'clock the sick were sent ashore for their daily recreation, this plan being decided upon instead of sending the men into a camp ashore. Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday passed off uneventfully, except that on Monday one of the Bashi Island captives died.

Wednesday 27th December was a day of anxiety, and was followed by dire disaster on board the *Saint Jean Baptiste*. On that day the wind changed to E.N.E. Three of the ship's boats had gone to the top of the Bay, and by evening only two of them had been able to get back. The wind continued to increase, and a third anchor was dropped at 4 a.m. on Thursday. Then one of the cables broke, and the vessel

commenced to drift on to the heavy rocks on the south-western portion of Chevalier Cove. There was only one thing to do and that was to make sail. This was done, one cable was cut, the other let go, and good-bye said to the anchors. As the vessel was straight to the wind great difficulty was experienced in getting her over to starboard, an operation which was not accomplished until she was within twenty yards of the rocks. "One cannot see death nearer than we did" was the entry in one officer's journal, and testimony is given to the skill shown by De Surville under circumstances which only come once to a commander during his sea-going experience. Getting away from danger, the ship lay-to in order to get another big anchor ready. This was done after four hours' extreme labour, and the anchor was dropped at 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the twenty-eighth. A second anchor was dropped, and the topmast and yards lowered. Then the tiller broke, and, if the anchor cable had failed, all was over. Fortunately it was equal to its task, and the vessel was saved. At 5 a.m. on the Friday the second cable broke, but more of the first was immediately let go, and that held.

At 3 a.m. on Friday the boat which had left on Wednesday morning returned to the ship, and First-Lieutenant Pottier de L'Horne, who accompanied it, gave the following account of their doings during their two days' absence :

About 3 o'clock in the afternoon the wind began to freshen, and at five a commencement was made on the return journey from the bottom of the Bay. There were in the boat, besides De L'Horne, the surgeon and thirty-three men, three casks of water, some firewood, the boilers and the axes, and a small dingy for landing. On leaving the cove the sail was hoisted, but that broke away and the oars had to be taken out, but the increasing wind made rowing impossible, and the anchor was dropped to give the sailors a rest. At about 9 o'clock it was decided to return to the cove for shelter, and in doing so in the dark the boat was, on two occasions, almost lost among the breakers ; on one occasion it actually got on a rock and was almost swamped,

but in the end the boat was got into the shelter of the cove, the sick seen to as best could be done, and a close watch kept for the Natives.

When daylight came the sick men were landed and a big fire lit. After a while some New Zealanders came down to see the party, and, when they saw the dire straits of the men, brought dried fish for food for them, and the Chief offered them the shelter of his hut. At 8 o'clock De L'Horne sent eight armed men under M. Dubocq, the chief surgeon, to Chevalier Cove to try to get on board the *Saint Jean Baptiste* for food. Not long afterwards some of the men who remained behind took a walk to the top of the hill and from there saw the danger which faced De Surville. De L'Horne was summoned to the spot, and from there was an anxious observer of the efforts of his Commander to clear the ship of danger. To his intense delight he saw her come to an anchor at two in the afternoon, and unrig the yards and topmasts. The troops sent out under M. Dubocq had also been spectators of the herculean struggle to keep off the rocks of Chevalier Cove, and, as they gazed on the terrible position of the vessel, were quite convinced that they would be called upon to pass their days in New Zealand. That night a tent was rigged up and the boat hauled up high and dry. Early in the morning everything was got ready, the boats launched, and the vessel reached by 8 o'clock, without the loss of one man; and lucky it was for De L'Horne that he came on board when he did, as a delay of half-an-hour would have rendered it impossible to do so.

On Saturday 30th December, De Surville went in the longboat, with De L'Horne, M. Dubocq, and one of the officers, to Refuge Cove, as the cove where the two boats took refuge was designated. In the afternoon they returned with vegetables, firewood, and water.

On Sunday 31st December, the harmony which had hitherto existed between De Surville and the New Zealanders was rudely broken under circumstances which plainly place the French Commander in the wrong.

When the *Saint Jean Baptiste* was at the height of her peril near the rocks of Chevalier Cove, a little dingy attached to the vessel got filled with water and sank. On Sunday morning the dingy was seen at the end of the Bay towards the east of the point of Refuge Cove. De Surville got into a boat, with a well-armed party, to bring the dingy back. From the vessel it could be seen disappearing little by little as the Natives dragged it into the scrub. When De Surville arrived at the spot it was gone, but there were traces of it and one of its ropes was lying there. The tracks led to a little river, but vain was the search. While hunting for the dingy some Natives were found round a canoe. De Surville called them to him and one came, when he was immediately captured. The others escaped. One canoe was seized, and the others burnt, and a like fate was meted out to some Native huts there. Worse than all, when De Surville returned to the ship, the chief surgeon and De L'Horne recognised the prisoner as the chief who had befriended the sick sailors when their fate was entirely in his hands on shore.

De L'Horne thus records the chief's arrival on board the *Saint Jean Baptiste* :

"They came back on board in the afternoon with the prisoner, who turned out to be the same Native who brought me some dry fish when I was without food in Refuge Cove during the bad weather. I was touched with the greatest compassion on the arrival on board of this poor unfortunate one, who, recognising me, and not knowing what his fate would be, threw himself at my feet, kissed them, then got up and wanted to kiss me too, with tears in his eyes, and saying to me things that I did not understand, but making signs to me that he was the man who brought me some fish at a time when neither myself nor the ones who had the misfortune of not being able to get back to the vessel had any food to eat. The man seemed to beg his pardon of me, or for me to beg it. I did my best to console him, and to make him understand that no harm was intended to him. But it was

useless, for he did not stop crying, especially when he saw them putting irons on his feet to make him secure."

After this act of De Surville all hope of obtaining further assistance from the Natives vanished, and it was necessary to go and get help somewhere else. Help was badly wanted. More than one-third of the crew had died ; four anchors, four cables, and a boat had been lost ; and the rigging and the instruments of the vessel called for the closest attention. This was the gist of the report which De Surville placed before a council consisting of the members of his staff and the crew-master. The nearest European Establishment on this side of the Cape of Good Hope was 1200 leagues distant, and Peru was 1800, but to get to the former the *Saint Jean Baptiste* had to pass through straits where she would often require to cast anchor, and with only one anchor it was taking too great a risk. In regard to Peru, an article in the instructions prohibited the vessel calling at the Spanish Possessions, but the greater distance was more than compensated by the favourable winds, and there was no necessity to anchor on the road. It was considered, therefore, the only prudent course to follow, and so the council decided.

De Surville had returned to the ship at 5 o'clock in the evening of 31st December ; by 9 o'clock he was working out of the Bay, and by 10 o'clock was clear and heading northward. Shortly after 5 o'clock on the New Year's morning, New Zealand had faded from sight in the south-western horizon.

It seems to have been a peculiarity of De Surville to take away with him to France specimens of the aborigines he met, probably to enable his countrymen to get information about the various places discovered, and thereby secure an advantage over the rest of the world. Before coming to New Zealand the Commander had already put his philosophy into practice. From the Bashi Islands he had brought away three Natives on the flimsy pretext that they were responsible for some of his sailors running away. At Port Praslin a Native was captured in the most deliberate and barefaced manner possible, and was with the *Saint Jean Baptiste* when

she cast anchor on the Peruvian coast. De Surville therefore had with him on board his ship, Natives representing two different peoples he had met. One of these men breathed his last while they were at Doubtless Bay. Had De Surville not had some special reason for desiring to have aboriginal Natives on board, the fact that the chief had been so generous to the sick Frenchmen who were in his power, would have moved him even if possessed of a heart of stone. It was not punishment for the theft of the boat which was uppermost in the mind of De Surville, that had been settled by the steps taken on shore, but a desire to enable himself and his countrymen to get the maximum of information about this country. A chief was the best for that purpose ; here was a chief ; it was unfortunate that there was a sentimental objection in his case, but where did sentiment ever prevail when the advancement of science or the acquisition of hard cash was in the balance ?

The shocking capture of the Chief, coupled with the indignity of placing him in irons, so preyed on his mind, that when the *Saint Jean Baptiste* was in sight of the Island of Juan Fernandez, on 27th January, he died. The Frenchmen say that Naguinodi's death was hastened by the straits to which all were reduced through shortness of water.

While the *Saint Jean Baptiste* was lying at anchor in Refuge Cove, the chief of the village opposite invited the officers to climb the hill and view the *pa*. They did so, and, when there, were entertained with an illustration of how the *pa* was defended. A chief stood on a plateau with a lance in hand, and, swinging it here and there, shewed how the attackers were beaten off. The method of disposing of the wounded was also rehearsed with great fidelity. The enemy was seized by the hair, and killed by being struck with a *mere* near the temple ; he was then disembowelled, and the trunk and limbs cut in pieces and distributed among the victors. In this connection an invitation was extended to De Surville, for whose weapons of war they entertained the greatest respect, to join them in waging war against their enemies.

One day the chaplain had an experience which might have resulted in a catastrophe. He was invited by a chief to accompany him to some huts where he was going with his wife and some of his people. Pretending to accept the invitation the chaplain went with him, but kept on the watch and remained at some distance apart. As they advanced the chief's retinue was increased threefold by men armed with lances and *meres*. Alarmed at these dangerous signs, the chaplain went up to the chief to say farewell, when the chief's lancebearer put his hand on the chaplain's chest, and the chief put his on the chaplain's gun. Without losing command of himself, the chaplain got clear of his friends and made homewards. The suspicions he had formed of the hostile intentions of the Natives were confirmed when, a little later on, he looked back and saw that the chief's followers had again dwindled down to the original number. There is little reason to doubt that had he gone on a catastrophe would have taken place.

De L'Horne, the most observant of De Surville's officers, has much to say on the question of antiscorbutics. Two species of watercress and one of celery were found in the Bay, and all three proved of great use in curing the scurvy. The sick sailors were taken on shore and fed on these vegetables with wondrous results. One of the most desperate cases on board, where the man's body was swollen all over and his mouth was quite rotten, was so bad that he was only able to go on shore twice, but he made such a good use of these healing plants, that, at the end of a month he started walking, and was quite well shortly afterwards.

Speaking of the native dogs, De L'Horne says : "The only quadrupeds I know of are the dogs, in rather a small quantity, and the rats. The dogs are of an average size, with long, fine hair. The Natives feed them as we do our sheep, and eat them likewise."

Before leaving, De Surville gave to the Natives samples and specimens of the most useful plants and animals of Europe, in the form of wheat, peas, rice, pigs, and fowls. The use of wheat was fully explained to the Natives ; they were shown

how to sow, harvest, and crush it, and then how to change the crushed wheat into paste and cook it as bread, in which form it was very palatable to them. In connection with the rice it was hardly anticipated that the country would be fit to produce it. Two young pigs, male and female, were left with them, also a Siamese rooster and a hen, of a small species, white and leggy, which had been reared on board. The poverty of the ship in the possessions of civilisation prevented anything else being given, and the laziness of the New Zealander appeared to the Frenchman to be too great to hold out very much hope of the seeds of civilisation which they had sown taking any very firm root among them.

De Surville did not long survive the Native he had wronged. On 8th April he tried to enter the Harbour of Chilca in a boat, but the bar rendered his task an impossible one, and he sent a message ashore by means of a Native of Pondicherry, a fine swimmer, who was accustomed to cross the bar of his native port in the very worst weather. The Indian, after leaving the boat, had occasion to look back, when he saw that the boat had capsized and that De Surville and his two companions were swimming for the shore. Impeded by their clothes they were all drowned. The Indian succeeded in gaining the shore. De Surville's body was found and buried at Chilca, and M. Labé took command. With all his faults, De Surville's death was a tremendous blow to the Expedition, and it was no empty ceremonial that fixed all the yards backwards, hoisted the flag half-mast, fired five-minute mourning guns, and, later on, sang a requiem mass and fired a salute of fifteen guns.

De Surville's visit has not left us a single name. Cape Surville has given place to the North Cape of Cook. There is no doubt that Cook sighted and named North Cape on 11th December, while De Surville did not see it until five days later, but from the position of the vessels when the Cape was named it seems fairly certain that the French Commander was naming a point a short distance to the north of North Cape, and now known as Kerr Point. If this view

of the position is correct, De Surville ought, even now, to have his name given to the most northerly point on the mainland of New Zealand.

Of the other names, Lauriston Bay must give place to Doubtless Bay, given a few days before by Cook. The name Lauriston has an interesting history. It is not French by any means. At a castle and estate of that name on the Firth of Forth there died, in 1684, one William Law, whose son, an exile in France, rose to be Comptroller-General of the French finances, and proved probably one of the most marvellous financiers that ever lived. The Law of Lauriston, who was in partnership with De Surville, was either a son or a nephew of the celebrated Law, and his designation of Lauriston was utilised by De Surville to name the bay in which his ship anchored in New Zealand.

For the identification of the places mentioned in Doubtless Bay the author is indebted to Captain Bollons of the G.s.s. *Hinemoa*, who very kindly, with a copy of De Surville's Journals in his possession, made an examination of the Bay. As a result of this examination the Captain identifies Chevalier Cove as Brodie's Beach, just inside Knuckle Point, Refuge Cove as the cove on the west side of the abandoned *pa* of Rangiawhea, and Salvation Cove as the one on the south side of the old *pa*. The first and second anchorages were in the small bay just inside Knuckle Point, and the third one was abreast of the Native Settlement of Rangiawhea.

If De Surville can claim to be the first discoverer of any part of the New Zealand coastline at all, it can only be of the few miles between Cape Maria van Diemen and Kerr Point. All the rest he described had already been sighted, by Tasman on the west, and by Cook on the east.

CHAPTER IV.

COOK COMPLETES HIS SURVEY, 1769 AND 1770.

THE westerly and northerly weather which proved so troublesome to De Surville on the west coast, proved equally troublesome to Cook in his attempt to round the North Cape. On the afternoon of 15th December fresh gales from the S.W. compelled him to stand to the S.E. until 8 a.m. on the morning of the sixteenth, when he tacked and stood again to the westward. At noon the *Endeavour* was in latitude $34^{\circ} 10'$ S. and longitude $183^{\circ} 45'$ W., some 45 miles from land and about equally distant from the North Cape and Knuckle Point. Land was not in sight, although the weather after midday was described as "clear . . . with a swell from the westward."

It was not through any willingness on Cook's part that he was thus, for the whole of one day, out of sight of land ; it was one of those unfortunate accidents that are said to happen in the best regulated families. As a matter of fact Cook records in his Journal "we used our utmost endeavours to keep in with it [the land]." What happened now was that De Surville passed Cape Maria van Diemen in the forenoon, rounded the North Cape in the afternoon, and sailed down the coast to Doubtless Bay. At midday De Surville was in lat. $34^{\circ} 22'$, while Cook was in $34^{\circ} 10'$, and the general course of the latter's afternoon steering was N.W. Thus the two commanders passed one another, sailing almost parallel courses, but evidently just outside the range of observation from the deck or masts of their vessels. Had the weather permitted Cook to follow the coastline, and not driven him to the eastward the moment he encountered open sea to the west, the two commanders must have met about Cape Maria van Diemen. Such a meeting would have meant much to the exhausted Frenchmen.

Should any reader desire to work out the positions of the two ships when passing one another—a thing attempted here for the first time—the author would ask him to note that Cook's Journal is entered up according to the nautical day (midday to midday), and that Cook had not allowed a day when crossing the 180th meridian. De Surville's Journals treat the day as from midnight to midnight, and, having come from India, the ship had not yet reached the 180th meridian. The Journals of the two ships will be found reproduced for the student of history in Volume II. of the "Historical Records of New Zealand."

Cook, whose object always was to keep in touch with the land, took advantage of some fine weather to get back to the vicinity of the North Cape, but, before he was able to get between the Three Kings and the mainland, heavy weather again came up, and the *Endeavour* was driven far to northward. It was not until the evening of 24th December that land, in the form of the Three Kings Islands, was seen from the masthead.

On the twenty-fifth the Three Kings were more clearly visible, and were generally identified as the islands seen by Tasman, although they did not correspond with the sketch of them given in Dalrymple's publication of Voyages in the South Seas. Banks, taking advantage of a lull in the weather, went out in a boat and shot some gannets which were about in plenty, and had them made into a goose pie for the Christmas celebrations of the following day. The pie was a great success, and Banks says "in the evening all hands were as drunk as our forefathers used to be upon like occasions." The interesting thing about these celebrations is that they were not on Xmas Day at all, owing to no allowance having been made for "westing" during the voyage, but no doubt the liquor was as potent, and the pie as good, as if the astronomical requirements had all been complied with. The *Endeavour*'s Christmas celebrations remind us of those of the *Heemskerck*, on the New Zealand coast in 1642: "There were also two hogs killed for the crew, and the Commander ordered, besides the ration, a tankard of wine to be given to every

mess, as it was the time of the fair." As a further connection between these two distant events it might be mentioned that the weather was, on both occasions, execrable.

For four days heavy weather again drove the *Endeavour* out of sight of land, and it was not until early morning of the thirty-first that Cape Maria van Diemen was again seen. Cook, it will be noticed, did not sail between the Three Kings and the mainland. On 15th December the *Endeavour* was at the eastern entrance of the strait, and sixteen days later at the western, having, in the interim, sailed round the Three Kings. The ground covered in those sixteen days was covered by De Surville in less than one. Cook notes in his Journal, under date 1st January 1770, that he had been three weeks in getting 30 miles to the westward, and five weeks in getting 150 miles, in the middle of summer, and in 35° latitude.

Creeping down the West Coast Kaipara Harbour was seen early on the fifth, but once more Cook was driven back, and again came in sight of Cape Maria van Diemen on the eighth. Then the weather lulled and enabled the coast to be surveyed without any difficulty. On the ninth, at noon, Hokianga was sighted, Kaipara on the tenth, and Kawhia on the eleventh. So closely did Cook stick to the coastline that he took the *Endeavour* inside Gannet Island, a name which he gave on account of the immense number of gannets, or solan geese as they are sometimes called, seen upon that rocky spot.

At 4 o'clock on the afternoon of 11th January, the first sight was obtained of Mt. Egmont, described by Cook as "a very high Mountain, and made very much like the Peak of Teneriffe." As Tasman had not seen it when he passed, this is the first recorded sight of it by Europeans. The mountain was again visible the following day, but, when the *Endeavour* was abreast of it, the peak was lost in the clouds. On the fourteenth, at daybreak, it appeared "of a prodigious height, and its Top cover'd with Everlasting snow." Cook named it after the Earl of Egmont who had held the position of First Lord of the Admiralty from 1763 to 1769. Banks

was equally charmed when he gazed upon that wonderful mountain, "certainly the noblest hill I have ever seen, and it appears to the utmost advantage, rising from the sea without another hill in its neighbourhood one-fourth of its height."

Cook called the cape, Cape Egmont ; Tasman had already named it Cape Pieter Booreel, but had never seen it, merely concluding the existence of a cape from the lay of the land ; Cook enjoyed the discoverer's privilege of giving the cape what name he pleased.

The *Endeavour* continued her course along the coastline of the North Island until the South Island was sighted early in the morning of 15th January. By this time Cook was probably off Wanganui, and he at once made for the new land, reaching it by evening. It seems to have been his intention to have entered Admiralty Bay, but in the morning he found himself carried past where he had settled upon anchoring, and thereupon resolved to enter an inlet which then lay open before him. To prevent being carried on to the N.W. point of the land, the pinnace and yawl had to be got out to tow the *Endeavour* clear.

Not much difficulty was experienced in sailing up the Sound, and when the wind fell away or chopped about, the boats were got out and manned, and the *Endeavour* towed up past the Island of Motuara, and anchored in Ship Cove.

While sailing up the Sound, canoes passed backwards and forwards in front of the *Endeavour*, and on Motuara a village of some 300 inhabitants greeted the ship with loud shouts, as she swung round the outside of the island and made for a sheltered cove which Cook detected on the mainland. No sooner was the anchor down in Ship Cove than several canoes came about, and their Native occupants vented their humour by the customary New Zealand method of throwing stones at the strange apparition. One Native evinced a desire to board the *Endeavour*, and, though his companions did their best to restrain him, took advantage of a rope's end thrown him, and climbed on deck. Once communication was established Cook took care that the visitor was well treated, and with a substantial supply of presents, and no

jarring note in his reception, the venturesome New Zealander returned to his canoe and its occupants paddled away.

As the *Endeavour* was badly in need of cleaning, she was careened, and two days were spent in cleaning her sides. This work was suffered to go on without molestation from the Natives, after the first forward one had received a charge of small shot in the knee, as a gentle warning to keep his distance.

One of the first things inquired after was for any tradition concerning ships having been on the coast before, and the reply of the Natives that they had never seen or heard of any vessels but their present visitors, showed that Tasman's vessel was unknown, at any rate to those in this part of the country.

During Cook's stay on the coast the question of the cannibal tendencies of the Natives came under notice on several occasions, but it was not until Queen Charlotte Sound was reached that actual demonstration of the fact that the bodies of human beings were used for food by the inhabitants of New Zealand was obtained. After dinner on 17th January, Cook and Banks rowed round to the first cove to the north, a distance of only two miles from where the vessel was lying, and there found, among the provision baskets, human bones which the Natives did not seek to hide nor to deny the knowledge of. They were cannibals, they admitted it, they gloried in it, and they showed how the flesh was prepared for their cannibal feasts.

When we look at the present deserted appearance of Queen Charlotte Sound in the neighbourhood of Motuara Island, it is difficult to conceive that at the date of Cook's visit the mouth of the Sound had a population of from 300 to 400 souls. The Scenic Reserve at Ship Cove, and the few bays where the original forest covering has been preserved, give us an idea of the lovely scene which greeted Cook's eyes when first he sailed up past the Island. The dense bush-clad hills supplied sustenance to vast numbers of birds, the sea gave similar supplies to quantities of fish, and the

birds and the fish thus provided for were the chief food supplies of the dense population which then inhabited the Sound.

The bird life can be compared with nothing there now, and, probably, with very little else now to be found in the Dominion. Banks describes the morning melody of the feathered songsters of Queen Charlotte Sound :—

"I was awakened by the singing of the birds ashore, from whence we are distant not a quarter of a mile. Their numbers were certainly very great. They seemed to strain their throats with emulation, and made, perhaps, the most melodious wild music I have ever heard, almost imitating small bells, but with the most tunable silver sound imaginable, to which, maybe, the distance was no small addition. On enquiring of our people, I was told that they had observed them ever since we had been here, and that they begin to sing about one or two in the morning, and continue till sunrise, after which they are silent all day, like our nightingales."

The first arrivals of the New Zealand Company in 1839 listened to the same melody. The visitor of to-day listens in vain.

The Natives appeared to Cook to group themselves around fortified spots on different islands, from which they sailed out and occupied the little coves and bays on both sides of the Sound. Cook now visited the Motuara *Pa*, apparently without any fear of treachery from the Natives. On the first visit he was shown over the stockade "with a good deal of seeming good nature," though signs were everywhere visible of recent cannibal feasts. A week later, he again visited the spot, to obtain the consent of the chief to the erection of a memento of his visit. On the other hand, when his men visited the locality on their own account, terrified at two canoes paddling towards them, firearms were used, fortunately without loss of life ; but it served to show what misfortunes might happen when the directing mind of the commander was absent.

Cook's description of the fortified post at Motuara as "a small island or rock separated by a breach so small that

a person could jump across, its steep sides only requiring a slight pallisade and one small fighting stage," still serves for a description as it is now, covered with dense undergrowth, and giving to the visitor a very different reception to that which it accorded the great explorer, when, in 1770, he sailed past its pallisades lined with wild shouting cannibals.

Having overhauled the *Endeavour*, Cook set himself, first to provide for the refreshment of his crew, and then to undertake the exploration of the coastline in the vicinity. Empty casks were taken out and filled, timber for firewood was cut, fish were caught, and birds were shot. In addition to this the scientists scoured the bush-clad hills. On Tuesday 23rd January, on one of his many surveying expeditions, Cook went some twelve or fifteen miles up the Sound, and, not finding the end of it, landed and climbed the hills on the eastern side. He was disappointed in his hoped-for view of the Sound itself, but was rewarded, on looking over to the east, with a sight of the long suggested strait which Tasman had in vain attempted to locate. Cook had climbed the hill with only one companion, and, as might have been expected, "returned in high spirits." He had seen the strait the land stretching away to the eastward on the other side, and the open sea to the south-east.

On a later date, accompanied by Banks and Solander, Cook again ascended the hill, and carefully examined the western entrance of the strait, which was to be named after him, Cook Strait. On this occasion the party erected a small pyramid of stones, in which they placed musket balls, shot, beads, and any available thing likely to stand the test of time. On Tuesday the thirtieth, three days afterwards, a visit was made to Jackson Head, and, on the top of the hill, from which a view was taken seaward and the different spots located, a cairn was built, mementoes placed therein, and an old pennant left flying from a pole upon it.

In addition to these records of his visit to the Sound, Cook caused two posts to be prepared, giving the day, date, and name of his vessel. One of the posts was erected at the watering place, where to-day Cook's Monument is located;

the other was taken over to Motuara, and, after the consent of the Natives had been procured, was carried to the highest point of the Island, where it was placed in position, the flag hoisted, the Inlet named Queen Charlotte Sound after the King's Consort, and possession of the mainland taken in the name of King George the Third.

On Motuara Island, British Sovereignty was, on 1st February 1770, first declared in the South Island of New Zealand.

In view of our present knowledge of New Zealand, it is worth recording that Cook, on the occasion of hoisting the flag, was told by an old Native who accompanied him that New Zealand consisted of three islands, of which two were called Te Wai Pounamu, and could be circumnavigated in four days. It was not until 39 years afterwards that geographers proved the old man's statement in regard to the number of islands to be correct. The reference to the four days, however, is not easy to understand.

In his explorations of the Sound, Cook sailed a considerable distance towards the head of it, and his published chart gives a very accurate representation of the broken coastline up to and beyond Tory Channel. His plan shows that he must actually have seen the channel though unaware that it communicated with the ocean. As the Sound at the mouth of Tory Channel trends away to the westward, Cook thought that it provided an outlet to the sea in that direction. When making inquiries amongst the Natives regarding a channel, he was told that there was none, but this error might have been caused by Cook's idea of a western channel suggesting the form of question, which would, of course, be answered in the negative.

On Tuesday 6th February, Cook weighed anchor and left the Cove, but did not get further than Motuara Island, where he was forced to remain until 6 o'clock next morning, when a light breeze enabled him to leave the Sound.

Before getting clear of the land, Cook had a very exciting experience off Stephens Island. There the force of the tide is very great, and in a calm he was carried along at a great

speed, and only prevented from being dashed against the rocks by letting go his anchor in seventy-five fathoms, and paying out one hundred and fifty fathoms of cable to bring his ship to a standstill, two cables' length from danger. From this perilous position the *Endeavour* did not get clear until the turn of the tide at midnight, when a favourable wind enabled Cook to get clear of a very dangerous headland.

After sailing through the strait Cook would have passed to the southward, but some of his officers thought it probable that the land they had sailed round might communicate by an isthmus between where they then were and Cape Turnagain, not 90 miles away, so Cook, to clear up all such doubts, continued along the North Island coastline, although, so he himself records in his Journal, "no such supposition ever entered my thoughts."

On the afternoon of 9th February three canoes, with about 30 or 40 Natives in them, came off to the vessel, and, so far as their behaviour went, shewed that they had already heard of the *Endeavour*. They manifested no fear, and when on board asked for nails, which they called *whow*, but when nails were given them, asked Tupaea what they were, so that their knowledge was evidently confined to simply hearing of the wonderful material which the visitors had. Banks thought they seemed richer and cleaner than any met with since calling at the Bay of Islands. At 11 o'clock the following morning Cook called the officers on deck and asked if they were satisfied that the land was an island, and, when they replied in the affirmative, turned the *Endeavour's* head about and hastened to continue the survey to the south.

The work done in connection with the exploration of the South Island has already been dealt with in "*Murihiku*."

After leaving Cape Farewell, Cook sailed along the east coast of Australia from the latitude of 30° S. to the northern point of Queensland, and then made for Batavia, which he reached on 10th September 1770. Here fever broke out amongst the ship's company, and seven of them died. From this unwholesome resting place, on 26th December 1770, the *Endeavour* sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, and reached

there on 15th March 1771. From the Cape the voyage was continued *via* St. Helena to England, and the *Endeavour* anchored in the Downs at 3 o'clock on Saturday, 13th July 1771.

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The following are the names given by Cook in the North Island, commencing at Cape Palliser, and proceeding up the east coast, and round to the starting point. Where Cook has given his reasons they are quoted. Where no reasons are given, they are either unknown or obvious.

CAPE PALLISER.

FLAT POINT AND CASTLE POINT.

CAPE TURNAGAIN.—“because here we returned.”

BLACK HEAD.

BARE ISLAND.—“the island was quite barren.”

CAPE KIDNAPPERS.—See p. 22.

HAWKE'S BAY.—“in Honour of Sir Edward, first Lord of the Admiralty.”

CAPE TABLE.—“on account of its shape and figure.

YOUNG NICK'S HEAD.—“after the boy (Nicholas Young), who first saw the land.”

POVERTY BAY.—“because it afforded us no one thing we wanted.”

GABLE END FORELAND.—“on account of the very great resemblance the white cliff at the very point hath to the Gable end of a House.”

SPORINGS ISLD.—Herman Sporing was one of Banks' artists.

EAST CAPE and EAST ISLAND.—“because I have good reason to think that it is the Eastermost land on this whole coast; and for the same reason I have called the Island, which lies off it, East Island.”

HICKS BAY.—“because Lieutenant Hicks was the first who discover'd it.”

CAPE RUNAWAY.—See p. 24.

WHITE ISLAND.—“because as such it always appear'd to us.”

MOUNT EDGECUMBE.—John Edgecumbe was sergeant of marines.

HIGH LAND POINT and LOW LAND BAY.—Both lost.

THE MAYOR (now Mayor Island), and THE COURT OF ALDERMEN (now The Aldermen).

BAY OF PLENTY.

MERCURY BAY, MERCURY POINT (now lost), and MERCURY ISLES (now Red Mercury Island and Great Mercury Island).—See p. 24.

CASTLE ISLE, TOWER ROCK, OYSTER RIVER, MANGROVE RIVER, and PORT CHARLES.

RIVER THAMES.—“on account of it being some resemblance to that River in England” (now Hauraki Gulf, Firth of Thames, and Waihon River).

CAPE COLVILLE.—“in honour of the Right honble. the Lord Colvill,” under whom Cook had served in Newfoundland.

BARRIER ISLANDS.—“The River is defended from the sea by a chain of islands.”

EAST ISLES and WEST ISLES.

POINT (now CAPE) RODNEY.

BREAM TAIL, BREAM HEAD, and BREAM BAY.—“we caught between 90 and 100 Bream.”

HEN AND CHICKENS.

POOR KNIGHTS.

PIERCEY ISLAND and CAPE BRETT. See p. 29.

POINT POCOCK.—Now Cape Wiwiki.

BAY OF ISLANDS.—“on account of the Great Numbers which line its shores.”

WHALE ROCK.

CAVALLE ISLANDS.—“2 or 3 of them sold us some fish—Cavallys, as they are called—which occasioned my giving the Islands the same name.”

BAY POINT, DOUBTLESS BAY, and KNUCKLE POINT.

SANDY BAY.—“the Soil to all appearance nothing but white sand thrown up in low irregular hills.”

MOUNT CAMEL.—“a high Mountain or Hill standing upon a desert shore, upon which account we called it Mount Camel.”

FALSE BAY (now Kaipara Harbour), and WOODY HEAD.

GANNET ISLAND.—“on account of the Great Numbers of these Birds we saw upon it.”

ALBATROSS POINT, SUGAR LOAF ISLES, and SUGAR LOAF POINT.

MOUNT, and CAPE, EGMONT.—“in honour of the Earl of Egmont.”

ENTRY ISLAND (now Kapiti), COOK STRAIT.

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After Cook's return to England and the publication of his discoveries in New Zealand, Alexander Dalrymple, who had figured so prominently before the *Endeavour* sailed, and Dr. Franklin the celebrated American, submitted to the public a scheme for conveying the benefits of civilisation to the inhabitants of the new land. In the scheme, which was dated 29th August 1771, Dr. Franklin put the case thus:—“Many voyages have been undertaken with views of profit or of plunder, or to gratify resentment; to procure some advantage to ourselves, or to do some mischief to others; but a voyage is now proposed to visit a distant people on the other side of the globe; not to cheat them, not to rob them, not to seize their lands, or enslave their persons; but merely to do them good, and make them, as far as in our power lies, to live as comfortably as ourselves.”

It was intended to convey fowls, hogs, goats, cattle, corn, and iron, to the New Zealanders, and to bring from New Zealand such productions as could be cultivated in England. The ship was to be under the command of Alexander Dalrymple. The financial estimate was put before the public in the following form:—A bark of 350 tons at a cost of £2000; stores, boats, and extras, £3000; 60 men at £4 per month,

for three years, £8640 ; making a total expenditure of £13,640. The total cost of the Expedition, including the cargo, was put down at £15,000.

The money necessary was to be raised by subscription, subscribers of £100 and upwards to be the Trustees, and all who were willing to assist in carrying on the work were requested to communicate with Mr. Dalrymple, Soho Square.

The results were evidently disappointing, as the whole scheme appears to have dropped completely out of sight. Examining what literature was put into circulation regarding it, it would look as if the beautiful sentiments of the far-famed Benjamin Franklin were being utilised by Dalrymple, disappointed at not having received the command of the *Endeavour* in 1768, to try and bring about an Expedition to the South Seas which would have him as its head. Whatever was the cause, the Natives of New Zealand were to get the benefits of civilisation brought to them in quite a different way.

CHAPTER V.

MARION'S VISIT TO THE BAY OF ISLANDS, 1772.

THE Expedition which Marion commanded resembled that of De Surville's only to the extent that neither of them was promoted by the Government of the day; De Surville's Expedition was purely a commercial venture, Marion's, the Expedition of a wealthy man in the cause of science.

In 1769 Bougainville brought to France a native of Tahiti, Mayoia, who, after a short stay in the French capital, was sent to the Mauritius to be taken home as soon as convenient. Marion offered to take the Tahitian home at his own expense, and permission was granted, one of the King's store-ships being attached to the Expedition but at the expense of the promoter. The *Mascarin* under Marion, and the *Marquis de Castries* under Chevalier du Clesmeur, constituted the Expedition which set out from the Mauritius. At Reunion Island the Tahitian was attacked with smallpox, and died while the vessels were at Madagascar. Although the central object of the Expedition was now removed, Marion decided to go on with the work of discovery, and to follow the general route taken by Tasman.

For information of Marion's visit to New Zealand the student of the past has been confined to the French production of Abbé Alexis Rochon, published as early as 1783, or the English translation of it made by H. Ling Roth in 1891. This source of information has now been supplemented by the publication of the Journals (with their English translations) of Lieutenant Roux of the *Mascarin*, and of Captain Du Clesmeur of the *Marquis de Castries*, in the Historical Records of New Zealand, Vol. II., pp. 350 to 481.

The Expedition first sighted New Zealand at 8 o'clock on the morning of 25th March 1772, detecting, from a great

distance out to sea, the summit of Mount Egmont, at first taken to be an islet. When, next day, its true nature was discovered, it was named Mount Mascalin, and was supposed to be one of the headlands of Murderers' Bay. Marion remained in the vicinity of the mountain until the twenty-ninth, when he steered northward, detecting numerous signs of human habitation ashore, and, generally speaking, being well pleased with the appearance of the country. So as to miss nothing, as well as to avoid dangers, the vessels were hove to at night.

On 3rd April Cape Maria van Diemen was sighted, and the same day a terrible storm, which lasted for three days, came up from the N.W. The Three Kings were sighted on the eighth, and some time was spent there through contrary winds. The report of Tasman's voyage, which the Frenchmen worked from, stated that on one of the islands of the group was a river. This river was searched for in vain, and, though some Natives were seen, the Expedition sailed away in disgust. Whatever discrepancy the Frenchmen found in the Dutchman's narrative must have been due to the translation, as Tasman's description is true to this day, and he spoke, not of a river, but of "water coming down in great plenty from a steep mountain."

Leaving the Three Kings on the twelfth, Marion made over to the mainland, and, on the fifteenth, sent the ship's cutter into what is now called Spirits Bay, and, later on, into Tom Bowling Bay. To the North Cape was given the name Cape Eolus, which shows us that Marion was working with Tasman's chart only, as Cook's or De Surville's would have shewn him North Cape, or Cape Survillie.

As the Expedition was now in dire straits for want of refreshments, an effort was made to get water in Spirits Bay, and the ships came to an anchor there on the morning of 16th April. Lieutenant Crozet went ashore, but could find only brackish water, and, when he returned to the ship, the vessels were labouring very heavily at their anchors which had commenced to drag, and the vessels themselves were in danger of being driven on to the rocks towards the eastern point of the bay. Things got worse as the night wore on, and at

four in the morning Marion signalled to the *Marquis de Castries* to get under sail. This her captain did by cutting the cables, and the *Mascarin* followed her about four hours later.

Knocked about from the seventeenth to the twenty-sixth Marion hung on with the hope of saving the five valuable anchors and cables which he had been forced to cut away from in Anchor Bay as he designated their anchorage. On the twenty-sixth a careful search was made, but only the two anchors belonging to the *Mascarin* were recovered; the three belonging to the *Marquis de Castries*, not having been buoyed, were hopelessly lost. It was probably the knowledge of this fact that caused Du Clesmeur to oppose the search for the missing ground tackle, and which compelled Marion, through a speaking trumpet, to order him to follow his lead. To replace the missing ground tackle Marion sent to Du Clesmeur two of his own anchors.

While the anchors were being recovered boats from both vessels visited the shore and spent some time examining the Native cultivations, their dwellings, and their huge fishing nets. Nowhere could metal implements be detected. Strange to say, Roux states that they found a "skeleton of an ass of the same kind as ours," and a "piece of skin somewhat similar to that of the bear." The latter was evidently a dog skin, but what the "skeleton" was the author cannot surmise.

Having done all that could be done to save the anchors, Marion rounded the North Cape on 28th April, and reached Cape Brett, which he called Square Cape, on 1st May. Here, when tacking about reconnoitring the coastline, canoes came off and visited the ships. At first the Natives showed considerable fear, but were finally induced to come on board, where they were made welcome with presents of clothing. Seeing the reception the first had obtained, great numbers of canoes full of Natives now began to arrive, and to make sure against attack armed soldiers were placed on the poops of the French vessels.

Though the members of the Expedition did not know of other visitors to these parts, it was patent, by the absence of astonishment on the part of the Natives when coming on

board, and by the knowledge of muskets which they possessed, that they had met Europeans before. Two of the chiefs dined with Marion, and the French officers record that, in their likes and dislikes at the table, they showed great aversion to salt meat, and to wines of all kinds.

When night came, two chiefs, with two attendants, remained on board the *Mascarin*, but every time the vessel, in tacking, got well out to sea, they manifested the greatest anxiety, and urged that the ships should go further into the Bay. Probably De Surville's action in taking away a chief, two-and-a-half years before, was known to them. After midnight boats which had been sent out during the day returned with good news of a suitable anchorage, and at noon the ships' course was set towards the reported harbour. As they were entering, only the vigilance of the outlook prevented the *Marquis de Castries* from striking on a sunken rock which the French called the Razeline Reef. Night compelled the anchor to be cast at the mouth of a harbour to which the name Port Marion was given. From the evening of the fifth, until the ninth and tenth, the Expedition remained at its first anchorage, and during that time, on the occasion of a visit to the mainland, the members of the Expedition witnessed a fight which took place between two rival tribes of the New Zealanders. A chief of one of the tribes came up to Marion's men, and, enlisting the services of a sergeant, put him at their head; as they marched to the attack the sergeant fired two shots from his musket and the whole of the opposing forces fled; this bloodless fight over, the Natives brought back the sergeant to his friends who had been interested spectators of this singular contest.

On 11th May the two ships cast anchor at a spot chosen by Marion, near one of the largest islands in the harbour, called Marion Island, and two tents were pitched ashore for the sick and for the officers, and a guard house for the men whose presence was necessary as a precaution against the thieving propensities of the Natives.

Provision having been thus completed for the sick, the repairs necessary for the ships were attended to. The two

longboats first examined the western side of the harbour in search of suitable spars for the *Marquis de Castries*. On the twentieth the eastern part of the harbour was visited and the boats' crews were taken by the Natives to examine some trees which grew there. These proved scarcely long enough, however, for the purpose, and one of the Natives promised to show them where much longer trees grew. Two days later he did so, and after travelling about three miles from the head of a large inlet situated to the south of the bay, pointed out trees large enough to mast a vessel carrying 74 guns. Du Clesmeur was ordered to pitch a masting camp there, and accordingly erected on the beach four huts, for sentry guard, workers, officers, and store.

While these preparations were being made, a negro and three *negresses*—slaves of Marion's—were placed on Marion Island to wash the linen of the ship. The negro took a small canoe, and, with the *negresses* on board, sought to desert to the Natives, but finding the load too great for the canoe, he killed one of the women to lighten it; another, fearing the same fate, jumped overboard and swam ashore. Another incident caused considerable excitement. A New Zealander who had stolen a cutlass was captured when making off with it, but, at the request of some of his countrymen, he was liberated by Marion.

Operations for cutting were now commenced. On 28th May Du Clesmeur moved to the camp, and the following day work commenced. Marion visited the spot to view the timber, traversing a swamp 80 fathoms wide and up to the waist in depth, thus experiencing the difficulties which his men had to encounter. That night he spent in the open forest.

By the end of May the sick camp at Marion Island, and the masting camp on the mainland, were in full swing, and the various officers took their turn of duty at both places.

By the eighth of June the masts were finished and had been transported a considerable distance towards the shore, and, as was the custom, the gear had been left on the spot, and a tent erected as a guardhouse. While the men were at supper some Natives slipped under the tent looking for

plunder. When they came out they were observed and fired at, but managed to get away with a 300lb. anchor, a musket, and a greatcoat. The officer in command straightway sent out twelve armed men with an officer to repulse any attack the Natives might make. Next morning a chief was captured and bound to a stake, but, on the incident being reported to Marion, that officer ordered his release, expressing himself as very angry at what had been done. Another anchor was supplied to the party.

Just at this juncture the officer in charge of the guard on Marion Island took ill, and Lieutenant Roux of the *Mascarin* took his place. The strength, from a defence point of view, was four soldiers, an officer, the surgeon major, and the commanding officer. As the sick men recovered they returned to their ships, so that those in camp were of no help in an emergency. Roux, on taking charge, learned that for several nights Natives had been hanging about, and he accordingly got the six blunderbusses belonging to the camp cleaned up, loaded, and placed at the entrance of the tent, with a sentry always on guard.

The next day Marion visited the sick camp and expressed his approval of the precautions taken, but would not listen to any suggestion that the Natives had designs upon the Expedition. Although he had, that morning, sent assistance to the masting camp, because of the appearance of Natives there the night before, nothing would convince the French Commander that there was any danger, and, in justification of his view, he recounted to Roux a visit he had made to the village of a chief called Tacoury, a few days before, when he climbed the hill, and, in the presence of a great number of the Natives, was crowned, presented with a fish and a *tiki*, and made to understand that he was regarded as a king. "How can you expect me to have a bad opinion of a people who show me so much friendship ?" was Marion's reply to Roux's fears.

That same afternoon—the eleventh—the sick camp was again visited by the Natives, and the chief who came appeared more than usually inquisitive, taking particular notice of the

blunderbusses, and carefully examining the tent containing the sick sailors. Later on in the day Roux was at this chief's village, when the latter manifested considerable curiosity about the cleaning of the guns and their power to kill men, and, to prove that they could, Roux shot one of the dogs which happened to be passing. The chief then tried if he could shoot a dog, but, instead of pulling the trigger, he blew on the lock. The French officer thought it advisable to leave him in ignorance of the proper method of firing. That night more Natives visited the tents.

The next day was the fateful twelfth of June. In the morning Du Clesmeur boarded the *Mascarin* and told Marion everything that had taken place, but the latter would listen to no fear of danger, and urged indulgence towards men who knew no difference between *meum* and *tuum*; he believed them incapable of hatching evil against their visitors, and he recounted what he had already told Roux of his treatment by the assembled Natives a few days ago, and stated that they had returned the musket stolen from the guard tent at the masting camp.

That afternoon two chiefs came on board to seek Marion, and, at two o'clock, he went off in his cutter with them, with two armed officers and thirteen unarmed sailors. He had nets for fishing, and was going to visit Tacoury's village. He did not return, but that was not altogether unusual, and the ship's company, though feeling a little anxiety, concluded he had gone to the masting camp to spend the night.

The first note of alarm came at one o'clock on the morning of the thirteenth, when the sentry reported that great numbers of Natives were approaching the sick camp. Preparations were at once made by the seven men who were not ill, by arranging the blunderbusses in the form of a square and themselves getting inside, to resist any possible attack. When within a pistol shot the Natives saw the preparations and halted for half-an-hour, when they quietly withdrew. Had the attackers not been terrified of the blunderbusses they must easily have captured the camp, and that meant

the Expedition, as, with the tackle on shore and 60 men in the sick camp unable to walk, the weakened ships would never have left the New Zealand coast.

When day broke on the thirteenth the hills surrounding the sick camp were seen covered with Natives. One chief known to Roux came forward and told him, weeping, that Tacoury had killed Marion, but Roux, thinking that Marion was on the *Mascarin*, concluded that he was being warned of Tacoury's designs. Just then the chief hurriedly retired and the longboat from the *Mascarin* arrived with assistance for the camp which they could see was being threatened. Then Roux learned that Marion was missing, and at once the awful truth dawned on him. Thirty armed men were disembarked for the protection of the camp, and the longboat returned.

Before daylight that morning the Captain of the *Marquis de Castries* had sent his longboat, with twelve men on board, to secure firewood from the cove where Marion used to go fishing. About 7 o'clock a cry was heard from the land by those on board, and a man was seen swimming off to the ship. A boat was sent to pick him up, when he was found to be one of the crew of the longboat, wounded with a spear thrust in his side. He reported the massacre of the boat's company in the following terms :

"When the longboat's company arrived at the landing-place in the cove which runs into Tacoury's village, they perceived some natives who were all armed, but who were in small numbers, and who called out to them, making signs that they were to land. The sailor named Raux, seeing that there was some good wood, steered for the place, notwithstanding the arguments of the master-at-arms, who feared the natives, and who declared they were armed. For a time, at first, it seemed, judging by the favourable reception given by the natives to our people, that the master-at-arms had been wrong in mistrusting them, the natives coming forward to take our men and carry them to the shore on their shoulders. As our men had no reason to suspect any plot on the part of the natives, they separated one from another for

the purpose of cutting the firewood. One of the men, named Lequay, was in the company of the sailor who gave us this account, and working at the same tree, when suddenly a dozen natives surrounded him. A hideous yell being given, no doubt as a signal, a considerable number of the savages appeared, and forthwith attacked them. Lequay's comrade, feeling his side pierced by a spear, seized the weapon and pulled it out. He then struck down with his axe the native who had wounded him. Amidst frightful cries from the savages, he distinguished the voice of Lequay, who called to him for help, and having found him seized by several of the savages, tried to get him away by striking them with his axe. Fear having now gained the mastery, and as the struggle was so unequal, he had tried to get back to the longboat, which he perceived filled with natives, who were murdering several of his comrades, who, having the same design as himself, had endeavoured to escape, whereupon seeing the horrible grimaces of the savages, who were cutting our men into pieces with their own hatchets, and hearing their agonised and expiring voices, he sought safety in flight, not knowing very well which way to turn. As he was fleeing, he saw M. Marion's boat, which was aground at the head of the cove. Having crossed through a little wood and Tacoury's village, where a multitude of children by their cries had increased his fright, and made him redouble his efforts to escape, he arrived at the beach, and flung himself into the sea, without hesitating, in the fear that some of the savages might come up and murder him."

Another record of his story adds the following particulars. The boatswain alone entered the wood with his musket ; the escaped man had gone further than the others into the bush and had killed both the Natives who attacked him ; he estimated that some 300 Natives took part in the attack.

There could be no doubt now of what had happened to Marion. Not only was the Commander, with two officers, and thirteen sailors, killed ; but eleven men from the *Marquis*

de Castries had that morning shared their fate. Twenty-seven men of the Expedition had lost their lives !

No time was to be lost now in getting relief to the sick, and mast, camps, as the success of the New Zealanders the day before, and that morning, would prompt them to united action at once to wipe out the whole party. The wounded sailor had scarcely finished his narrative on the deck of the *Marquis de Castries* when preparations could be seen being made by 500 or 600 Natives to attack the sick camp. Du Clesmeur immediately sent some men to the rescue, and the Natives retreated *en masse* to the tops of the hills.

Roux then set to work to defend the hospital, and placed the six blunderbusses to form a battery on the side the attack must come from. As the Natives crowded around showing how they had killed Marion, Roux recognised Tacoury, who signalled to him to approach and actually came almost within musket shot with ten of his men. When Roux advanced to meet him he turned and started to ascend the hill. Roux and his party thereupon let him have a volley, when he fell, but was picked up and carried off. Whether he was killed or not is not known, but he never afterwards appeared. At the head of the attacking force could be seen all the chiefs who were in the habit of visiting the vessels, and of pretending to the Frenchmen that while at war with one another they were all friends of the visitors. At 1 o'clock in the afternoon there must have been 1000 to 1200 Natives round the hospital.

Meantime things had been developing at the mast camp. During the night of the twelfth—after the death of Marion—those in the camp were surprised to see armed Natives advancing close up to them. On a few shots being fired the visitors made off. This must have been almost simultaneous with the attack on the sick camp. At daybreak on the thirteenth the hills were covered with armed Natives, and it was at first thought that the masts should not be visited that day, but, after consultation, it was decided to send a party there and leave sufficient men in camp to defend it. The work of dragging the masts went on, and these were a good way out of the bush and within about a mile of the huts,

when, towards noon, those engaged in the work learned that the Natives had made an attempt to get inside the camp and had been fired on. Dinner had to be brought up to the fatigue party with an armed escort.

By this time the masts were on a little hill from which the camp could be seen, when it was noticed that a longboat arrived from the ship, and its arrival was followed by eight men coming up to the fatigue party in the greatest haste. These men brought up the sad news, and it was at once decided to leave the masts and return with the working gear to the camp. Crozet was now in command, and put his men, to the number of about a hundred, into the longboat and the cutter, which alone were at their disposal. They had no sooner done this than the Natives rushed down and set fire to the huts.

The occupants of the longboat reported that they had seen Marion's cutter, and the longboat of the *Marquis de Castries*, aground in Tacoury's Cove. There were divided opinions on the advisability of going and securing these boats, and Crozet seems finally to have decided to make no effort to recover them, although some of his officers were very insistent on their recapture. Whatever the reason was, Crozet could not be persuaded. On arriving on board the *Mascarin* he sent further assistance to the sick camp, and, to make the latter more easy of defence, all who were sick, and all the tents except one for shelter for the arms, were taken on board. A signal was also arranged lest assistance should be required in the night, special precautions were taken to defend the forge, sentries were posted on all sides, and a guard told off for the tent.

At 11 o'clock in the evening an attack was made and the signal given to the ships, but the Natives were beaten off before the longboat arrived, and she accordingly returned to the ship. In the morning the attackers had greatly increased in numbers, and some of them held up, for the Frenchmen to see, the clothes and gun of their late Commander.

It was now realised as necessary that the New Zealanders must be cleared out from the neighbourhood of the camp,

and Lieutenant Roux selected twenty-six men for the work, each man being armed with a musket, a pair of pistols, a cutlass, and 40 rounds of ammunition. When the top of the hill was reached it was seen that the Natives were sending off their women, youths, and children, by sea, from the peninsula on which the fortified village was situated. Only on one side could this village be approached; and then only by one man at a time holding on to the pallisades to avoid falling into a moat. A raised platform all round enabled it to be effectively defended.

When about a musket shot away two chiefs came out and threw darts, but one was badly wounded and the other retreated on the first fire. Some 300 paces which had to be traversed were rendered slippery by water poured on by the Natives, but by shooting all who ascended the raised platform the whole attacking force was enabled to reach the gateway without one man being wounded. At the gate firing commenced through the pallisades, and a deadly fire was kept up on the Natives as they rose to throw their weapons, but in spite of this fire a sergeant was struck above the eye by a long spear held by a chief, and the force of the blow nearly knocked him into the moat. At last the gate was smashed open, and the men rushed in. At this moment Lieutenant Roux was wounded in the thigh, and one of the soldiers in the side. The Natives were pursued to where the embarkation was proceeding, and here a terrible slaughter took place. The whole incident lasted but forty minutes, and Roux estimates that, of some 450 who defended the fortification, about 200 got away in canoes, the others being either killed or drowned, as the sea was rough and prevented the swimmers reaching the mainland. One longboat, well armed, had been sent to intercept the anticipated flight by water, but the sea was so rough that it did not reach its destination. Had it done so none of the Natives would have escaped.

Nothing of any moment was found in the village, which was then set on fire, and, in an hour and a half, the greater part was reduced to ashes. What was not destroyed was used as firewood for the ships. Some fear was felt at first that the

weapons of the New Zealanders might be poisoned, but it proved not to be so as all the wounded made satisfactory recoveries. The next day the camp was broken up and everything taken on board.

Uncertain of the fate of the masts which were on the mainland, and not caring to risk the lives of any of the men in an investigation, a forge was fitted up on the *Mascarin*, and the carpenters set to work to make new ones, with the result that they succeeded in turning out a satisfactory fore-mast, a bowsprit, and a mizzenmast.

On 28th June the longboat was at the island for water, and the officer in command was carrying away a piece of timber when some Natives came forward to oppose him. One of them was captured, but got away. Several of the Natives were seen with clothes belonging to the dead Frenchmen, and one of them had Marion's gun.

The following day another visit was made to cut down the pallisades of the Native village, when some 60 Natives were surprised, and about 25 of them, who failed to get away in the canoes, were either shot or drowned.

On 7th July—25 days after the massacre—it was decided to make a descent on Tacoury's village to see if any traces of Marion still existed. It was found abandoned, and the only evidences of the massacre were traces of human bones and signs of cannibal feasts. Except that this village, and another near it, were burnt, and except also that it gave the New Zealanders an opportunity of parading the garments of the men they had murdered, nothing resulted from the Expedition.

Four days later a council was held, when it was decided to sail for Manilla, passing Rotterdam and Amsterdam Islands.

On 12th July there was buried on Marion Island a bottle, in which were enclosed the arms of France, and a formal statement of the taking possession of the country which was named Austral-France. This bottle was buried four feet underground, 57 yards from high-water mark, and ten paces from the little stream.

The next day the Expedition sailed.

In a narrative gleaned only from the Journals of Roux and of Du Clesmeur, many points are obscure. A Journal kept by Crozet was available when the Abbé Rochon wrote his account of the voyage, but that Journal was not available to the author. The writers of the two Journals before us were men who evidently had little liking for one another, as can be seen by two references. The first is to the mistake made by Du Clesmeur in not buoying his anchors in Anchor Bay, which resulted in three of them being lost to the Expedition ; as to the second, when describing what took place after Marion's death, Roux says :—“After his death mistakes became as frequent as when he was alive they had been rare ; one stupidity succeeded another.” On the part of Du Clesmeur, the credit of leading the attack on the Native village, which resulted so successfully, is given to M. le Chevalier de Lorimier, who is stated to have been the only man wounded. Nothing is clearer, on reading Roux's Journal, than that Roux led the attack, and that there were three men wounded. The very fact that a lieutenant was present would give him the command before the Chevalier de Lorimier.

However widely the two officers differed from one another they both agree in this, that repeated warnings were conveyed to Marion of questionable acts on the part of the Natives, and they also both agree that he declined to entertain the idea of anything more than petty theft being present in the mind of the New Zealanders. No doubt the chiefs were quick enough to see this. Natives seized were liberated without punishment, and it would very quickly become apparent to the New Zealander that the Commander regarded their actions without any trace of alarm. Thus we find extraordinary demonstrations of love and affection given to Marion on different occasions, always and only to put him completely off his guard, until he could be secured, with a fairly large party, almost entirely unarmed ; because we are told that, when he left the ship on the eve of the massacre, only three were armed. The demonstration of force after

the massacre shows that the Natives regarded the death of Marion as sealing the fate of the others.

There is one other point before we finish this analysis, and that is, What caused the massacre? French authorities incline to the belief that De Surville's action in taking away the chief from Doubtless Bay was at the back of it. The author, in all humility, thinks not. In 1769—little more than two years before—in this same Bay of Islands, Cook only escaped attack by the judicious use of "buckshot," followed by "ball," and ending with cannon from the ship (page 30). Had Cook been imbued with Marion's views he would never have returned on board the *Endeavour*. He resembled the Frenchman in being perfectly straight with the Natives, but he differed from the Frenchman in this, that when perfectly straight dealing did not avail he always gave a reminder—in buckshot, for preference—and this reminder, while it did not prevent him ending his career, like his French rival, in a South Sea oven, placed the two men very far apart as South Sea navigators and explorers.



The Native version of the death of Marion and of his men was obtained by Mr. Alexander Berry, supercargo of the *City of Edinburgh*, when that vessel was in the Bay of Islands in 1810, 28 years after the event. It reads thus:—

"After living for a time in great harmony with the French, one of their chiefs stole an axe from the carpenters in the wood. The theft being detected, they tied his hands and put a centinel on him with a musket. They then described, in the most ludicrous manner, the solemn stately pace of the centinel, contrasted with the trembling, crouching, and watchful posture of the Zealander, who, on some occasion, when the former turned his back, escaped into the wood. . . . The chief, on getting to a proper distance in the bush, unbound himself with his teeth, and immediately returned to his *Hippah*, or fortified village, resolved to take the first opportunity of revenge.

Poor Marion, not knowing what had happened, on next coming ashore for the purpose of visiting the party in the wood as usual, called at the *Hippah* in his way. They were admitted with the same demonstrations of friendship as formerly, but, as had been beforehand concerted, were treacherously surprised and murdered.

. . . Next morning a second party came on shore, and were likewise surprised and killed while in the act of hauling the seine. One man only escaped by swimming, after being wounded, and who, being seen from the ship, was taken on board."

When reproducing the Native account of the massacre of the second boat's crew, a mistake may have been made by Berry when he says that they were killed "while in the act of hauling the seine." The Journals kept by the officers show that Marion's boat had a seine, and he went for the purpose of fishing, while the second boat went to cut wood, and the solitary survivor stated that they were so engaged when set on. Probably the Native told Berry that they attacked the first boat while they were "hauling the seine." If so, this is the one solitary piece of information we have ever obtained of what went on that awful afternoon that Marion met his death.

CHAPTER VI.

STRAY VISITORS, 1773 TO 1793.

1. PAGE 75.—FURNEAUX VISITS TOLAGA BAY, 1773.
 2. PAGE 76.—DISCOVERY OF THE KERMADECS, 1788.
 3. PAGE 77.—H.M.S. GORGON'S VISIT, 1792.
 4. PAGE 77.—KIDNAPPING FLAX DRESSERS, 1792 AND 1793.
 5. PAGE 81.—D'ENTRECASTEAUX'S VISIT, 1793.
 6. PAGE 82.—GOVERNOR KING'S VISIT, 1793.
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1. FURNEAUX VISITS TOLAGA BAY, 1773.

The circumstances surrounding the sending out of a second Expedition under Cook have been already dealt with when reviewing the events connected with the exploration of the South Island, and there is no need to do more here than refer to them in the most cursory manner.

Cook's Second Expedition comprised two vessels, the *Resolution* under Cook himself, and the *Adventure* under Tobias Furneaux. It sailed from England in July 1772, and from the Cape of Good Hope the following November. On 8th February 1773 the two vessels separated, and Furneaux made for Van Diemen's Land, where he spent some time exploring the southern and eastern coastline. From there he sailed for Queen Charlotte Sound, where he came to an anchor on 7th April, and eleven days later was joined by Cook who had in the meantime refreshed his crew in Dusky Sound.

During the Expedition's visit to Tahiti, which took place later, the two vessels were in company, and after leaving that place the association continued until 21st October, when, on their road to Queen Charlotte Sound once more, they sighted the east coast of New Zealand at Table Head.

Making south, Furneaux, on 25th October, encountered a very severe gale in the latitude of Cape Palliser, and, four days later, lost sight of the *Resolution*. A short spell of fine weather was experienced on 4th November, and some canoes took advantage of it to pay a visit to the *Adventure*, but after getting round Cape Palliser a heavy N.W. gale came up, which shortly chopped round to the south and very nearly cast the *Adventure* on to the Cape. After a fortnight of vain effort to get through the Strait, Furneaux, on 6th November, made for the shelter of one of the bays further up the coast.

On the ninth the anchor was let go in Tolaga Bay, and after two days Furneaux put to sea, but bad weather compelled him to return to his anchorage and kept him there until the sixteenth. During the stay at Tolaga Bay fresh fish, herbs, and sweet potatoes, were brought to the ship's side in great quantities, and the Natives showed themselves very friendly in their dealings with the visitors.

Though the *Adventure* left Tolaga Bay on 16th November, it was not until the afternoon of the thirtieth that Furneaux reached Ship Cove and found that Cook had come and gone. In a letter left in the Cove the Commander stated that he was sailing on the twenty-sixth, and would cruise for three or four days about the eastern mouth of the Strait. As during the whole of these days Furneaux had been in and about the eastern mouth of the Strait, it seemed strange that they had missed one another. As a matter of fact Cook sailed on the twenty-fifth, and that day searched Cape Terawitie and along to Cape Palliser; the following day he sailed over in the direction of Cape Campbell, and in the evening made south in continuation of his voyage.

2. DISCOVERY OF THE KERMADECS, 1788.

Since the last-recorded event in our narrative, the Colony of New South Wales had been established by Governor Philip on the shores of Port Jackson. Among the First Fleet which entered the magnificent harbour where Sydney now stands, was a transport called the *Lady Penrhyn*, under the command of Captain Sever. Her destination, after receiving her dis-

charge from the public service, was China. On 5th May 1788, she sailed from Port Jackson, and, on the afternoon of the thirty-first, came in sight of several islands, the existence of which had been hitherto unknown. To the northernmost the name Macaulay Island was given, after G.M. the father of Lord Macaulay ; to the southernmost, Curtis' Islands, after Timothy and William Curtis.

As scurvy had a very firm hold of the vessel's crew, Captain Sever ordered out a small boat, and landed on Macaulay Island to look for something for his men, but the island proved such a scene of desolation, and so barren of everything which scorbutic men required, that he returned empty handed to his ship, and continued his journey eastward.

Lieutenant Watts and the steward on board the *Lady Penrhyn* had both served on board the *Resolution* under Cook, and, when they arrived at Matavai Bay, were welcomed by an old chief who recalled their presence on Cook's vessel. There Watts learned that Omai, and the two New Zealanders who had been brought from Queen Charlotte Sound in 1777, were dead.

3. H.M.S. GORGON'S VISIT, 1792.

H.M.S. *Gorgon*, during a voyage round the world under the command of Captain John Parker, sailed past the Three Kings and the north of New Zealand on 5th January 1792. No attempt was made to land, those on board contenting themselves with merely noting the "desolate barren and rocky" appearance of the coastline from the North Cape to Cape Maria van Diemen. Up to this time no British vessel is recorded as having sailed between the Three Kings and the mainland. Tasman had done it in 1643, De Surville in 1769, and Marion in 1772 ; Cook, our solitary representative in the vicinity, had passed outside the islands.

4. KIDNAPPING FLAX DRESSERS, 1792 AND 1793.

The information regarding flax, given to the world by Cook, naturally brought up the subject of its use when schemes were being proposed for the settlement of New South

Wales, and three of the schemes which secured prominence dealt with the question of trade in New Zealand flax. These schemes were drafted between 1783 and 1786. Philip, the first Governor, suggested, in 1787, that the plant should be imported into New South Wales. Settlements were established in 1788 at Sydney and at Norfolk Island, in the latter of which places flax was found to grow.

The first man to suggest the introduction into Norfolk Island of New Zealand Natives to explain the method of producing the fibre was Lieutenant Governor Philip Gidley King, in London, on 10th January 1791, in a document in which he says :—"Every method has been tried to work it ; but I much fear that until a native of New Zealand can be carried to Norfolk Island that the method of dressing that valuable commodity will not be known ; and could that be obtained, I have no doubt but Norfolk Island would very soon cloath the inhabitants of New South Wales."

King never allowed his idea of learning the proper treatment of the flax from the New Zealanders to lie dormant. On board the *Gorgon*, at Teneriffe, on his road to New South Wales, under date 18th April 1791, he wrote Under Secretary Nepean urging that "two or three New Zealanders would be necessary." When at the Cape of Good Hope later on he met Vancouver, then on his voyage of discovery to N.W. America, and requested him, if it should ever be in his power to do so, to procure two New Zealanders and send them to New South Wales to teach the method of preparing the flax fibre.

As a result of King's insistence, the Right Hon. Henry Dundas instructed the Lords of the Admiralty under date 6th July 1791, to utilise the *Daedalus* to take "a flax-dresser or two" from New Zealand to Sydney. The *Daedalus* was just then being sent as a store ship to meet Vancouver in N.W. America. The formal Instructions to Vancouver were dated 20th August, and Vancouver's Instructions to Lieut. Hanson to carry out the work were dated from Monterey Bay, 29th December 1792. Hanson, on his road from the American coast to Sydney, was to call in at Doubtless Bay

or "any port near the north extremity" and procure one or two of the Natives who were "versed" in the operations necessary to extract the flax fibre.

During the year and more that it took to get to this point King had not been idle. Satisfied that the only solution was a New Zealander, he approached the Captain of the whaler *William and Ann*, who was going to whale on the N.E. coast of New Zealand, to obtain two Natives from the Bay of Islands or Mercury Bay. The Lt.-Governor went so far as to offer him £100 to bring two Natives to Norfolk Island. The Captain went to Doubtless Bay "but could not prevail on any of the inhabitants to accompany him." The idea of force seems not to have been thought of.

As the *William and Ann* sailed from Norfolk Island on 19th December 1791, she would visit Doubtless Bay early in 1792—probably in January. She is, therefore, the first whaler on the New Zealand coast, further, hers is the first commercial voyage to New Zealand. Her commander was Eb. Bunker.

Carrying out the instructions he had received at Monterey in December, Lieutenant Hanson reached the coast of New Zealand about the beginning of April 1793. The Natives came off in great numbers to the *Daedalus*, and, knowing them to have the character of being troublesome, daring, and insolent, Hanson did not think it prudent to wait and examine closely whether any of those who came within his power knew anything about flax. He took the other course of imprisoning the first Natives whom he could lay his hands on. Two young men were inveigled out of a canoe and taken below under the pretence of receiving presents, and all sail was then set on the vessel. Food was given them and every artifice adopted to keep their attention off what was going on around them, until, after a couple of hours, they found themselves far from the shore and no canoes handy, even had they been able to utilise them. The *Daedalus* had not even come to an anchor to accomplish this strange mission, Hanson not caring to risk his

valuable cargo, and his crew, the greater part of whom were incapacitated with sickness.

The story told by the two Natives (Tuki and Huru) to Lt.-Governor King is that Tuki was on a visit to Huru when the *Daedalus* appeared in sight of the latter's home. The following morning the ship was again in sight, but at a great distance and close to two islands. Curiosity, and the hope of getting iron, induced our two friends and other notables to launch their canoes and proceed to the larger of the two islands where they were joined by others of their friends. They were some time about the ship before their canoe ventured alongside. When they did, iron tools and other articles were passed into the canoe and they were pressed by Hanson to come on board. Tuki and Huru were anxious to get on board but were at first prevented by their friends, finally they went on deck and "were blinded by the curious things they saw." They were induced to go below and partake of some meat. One of them saw the canoes astern and realising that the ship was sailing away, they became frantic with grief and broke the cabin windows, but were prevented getting overboard. While those in the canoes could hear them they advised them to make home lest a like fate should befall them.

They were not long in being reconciled to their fate, and Lieutenant Hanson landed them at Port Jackson on 15th April. Two days later they were put on board the *Shah Hormuzeear* and sailed for Norfolk Island.

On their arrival at Norfolk Island it was found that they knew little about the working of the flax fibre. Huru was a warrior, and Tuki a priest, and the working of flax was done specially by the women. What little knowledge they possessed they hesitated to impart lest they might be set to that work and kept at it. King got over this difficulty by making them understand that after they had taught the women to prepare the flax they should be sent back to New Zealand, and from that time onward their relationship with King, in whose house they resided, was of the most friendly and intimate nature.

5. D'ENTRECASTEAUX'S VISIT, 1793.

In 1791, after a three years' silence regarding the whereabouts of La Perouse who had last been heard of at Botany Bay, the National Assembly requested the King of France to direct that one or more ships be fitted out to look for and settle the fate of the long-missing navigator. Admiral D'Entrecasteaux was appointed to command the Expedition and was placed aboard the *Recherche*, and Captain Huon Kermadec commanded the *Espérance*.

The Expedition left Brest on 10th September 1791, and, on 28th February 1793, sailed from Adventure Bay in Van Diemen's Land, bound for the Friendly Islands. At day-break on 10th March, the Three Kings were sighted to the north of New Zealand, and smoke was seen ascending from the easternmost island. Between 10 and 11 a.m. the coast of New Zealand was seen, and at half-past five two canoes put off the shore towards the ships. At first they seemed doubtful of the Frenchmen, but in a short time overcame their fears and ranged up alongside to barter.

For trade they had bundles of flax which they exchanged for cloth of different colours. Whenever iron was shown them they recognised it at once by the sound made when two pieces were struck together, and, transported with joy at the sight of it, they were prepared to barter almost anything they had in their canoes, even disposing of their arms, and stripping themselves of their clothes for the same purpose. At sunset a third canoe came upon the scene as the others were leaving.

The Frenchmen noticed that after dark, when small quantities of powder were fired on the *Recherche*, to indicate their presence to the *Espérance*, the Natives showed no surprise, but continued their trading without interruption. Half-an-hour or so after dark the New Zealanders paddled towards the shore, and at daybreak D'Entrecasteaux sailed for the Friendly Islands.

The French Commander noted that the North Cape was 36' more to the eastward than Cook had laid it down.

On 16th March 1793, in the afternoon, the look-out sighted a large rock. This is now known as the *Espérance*

Rock, and is situated in latitude $31^{\circ} 26' S.$, and longitude $178^{\circ} 55' W.$ The next day the Curtis Islands were sighted, and the day following, at dawn, a comparatively large island was discovered and named La Recherche Island, after the name of the Commander's ship. The name La Recherche was afterwards changed to Raoul, after Joseph Raoul, first pilot of the *Recherche*. The Island is sometimes called Sunday Island, the name given by Captain Raven after his visit to it on Sunday, 6th November 1796, when on board the *Britannia* bound for England. To the whole group the name Kermadec was given after the captain of the *Esperance*.

From the Kermadecs D'Entrecasteaux sailed for the Friendly Islands.

6. GOVERNOR KING'S VISIT, 1793.

We have already seen (p. 80), that King, in order to remove all misapprehension from the minds of the Natives, had given them a promise that they would be taken to their homes at an early date. They had arrived at Norfolk Island at the end of April. On 2nd November Captain Raven arrived on board the *Britannia* from Dusky Sound (see "Murihiku," page 97), and, after a consultation between King and the Commander, the former decided to charter the *Britannia* to proceed to Knuckle Point and take the two New Zealanders back to their country. King also decided to accompany them.

As a fierce departmental controversy afterwards waged around King's departure from Norfolk Island, the entry in his Journal of the reasons which prompted him to take that course are here given.

"I always had a wish to accompany them back, that no unpleasant circumstances, happening in the course of the passage, might make them forget the kind treatment they received here. And as I had taken it upon me to detain the *Britannia*, a few days for that purpose, I judged it would be advisable to proceed in her myself, in order to prevent any unnecessary delay, or to return immediately, in case of calm or contrary

winds. My being absent from the Island at this time for Ten days or a Fortnight did not appear to me to be of any material consequence, as it will be three weeks before the commencement of the Harvest and I had every reason to be assured of the regular and orderly behaviour of the Inhabitants, during the few days I might be absent."

In a letter to Under Secretary Nepean, whose brother—Captain Nepean—King had left in charge at Norfolk Island, the latter refers to the possibility of a Settlement in New Zealand and of the control of the same being placed in his hands. There was probably at the back of King's mind an idea that he might yet have the Governorship of New Zealand, and it fitted in with his inclinations. Captain Nepean, to whom King delegated his authority during his absence, was returning to England in the *Britannia* for the benefit of his health, and his appointment to the command of the Island, over the heads of the three local subalterns, gave very great offence to King's officers. Captain Nepean was a brother of the Under Secretary. The author would not suggest for a moment that Nepean was put by King over the heads of the local men because he was the Under Secretary's brother, and because King wanted a New Zealand command, for obtaining which U.S. Nepean's help would be of great value. It was simply a coincidence—a *political* coincidence.

In addition to the two New Zealanders, King took the Rev. Mr. Bain, Assistant Surgeon Thomas Jamison, Secretary and Storekeeper W. N. Chapman, and two non-commissioned officers, and twelve privates as a guard in case of landing, and went on board the *Britannia* on the afternoon of 8th November. Four days later she rounded the North Cape. Mr. W. N. Chapman, it should be noted, was grand uncle of the Hon. F. R. Chapman, our well-known Supreme Court Judge. Mr. Bain was the first English-speaking clergyman recorded as visiting New Zealand.

As soon as the *Britannia* rounded the Cape six large canoes came towards her, and when within hailing distance their occupants recognised Tuki. The six canoes were soon in-

creased to seven, representing about 140 Natives, who came alongside, and, to the number of about 100, welcomed the long-lost wanderers. Tuki learned from one of them—a woman who was related to him—that his father was still inconsolable at his loss. Until seven in the evening a continuous trade was carried on with the Natives, iron hoops and other articles were exchanged for flax cloth, patoo-patoos, spears, greenstone ornaments, paddles, fishhooks, and lines.

At seven, the *Britannia* took advantage of a light breeze and made for the Bay of Islands. At nine, four men came to the ship in a canoe, sold the canoe to Captain Raven, and remained on board all night. These men told Huru of an incursion of a hostile tribe into his territory and the death of the son of his chief with 30 warriors, much to the grief of Huru, who vowed to have vengeance on his return home.

Delayed by a calm, little progress was made towards the Bay of Islands, and at daylight a number of canoes came off bringing among them a very venerable old chief whom Huru recognised as the principal chief of that district. After the formalities of the reception had been attended to, King made the old man a present of a green baize mantle, for a Native one presented to him by the chief. So many Natives now came around that the poop had to be kept clear by being made *tapu*.

The short time that King could allow himself was rapidly passing, and the proposed destination was still some distance off. The weather, too, appeared as if it would come up rough from the southward and stop further progress in that direction. The trouble was what was to be done with the two Natives. Notwithstanding the stories heard of friendliness between the tribes, King felt a doubt about his friends going ashore, and suggested that all hands should return to Norfolk Island and there await some other opportunity of getting home. In the midst of this uncertainty the arrival of the venerable old chief set everything at rest, he confirmed the news of the friendly relations, that was enough, they were now the words of a chief.

As a final act of precaution King explained to the chief how much he was interested in his two friends returning to

their homes. He loaded him with presents and promised to return later and further reward him when he found that all was well. Then the chief put his hand to the side of his head, making King do the same, and joined noses, remaining thus for some minutes, the old chief muttering some ceremonial words. This was repeated with Tuki and Huru, and the whole ended with a dance. By this the old chief had become a father to them, and had guaranteed to conduct them himself to their homes.

While King was preparing his presents, Tuki addressed the others on deck and told them what he had been doing during his long absence. When he told them that he had been only three days sail from New Zealand, he showed, in proof of it, a cabbage that had been cut five days before in King's garden. Tremendous applause from the New Zealanders.

At the request of Tuki and Huru, an exhibition of military exercises was given by the soldiers. Before sanctioning it, King was careful to allay any fears which the demonstration might cause in the breasts of the New Zealanders by telling them that their mission there was one of peace, and that the demonstration was only being given at their request. About 150 Natives witnessed the soldiers go through the manual, and then fire three volleys, after which two cannons were loaded, one with a single shot, and the other with grape, and their discharge was the climax of the military entertainment provided for them by King and Raven.

The parting was a most affecting one, and the crew gave their departing guests three hearty cheers, which were returned as well as a hasty lesson given by Tuki to his countrymen could enable to be done. In five days King was back at Norfolk Island.

Of implements King gave his guests hand axes, a small assortment of carpenters' tools, six spades, some hoes, knives, scissors, and razors ; of grain, two bushels of maize, one of wheat, two of peas, and a quantity of garden seeds ; of animals, ten young sows and two boars. An attempt to introduce goats failed through all the animals dying.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FIRST TIMBER TRADE, 1794 TO 1801.

UP to 1794 attempts had been made in two directions to develop trade on the New Zealand coast. The *William and Ann*, trying sperm whaling off the coast, had visited Doubtless Bay in 1792, and, later on in the same year, the *Britannia* had left a sealing gang at Dusky Sound. The results in both cases had been disappointing. Now the timbers of New Zealand were tried as a means of trade.

Keeping his eyes open for likely directions in which trade might be developed, Cook saw nothing on the New Zealand coast which held out greater prospects than the procuring of spars for ships and timber for their building. The Waihou River impressed him most, and the account of his voyage, which was used as a text-book for all captains navigating the Southern Seas, thus describes what he saw :

“We proceeded up the River [Waihou] till near noon, when we were fourteen miles within the entrance . . . we landed on the west side, to take a view of the lofty trees which everywhere adorned its banks. They were of a kind we had seen before, though only at a distance, both in Poverty Bay and Hawke’s Bay. Before we had walked an hundred yards into the wood, we met with one of them which was nineteen feet eight inches in the girth, at the height of six feet above the ground ; having a quadrant with me I measured its height from the root to the first branch, and found it to be eighty-nine feet ; it was as straight as an arrow, and tapered but very little in proportion to its height ; so that I judged there were three hundred and fifty-six feet of solid timber in it, exclusive of the branches. . . . Our carpenter, who was with us, said that the timber re-

sembled that of the pitch pine, which is lightened by tapping ; and possibly some such method might be found to lighten these, and they would then be such masts as no country in Europe can produce. . . . The river at this height is as broad as the Thames at Greenwich, and the tide of flood as strong ; it is not indeed quite so deep, but has water enough for vessels of more than a middle size, and a bottom of mud, so soft that nothing could take damage by running ashore."

The exact spot referred to by Cook as the site of the lofty trees is a matter of the greatest interest, and the author is indebted to Mr. J. B. Thompson, the engineer superintending the land drainage works on the Hauraki Plains adjoining the Waihou River, for the following results of his investigations : —The trees were abreast of the Hikutaia Station on the Auckland-Thames Railway, on the west bank of the Waihou, to which river, as well as to the Firth of Thames and the Hauraki Gulf, Cook gave the name of Thames River. This spot is fourteen miles from the mouth. The trees could not have been kauri, as none grew on the low marshy land ; a few matais grew in the locality, but the great majority of the trees were kahikateas, and the fact of similar trees being mentioned as having been seen at Poverty Bay supports the view that these were the trees so much admired by Cook, to whom, and to his carpenter, in the absence of any knowledge of their durability, their great height would appeal.

In addition to the above the published report of the *Endeavour's* voyage went on to state that, if ever the settling of the country was thought worthy of the British Government, the best sites for the colonies would be the Bay of Islands or the Firth of Thames, both of which places had facilities for inland communication and for shipbuilding.

Later on, when a scheme for establishing a Settlement in New South Wales was being discussed, the above quotation from Cook's Voyages was referred to, and the procuring of timber for the King's yards commended to the proposed colony as a very likely and profitable branch of trade.

When the Settlement became an accomplished fact in 1788, and merchantmen began to run out to New South Wales with cargoes, a copy of Cook's Voyages was a necessary part of the equipment of every captain's library, and every sailing master knew, on the authority of Cook, that cargoes of the finest spars and timber in the world could be got at the Thames for simply the taking away.

The first four ships to test Cook's judgment, and the steps they took to do so, so far as they can be ascertained, will form the subject of this chapter.

1. THE FANCY, 1794 AND 1795.

Towards the latter part of 1794 a vessel called the *Fancy* arrived at Sydney from India with word that Captain Bampton, who it was feared was lost, would arrive later on to fulfil a long overdue contract he had made with the Governor. On 29th September the *Fancy* sailed from Sydney, Captain Dell indicating Norfolk Island as her destination. It was generally supposed, however, that she was going where timber could be procured, to make ready a load for Captain Bampton to pick up and take to India. The vessel was armed, had a full complement of officers and men, and a guard of Sepoys. On board of her were a great number of cross-cut saws. Everything pointed to New Zealand as her destination.

Norfolk Island was reached in due course, and on 5th December Captain Dell sailed for New Zealand. A call was made at Doubtless Bay, where Tuki, who had been to Norfolk Island in 1793, came on board with his wife and family, and stayed there while the *Fancy* remained in the Bay. He declined to return to Norfolk Island until King would come for him ; he also told Captain Dell that some of the seeds which had been given him by King were growing, but that he had only one pig left. In view of the fact that Cook is generally given the credit of introducing the pig into New Zealand, it is interesting to find that, twenty-four years after he had been in the vicinity, his pigs were unknown. Only two days were spent in Doubtless Bay, and, when the *Fancy* left, two New Zealanders accompanied her intending to go to Norfolk Island.

Unfortunately the weather was so unfavourable that the *Fancy* had to return, and the Natives, thinking they had had enough of sea life, went ashore.

From Doubtless Bay the *Fancy* made for the Waihou, where were the forests so glowingly described by Cook. There she lay for three months some miles up the River. The Natives all the time kept on very good terms with the visitors, and often rendered most invaluable aid, but the latter felt that they had always to be on their guard. During the stay, 213 very good spars, varying from 60 to 140 feet in length, were cut ; some of these were brought away, while others were left in charge of the Natives. Great quantities of flax were reported in the locality, and the Natives readily parted with large parcels of it for small quantities of iron.

On the return journey Captain Dell made Norfolk Island on 20th February 1795, in forty-seven hours from the North Cape. On her arrival the *Fancy* was in great distress for want of provisions, the crew having only six days reduced rations on board, and supplies of salt meat, and sugar, were also required for the sick. Sufficient was supplied out of the stores to see the vessel back to Sydney, whither the *Fancy* sailed on 5th March, reaching her destination ten days later.

The arrival of Captain Bampton in the *Endeavour*, and the subsequent movements of that vessel until her bones were left in Dusky Sound and her survivors reached their various destinations, have already been given in Southern New Zealand history, but the author has been unable to glean what arrangements—if any—were made for taking away the spars left with the Natives at the Waihou. If the truth could be ascertained we would probably find that the taking away of these spars was the errand which brought down to New Zealand some of the vessels mentioned in this chapter.

2. THE HUNTER, 1798 TO 1800.

On 10th June 1798, a Java-built snow of 300 tons called the *Hunter* reached Port Jackson from Bengal, and on 20th September sailed for New Zealand to secure a cargo of spars for the China market. Captain James Fearn made for the

Waihou River, where he procured a cargo which he transported to the water's edge with the assistance of the Natives, and sailed for China about the middle of October.

Returning from Calcutta the following year, the *Hunter* sailed again from Sydney on 20th October. Her destination was Calcutta, and her Articles gave her captain permission to call at New Zealand, but as she was back to Sydney by 14th February 1800, it is more than probable that she did not visit this country.

The *Hunter* sailed on her third trip on 14th April, under instructions to her captain to call at New Zealand and take a cargo of masts to Bengal, where he was to sell them and then dispose of the ship. Hingston, who commanded her, had, unfortunately, taken away no less than twenty-two time-expired convicts, and one man who was serving a life sentence. To punish him for this the officers of the East India Company took advantage of the fact that he had no authority from the Company to trade with India, and seized the vessel and took Hingston into custody, to obtain the condemnation of the former and the penalties incurred by the latter. Hingston pleaded that he had the sanction of the Governor of New South Wales for his enterprise, and had come to India to procure articles required for the use of the young Colony. On these representations the *Hunter* was allowed to continue her voyage, and she returned to Sydney.

On learning what had taken place, King, the new Governor, summoned the proprietor of the *Hunter*, who stated that Hingston's representations that he had the permission of the Governor to return with a cargo were framed to suit his own purpose.

3. THE PLUMIER, 1801.

The third of the pioneer timber traders was the *Plumier*, a Spanish vessel of 250 tons, captured on the coast of Peru. Condemned as prize of war in Sydney in 1799, she was purchased by the firm of Reid & Co., the central figure of which was a time-expired convict named Thomas Fyshe Palmer, to sail for a cargo of New Zealand timber and then proceed to the Cape of Good Hope.

Palmer had been a Scotch Unitarian minister of advanced political views, who, in 1793, had committed the crime of interesting himself in the cause of universal suffrage, with the result that the Courts of Justice fell foul of him and he had to go to Botany Bay for seven years. Some of his devoted personal friends followed him into his weary exile, and, in 1800 when his term had been completed, joined with him in purchasing the *Plumier* and fitting her out, as has been already described. Wm. Reid was captain.

On 5th January the *Plumier* cleared for the Cape of Good Hope, and on 2nd March reached New Zealand. She put into the Firth of Thames to load her cargo, and when there was driven on a sandbank and had eight of her larboard timbers broken. No doubt the vessel herself was in a very bad condition, and, with the ill-luck which befel her, and the want of workmen and materials, abandonment seemed inevitable when the *Royal Admiral* hove in sight and tendered her assistance, with the result that the *Plumier* was able to continue her voyage on 20th August.

From the Thames the *Plumier* sailed for Tongatabu for supplies, but, unable to get anything there, she made for the Fiji Islands, where she had the misfortune to get on a reef as she was entering the harbour, losing part of her keel and getting her rudder unhung. Before she could leave, bulkheads, tightened with clay, were erected in the afterhold to isolate the fractured portion. In this condition she made for Macao, but, the ship proving leaky, and the crew being short of provisions, Captain Reid changed her destination and entered Guam Bay (then under Spanish rule) on 10th January 1802.

Instead of receiving supplies at this port the *Plumier* was seized as a prize, and all on board of her were detained as prisoners. Some got away by means of a Spanish vessel bound for Manila, which called in for a few hours, and, on 20th January 1803, relief came to the remainder. Palmer missed getting away with the first party, and, taking a boat in the vain endeavour to catch up on the vessel, contracted a severe cold which shortly afterwards carried him to his grave. Some of the survivors settled at Manila.

Palmer's remains were finally taken to Boston, Mass., U.S.A., and a monument to his memory was erected in the Carlton Burial Ground, Edinburgh in 1844. It was in accordance with the eternal fitness of things that Palmer, made a convict for his advocacy of universal suffrage, should, before returning to his native country, visit New Zealand, afterwards the first Colony of the Empire to adopt the principles he advocated. To those who interest themselves in coincidences it may be pointed out that Palmer was transported for advocating universal suffrage in 1793, and in 1893, or 100 years later, the Bill giving effect to his principles received the Royal sanction in New Zealand, and the same year the first elections were held under it.

4. THE ROYAL ADMIRAL, 1801.

Lying in the Harbour of Port Jackson when the *Plumier* was there was the *Royal Admiral*, a vessel of 923 tons, owned by Gillet & Co. of London, and commanded by Wm. Wilson. She had brought out a cargo of convicts to Sydney, and a party of missionaries belonging to the London Missionary Society were on board of her *en route* for Tahiti. The destination of the vessel was China, and it was Captain Wilson's intention to call in at New Zealand and procure a cargo of spars for that market.

The *Royal Admiral* cleared from Sydney on 28th March and encountered a hurricane in the Hauraki Gulf, shortly after she reached the coast. In this gale one of the anchors was lost, and, knocked about in the channel between the Barrier Islands and the mainland, the ship was saved from being dashed to pieces on the rocks, merely by a slight change in the wind at a critical moment.

After the storm had abated the Captain and a boat's crew of some 20 men made for the shore about 12 miles distant, but hesitated to land, suspecting the designs of the New Zealanders. The following morning several Natives in a canoe visited them and indicated that timber could be got to the south. They also told them of the presence there of a vessel engaged in procuring timber at that very time.

Sail was made on the *Royal Admiral*, and when the vessel was reached she was found to be the *Plumier* in sore straits. What help was required the *Royal Admiral* gave and was directed to a forest about 20 miles distant where excellent timber could be procured.

The forest being some three-fourths of a mile from the sea, temporary huts were erected, one for the officers and the stores, and another for the men, and a fence seven feet high was built around the two. Work was commenced on the third day. The trees averaged from 90 to 120 feet long without a branch, but the swampy nature of the ground made it rather an undertaking to get the timber to the water's edge after it was cut and squared. This difficulty was at first attempted to be overcome by rollers and a slabbed road, but finally the chief, Houpa, for axes and cloths, undertook the transportation of the timber by means of Native labour, and his offer of assistance was gladly adopted.

The experience of all who came in contact with the Natives was the same. They saw curiosity give place to contempt, and contempt to consternation. After a while pilfering began. Day by day the depredations became more violent, until, while the men were at work, the New Zealanders would rush at them, knock them down, and steal their axes. A guard had to be placed over the cutters. This failed, and Captain Wilson secured two of the chiefs whom he held as prisoners until the stolen goods should be returned. This was the information given to a great gathering of Natives which surrounded the huts where 30 men, armed with muskets and cutlasses, and two swivel guns on posts, prepared to have the matter settled once and for all. Fortunately the goods were returned and peaceful relations once more established.

When the logs were taken to the water's edge they were fastened together in the form of rafts, and thus floated to the ship. It was found, however, that the strongest lashing could not stand the chafing, and rafts were often lost; the weather also was boisterous and wet; and the anchorage was filled with shells which cut the cables in lengths of 5 to 8 fathoms at a

time. To add to the troubles of the ship the longboat was lost, and the pinnace narrowly escaped the same fate trying to rescue her.

The only European vegetable cultivated by the Natives was the potato, extensive fields of which were grown, and all very fine. Potatoes and fish were their regular diet, but sometimes they treated themselves to a dog.

Two Europeans were found who had been living among the Natives for some two years. Both had been well treated, and one came away in the *Royal Admiral*, the other remained with the Natives. By what vessel they had been left is not stated, but two years before would make it 1799—the year the *Hunter* called at New Zealand—and when we recall the complaint which came from India regarding her passenger list it is very probable that it was from her that these men were landed. This is the earliest record we have of Europeans residing with the Natives.

From the Thames Captain Wilson sailed for Tahiti where he landed the missionaries, and some of the timber cut in New Zealand. From Tahiti the *Royal Admiral* continued her journey to China.

The cargo did not produce more than half the contemplated profit, but whether from the quality of the timber, or the quantity available in the market, is not stated. The circumstances connected with the procuring of it made it stand at a very high figure to the owners of the ship, and the comparative failure of the speculation was a severe blow to the development of the trade. The portion left at Tahiti proved quite unable to stand wet and dry, and in five years was so rotten that some of the houses built of it had to be rebuilt.

The names of the missionaries on the *Royal Admiral*, while at New Zealand, were John Davies, James Elder, James Hayward, William Scott, Samuel Tessier, William Waters, Charles Wilson, and John Youl.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FIRST WHALING TRADE, 1801 TO 1806.

THE first whaling trade in these waters took its rise as far back as 1791, when a fleet of ten transports, many of which were whalers destined for the west coast of America, laden with convicts and stores, reached Sydney from England and their captains reported that they had passed through immense schools of sperm whales. The most experienced whaling master in the fleet stated that in one day he saw more spermaceti whales on the Australian coast than he had seen on the coast of Brazil in six years.

Hastily getting their cargoes discharged, five whalers put to sea to ascertain what were the prospects of success in Australian waters. They were absent only a month when they returned and reported that, although there were plenty of whales, the bad weather prevented them obtaining oil. There was a difference of opinion whether a sufficiently exhaustive trial had been given the fishing, so it was decided to make another attempt, and, in case of non-success, to proceed to the coast of Peru and load up with oil on the better known whaling grounds there.

In December some of the whalers returned, having given up all hope of the Australian "grounds."

Among the vessels which sailed in October and returned to make another trial was the *William and Ann*, commanded by Eb. Bunker. On 22nd November she sailed from Sydney, and on 19th December from Norfolk Island, from which place, as we have seen (page 79), she visited Doubtless Bay to try and secure Natives to carry out King's scheme of teaching flax-dressing to the inhabitants of Norfolk Island. This is the first whaler known to have been "fishing" at New Zealand, and there is little doubt that the reason of her non-return to

Sydney was that Captain Bunker had not been satisfied with the prospects, and had followed the example of the others and made for the South American whaling grounds.

The next move in the whaling world was the introduction of legislation permitting whalers to round the Cape of Good Hope into the Southern Indian Ocean and whale as far east as 51° , and as far north as the Equator, subject to permits to be granted by the East India Company. The limits round Cape Horn were as far west as the 180th meridian. This excluded the eastern portion of the Indian Ocean and the Australian waters. Two years later the whaling merchants pointed out that owing to the war then raging they were prevented recruiting their ships at any Pacific ports and were also prevented whaling over a vast stretch of ocean which included the coasts of Australia and New Zealand, and they petitioned the Board of Trade to have the existing restrictions removed. This proposal the Board approved of, and invited the Court of Directors of the East India Company to favourably consider the same.

In this disadvantageous position whaling remained until July 1798, when a whaler called the *Cornwall* arrived at Sydney and reported to the Governor that some Spanish cruisers having appeared off Cape Horn the Southern whalers were directed to pass into these seas during the war. The *Cornwall* was followed by the *Eliza*, and later on by the *Sally*. The arrival of these vessels gave the colonists confidence that at last whaling would be effectually tried and a correct geographical knowledge of the seas and coastlines of Australasia obtained.

The following year—1799—on 29th June, the *Albion* arrived at Port Jackson, after a passage of only three months and fifteen days from England—the shortest passage made up to that time. Mr. Eb. Bunker, who had been out before in charge of the *William and Ann* when she tried the whaling grounds in 1791 and 1792, was in command, and the vessel was specially fitted out by the Messrs. Champions to give the whaling grounds in these waters a complete and fair trial.

With this the whaling trade may be said to have commenced, and, although we have no proof that every vessel actually called at New Zealand, we have evidence that the whaling grounds extended from the Australian coast to the waters off the north end of New Zealand, and as time passed, the whalers called in more and more at the Bay of Islands for supplies.

1801.

During the year Governor King reported that three whale ships had returned to England laden with oil. These were the *Eliza*, the *Britannia*, and the *Albion*. Six still remained "on the coast and off the north end of New Zealand," and, when last heard of, they were meeting with various degrees of success.

1802.

Between 30th April and 10th May, three whalers—the *Speedy*, the *Venus*, and the *Britannia*—arrived at Sydney, and Governor King submitted to their captains a list of questions which elicited not very much information. They agreed that the route by the Cape of Good Hope was the easier on vessel and crew; that off the coast of New Zealand the weather was as favourable as on the coasts of Peru and Chili, and that there was no material difference of time in getting a cargo; and that whalers should come to Australasian waters first and then fill up on the opposite coast. Considering they were giving away dearly acquired information, the Governor had no occasion to be disappointed with the replies. The three captains had been a good while in these waters, Turnbull of the *Britannia* was on his second whaling voyage, Quested of the *Speedy* had been some considerable time on the coast, and Gardner of the *Venus* was well on with his voyage.

King now regarded whaling on the coast "and off New Zealand" as "established," and so wrote to Sir Joseph Banks under date 5th June, the letter going in the whaler *Speedy* which cleared the following day. Of the other ships mentioned in King's questions, the *Britannia* cleared for England

on 12th June. In addition to these, King reported that four more were filling. These were the *Venus*, the *Greenwich*, the *General Boyd*, and the *Harriet*, all of which visited Sydney later on, and cleared for the fishing grounds again, the first in June, and the others in August. Of these whalers the *General Boyd* was American, and was the first of that nationality reported "fishing" in these waters. She was a vessel of 302 tons and was commanded by Owen Bunker.

1803.

The first whaler officially entered at the Sydney Customs as coming from New Zealand was an Enderby owned vessel, the *Greenwich*, commanded by Captain A. Law. She arrived on 15th February preparatory to sailing for London, with 209 tons of sperm oil procured mostly off the N.E. coast of New Zealand. Captain Law reported that there were several whalers off the New Zealand coast—the *Venus*, the *Alexander*, and the *Albion*. The *Harriet*, Samuel Chace, which had cleared from Sydney in the previous August had sailed for England, full, on 4th February. The others named could all be expected to put into Sydney in due course.

The *Greenwich* was followed, on 6th March, by the *Venus*, one of Champions' fleet, with 1400 barrels of oil on board. Captain Gardner reported that he had left, cruising off the coast of New Zealand, the *Albion* and the *Alexander*. Some few days before reaching Sydney, the *Venus* had sprung her bowsprit, but had sustained no other damage. Captain Gardner had nearly lost his life while harpooning a whale. When struck it had dived and run out, and a part of the coil had got entangled about the Captain's leg and had dragged him out of the boat. For some time he remained under water, but the line was quickly cut and he managed to extricate himself and come to the surface, where he was rescued from what, when it happened, as it sometimes did in the style of whaling followed in those days, was considered certain death.

This visit to Sydney of the *Greenwich* and the *Venus* was preparatory to sailing to England as full ships. When

they had obtained what refreshment they needed they both sailed for London on 18th May.

Captain Rhodes brought the *Alexander* into port on 31st May, with a cargo of 50 tons of oil. While cruising off New Zealand, Tuki, who had been taken away by the *Daedalus*, and had resided at Norfolk Island for 9 months in 1793, visited the Captain. He had not forgotten his English, nor the attention he had received from friends while in captivity. Huru had died. A young lad of about 16 years of age, Treena, the son of a chief, came on board the *Alexander* and in her to Sydney. While there he was taken to Government House and resided with His Excellency, it being hoped that if his visit were made agreeable it would ensure hospitable treatment to whalers visiting the New Zealand coast. Captain Rhodes was delighted at the reception accorded to him by the New Zealanders, and stated that he had purchased from them some 7 or 8 tons of very fine potatoes, and had also obtained assistance in wooding and watering, all for very small return.

Of the other vessels reported by Captain Law, the *Albion* arrived on 6th July with 65 tons of sperm oil, "procured mostly off the eastern coast of New Zealand." She had sailed from England on 17th June 1802, and, notwithstanding her long voyage, her crew were in perfect health. Our old friend Eb. Bunker, now on his third whaling voyage in these waters, commanded her.

On the 19th September Captain Rhodes sailed in the *Alexander*, taking with him the young Native chief to his home in New Zealand. The Captain's intentions were to proceed first of all to the Derwent with provisions, stores, and live stock, and, after landing these, put in some months whaling on the coast of New Zealand, before making for the coast of Peru and Chili to fill up. After calling at the Derwent the *Alexander* returned to Sydney, but only stopped long enough to send some letters ashore on 6th October, after which she stood away for New Zealand.

1804.

During February the *Alexander* was at New Zealand and sailed from there on the twenty-second of that month. Captain Rhodes did not follow out his plan of proceeding to the South American grounds, but returned to Sydney on 21st May.

On 4th July Captain Bunker brought the *Albion* into Sydney, a full ship of 1400 barrels, from New Zealand and Sandy Cape.

During the month of June New Zealand was visited by the *Lady Nelson*, an Armed Tender of 60 tons utilised by the Governor of New South Wales for public work. She had sailed from Sydney on 29th April, and, after being buffeted about by very bad weather, Capt. J. Simmonds had made for New Zealand for wood and water. On 3rd June the Three Kings were sighted, and, two days afterwards, the North Cape. Simmonds made for the Bay of Islands and, on coming to anchor there, was surrounded by about 200 Natives in their canoes. The Maoris were very friendly, selling potatoes and other vegetables, mats, and curios, for scraps of paper, button tops, old useless nails, or anything else that could be secured. The next day Simmonds went ashore and superintended the watering which the Natives carried out with alacrity. Amongst the other purchases made was a pig, for which a new razor was given, but a chief, seeing the animal, asked to have it back as it was a present from Captain Rhodes. The request was at once complied with. The following morning so many Natives came on board that it was thought advisable to quit the Bay. On 9th June the *Lady Nelson* was obliged to anchor in Cavalle Bay, where again the Natives were found to be very friendly. On 12th June the Captain had to cut his cable, and, after beating about for two hours, weathered the land and ran through between the mainland and Cavalle Islands. Leaving New Zealand the *Lady Nelson* made for Norfolk Island, and returned to Sydney on 8th July.

1805.

On 28th March the *Scorpion* came into Port Jackson from a whaling trip to the New Zealand coast, and reported

a successful cruise of 600 to 700 barrels for some four months work. She left at the Fishery

NAME.	TONS.	MASTER.	GUNS.	MEN.
<i>Harriet</i>	227	Thad. Coffin	8	23
<i>Ann</i>	288	Jas. Gwynn	0	22
<i>Elizabeth and Mary</i>	235	Jno. Kingston	10	24
<i>John Sebastian</i>		Smith		
<i>Adonis</i>	290	R. Turnbull	0	24
<i>Britannia</i>		Quested		
<i>Hannah and Eliza</i>				

Of these whalers the *Harriet* (full), the *Ann*, and the *Elizabeth and Mary* called in at Sydney, on 25th April, 16th May, and 28th September, respectively. The *Britannia* sailed direct for Europe on 3rd May. The *Ann*, and the *Hannah and Eliza* were both New Bedford vessels.

Although the whalers were making good use of Sydney as a port to obtain refreshments for their men, it was not the only place where they called. We have Governor King's authority for the statement that the whaling masters who had visited New Zealand during the preceding four years found that the Natives had turned to such profitable account the seeds and other articles which he had given them in 1793, that they were able to supply the shipping with potatoes and other foodstuffs. In addition to supplying food, the Natives themselves went on board the whalers and assisted in procuring their cargoes of oil, and though many vessels had put into the Bay of Islands there had not, so far, been any altercation with the Natives. King was so delighted with the success which had attended the gifts he had made in 1793, that he now directed the Commandant at Norfolk Island to send a number of pigs and other stock, at intervals, to the Bay of Islands, by any whaling captain he could trust, to be delivered to the most powerful chief at the Bay, or distributed among the various tribes.

With the great number of whalers from New Zealand which frequented Sydney, numbers of the Natives who had volunteered for service were left stranded at Port Jackson,

and were often taken from there by unscrupulous persons and shipped to places other than their homes, as, for instance, to catch seals in Bass Strait. To such an extent was this carried on that Governor King determined to put the recruiting of New Zealanders under strict control, and accordingly issued an Order forbidding the sending of them from Sydney to any island on the Australian coast, or eastward of Cape Horn, and requiring the Governor's permission before the Natives were removed. Provision was also made for their care and good treatment while in Sydney. This Order was dated 26th May.

The Order was followed up by a personal examination by King into the conditions of the Islanders in Sydney. On 5th July he had the various Natives, including the New Zealanders, assembled at Government House, where he interrogated them about their treatment and assured them of redress against any improper treatment which might be meted out to them. He offered to send home any who desired it, or to have trades taught to any who might be disposed to receive instruction. All seemed satisfied with their lot, and retired, pleased with the interest the Governor had manifested in them.

On 8th September, the *Ferrett*, a whaler owned by D. Bennett of London, and commanded by Captain Skelton, sailed from Sydney for New Zealand. She sighted the North Cape on the eighteenth, and cast anchor in the Bay of Islands on the twentieth. Everywhere were to be seen evidences of trade with Europeans. Potatoes were cultivated in immense quantities to supply the whaling ships. The Natives themselves used them but sparingly, saving them up to secure the iron which they so much desired for axes, adzes, and small hatchets. In trading they were sold in small flax baskets which contained from eight to thirty pounds weight apiece. At the time of the *Ferrett*'s visit there resided at the Bay a white man who shunned all intercourse with his countrymen, and retired to the interior whenever a vessel arrived. His Native wife and his half-caste child were seen, but the description given of the latter is not complimentary to the fusion of the two races.

The particulars of the visit of the *Ferrett* are given to us by Mr. John Savage, who, with his wife, was a passenger on board the whaler. Savage had been assistant surgeon at Parramatta and had got into bad favour with the principal surgeon for refusing to attend on the settlers, free people, and others who asked for his services. His neglect finally culminated in the death of a woman whom he declined to attend while she was on child-bed. He was courtmartialled and the evidence was sent to Earl Cambden, Secretary of State. Savage went to England to plead his own case. On his arrival in England he wrote an account of his visit to New Zealand which appeared in 1807, and is the first published book dealing solely with New Zealand.

When leaving the Bay of Islands Savage took with him a New Zealander, Mohanga. He was probably the first Native of New Zealand to visit England, and his surprise and astonishment on coming in contact with civilisation, both at St. Helena and in London, can well be imagined. While in London Savage took him to the home of Earl Fitzwilliam, where he met the Earl and Countess, and, among others, Lord Milton, who took a great interest in him and supplied him with tools to take back to New Zealand. The *Ferrett* did not remain long in the Thames, and Savage sent Mohanga back in her to New Zealand under the personal supervision of Captain Skelton. When on the ship the New Zealander's powers of sight and hearing were far superior to those of any member of the crew.

Other whalers known to be on the New Zealand coast about this time were the American whaler *Brothers*, and the London whalers *Richard and Mary* and *Elizabeth and Mary*, belonging to Spencer & Co.

Towards the end of the year, the *Ocean*, commanded by Bristow, reached Norfolk Island from Adventure Bay, with 60 tons of oil, *en route* for the sperm whaling at New Zealand. This is the first mention of a vessel being engaged in the pursuit of both kinds of whales—the right, and the sperm. She had evidently been at Adventure Bay when the "black" or "right" whales were in the Bay, and, the season for that

whaling being completed, she was proceeding to hunt the sperm off the coast of New Zealand. It was 25 years after this before whalers started to do the same thing in the New Zealand bays.

In compliance with Governor King's instructions to Captain Piper, Commandant at Norfolk Island, the following live stock were sent to Te Pahi, one of the Bay of Islands chiefs.

By the *Adonis*, Captain Turnbull, 18 sows, 2 boars.

„ *Venus*, Captain Stewart, 2 sows, 2 she-goats.

„ *Argo*, Captain Bader, 6 sows, 2 boars.

Te Pahi, whose son had already been at Sydney and had enjoyed the hospitality of Governor King, on receipt of this valuable gift of breeding stock, decided to pay a visit to the donor, and so, accompanied by four of his sons, he set out on board the *Venus* for Norfolk Island. On arrival there trouble arose with Captain Stewart who wanted to detain the youngest son as payment for the passage money, but the interference of Captain Piper restored the son to his father. Stewart, the captain of the *Venus*—if it was Stewart who acted as captain on the voyage—is the man after whom Stewart Island is named, and, though King condemned him for his action in demanding payment for his services, considering that the goodwill of Te Pahi at the Bay of Islands was the best reward the *Venus* could get, it is difficult to see why the captain of the *Venus* should have to remain out of his money and be satisfied for payment with a certificate of exemption from the fate of Marion, while lying at the Bay. Te Pahi described the captain who had dared to ask for payment for his services as an *emoki*, or man belonging to the lower order.

Some time after reaching Norfolk Island Te Pahi and his four sons were received by Captain Houston on board H.M.S. *Buffalo*, which sailed on 16th October for the Derwent, where the Chief met Collins, at that time Lieutenant Governor there. The *Buffalo* had intended also to visit Port Dalrymple, but was prevented by bad weather, and had to sail for Sydney.

Shortly after his vessel arrived at Port Jackson, Captain Houston waited on Governor King, to whom he introduced the Maori Chief and his sons. Te Pahi first presented some mats and patoo-patoos to King, and then explained that this visit had originated through the reports of the two Natives who had been to Norfolk Island in 1793, the request of his father, and the prospect of securing other benefits for the country, such as had eventuated from the introduction of the potatoes by Tuki and Huru. The chief placed himself entirely under King's protection, and would return, go on to Europe, or stay, as he thought best. His whole demeanour appeared so satisfactory to King that arrangements were made for him and his oldest son to stay with the Governor, and, in the case of the Chief and one of his sons, to sit at the Governor's table.

Following out a policy of educating the New Zealanders to the benefits of civilisation, King sent Te Pahi, about a week after he landed, to visit McArthur, the wool king of that period. Three days were spent at Parramatta, and the process of working wool and making cloth was fully explained to the party. A further development of his education brought the Chief to the Criminal Court, where he saw men sentenced to death for stealing pork. This put him into a very excited state and he even went so far as to try and get the condemned men shipped away to New Zealand "where taking provisions was not accounted a crime." Ultimately two of the culprits were forgiven and a decision come to that "neither of the others would be executed at Sydney." On this being told him, Te Pahi gradually grew calmer.

Speaking of the Chief's condemnation of the death penalty for stealing food, King says "he would never be reconciled to the idea of men suffering death for taking wherewithal to eat—a natural reasoning for one *who inhabits a country where everything is common, and where their other wants are but few.*" As if it was not a natural reasoning for every human being whatever country he lived in ! In this dispute between British Governor and Cannibal Chief posterity easily awards the palm to the unsophisticated New Zealander.

During his stay Te Pahi came a good deal in contact with the aboriginal Australian, and formed as great a contempt for that individual as did that individual form of respect and fear for him. On one occasion when present at an aboriginal fight, following a funeral of one of them, Te Pahi had an opportunity of witnessing their method of warfare. The shield he condemned, but the throwing stick he applauded ; the pace he considered too slow, and, when something happened which he strongly disapproved of, was with difficulty restrained from taking part in the fight himself. So great was the terror of the New Zealander in the minds of the Australians, that, when one of Te Pahi's sons lifted up one of their spears, every man, woman, and child fled.

1806.

As a compliment to Te Pahi Governor King presented him with a silver medal inscribed :

"Presented by Governor King to Tip-a-he, a Chief of New Zealand, during his visit at Port Jackson, in January, 1806" [And on the reverse] : "In the reign of George the Third, by the Grace of God King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

Tools and iron implements of various kinds were given him out of the Government stores, and he was also loaded up with great quantities of presents from private individuals.

When it came to near the time of the return of the New Zealanders to their native home, King ordered the *Lady Nelson* for the service, and, to gain what information he could of New Zealand and her people, directed Mr. MacMillan, the surgeon of H.M.S. *Buffalo*, with some others, to proceed in the *Lady Nelson* and remain with Te Pahi for some months in order to study his surroundings. This scheme was stopped, much to Te Pahi's disappointment, by King hearing that he was to be relieved, and, not knowing what service the *Buffalo* might be required for, thinking it inadvisable to send any of her men away. After a residence of some three months in Sydney Te Pahi sailed for New Zealand on 24th February 1806.

On 7th April the *Argo* returned to Sydney from the fishery, and Captain Bader reported that he had met the *Aurora*, Captain Merritt, at Norfolk Island; she had just come from Peru and was proceeding to the coast of New Zealand. The *Richard and Mary* had been spoken several times by Captain Bader off the New Zealand coast. Other vessels which had been seen were the *Brothers*, at Norfolk Island, and the *Betsy*, off New Zealand.

The last named vessel had had a singular experience:

"She had unfortunately put into Conception [Coast of Chili] after the declaration of war against Spain [12th December 1804] had taken place not being apprised of that event; and being permitted to come to anchor, Capt. Richardson was invited on shore; where he was instantly made prisoner with his whole boat's crew. The chief officer hastily summoned the ship's company to their quarters, and was unanimously supported in the declaration of selling their liberty as dearly as possible. Their preparations for standing out to sea being discerned, a fire upon the vessel commenced from the shore, which was returned with such spirit and efficacy, that they accomplished their gallant undertaking, but with what loss, if any, exclusive of the master and boat's crew, Capt. Bader is unacquainted. She went then to the Gallipagoes [Galapagos Ils., 650 miles W. of Ecuador, S. America], where the chief officer dying, the command devolved to the second, whose wish was to visit this place [Sydney]; but many of the crew opposing this, and being in other respects unruly, she is supposed to have gone to England."

Captain Bader visited the Bay of Islands on 18th March, but the *Lady Nelson* had not yet reached that port with Te Pahi, and the place was deserted.

Captain Simmonds was no less than five weeks taking Te Pahi in the *Lady Nelson* down to his residence at the Bay of Islands. As a result of this protracted voyage the commander was unable to prolong his stay, and left after the

expiration of only five days. During that time all the chief's treasures were landed in safety, and a European house, which had been sent out in frame, was erected on one of the most advantageously situated islands in the Bay. The hurry and bustle which must have marked the stay of the *Lady Nelson* at the Bay of Islands did not cause the Chief to forget suitable returns for the hospitality he had received at Port Jackson, and great quantities of valuable native curios, some fine seed potatoes, and some equally fine spars, testified to the pleasure he had experienced in Sydney and to the fact that the Port Jackson hospitality had not been misplaced.

Largely through the influence of King, first as Lieutenant Governor of Norfolk Island, and, later on, as Governor of New South Wales, contemporaneous with the development of the whaling trade, grain and animals had been transported to New Zealand to enable the Natives to cultivate the one and grow the others, and thus furnish fresh food supplies for the whalers. This policy had proved so successful, that, less and less, shipping had come to rely upon Sydney for refreshments, and, more and more, resorted to the Bay of Islands. Now Te Pahi had visited King, formed as it were a treaty of intimate personal friendship with him, and returned to establish himself at the Bay, in a house of European make, and surrounded by European implements. Everything augured well for the Bay of Islands, and for the British, Australian, and American whalers, sealers, and timber traders, who resorted thither.

CHAPTER IX.

THE DAY OF TE PAHI, 1806 TO 1809.

1806.

ON board the *Lady Nelson*, when she arrived at the Bay of Islands with Te Pahi about the end of March, was a convict named George Bruce. Unfortunately he was an illiterate and extremely ignorant man, and, although he left a story of his life in a manuscript dictated by him to a companion in Chelsea Hospital during his later years, its statements are challenged at every step by the Reports on Bruce given by the Authorities in Sydney. In weighing these conflicting statements in order to ascertain the facts, the "official" version must always be accepted as against such a combination of illiteracy, ignorance, and general bad character, as the author of Bruce's narrative stands for. This man, before the *Lady Nelson* left the Bay, deserted and went to live with the Natives.

During the months of May and July the various vessels which had been spoken by the *Argo*, with the exception of the *Betsy*, called in at Sydney. In addition to these, another—the *Vulture*, Captain Folger—came in from the New Zealand coast.

Later on in the year a vessel called the *Atlantic* visited Sydney. She had, on the list of her crew, some New Zealanders, picked up probably on the New Zealand coast, and, on the night of 25th November, during a severe thunderstorm in the Harbour, one of them was killed by lightning which struck a boat belonging to the ship.

1807.

On 9th April the snow *Commerce* came into Port Jackson from the Penantipodes, with 39000 skins for the London market. She touched at that part of the New Zealand coast

which was governed by Te Pahi, and Captain Bierney was informed that the *Venus*, which had been piratically seized and taken away from Port Dalrymple the previous year, had been there, and that two of the pirates—Kelly and Lancashire—had been left behind. Kelly had, since that, been taken prisoner to England by the master of the *Britannia*, and Lancashire, by the master of the *Brothers*. The *Venus* was then supposed to be wandering about the coast without anyone who understood navigation on board, a state of things which would soon bring her crew into the hands of British, or, more likely still, into the mouths of New Zealand, justice.

Te Pahi behaved very well to the *Commerce*, supplying her with potatoes and anything else the place produced. He had sown some maize, but it had unfortunately been devoured by the pigs ; a second effort however, with his whole reserved stock, had proved successful. The *Inspector* and the *Albion* were both at the Bay.

The same day as the *Commerce*, Captain Bunker arrived at Sydney in the *Elizabeth* from the Bay of Islands, bringing news got from Captain Turnbull of the *Indispensible*, and what he had himself learned at the Bay in December of the previous year. Captain Bunker stated that, in addition to Kelly and Lancashire, two women and a child were put on shore from the *Venus*, and that the charge of the vessel had fallen into the hands of a black man who had stated his intention of returning to Port Jackson, but, unfortunately, he was incapable of piloting the vessel. One of the women had died on shore, and the other, with her child, had refused an offer to accompany Captain Bunker. Kelly and Lancashire had each erected a hut which they were occupying when taken, and which were now occupied by eight or nine men from the *Inspector*, whose captain took from there five or six others left by a former vessel.

The *Venus* was the first of a number of vessels piratically seized by convicts on the Australian coast, and brought over here for some spot where a residence would mean for the pirates freedom from the avenging arm of the law. This particular craft was well known in the New Zealand trade,

and had latterly been associated with the sealing at the Penantipodes, where, on its last visit, Captain Stewart had been left behind, and the brig taken to Port Jackson by Chace, the mate. At Sydney she was loaded with grain, flour, and salt pork, and various public and private stores for the settlements at Port Dalrymple and Hobart Town. It was also understood that she was to proceed to the Penantipodes in the interests of her gangs. Being short of labour the vacant places were filled with convicts. Trouble started with the purloining of the cargo, and culminated on 17th June, in Port Dalrymple, when the captain was ashore, with first mate Kelly, pilot Evans, and private Thompson of the N.S.W. Corps, knocking down and confining the second mate, turning five seamen out of the brig, and sailing away. On board the pirate craft were eleven persons, including two women and an infant child.

At Sydney, when the news of the piratical seizure became known, a Proclamation dated 18th July 1806 was issued describing the occupants of the vessel and appealing to

"all Governors, and Officers in Command at any of His Majesty's Ports, and the Honourable East India Company's Magistrates or Officers in Command, at Home and Abroad, at whatever Port or Ports the said Brig may be taken into, or met with at Sea, against any frauds or deceptions that may be put in practice by the offending Parties ; and to require their being taken into custody wherever found ; and information rendered thereat to the Governor or Officer in Command at these Settlements, or to any other British Authority, that they may be brought to condign punishment."

We next hear of the pirate brig at the Bay of Islands not later than December. The "black man" who had charge of the brig, and was unable to navigate her, was, probably, Joseph Redmonds, a mulatto who came to Sydney in the whaler *Venus*. The two women, who are the first white women known to have resided in New Zealand, are thus described in the Proclamation :

"Catherine Hagerty, a convict ; middle sized, light hair, fair complexion, much inclined to smile, and hoarse voice.

"Charlotte Edgar, convict ; very corpulent, with full face, thick lips, and light hair ; has an infant child."

It was evidently Catherine Hagerty who died not long after landing, and Charlotte Edgar who, "with her child" refused to go on board the *Elizabeth* with Captain Bunker.

Regarding the subsequent movements and fate of the *Venus* there is not that amount of definiteness which the author likes to present to his readers. It is recorded that the colonial schooner *Mercury*, which touched at New Zealand, learned that she had been taken by the Natives, who killed and ate her crew and burnt the hull for the sake of the iron. Marsden, in 1815—nine years after the event—tells us, on Native authority, that she visited Bream Cove (Whangarei), the North Cape, and the Thames, stealing Native women at all these places. At the last-named anchorage a chief and two women were taken, but the former, watching his opportunity, jumped overboard and was rescued by a friendly canoe. The women never returned. It is quite probable that both accounts are correct, as they describe what one would naturally expect to happen. In the case of the women their reported death and eating at the East Cape was the cause of more than one Native war.

On 30th March 1807, while on a visit to Tahiti, McArthur and Blaxcell's vessel, the *Elizabeth*, which had been a Spanish prize, called in at the Bay of Islands for provisions and some repairs. On board of her was one Gregory Warner, a medical missionary. She remained in the Bay twelve days, and was assisted by some other whalers which were there at the same time. Beyond the fact that the actions of the crew fairly horrified the missionary, nothing is recorded of her doings.

Amongst other vessels which called at New Zealand during 1807 was the *General Wellesley* on her road to the Prince of Wales Island in Malacca Strait. She called in at the Bay of Islands for a cargo of spars, and was there in

October when the *Venus*, Captain Birbeck, looked in on her road from Sydney to Tahiti. The *Inspector* was there also, a full ship, and sailed for England with a cargo of sperm and black oil during the stay of the *Venus*.

Other successful whalers reported off New Zealand were the *Seringapatam*, the *Albion*, and the *Eliza*.

It was mentioned, when recording the movements of the *Lady Nelson*, that a convict had run away from her at the Bay of Islands. George Bruce, the convict in question, got under the protection of Te Pahi, and ultimately married his daughter. When Captain Dalrymple was on the eve of sailing with a cargo of spars, he asked Bruce to go to the North Cape with him, promising to land him before leaving New Zealand. Bruce went, and took with him his wife, but Dalrymple, when the mission to the North Cape was over, after an unsuccessful attempt to land Bruce, sailed away with him to India. The voyage was an exceedingly protracted one and Malacca was not reached until some nine months had passed. While Bruce was ashore here complaining to the Governor of his treatment, Captain Dalrymple sailed away for Penang, on Prince of Wales Island, taking Mrs. Bruce with him. Bruce followed, and ultimately got possession of his wife after an absence of three months. From Penang Bruce took ship to Bengal and placed his unhappy plight before Lord Minto, who, after some delay, put him on board an Australian vessel and in due course he reached the Derwent where deposed Governor Bligh was at that time on board H.M.S. *Porpoise*. It was a singular coincidence that Mrs. Bruce's brother, Matara, had lived with Governor Bligh's family in Sydney while he was waiting for a New Zealand bound ship. At last Bruce, with his wife, and a child born during the passage from India to Hobart Town, reached Sydney in 1809, having just missed Te Pahi, Mrs. Bruce's father, and Matara, her brother.

On board the *General Wellesley*, when she came to New Zealand, was another interesting individual named Roberts, who had dwelt for some years at Nukahiwa, where he had married a relative of one of the chiefs. He had acted as pilot for the ship, more especially among the Ladrone

Islands, and accompanied her to Penang. His name figures in Krusenstern's account of his visit to Nukahiwa.

The last vessels at the Bay of Islands during the year were the *Mercury*, Reibey, trading to Tahiti, and the *King George*, bound for Fiji. Both sailed from Sydney on 10th December, and, after obtaining refreshments at the Bay, separated in latitude 33° 29' S.

As a matter of interest to students of Cook it may be mentioned that when the *Mercury* was at Ulitea, a Chief named Mahee gave the Captain a medal which his father had received from Cook during his Second Voyage. Five of these have been found in New Zealand, but this is the only one recorded as found beyond our shores.

It was during this year—1807—that Whangaroa was discovered; prior to this it had been but mentioned to Governor King by Tuki and Huru in 1793. Captain Wilkinson carried on extensive sealing operations at the Penantipodes and other islands to the south, on board a vessel called the *Star*. Leaving his gangs on the southern islands Wilkinson ran up the western coast of New Zealand, rounded the North Cape, and came down the eastern coast looking for some harbour between the Cape and the Bay, where he could get wood and water.

"In coasting along, he discovered an open bay, only sheltered by a small island, under which he came to an anchor for the night. The coast of the main-land was high and precipitous, and appeared one continuous line; he was, therefore, greatly surprised next morning to see a great number of canoes, filled with natives, approaching the ship for the purpose of trading. They informed him that they came from a place called Wangerooa [Whangaroa], the entrance to which lay at the bottom of the bay. Captain Wilkinson immediately examined it with his boats, and found a narrow entrance which expanded to the right and left into two capacious basins, while a high middle head projected so immediately into the entrance, as entirely to conceal the harbour. . . . Captain Wilkinson having obtained such supplies as the

natives were capable of affording, returned to the southward, to relieve his sealing gang, without, for the present, entering into the harbour."

After sailing south and attending to the necessities of his gangs, Captain Wilkinson returned to Whangaroa to make a more complete examination of its potentialities. He found that a chief called Kytoke ruled the district ; he was "equally feared and beloved" by the Natives, possessed an excellent understanding and a most pacific disposition, together with great courage and bodily strength. The stay of the *Star* was marked by the most perfect harmony between Natives and Europeans, and when Captain Wilkinson sailed away there accompanied him as a sailor a young Native chief called Tara, to whom the name of George was afterwards given by the sailors.

1808.

Early in the year a calamitous event happened to a vessel called the *Parramatta*, which traded between Sydney and Tahiti. Leaving Port Jackson on 14th April, Captain Glynn sailed for the Bay of Islands, and nothing definite was heard about his fate until John Besent, who went to the Bay in the *King George* in 1812, and lived among the Natives, learned from them the sad fate which had befallen the ship and her crew of eleven men. She had, in distress, put into the Bay for provisions and water. The Natives supplied them with pork, fish, and potatoes, as much as the *Parramatta* could stow away. After the schooner had received her refreshments, the Natives naturally wanted their pay, but, on making application, were thrown overboard and fired at by the crew, who immediately thereafter weighed anchor and sailed away. Besent saw three who had been wounded with small shot in the fight. A heavy gale of wind came up immediately and blew the vessel on shore not far from Cape Brett, where her remains lay for several years. The New Zealanders naturally took advantage of the wreck to have their revenge, the shipwrecked sailors were cut off to a man, and the fate of Marion and his companions was theirs.

The year 1808 saw a second vessel seized by pirates and taken off to New Zealand. On Monday morning, 14th May, the brig *Harrington* was missed from her anchorage at Farm Cove, and Captain Campbell reported the circumstance to the Lieutenant Governor. Inquiries were at once instituted, when it was found that one Robert Stewart and several others were absent from their work that morning ; it also transpired that a vessel had been seen from the South Head, at daylight, standing off. The *Halcyon* was manned, and, with a flotilla of boats, set off in pursuit, but as it was a dead calm, and the *Harrington* was already out of sight, the attempt to follow her had to be given up.

Between three and four in the afternoon the chief officer and crew arrived in two boats, and reported that about 10 o'clock the night before, while the vessel was at anchor and the men in their beds, he was awakened by armed men. They took possession of the ship, cut away both anchors and towed the vessel out to sea. About seven in the morning, when about 20 miles out, they put the crew into boats to make the best of their way ashore. Stewart was the leader, and there were about 30 pirates all told. As the *Harrington* was ready to sail for Fiji she was fully provisioned for a long voyage.

On Tuesday the *Pegasus* was chartered, and the Government artificers employed to fit her up. In less than 24 hours she was ready, furnished with water and provisions, several guns, stands of arms, and other equipment. On Wednesday she sailed with Captain Symonds, Captain Eber Bunker, his first and second officers, Captains Graham and Campbell, Mr. Fisk, and part of the *Harrington's* crew. A military detachment of 20 privates, 2 corporals, and 2 sergeants, completed the personnel of the ship.

It was supposed that the pirates intended to make for the Bay of Islands, to seize the American brig *Eliza* which had sailed for that port on the twenty-second of the previous month, hoping to supply their wants in this manner and make themselves masters of all the specie Captain Coley was known to have on board. They had no anchor, no boat, and no time-

piece on board. The Captain and the cook being both ashore with their watches at the time of seizure, and the mate having left his ashore, accounted for the strange situation of there not being a single timepiece on the ship.

Reaching the Bay of Islands it was found that the pirates had not been there, and the *Pegasus*, after a short stay, proceeded to Fiji. Two days afterwards a brig hove in sight, stood in, and then, hauling her wind suddenly, went off to the eastward. This was supposed to be the *Harrington*, alarmed at finding three vessels lying in the Bay.

The *Pegasus* was unsuccessful in her search and, on 22nd July, returned to Sydney in sore straits. Some time afterwards it was reported that the *Harrington* was captured by the frigate *Phœnix* on her road to Manilla, and that Stewart and some others were taken out of her, but that she went ashore later on and the prisoners escaped.

The *Commerce* was one of the vessels in the Bay when the *Harrington* was supposed to have entered. She was returning from the sealing islands with about 3000 skins on board. When she sailed she was accompanied by the other two vessels—the *Inspector*, Captain Poole, and the *Grand Sachem*, Captain Whippey, both of which were homeward bound full of oil.

Te Pahi, with three of his sons and several attendants, took advantage of the *Commerce* coming to Port Jackson, to accompany Captain Ceroni to Sydney. Acting on the advice of the Chief, Ceroni took the *Commerce* around to Whangaroa where all food stuffs were more abundant than at the Bay, which had been cleared out by the great number of whalers which had recently visited it. The result of the visit was quite satisfactory to Captain Ceroni.

Connected with this visit is a strange piece of history, told by Mr. Berry of the *City of Edinburgh*, in 1819, as having been heard by him when at the Bay of Islands in 1809. Amongst other things owned by Captain Ceroni was a watch, which so impressed the simple Natives that they called it *Atua* or God, and in a rather vain-glorious way this watch was displayed by the Captain on every occasion. Once, unfor-

tunately, it fell into the sea, to the great terror of the superstitious Natives. Later on when the *Commerce* sailed, she left in the night and without the usual formal farewells having been given. The superstitious fear of the Natives was intensified. To crown all an epidemic broke out, carrying off great numbers, amongst whom was the Chief Kytoka. This was attributed to the evil spirit left among them when the watch was flung overboard, and the survivors vowed vengeance against the white men.

On his road to Sydney, Captain Ceroni called in at Norfolk Island just as that Settlement was being evacuated, and Mr. Berry, who was there engaged in that work, met Te Pahi at the house of Captain Piper the Commandant, and afterwards placed on record the following recollections of his appearance, &c. :

"He was dressed in certain robes of state presented to him when on his former visit by Governor King. They were covered with tinsel, and in some measure resembled those worn by a merry Andrew, with some improvement, emanating from his own invention. He was lame of one leg, on which he wore a black stocking, and on the other a white one. He appeared a man of considerable gravity, displaying an easy consciousness of his own dignity. Upon the whole, he showed himself a man of some observation, and was by no means deficient in intellect, but the most prominent features of his character were a certain shrewdness, and low cunning ; from what I had an opportunity afterwards of observing, he was much inferior to several of his countrymen of equal rank. Being the first of his nation of any consideration who appeared at Port Jackson, he obtained unmerited distinction among Europeans, and eventually amongst his own countrymen, who were equally dazzled by the riches he brought back, and the attentions which were shown him by men so much superior to themselves. The Europeans amongst whom he first appeared had formed a very wrong estimate of the character of savages in general, from their intercourse with the poor natives of

New Holland ; they were, therefore, surprised to see a man of observation and clear judgment, and regarded him as a phenomenon, when a little more intercourse with the natives of New Zealand would have convinced them that he only displayed the common attributes of his nation."

The old chief was very ill during his voyage, and on his arrival in Sydney on 10th July 1808, Lieutenant Governor Foveaux gave directions that he should receive every possible attention and nourishment. For a home he was provided with accommodation in the Governor's own house.

After some months Te Pahi returned to New Zealand.

In addition to the seal skins on the *Commerce* was a cargo of New Zealand timber which was advertised for sale by Mr. Blaxcell, "a number of desirable fine logs, fit for flooring boards, and spars for masts, just imported from New Zealand in the snow *Commerce*."

The whaler *Seringapatam* touched at Tahiti in distress, about the end of 1807. She was bound for New South Wales, and, taking on board James Elder, the missionary who had come out in the *Royal William* in 1801, she sailed for the coast of New Zealand, where she cruised about some two months. There were seven or eight English whalers about at the time, and the *Seringapatam*, in company with three of them, visited the Bay of Islands and spent a week obtaining refreshments. As a result of what he saw there Elder reported to Marsden various acts of cruelty perpetrated on the New Zealanders, and expressed his surprise that the latter did not rise and murder the Europeans. If Elder's statement is not exaggerated, one can understand what took place when the crew of the *Parramatta* fell into their hands.

On 15th October the *Mercury* sailed for Fiji and, on her road, put into the Bay of Islands, where she remained for some time. When she had been ten days lying in the Bay, Captain Campbell brought in the *Favourite* with a cargo of 100 tons of sandalwood for Sydney. On 14th February 1809, the last-named reached her destination.

1809.

In November 1808, the ship *Speke*, Captain Kingston, reached Sydney from London, with Matara, the son of Te Pahi, who had gone to England with ex-Governor King in H.M.S. *Buffalo*. While waiting for a chance of getting across to New Zealand the young chief lived with the family of Governor Bligh, and on 26th January 1809, sailed on board the *City of Edinburgh*, commanded by Captain Pattison, and having, as supercargo, Mr. Berry, who had met Te Pahi at Norfolk Island about the middle of 1808. Matara is thus described by Berry :

"He spoke English tolerably, dressed and behaved like a gentleman, and, of course, lived in the cabin ; he spent, however, the greatest part of the day with a countryman of his own, who was employed as a sailor on board, and was indefatigable in his endeavours to regain a knowledge of his national songs and dances. His first appearance at New Zealand in the uniform of a naval officer, not only gratified his own vanity, but excited the greatest applause from his countrymen. In a few days, however, he resumed his national costume, and with it his national habits,—but having been accustomed to delicate treatment for a length of time, his constitution proved unequal to resist the mode of living in use amongst his countrymen. He became affected with a hoarseness which gradually settled on his lungs, and in a few months brought him to his grave."

On the road across to the Bay of Islands Berry determined to call in at Whangaroa, largely influenced in that determination by the previous accounts given of the harbour by Captain Ceroni, who was at that moment a passenger on board the *City of Edinburgh*. As they approached Whangaroa, however, Ceroni's whole attitude changed, and he now vigorously opposed making Whangaroa the destination of the vessel. The problem was finally solved by the weather conditions which compelled the ship to be steered for the Bay of Islands.

At the Bay Berry applied to Te Pahi for assistance to load the vessel, but was told that nothing could be done there, that the *City of Edinburgh* should come round to Whangaroa ; that Kytoke had recently died there and the funeral rites were awaiting his arrival, he having succeeded by right of inheritance to the dead chief's possessions at Whangaroa. Before adopting his suggestion, however, Mr. Berry made inquiries amongst the other chiefs at the Bay.

The chiefs visited were Tara and Tupe, whose possessions were at Kororareka and Kawakawa, and there two brown potentates gave Mr. Berry the heartiest of welcomes, and, under their protection, from 1st March to the end of May 1809, he landed the stores of the *City of Edinburgh*, a vessel of 526 tons,

"hove her down, completely stripped her of her copper, caulked, repaired her bottom and resheathed her with plank made of New Zealand pine."

During all this time Berry lived ashore in a house built by the Natives.

As the *City of Edinburgh* was leaving, Captain Ceroni again dropped his watch into the sea, and Tara, who was standing by, wrung his hands and uttered a shriek of distress, exclaiming that Ceroni would be the destruction of the Bay of Islands as he had already been of Whangaroa. Six or eight New Zealanders accompanied the *City of Edinburgh* to Fiji.

On 6th March the *Otter*, Captain Hopper, which had sailed from England on 16th June 1808, on a sealing cruise, came to the Bay and found there the *Antipode*, a schooner commanded by Captain Birbeck, in great want of supplies. These the *Otter* provided as far as she could, and reported in Sydney that the *Antipode* might shortly be expected there. Sixteen days later she arrived.

Later on in the same month the American whaler *Ann*, Captain Gwynn, was at the Bay of Islands and found there the *City of Edinburgh* in the midst of her repairs.

At Fiji Captain Ceroni left the *City of Edinburgh*, and returned to Sydney on board the *Perseverance* on 15th September. He gave the first account of the doings of the *City of Edinburgh* in the Bay of Islands, and that account is published here to enable the reader to determine how much—if any—Berry was, later on, deceived about Te Pahi. Ceroni says :

"The [*City of*] *Edinburgh* underwent a very thorough and compleat repair at the Bay of Islands, which was accomplished in the space of three months ; during which interval the native princes had attempted to get the vessel into their hands, for the purpose of possessing themselves of the trade put on board her for the Fejees. This plan appears to have been agitated by King Tippahee [Te Pahi] and Prince Matarra, his son, who went to England in the *Buffalo*, and returned hither in the *Porpoise* [? the *Speke*], and who had been favoured with a passage back to New Zealand in the *Edinburgh*, during which he had been treated in the most liberal and friendly manner. This circumstance, joined to the remembrance of the very handsome treatment Tippahee [Te Pahi] had himself experienced from Mr. Ceroni, who at his own pressing solicitation gave him a passage to this Colony [New South Wales] in the *Commerce*, had sanctioned a hope of assistance from the King and prince ; but on the contrary, they proved to be the leaders of the conspiracy to take the ship, which was then keel out, and the crew, being encamped on shore, were in the first instance alarmed at the appearance of about 100 armed men lurking about a quarter of a mile from the tents, though it was unusual for more than two or three of them to assemble in one party. On perceiving this, Mr. Berry ordered his people to get under arms and advanced to inquire into the cause of their assembling in such force armed ; but on their approach the natives fled. The same night a chief Toopie [Tupe] gave information of the plot that had been formed against the Europeans ; and stated that a number of war canoes were then ready

to attack the vessel, which was only delayed until daylight should appear. In order to intimidate them, a random shot was fired, which had a very salutary operation, as it struck one of the canoes, and threw them into such a consternation that many others were upset in their confusion. A boat commanded by an expert officer was immediately despatched to scatter them with musketry, in which the boat's crew succeeded, and made prizes of all their canoes; which were restored upon their afterwards making a proper concession for their treachery, and promising never to attempt the capture of that or any other English vessel."

Though Berry makes no mention of the incidents recorded here, it is unthinkable that they were imaginary, and they go far to indicate that Te Pahi had changed very much in his attitude towards Europeans.

Having procured what cargo was wanted at Fiji, the *City of Edinburgh* set sail for New Zealand and came to an anchor once more in the Bay, towards the end of October. It had been the intention of the captain of the ship to put into Whangaroa, but, when that intention was made known, the Natives on board came in a body, told the story of the lost watch, and pleaded that Whangaroa should not be visited. Contrary winds again solved the problem and the vessel was steered for the Bay.

Tara and Tupe, friends on the last visit, came again to the fore, put the whole power of the Bay at the service of Mr. Berry to get his ship filled, and sent raft loads of spars floating down the River, as fast as they could be taken on board and stowed into the ship's hold.

By the time the vessel was half loaded, a hitch took place. One of the local chiefs, while journeying southwards, was murdered by the Natives of the district he was passing through. At once all the bush camps became meeting places where the leaders addressed the crowd urging revenge for the death of the murdered chief, and, as the passions of the Natives were gradually but surely roused, interest in the work of loading

the vessel grew less and less, and instead of sending down spars, they began to collect together war canoes from all quarters. So far was it carried that it soon became patent that the Natives desired to get rid of the *City of Edinburgh* so as to be able to follow the war fever untrammelled.

At this stage, with his vessel almost ready to sail, there was reported to Mr. Berry the most awful sea tragedy which our intercourse with the Polynesian race has been responsible for.

CHAPTER X.

THE MASSACRE OF THE BOYD, 1809 AND 1810.

ON Sunday, 12th November 1809, readers of the *Sydney Gazette* found the following in the columns of that day's paper :—

“On Wednesday sailed the *Boyd*, Captain Thompson, for the Cape of Good Hope, with coals, cedar, and other plank and timber.”

This vessel was owned by Mr. George Brown, and had sailed from the Thames on 10th March 1809, with convicts for the young Colony. There she landed on 14th August, and was now leaving port with a valuable return cargo, which her captain intended to still further supplement by calling in at New Zealand and taking on board some spars.

A large number of people belonging to the Colony advertised their intention of leaving on board of her, and a perusal of the list shows the names of Captain John Thompson; Ann Morley, Ann Glossop, and Catherine Bourke, or Rourke; and Messrs. R. W. Wrather, James Moore, John Budden, Robert Thomas, Mordica Marks, John Petty, Thomas Martin, William Allen, John Thomas, William Mahoney, and Denis Desmond. In addition to these, the Native called Tara, who had served as a sailor for some time on the sealer *Star* under Captain Wilkinson, was on board bound for his home which was Whangaroa. The presumption is, therefore, that the *Boyd* was sailing direct for that port.

We last left the *City of Edinburgh* in the Bay of Islands completing her cargo of spars, with the Natives more eager to undertake a punitive expedition southwards than toil unceasingly at the work of felling and transporting huge trees. The date would be about the middle of December 1809.

Mr. Berry describes the receipt of news of a shipping calamity at Whangaroa in these words :

"One morning very early, on leaving my cabin, I observed a number of strangers sitting on the gangway, and Tarra in deep conversation with them. Tarra perceiving us preparing to despatch two boats for spars, immediately left the strangers, and desired us not to despatch the boats until he had had some private conversation with the captain and myself. Being admitted into the cabin, he first desired us to purchase what we wanted from the natives, and then to dismiss them, when he would inform us of something which deeply concerned our own safety. His request being complied with, he then informed us that he had received accounts from those people of the capture of a ship by the natives of Wangerooa, who had killed and eaten the captain and crew ; that the Wangeroons having procured the firearms and ammunition of that ship, and, elated with their victory, although only the result of surprise and treachery, had determined to come round, and attack our ship. Therefore, he observed, you must no longer weaken yourselves by sending away boats for spars, but must keep all your men on board, and quit New Zealand as soon as possible ; —and, besides, while it may be necessary to remain here, you ought to receive on board all my friends and dependants to assist in defending you. Tarra, on being further questioned, informed us that the vessel carried 20 great guns, and 40 men."

The first instinct was to discredit the statement, and to attribute it to the desire the Natives had to get rid of the *City of Edinburgh*, so as to enable them to carry on the warlike operations they had been contemplating, but, after thinking the matter over, it was decided to steer a middle course, and neither reject Tarra's advice, nor give him the chance of scoring a triumph by his advice being adopted and the information proving incorrect. The work of completing the loading was accordingly hastened up, greater caution and vigilance was employed in providing against attack, and the idea of there

being anything in the story was discouraged amongst the sailors. For some time even the Natives discredited it. This went on until the loading was completed, when circumstances were related which hardly admitted of being attributed to Native invention, and Berry determined to put the matter to the test and send round an armed party to see for themselves, and, if things were as alleged, and there were captives who had escaped the massacre, use every endeavour to have them released.

When the question of attempting the relief of the survivors was first mentioned, the Natives at the Bay took up an attitude of the strongest opposition, and absolutely refused to take part in it. They considered it ungenerous to ask them, after the faithful service they had rendered, to embark themselves in war with the Natives of Whangaroa, who were bound to take their revenge after the *City of Edinburgh* sailed. Though they would not go, they gave every direction of how to guard against surprise. Only one Native—Towaaki, who was going in the *City of Edinburgh* as a sailor—was induced to accompany the Expedition. Berry had only 24 muskets, and, as 22 were required for the Whangaroa trip, Tarra and Tupe's muskets had to be borrowed for the defence of the ship; these were up country at the time and Berry could not await their arrival, so he took the risk and set out in three armed boats, leaving the ship guarded by her two six-pounders and some defective muskets. Fortunately bad weather drove the boats back, when they found that the muskets had arrived and that the Native chiefs were on board the ship prepared to defend her.

While making preparations for the second attempt to reach Whangaroa, a singular incident overcame the objection of the Natives to accompany Berry. A Tahitian had run away from the ship with a young Native woman, and one of the mates now reported to Berry that the absconder had been accompanied in his flight by a Native who was under Metenangha, a chief then on board. Berry went straight to Metenangha and asked him to use his authority over his dependant to get the Tahitian back, but the chief replied

that he could not. Then Berry, in great heat, said "that it was a pity to see a man of his rank disgrace himself by decoying away our sailors, after all the attentions we had shown him," and straightway turned on his heel and walked contemptuously away.

Berry's reply, and, more than anything, his demeanour, was felt very keenly by the chief, who called out to him, and, when he found that was useless, ran forward and seized his arm, declaring at the same time his friendship, his innocence of the charge, and his inability to remain on the ship under such accusations. Seizing the opportunity, Berry offered his hand and his friendship "if he would accompany me to Wangerooa." "Yes," replied the chief, "I will go with you ; my presence will insure you everything you require at that place ; you will see what a great man I am ; the men of Wangerooa are a small people, and must do what I order." By the accidental circumstance of the Tahitian running away, Berry was therefore able to proceed to Whangaroa, accompanied by a chief who possessed great influence there. Mr. Russel, the mate, also accompanied the party.

Arrived at their destination, a distance of some fifty miles N.W. of the Bay of Islands, the Expedition visited the remains of the ill-fated vessel, which they found lying in shoal water at the top of the harbour. The ship's cables had been cut, and she had been towed up the harbour until she grounded, and had then been set on fire by the Natives, and burnt to the water's edge. Remains of the coal, salted seal skins, and planks, were visible in the hold, and on top of them were the guns, iron, and standards, where they had fallen when the decks were burnt. Well did Berry describe it as "a most melancholy picture of wanton mischief."

The procedure at Whangaroa was left in the hands of Metenangha who landed first, and directed the boats to a more convenient spot, where he afterwards joined them with two of the principal chiefs and some of their friends who had been engaged in the massacre. Berry describes these men as all dressed in canvas which had belonged to the *Boyd* ; they approached their visitors with the greatest confidence,

and held out their hands as if welcoming old acquaintances. They showed no hesitation about referring to the massacre, nor secrecy about its details, regarding it as a British tar would regard "some successful attempt against an enemy's ship of superior force." The reason given for the attack was that one of their chiefs had secreted a carpenter's axe, and had been detected before leaving the ship, with the result that he was tied up to the capstan, where he was kept for several hours and threatened with flogging. This indignity to their chief could not be forgiven, hence the massacre. They admitted there were several who had not been killed.

Berry now commenced negotiations for the release of these survivors. He put down a number of axes, and mustered his men ; to the Natives he offered the axes, if the survivors were handed over peaceably ; but told them, that if that proposal was not accepted, war would be declared against them by the forces they saw in front of them. After a moment's hesitation the reply came that "trading was better than fighting" and the captives would be given up for the axes. It was the old story of Cook's superiority over Marion, when dealing with the Natives always to keep buckshot in reserve. In modern dealings between nations the same policy has a wide circle of supporters.

On the suggestion of the Whangaroan Natives, an adjournment to the Settlement was decided on, but the chiefs were rather nonplussed by Berry, who brushed aside their proposal to walk overland and meet the boats at the Settlement, and compelled them to get into the boats with him. As they proceeded up the river, some Natives who were concealed among the mangroves fired off their muskets, but for what reason was unknown. At the Settlement crowds met them, and they were told that the captives were up the country, but would be sent for and delivered next morning. As a matter of fact Mrs. Morley was in the bush, and so near at hand that she could hear the conversation.

The Natives than urged Berry to spend the night with them, promising to supply a plentiful meal of fish and potatoes, and, strange to say, the two Bay of Island Natives seconded

the invitation "with great earnestness." Berry, however, was taking no risks of having his last meal on fish and potatoes, and intimated his preference to sleep with his men on a small island near the remains of the *Boyd*. The tide was now ebbing and there was a danger of the boats getting aground, so their departure was hastened, but even then there could be detected "slight attempts to detain us by compulsion." Telling the story afterwards Berry mentions, as one reason for the course followed,

"we had seen the mangled fragments and fresh bones of our countrymen, with the marks even of the teeth remaining on them ; and it certainly could not be agreeable to pass the night by the side of their devourers."

Anyone can understand the thoughts that passed through Berry's mind, when, after gazing at the wreck, transferred for the time being into a Parsee Tower of Silence, and weeping over the picked bones of his countrymen, he is coolly asked to spend the night, as a bed companion of the vultures.

That night was spent on a small island, consisting of a perpendicular rock, and so situated as to be capable of defence against any force of New Zealanders, by the small band that accompanied Berry. At one in the morning Towaaki visited the camp and stated that the captives would be delivered in the morning ; he said he had seen the woman, and that the cause of the delay was the chief in whose possession she was.

In the morning the Natives brought over Mrs. Morley and her little child, and a lad of fifteen years named Thomas Davis, an apprentice on board the *Boyd*. In answer to Mr. Berry, Mrs. Morley stated that the infant daughter of Mr. Commissary Broughton was alive and was still among the Natives. Berry knew Broughton, and at once asked the Whangaroa chief where the child was, as Mr. Broughton was his "brother," using the term in the sense used by the New Zealanders. The chief replied that the child was with a chief on an island at the entrance of the harbour, and that one of the Natives would be sent to order its release. This did not satisfy Berry, who expressed doubts whether the order would be obeyed or not, but the chief assured him that it would be

all right, but that he himself would not go down as the sea was too rough. Berry at once took the extreme step of ordering the two principal chiefs and some of their attendants into the boat, and taking them off with him, to the no small consternation of the party. Arrived at the island, a Native was sent ashore for the child, and, after an hour's delay, little Betsy Broughton was brought down to the boat, clad in a linen shirt which had belonged to Captain Thompson, and in a very emaciated condition. As the poor little girl saw the white people round about her she feebly cried out for her "mamma," who had, alas, perished at the hands of the human brutes of Whangaroa.

The captives were now liberated and the reward earned, and, of course, the axes should have been handed over and the chiefs put at liberty. Here Berry's action cannot be defended. Instead of liberating the chiefs he demanded all the *Boyd's* papers to be handed up, and stated, that until that was done, they would be kept prisoners on board the *City of Edinburgh* and taken to England to answer for their crimes. He would listen to no reason, whether the "tears, entreaties and persuasions" of the captive chiefs, or the remonstrances and protests of Metenangha, who accompanied him from the Bay of Islands and to whom the bloodless success of the mission was due. Berry knew he was wrong, and refers to his own act as one "more of policy than of justice." He, though not an owner of the *Boyd*, was going to have these papers, regardless of every prohibition in the moral code. On reaching the ship, the chiefs were put in irons.

It was not long until the papers of the *Boyd* were forthcoming, and were found to consist of a few books, a box full of letters containing the Government dispatches, and a variety of detached letters which included a packet in Berry's own handwriting, containing "bills and documents to a great amount." Was this the reason why every honourable instinct was trampled on to secure them?

These admittedly dishonourable acts were followed by a number which can only be characterised as petty beyond

measure. Berry himself is our authority for the statement that he "made a great merit" of liberating the unjustly detained chiefs, and even then exacted a promise from Metenangha that the liberated men "would be degraded from their rank, and received among the number of his slaves." Of course it was ignored. After liberation the chiefs wrote thanking Berry for their liberty, but suggesting at the same time that it was good policy on his part, as any injury to them would have provoked retaliation by their friends. To add to the culpability of Berry it has further to be mentioned that, when sending a Report to the Governor of New South Wales, he gave as a reason for liberating the Natives, that there was no opportunity of sending them to Sydney, ignoring alike the contract with them in the first place, the condition imposed upon them in the second place, and the reason he had given to Metenangha in the third place.

So far nothing has been said descriptive of the massacre. Our first authority is Alexander Berry. He heard the first account of the tragedy, he organised the Expedition to rescue the imprisoned people, he conversed with the Natives at Whangaroa and heard them tell their story unrestrained by any thought of punishment, he had the full services of Metenangha, but more than all, he had the survivors on board his ship, and two of them were quite old enough to appreciate what went on around them. All these things make Berry's version of the tragedy stand out beyond all others, and, in the event of challenge, call upon all contradictory versions to be examined with suspicion.

The Report, under date 6th January 1810, subscribed to by Captain Pattison, Supercargo Berry, and Mate Russel, is as follows :—

"This unfortunate vessel (intending to load with spars) was taken three days after her arrival. The natives informed the master on the second day they would shew the spars. Next day, in the morning, Tippahee arrived from Tippanah and went on board. He staid only a few minutes, and then went into his canoe, but remained

alongside the vessel, which was surrounded with a number of canoes which appeared collected for the purpose of trading ; and a considerable number of the natives, gradually intruding into the ship, sat down upon the deck. After breakfast the master left the ship with two boats to look for spars. Tippahee, waiting a convenient time, now gave the signal for massacre. In an instant the savages, who appear'd sitting peaceably on the deck, rushed on the unarmed crew, who were dispersed about the ship at their various employments. The greater part were massacred in a moment, and were no sooner knocked down than cut to pieces while still alive. Five or six of the hands escaped up the rigging. Tippahee now having possession of the ship, hailed them with a speaking trumpet, and ordered them to unbend the sails and cut away the rigging, and they should not be hurt. They complied with his commands and came down. He then took them ashore in a canoe and immediately killed them."

In a letter to the owner of the *Boyd*, dated Lima, 20th October 1810, Berry supplements the above with some further interesting information. That morning Te Pahi had asked Captain Thompson for some bread, but it was refused him and he left in an angry mood. Thompson went ashore with four hands and only one fowling piece, which, when fired in defence, killed a child. The boy Davis escaped into the hold, where he lay concealed until the Natives were fairly glutted with human flesh. Ann Morley was discovered by an old savage who was so moved by her tears and embraces that he took her to Te Pahi and obtained permission to spare her life. At that time the deck was covered with human bodies which were being cut up. A few minutes after Te Pahi sent the sailors ashore, the woman went ashore with her deliverer, and the first thing she saw was the dead bodies of the sailors lying on the beach. When she landed several made to come towards her to kill her also, but her life was saved by the interposition of some women who rushed in between them and covered her with their clothes. The second mate begged

his life, and was kept alive for about a fortnight, when he also was killed and eaten.

Berry was of opinion that had Captain Thompson treated Te Pahi civilly the latter would have warned him about the plot to massacre him for punishing the chief.

It had been a promise to Tarra that the boat used to procure the cargo would be given him when the loading of the *City of Edinburgh* was finished. When this promise came up for fulfilment he asked for some writing to prove how he came to have the boat, fearful that it might be thought to have come from the *Boyd*, or to have been stolen from some other ship. A Certificate to this effect was accordingly given him :

We.....certify that we gave Tarra, the bearer of this, a small flat-bottomed boat as a reward for his good conduct, and the assistance of getting us a cargo of spars.

Given on board the ship City of Edinburgh, Captain Simeon Pattison, Bay of Islands, January 6th, 1810.

SIMEON PATTISON, Master.

ALEXR. BERRY, Supercargo.

JAMES RUSSEL, Mate.

Berry, in 1819, states that this fact will be invaluable to the future antiquarians and historians of New Zealand, by showing the antiquity of naval registers in that country. To-day and here his prophecy is fulfilled.

One other chief had a boat—the jolly boat of the *Boyd*—given him, with a like Certificate, and, as late as 1815, when Nicholas visited New Zealand in company with Marsden, the chief showed him the tattered remains of his quaint “naval register.”

In addition to notices to shipping masters, signed by the Captain, Supercargo, and Mate, of the *City of Edinburgh*, telling of the disaster and warning all who might be interested, Berry wrote an official letter to Governor Macquarie, shortly giving the facts, and stating that the Despatches would be forwarded. It is not on record to whom he gave the letter to Macquarie, but probably he left it with one of the friendly chiefs to hand over to the first vessel bound for

Port Jackson. Strange to say the letter to the Governor contained no details of the massacre.

It should also be mentioned, before closing the narrative of the events surrounding the massacre, that Te Pahi, a short time before the incident, visited the *City of Edinburgh*, where he was treated with every attention and had every expressed desire gratified, yet, after the relief Expedition to Whangaroa, he never once paid his respects to Mr. Berry, and, when the ship's boats called at his Settlement, he did not come near them. Whether rightly accused or not, his demeanour was not calculated to negative the presumption of his guilt.

On or about 6th January 1810, the *City of Edinburgh* set sail from the Bay of Islands with the four survivors of the ill-fated *Boyd* as passengers. After she left the Bay the first vessel known to have visited it was the *Cumberland*, under the command of William Swan, which came in on the seventeenth, and sailed on the twentieth of the same month. Tara showed Berry's letters to the Captain, and received from him a present of several gallons of oil, for the way in which he and his tribe had acted.

About the middle of February, the whalers *Ann* and *Albion* called in at the Bay, and they also were told the news by Tara, and were shewn the letter Berry had left with him. These two vessels left the Bay on the eighteenth, and the following evening met the colonial oil and sealing vessel *King George*, under Captain S. R. Chace, who came on board the *Ann* and was told the news, Captain Gwynn reading it off a paper, which, owing to the late hour and his desire to return to his vessel, Chace did not copy. As a result of this the *King George* did not enter the Bay, but Chace gave a whaleboat to a Native, to go on shore with another New Zealander who had been three years in the *King George*, and whom he armed with a warning letter to shipping masters who might frequent that spot.

Chace reached Sydney on 9th March, and was the first to give the news to the people there. Three days afterwards Robert Campbell, Naval Officer and Magistrate, directed by Governor Macquarie to investigate the information regarding

the loss of the *Boyd*, examined Chace, and a copy of his Declaration was forwarded to England. Probably because he had not been able to copy the document in Captain Gwynn's possession, Chace stated that Te Pahi's son Matara was the principal leader, which of course could not have been stated by Berry, as he records the death of that chief as having taken place before the *City of Edinburgh* arrived at the Bay the second time.

While the story told by the officers of the *City of Edinburgh* was the version of the massacre which was given to shipping masters at the Bay, the version given to the people of the outside world was Chace's, which differed somewhat from the former, in importing the name of Te Pahi's son, and in attributing to the father the negotiations for the supplies of timber.

The Natives of the Bay of Islands told Mr. Berry that the Whangaroan Natives were the remnant of the tribe which had killed Marion and his men in 1772, and that they had fled from the Bay after the terrible punishment the French had inflicted upon them for the death of their leader.

About the middle of February, while the *City of Edinburgh* was in Lat. 57° S. the rudder was lost during a gale, and then commenced a series of calamities. In a helpless condition the ship drifted about amongst the southern ice until she was driven into a bay on the west coast of S. America, about forty miles south of Magellan St. There all the anchors and cables were lost, and the ship was saved only by being kept fast to the rocks. About the end of May Valparaiso was reached, and, after the vessel had been repaired, a course was steered for Lima, where she arrived in August.

At Lima, Berry remained ten months with the *City of Edinburgh*, and during that time Mrs. Morley died, but the circumstances surrounding her life were not such as to evoke much sympathy when the end came. The lad Davis went home to England in the *Archduke Charles*, and continued in Mr. Brown's employment. The two little girls were taken ashore. Betsy Broughton was put under the immediate care of the wife of Don Gaspar Rico, and became such a favourite

in the house that the good lady—who had no children of her own—was with difficulty prevented from keeping her. The other child remained with her mother until the latter's death, when she also was placed in a Spanish home.

It would be about June 1811 when the *City of Edinburgh* left Lima for Guayaquil to load for Cadiz. The little girls were brought on board, after a great deal of trouble and considerable expense on the part of Mr. Berry. Betsy Broughton by this time could speak Spanish like a Native, and when she came on board, and found the English language used only by the sailors, she would not condescend to speak a word of it for months. After loading, Berry set sail for Rio Janeiro, and reached there in December 1811, two full years after the massacre. In the harbour was a South Sea whaler called the *Atlanta*, under the command of Captain Morris, and just about to sail for Port Jackson. It was a singular coincidence that Captain Morris, in the *Atlanta*, formed one of a punitive expedition, which, after Berry left, attacked Te Pahi in his island home in the Bay of Islands, in March 1810. The Captain was personally acquainted with Mr. Broughton, and offered to take charge of his little daughter and deliver her safely to him ; he also agreed to perform the same duty in regard to the little girl Morley ; both were accordingly given into his care and he sailed for Port Jackson.

On 19th March 1812, the *Atlanta* arrived in Sydney, and Captain Morris had the pleasure of handing over the two little wanderers to their friends.

The following month — April — the *City of Edinburgh* foundered in the Atlantic Ocean, to the S.W. of the Western Islands, and Towaaki, the New Zealander, lost his life.

Alexander Berry, the hero of the massacre, lived to a ripe age, and was a prominent figure amongst the public men of his time. In 1820 he explored part of the Shoalhaven County in New South Wales, and received a large grant of land there. In 1856 he became a Member of the Legislative Council, and his death took place in 1873. A volume of "Reminiscences" of his life was recently put into private circulation.

CHAPTER XI. AFTER THE MASSACRE, 1810 TO 1814.

1810.

SIMEON LORD, Francis Williams, and Andrew Thompson, all well-known Sydney merchants of this period, and immortalised on the New Zealand coastline in Lord's River, Port William, and Thompson Sound, approached Governor Macquarie with a proposal to form, at their own expense, a Settlement on the North Island to collect flax and manufacture it into cordage and canvas. Their idea was first to manufacture for colonial needs, and then extend to the Navy, when, if the scheme was approved of and turned out successful, they were to get the exclusive privilege of this branch of trade for fourteen years. Macquarie favoured the scheme and agreed to recommend it to the Imperial Authorities.

The promoters then set to work. On 28th January 1810, they advertised for "Ten able-bodied Men to remain on the Islands of New Zealand," on "Wages for three Years," and made arrangements for the brig *Experiment*, Captain Dodds, bound for London, to take the party to New Zealand. The brig was to remain long enough there to enable a quantity of dried flax to be collected and sent on in her to England for the inspection of the Imperial Government ; the flax gatherers were to remain in New Zealand.

At the head of the party was William Leith, and one of its intended members was George Bruce, the famous ex-convict and son-in-law of Te Pahi. He had returned, as we have seen, with his wife and child to Sydney, where he was appointed by the agents of the promoters of the scheme to go with the flax party to New Zealand. There is no doubt that his relationship to the great Bay of Islands chief was the most important factor in securing his employment by Lord, Williams, and Thompson.

Amongst other passengers in the *Experiment* were Lieut.-Governor Foveaux, and his Secretary, Lieutenant Finucane of the 102nd Regiment at that time stationed in Sydney, both proceeding to England, the Regiment following later.

On 25th February Mrs. Bruce died, according to Governor Macquarie's account, shamefully neglected by her husband. The Governor's description of Bruce gets support in the death notice which the latter inserted in the *Sydney Gazette*, where the death of his wife is used as an introduction to a lengthy sketch of his own intentions in connection with the New Zealand Expedition. Disgusting as appeared the use made of his wife's death notice, it appeared worse still, when, the following week, the newspaper was called upon to correct his misstatements regarding the position he occupied in the Expedition. Simultaneous with the publication of this correction, was published the intimation that on 9th March, Captain S. R. Chace had brought the awful news that the *Boyd's* crew had been massacred, and that Te Pahi was deeply implicated in it.

Chace also intimated that the whaler *Mary* had foundered off the East Cape, with 110 tons of sperm oil on board. This whaler was well-known in Sydney, having been there from 23rd August to 16th October of the previous year. Captain W. Simmonds commanded her, and was fortunate enough to be saved with his whole crew by the *Inspector*, Captain Walker. It was probably owing to the overwhelming catastrophe of the *Boyd* dominating all shipping news that the foundering of the *Mary* received so little notice. No further details were given.

Undeterred by the awful news which had come from the Bay of Islands, Lord and his friends sent on William Leith and his party to inaugurate the flax scheme, the only change in the disposition of the men being that Bruce was dropped out, but whether on account of the death of his wife, who alone had influence with the Natives, or on account of the public feeling against Te Pahi, or on account of the misstatements made by him in the *Sydney Gazette*, or on account of all three, cannot be stated.

On 18th March the *Experiment* sailed from Sydney, made the North Cape on 4th April, and the next day anchored at the mouth of the Bay of Islands.

Meantime other evidence of Te Pahi's changed attitude towards Europeans reached Sydney. On 27th March Captain Wilkinson brought the *Star* from the Sealing Islands, and reported that he had been to Mercury Bay, and, getting alarmed at the action of the Natives, he had sailed to the Bay of Islands to be under Te Pahi's protection. Instead of protection, however, he had, on one occasion, been surrounded by armed Natives at the watering place, and only the precautions he had taken frustrated the efforts they made to get possession of the arms in the boat.

In the Bay of Islands during the latter part of March were five whaling vessels and one sealer :—

the *Speke*, John Kingston ;
the *Inspector*, John Walker ;
the *Atlanta*, Josh. Morris ;
the *Diana*, William Parker ; and
the *Perseverance*, Frederick Hasselberg.

Confident in their numbers their captains determined to man boats from their respective ships and ascertain if any person—outside of those already rescued by the *City of Edinburgh*—had been so fortunate as to escape the general massacre and be confined on Te Pahi's Island, also to see if any arms or warlike stores could be recaptured from the Natives. On landing on the Island and proceeding to Te Pahi's residence, the Natives were found prepared for them, and straightway opened the attack by raising a loud shout and following it up by firing a volley and throwing some spears. The sailors waited for no further invitation but at once attacked the New Zealanders, and completely routed them at every point. Te Pahi was wounded and fled to Whangaroa, and during the wild retreat many of the Natives threw their muskets into the sea. The longboat of the *Boyd*, as well as some of that ship's papers, were found and put on board the *Perseverance*. On the side of the whalers, a sailor on board the *Inspector*, and on the side of the Natives, no less than sixty, were killed,

and the houses and property of the tribe were destroyed. The date of this was 26th March. The Island where this took place was one of those lying off Wairoa Bay, a few miles inside Cape Wiwiki, the western headland of the Bay. The group is still known as the Te Pahi Islands.

By the time the *Experiment* arrived the whalers had been joined by the *Spring Grove* and the *New Zealander*.

As things had now quietened a little an attempt was made to open up trade between the Natives and the *Experiment*, but the poverty of the people, and the wars raging round about, rendered all idea of trade impossible.

Of the vessels whose crews had taken part in the attack on Te Pahi's stronghold, the *Perseverance* had just returned from a short and successful voyage in search of new lands, Captain Hasselberg having, towards the latter end of January, discovered Campbell Island, which he named after the owner of the vessel. The *Perseverance* was now on her road to Sydney for fresh gangs, and to obtain supplies for those already left on the Island, and had called in at the Bay for a cargo of spars.

On 9th April an Expedition was sent up a river on the north side of the Bay to attempt the rescue of four Europeans who were said to be there, thought to be survivors of the *Boyd*. Lieutenant Finucane took command of the party, and, after leaving the river, marched for ten miles inland, when it was discovered that the place where the Europeans were supposed to be was more than as far again, and it was accordingly decided to retire. Returning, the party came by a different route than it had gone, lest an attempt might be made by the Natives to form an ambush. The names of the Europeans were given, as far as could be made out, as Brown, Cook, Anthony, and Harry.

Colonel Foveaux and Lieutenant Finucane, finding that the *Speke* was sailing for England, and that much better accommodation could be got on board of her than on the *Experiment*, left the latter and took up their quarters with Captain Kingston.

The whole fleet sailed from the Bay about the same time—Sunday, 15th April.

Leith's report to his principals, sent through the care of Mr. Mason, late of the *Speke*, who had left her and was returning to Sydney in the *Perseverance*, set out his intended future movements. The *Governor Bligh*, which was intended to act as a relieving vessel, had not put in an appearance up to the time of Leith writing. He had decided against remaining at the Bay of Islands, as, apart from the absence of the means of trade, the unsettled condition of the port made it an undesirable spot. To freight the *Experiment* for England spars were being bought, and it was Leith's intention, after getting them on board, to look in at Whangaroa, and then to cruise off the North Cape for a few days in the hope of falling in with the *Governor Bligh*. With her and the *Experiment* it was then intended to trade along the coast as far as the East Cape, from whence the *Experiment* would be sent to England and the *Governor Bligh* continued. After a time he would proceed to Queen Charlotte Sound, of which, as a flax spot, he heard good reports from the whalers. Any vessel sent out as a relief should first of all visit Cook Strait, where, at the entrance to the Sound, would be placed directions. In the absence of these directions a search should be made up the Bay of Plenty and the East Cape before proceeding to Foveaux Strait.

Leith's ire was particularly directed against Bruce, whom he charged with laying a snare for the lives and property of the whole party, but, as Lord afterwards stated that Leith's "misconduct frustrated their intentions" after they had sunk upwards of £2000 in the venture, it is quite possible that Bruce was perfectly innocent of the charge. Before the *Experiment* sailed from the Bay, Leith had to admit that there was a good deal of murmuring amongst his men, many of whom were eager to return to Sydney.

Leith was the first man to send to Sydney news that the *Parramatta* had suffered the same fate as the *Boyd*.

The murmurings mentioned by Leith culminated in the whole party leaving the *Experiment* to go home to England,

and themselves going on board the *New Zealander*, Captain Elder, which was then bound for Sydney, where she arrived on 30th May. The reason given for taking this step was the non-arrival of the *Governor Bligh* with their stores and provisions. This vessel had sailed on 27th March, and her Captain's instructions were to remain at the Bay of Islands if the *Experiment* had not arrived, and to endeavour to cultivate friendly relations with the Natives. On 28th April, on the New Zealand coast, Captain Chace saw eight fishing canoes, one of which came alongside with a Native who had formerly been landed from the *King George* by Captain Chace, and who now told his old captain that a brig, which Captain Chace presumed was the *Experiment*, had left there ten days before. He also told of the attack on Te Pahi's stronghold, and that the latter had since died of a spear wound received in battle from a Whangaroa chief. Te Pahi's unfortunate son was dead also, as was his chief general "Whaetary," and the head chief of Whangaroa. Another of Chace's old sailors confirmed these reports and warned the Captain to be on his guard while in the Bay, and to venture on shore as little as possible.

Te Pahi's Island was in a ruined state, and many of the Natives in the neighbourhood were dressed in the garments of the murdered sailors of the *Boyd*. Chace used every means to dissuade the Natives against a repetition of the *Boyd* acts, and pointed out to them the advantages which would follow from friendly intercourse and mutual confidence. One of their towns was visited and found to consist of wretched hovels into which they crawled on hands and knees ; their only food was fern root, shark, or fish that could be easily caught ; their only employment was fortifying themselves against an attack of their neighbours or preparing themselves to attack their neighbours in their turn.

Mohanga, who had been to England with Savage in 1805, delivered a letter from Captain Clark of the *Ann*, and another from Wm. Leith, intimating the course of the *Experiment*.

Captain Chace stated that a design was formed to capture his vessel, but he was on his guard and it came to naught.

The most important information obtained by Captain Chace had to do with the details of the massacre. These were given to him by a Tahitian, who, as he was not one of the New Zealanders, was considered free from their tribal prejudices and rivalries, and therefore in a position to state dispassionately what actually took place. His version differed so much from that given to Berry, which had up to this time been accepted without challenge, that it is here given, in Chace's language, at length :

"When the *Boyd* went from hence [Sydney] she had on board four or five New Zealanders, who made part of her crew. These people were displeased at their treatment on the passage, and determined on revenge. On their arrival they communicated their complaints to their friends and relatives, who were of the Whangaroan party, and frequently at war with Tippahee [Te Pahi] and his subjects ; and the design of taking the ship was formed in consequence. It being Captain Thompson's intention to take in a quantity of spars, he applied to the natives for assistance in procuring them, which they promised, but, in order to entice him on shore, artfully objected to perform until he should accompany them to point out such as he might best approve. The Captain was thereby prevailed on to leave the vessel, accompanied by his chief officer, with three boats manned, to get the spars on board, the natives who had arrived in the ship being of the party, which was accompanied by a number of others in their canoes. The boats were conducted to a river, on entering which they were out of sight of the ship ; and, after proceeding some distance up, Captain Thompson was invited to land, and mark the spars he wanted. The boats landed accordingly, the tide being then beginning to ebb, and the crews following to assist in the work. The guides led the party through various parts of the wood that were less likely to answer the desired end, thus delaying the premeditated attack till the boats should be left by the effluence of the tide sufficiently high to prevent an escape ; which part of the

horrible plan accomplished, they became insolent and rude, ironically pointing to decayed fragments, and inquiring of Capt. Thompson whether they would suit his purpose or not ? The natives belonging to the ship then first threw off the mask, and in approbrious terms upbraided Capt. Thompson with their maltreatment, informing him at the same time that he should have no spars there but what he could procure himself. The captain appeared careless of the disappointment, and with his people turned towards the boats, at which instant they were assaulted with clubs and axes, which the assailants had till then concealed under their dresses ; and although the boat's crew had several muskets, yet so impetuous was the attack that every man was prostrated before one could be used. Capt. Thompson and his unfortunate men were all murdered on the spot, and their bodies were afterwards devoured by the murderers, who, clothing themselves with their apparel, launched the boats at dusk the same evening and proceeded towards the ship, which they had determined also to attack. It being very dark before they reached her, and no suspicion being entertained of what had happened, the second officer hailed the boats, and was answered by the villains who had occasioned the disaster that the captain, having chosen to remain on shore that night for the purpose of viewing the country, had ordered them to take on board such spars as had already been procured, which account readily obtained belief, and the officer was knocked down and killed by those who first ascended the ship's side. All the seamen of the watch were in like manner surprised and murdered. Some of the assassins then went down to the cabin door, and asked the passengers and others to go on deck to see the spars, and a female passenger obeying the summons was killed on the cabin ladder. The noise occasioned by her fall alarmed the people that were in bed, who, running on deck in disorder, were all killed as they went up except four or five, who ran up the shrouds, and remained in the rigging the rest

of the night. The next morning Tippahee [Te Pahi] appeared alongside in a canoe, and was much offended at what had happened, but was not permitted to interfere or to remain near the ship. The unfortunate men in the rigging called him, and implored his protection, of which he assured them if they could make their way to his canoe. This they effected at every hazard, and was by the old king landed on the nearest point, though closely pursued. The pursuit was continued on shore. They were all overtaken, and Tippahee [Te Pahi] was forcibly held while the murder of the unhappy fugitives was perpetrated. A female passenger and two children, who were afterwards found in the cabin, were spared from the massacre, and taken on shore to a hut, in which situation Mr. Berry and Captain Pattison, of the *City of Edinburgh*, found when they rescued them. Tippahee [Te Pahi] was afterwards permitted by the Whangarooans to take three boat loads of any property he chose out of the ship, fire-arms and gun-powder excepted ; and the bulk they divided among themselves. The salt provisions, flour, and spirits they threw overboard as unpalatable ; the carriage guns they did the same with, considering them useless ; the muskets they prized very much ; and one of the savages, in his eagerness to try one, stove in the head of a barrel of powder, and filling the pan of the piece snapped it directly over the cask, the explosion of which killed five native women and eight or nine men, and set part of the ship on fire."

This, the reader will notice, puts the position in regard to Te Pahi in an entirely different light. Instead of the old chief having given the signal for the massacre, he had not been near when it took place, and, when he arrived on the scene, did all he could to save the survivors. Immediately this story was told it was considered "the most probable account received of the doleful event," although a fearful vengeance had been visited upon Te Pahi on the strength of the information supplied to Berry. The probable date of the

Tahitian's conversation with Captain Chace was 28th April, more than four months after the massacre.

Although Te Pahi was innocent of the massacre, the Whangaroans considered it advisable to give him the opportunity of sharing the plunder with them, and without any scruples, or without any scruples which he could not overcome, he took away "three boat loads of any property he chose out of the ship, fire-arms or gun-powder excepted." As a matter of fact he got the longboat of the plundered ship, and amongst his tribe were seen many of the suits of clothes formerly worn by the *Boyd*'s sailors. Though his hands were clean of the blood of the slain, his *whares* were full of the plunder of their property, and his mouth was closed against a denunciation of the terrible deed—something to be remembered when, later on, torrents of indignation were poured out on the action of the whalers in attacking his village.

It is a singular thing that it is only from the Natives that we are able to gather the number—40—who lost their lives in the *Boyd* massacre. For comparison we may thus arrange the known cases of cannibalism which we have so far met with, the victims being sailors or passengers on European vessels :

1642,	<i>the Zeehaen</i>	..	..	..	..	1
1772	<i>" Mascarin</i>	..	..	..	..	16
	<i>" Marquis de Castries</i>					11
1807	<i>" Venus</i>	..	..	..	..	12
1808	<i>" Parramatta</i>	..	..	..	..	11
1809	<i>" Boyd</i>	..	..	..	..	40
Total						91

Of these figures those of the *Venus* are calculated from the Proclamation and the subsequent known additions and removals, and those of the *Boyd* are got from the Natives.

When the longboat of the *Boyd* reached Sydney in the *Perseverance* it was taken to the yards of Campbell & Co., enlarged to a vessel of 18 tons, and named the *General Boyd*. So satisfactory was the work that she was considered to be

one of the finest moulded crafts ever turned out of a Sydney ship-building yard. Her destination was the Southern New Zealand sealing trade.

After the stormy events of 1810 came a calm which covered the period of the next three years, during which time the recorded New Zealand shipping fell away to almost nothing.

1811.

The opening of the year saw the *Santa Anna*, under Captain Dagg who had formerly commanded the *Scorpion*, on the New Zealand coast. He had sailed from England in April of the previous year, but had only secured 40 tons of sperm oil. After visiting Sydney in February, he returned to the New Zealand grounds to fill up. Off the coast at the same time were the *Indispensible*, Best, the *Industry*, Walker, and the *Spring Grove*, Mattinson. The first named of these vessels visited Sydney in July and reported tremendous gales extending over a period of ten weeks.

The same month the *New Zealander*, which had spoken the *Indispensible* on the New Zealand coast, had lost her rudder in the heavy weather before mentioned, and put into Port Jackson on 25th July for repairs.

1812.

The *Governor Macquarie*, under Captain Bunker, procured a cargo of spars at New Zealand, and then visited the Derwent before sailing for Sydney, which she reached on 12th March.

Fifteen days later the *Cato*, Lindsey, came into Sydney from the coast of New Zealand with 55 tons of oil, got in five months. On the fishery she had been in company with the *Frederick*, Bodie, with 1050 barrels; the *Ann*, Gwynn, with 600; and the *Thames*, Bristol, with 350. The last named had sailed from England on 21st June.

The *Ann*, now out 16 months, arrived on 1st August, and reported losing a man in a storm off New Zealand about three months before. Shortly before that the *Frederick* had gone up to the Moluccas.

The next whaling news of the year is the recorded presence of the *King George*, the *Phœnix*, and the *Ann*, whaling in company off Macaulay Island.

Captain Jones warned shipping masters of a "subtle Otaheitan," residing in New Zealand, against whom they should be on their guard. This man, who was called "Otaheite Jack" by the sailors, had been left by the *Seringapatam*, upwards of four years before, and, being armed with a thorough knowledge of the language of the New Zealanders, and with a tolerable share of English, never failed to ingratiate himself with commanders of vessels by tendering his services for procuring spars. Captain Jones alleged that he finished by decoying away the seamen so as to distress the vessel. What became of those decoyed away, Jones could form no idea of, unless they were murdered for their clothes or for their flesh, as had been the *Boyd's* company.

This was evidently the same Tahitian who had given to Captain Chace the version of the massacre favourable to Te Pahi. The *Seringapatam* had touched at Tahiti in the end of 1807 and had taken on board the Rev. James Elder as a passenger for Sydney. She spent a week in the Bay of Islands, where this Tahitian may have left and joined the Natives. That was in the early part of 1808.

1813.

On 26th June Governor Macquarie imposed the first duties placed on New Zealand produce in the Port of Sydney. These were as follows :—

- On each Ton Weight of Sperm Oil, containing 252 Gallons—Two Pounds Ten Shillings ;
- On each Ton Weight of Black Whale or other Oil—Two Pounds ;
- On each Fur Seal Skin—One Penny Halfpenny ;
- On each Hair Seal Skin—One Penny ;
- On Spars from New Zealand, or elsewhere—for every Twenty, One Pound ;
- On Timber in Log or Plank from New Zealand, or elsewhere, for each solid Foot, One Shilling and Sixpence.

During the first half of the year the *Phœnix* and the *Atlanta* were reported whaling in New Zealand waters ; the latter was also mentioned as having been off Macaulay Island in the Kermadecs.

1814.

The only event of the year, outside of those which form the subject of the two succeeding chapters, was the discovery of great volcanic changes in operation at Sunday Island on the Kermadecs. These Islands, though not often mentioned by whaling captains, were, there is every reason to believe, often visited by the whalers for supplies of wood, and it was on the occasion of one such visit by the *Jefferson* to Sunday Island that Captain Barnes met with the experiences thus described in the columns of the *Sydney Gazette* on his return :

"From the 24th to the 27th [February] Captain Barnes was employed in wooding there ; and while the boats were on shore the vessel sailed to and fro within a spacious bay on the West side of the Island, formed as a crescent, the heads of which were about 5 miles asunder. Actuated by a curiosity which must be always serviceable to navigation, that of discovering the soundings of every part which vessels frequent, Captain Barnes employed himself attentively in the business of sounding between these heads, and in no part found less than 45 fathoms. Further in, the depth gradually diminished, and after penetrating till within a short distance of the inner shore, he there found 16 fathoms. Leaving the Island on the 27th of February, it was afterwards frequently in sight till the 8th of March, when at the distance of 6 or 7 leagues, a thick cloud of a dark smoky appearance was observed above it the whole day, and shortly after midnight a flame burst forth, which rose to an excessive height, and filled the atmosphere with a strong fetid and an almost suffocating vapour, which was felt on board, tho' then at the distance of about 7 leagues. Captain Barnes returned to the Island in 2 months, for the purpose of wooding as before, and found

the appearance of the place entirely altered, and that an Island occupied the spot where so short a time before he had found 45 fathoms of water. It is about three miles in circuit, kidney shaped, its outer edge nearly forming a line with the heads, or opposite points of the entrance of the former bay, which lays N. and S., has a small bay of its own fronting the ocean, and is covered with a coarse grit. On the near approach of the ship's boats the water became very warm, and at length intensely hot : it was still smoking, and was then evidently an unquenched mass. Its position is not midchannel, but extends considerably more towards the North shore than the South. A passage through the opening on the North side would be impracticable, owing to numerous rocks which are scattered through it—but that on the South seems rather inviting to vessels in want of temporary accommodation with safe anchorage. Captain Barnes has subsequently fallen in with the *King George*, Captain Jones, of this port, and on relating the above circumstance, received information from him, that the *King George* had been there shortly before the *Jefferson*, and that he (Captain Jones), had himself also sounded between and within the heads, and could find no soundings at all with a common lead line in those places where Captain Barnes had found a depth of only 40 fathoms. The idea that has suggested itself from comparing Captain Jones's information with Captain Barnes's own observations is, that this eruptive pile was palpably in the act of growing out of the abyss when the latter was there, and got soundings of 45 fathoms, the depth diminishing as he went nearer in. The visible extent of its surface, added to the vast height to which it must necessarily have arisen, must fill the mind with astonishment. That *Vesuvius* might have sprung originally from the like causes, is not impossible ; its first eruption took place in the first century of the Christian Æra ; and we do not find anything more remarkable in what is recorded of those that have since taken place than the throwing

up of a mountain in one night in the year 1583, *three miles in circumference*, & a quarter of a mile high : while the island reported to have been thrown up in the bay of Sunday Island may be considerably larger, as its *summit* is three miles round, and it appears to have a gradual and not a steep ascent."

The *Jefferson* had sailed from Sydney in June 1813, and had spent most of her time, between that date and her return to Sydney in September 1814, on the coast of New Zealand.

The development of the volcanic changes at Sunday Island was as phenomenal as the changes in the first instance. In November of the year 1814, and during the first month of the year 1815, they were the subject of observation by the captain and officers of a whaler called the *Catherine*, who supplied the result of these observations in the following words :—

"Within the harbour, which is open to the west, the boats proceeded to the inmost part, and there found a narrow beach of black sand, and a small lagoon of fresh water, about which were some trees bearing among their branches immense quantities of pummiced stone, that had fallen among them during the eruption. This stone is very light, and much resembles masses of brim-stone divested of their weight by calcination. The land at the back of the lagoon immediately becomes steep and inaccessible from the shore ; birds were numerous, particularly the 'mutton bird,' but no living animals of any other description were seen. On returning in January they were not a little surprised to find that the newly emerged island had altogether disappeared, whilst another, differing both in size and form, being considerably larger, had arisen at a small distance from the spot it had occupied. One of the boats landed upon it, but found the heat of the surface too intense to admit more than a momentary stay. On revisiting the interior of the harbour, where were situated the lagoon and narrow ledge of black sand, the whole had visibly sunk to the

depth of two feet, and should it fall eventually below the surface of the sea, will leave nothing but a precipice which will render the landing there impracticable. While the boat's crew were on the last risen island, or pile of heated matter, it was in a constant state of tremor, from which circumstance the disappearance also of this second mass would possibly be the less surprising. That so extraordinary a combination of phenomena should excite awe and dread in the minds of the sailors might easily be imagined ; and from hence arose the following ludicrous adventure. Another boat from the ship had landed on the main island, to assist the former in wooding. In her was a tall stout athletic man of colour, with enormous whiskers. Leaving his companions, to go in search of eggs, he took off his shirt, and converted it into a bag to contain them. He procured a number of eggs, mostly of the mutton bird, and when laden shaped his course towards the place where he had left his fellow boatmen. It happened by this time, however, that the crew of the other boat, full of wonder, mystery, and apprehension, had crossed the narrow channel which separated the *burning region* from the main, and not conceiving that their gigantic mulatto shipmate was so near them, heard a sudden shout of '*Ye hip, o hoy !*' turning to the challenge, each stood transfixed, motionless, and dumb—for it could be nothing short of Lucifer himself, by whose baleful potency so many frightful and unaccountable wonders had been raised. It was some moments before they recovered their wonted firmness, and even then, it was not without some difficulty they could be induced to believe the object whom their apprehensions had magnified into His Satanic Majesty was neither more nor less than their own good - natured shipmate."

CHAPTER XII.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE MISSION SCHEME, 1807 TO 1814.

THE preparations for the New Zealand Mission might be considered to have commenced in 1807, when Marsden applied to the Church Missionary Society for men who would undertake the task of carrying Christianity to the New Zealanders, but before that events had happened which had a direct bearing upon Marsden's great work.

The first English-speaking clergyman to visit New Zealand is supposed to have been the Rev. Jas. Bain, who accompanied King to New Zealand on board the *Britannia*, and, although none of the party set foot upon the shore, it is quite possible that he and King may have exchanged views on the question of missionary work on the Islands whose inhabitants King felt so much interest in.

Although at the meeting to inaugurate the Missionary Society in London in 1795, New Zealand was mentioned as a place where mission work was required, the first mention that the author has been able to find of any proposal to establish a Mission in New Zealand is in the Report of the Directors at the Sixth General Meeting of the Society, dated 14th May 1800, in the following words : "They [the Directors] have endeavoured to interest Governor King in favour of the Missionaries, and have requested his patronage to their design of establishing missions at New Holland, Norfolk Island, and New Zealand, whenever it may be practicable." This probably refers to interviews which the directors had with King when he was in England in 1798 and 1799. What the nature of the proposals was is not known.

In 1801 the *Royal Admiral*, on her road to Tahiti with missionaries for the London Missionary Society, called at the Thames and spent some nine weeks there. Details of this visit have already been given on pp. 91 to 94.

The first mention Marsden makes of any idea in his mind of ministering to the wants of the New Zealanders is to the effect that during the nine years which followed the return of the flax-dressers from Norfolk Island (1793), he became acquainted with a few Natives who came occasionally in whalers to Port Jackson, and the acquaintance thus formed shewed him that the New Zealanders were capable of assimilating any instruction which could be imparted to them. Further than that, Marsden felt that the C.M.S. was more suited to the work than a Society not connected with the established Anglican Church ; the London Missionary Society, it may be mentioned, had control of the Mission work at Tahiti.

During the visit of Te Pahi to Sydney in 1805 and 1806, Marsden discussed a good deal with him about spiritual matters, and the Chief regularly attended church on Sabbath, and, throughout divine service, acted with great decorum.

The next New Zealander to come in contact with Marsden was Ruatara and two of his countrymen, and the many conversations that took place between them built up the interest in the temporal and spiritual welfare of their race which characterised Marsden's after life. "Their minds appeared like a rich soil that had never been cultivated, and only wanted the proper means of improvement to render them fit to rank with civilised nations." After considering their case, with the opportunities that the presence of these men gave him, Marsden resolved to return to England, so soon as he could obtain leave of absence, and "endeavour to get some missionaries sent out to preach the Gospel to this people."

Ruatara came to Sydney in the *Argo*, on board of which he and his companions had gone as sailors while she was in the Bay of Islands in 1805. She returned to the Bay, and then sailed for Sydney. From this port she cruised for six months on the New Holland coast and returned, when Captain Bader discharged Ruatara and his companions without giving them any payment for their year's service. Ruatara then joined the *Albion*, and, after serving six months, was put ashore at the Bay of Islands and liberally paid by Captain

Richardson for his services. During these visits to Sydney the interviews just referred to with Marsden took place.

Having made up his mind to this course, leave of absence was obtained from Governor King, a substitute in the person of the Norfolk Island chaplain was provided, and Marsden took passage on board H.M.S. *Buffalo* with Governor King and a son of Te Pahi, and reached England in November 1807.

Arrived in England Marsden spoke to the Rev. Josiah Pratt, the Secretary to the C.M.S., and asked for the favourable consideration of his views by the Committee. After several interviews with that body it was ultimately resolved to send three missionaries out with Marsden ; but the English clergymen had heard so much of the cannibal tendencies of the New Zealanders that none were found willing to risk their lives with them. At length two mechanics—Wm. Hall, a shipbuilder, and John King, a flax-dresser and twine and rope maker—agreed to go for a remuneration of £20 per annum until they could provide for themselves, and they were accepted. After spending fourteen months in England, Marsden embarked with his assistants on board the *Ann*, which sailed from Spithead for New South Wales on 25th August 1809.

The idea underlying the minds of the Committee in selecting these two mechanics seems to have been to prepare the way for the coming of the missionary by showing to the Natives a small settlement of Europeans living as Christians and practising the arts of civilised life among them. To bring the latter part of their work into prominence they were enjoined to spend no time in idleness, to become independent in regard to food supplies as soon as possible, to make no presents to the Natives but pay for all services, to avoid being embroiled in their wars, to encourage a spirit of industry among them, and not to excite the cupidity of the Natives by a display of too great wealth at first. The last injunction would have appeared to us to have been quite unnecessary.

During Marsden's absence the Rev. James Elder called in at the Bay of Islands on board the *Seringapatam* in 1808,

bound from Tahiti to Sydney. While at the Bay he was shocked at the cruel treatment meted out to the Natives by the sailing masters there.

Some time after Marsden had gone on board the *Ann*, he one day observed Ruatara in the forecastle, wrapped up in an old great coat and very sick and weak ; he had a violent cough, and discharged considerable quantities of blood, and was so cast down that it seemed as if only a few days and all would be over. Amazed to find the man who had inspired the New Zealand Mission on board the same ship with him, Marsden plied Captain Clerke and Ruatara with questions, and in a short time had the whole of the latter's remarkable story.

After leaving the *Albion* Ruatara spent a short time on shore, and then went on board the *Santa Anna*, bound for the Bounties sealing. There, with another New Zealander, two Tahitians, and ten Europeans, he was put ashore in a gang, and the *Santa Anna* sailed away for food supplies. At Norfolk Island, where she called for pork, Captain Moody went ashore, and the vessel was blown off for two months and eighteen days, making port again on 19th May 1808. This would mean that she was blown' off on 1st March, so that it was probably in February that Ruatara was left on the Bounties. "About five months" after the *Santa Anna* left, Captain Chace called in at the Bounties with the *King George*. By this time the sealers had been in distress for more than three months, as there was no water on the island and the only food obtainable was seals' flesh and sea-fowl. Two Europeans and one Tahitian died from the hardships experienced.

It was not until 15th October 1808 that the *Santa Anna* sailed from Sydney for "the Sealing Isles ; from whence she is to proceed to Great Britain." She visited the Bounties and took on board the gang with their catch of 8000 skins, and Ruatara embarked as a sailor, in order to get to London and see the King. From the dates quoted it will be seen that the gang was on the Bounties for no less than nine months.

Arrived in the Thames in July 1809, the unfortunate chief was not given any chance of seeing the King, and was seldom allowed even to go on shore. Captain Moody would not even pay him the wages due to him. This treatment so preyed on Ruatara that he fell ill, and in this poor, friendless, and sick condition, was put on board the *Ann*, fifteen days after he had arrived in the *Santa Anna*.

The unexpected meeting with Marsden saved his life. The sympathy of the divine, the skill of the surgeon, and the attention of the master, nursed him back to strength and spirits before the *Ann* had reached Rio, and Ruatara could do his work as a sailor with the best man on board. During the passage Ruatara formed an intimate friendship with John King.

On 27th February 1810, when Marsden landed after an absence of nearly two years, he found the partnership of Lord, Williams and Thompson fitting out their party to form a flax settlement in New Zealand. Marsden at once realised the importance of such a settlement to the carrying out of his plan ; the settlement would mean regular communication with New Zealand, and the presence of a body of Europeans would be a source of protection to the missionaries. All at once came the news of the massacre of the *Boyd's* crew, and so great a terror of the New Zealanders did it engender in the minds of the people of Sydney that all idea of going on with the mission had to be abandoned, and Marsden had to make such a disposition of his missionaries as would keep them available for service when a time for action would come round. Ruatara was taken to Marsden's residence at Parramatta, and arrangements were made to place Hall and King on a piece of land. Flax was sown, and John King was told off to teach the New Zealanders how to spin line and make rope, and it was intended by Marsden to utilise Port Jackson as a centre where instruction in "religion, morals, arts, and commerce," would be given to the Natives in a school to be established for that purpose.

After a lengthy residence at Parramatta Ruatara took advantage of the presence of the whaler *Frederick* to get on

board of her for New Zealand. A son of Te Pahi and two other New Zealanders, with Ruatara, arranged with the captain to be landed at the Bay of Islands, on condition they worked on the ship till she had procured a cargo of oil. After six months the vessel was full, and the Natives expected to be put on shore at the Bay of Islands where they then were, but the captain resolutely refused to land them, making all sorts of excuses, and finally took them away. The *Frederick* next stopped at Norfolk Island, when Ruatara and his companions were sent ashore for water, and narrowly escaped drowning in procuring it. When the vessel was watered the captain intimated that he would not call at New Zealand, and went aboard leaving the four New Zealanders ashore. Before the vessel sailed, however, he sent back and forcibly took Te Pahi's son from the others, in spite of the lad's tears and entreaties.

Te Pahi's son was never again heard of. The *Frederick* was captured by an American ship, as it was the time of the last British-American war, and no tears were wept by New Zealanders when the news came to hand that during a severe action Captain Bunker was mortally wounded and his chief mate killed.

Naked, distressed, and poverty stricken, though their share of the *Frederick's* oil should have been £100 apiece, the three New Zealanders were found at Norfolk Island, supplied with clothing, and taken over to Sydney by Captain Gwynn on board his ship the *Ann*.

This was the second time that a ship called the *Ann* had proved to be the bringer of life and happiness to Ruatara, and the much-travelled chief remained with Marsden till another ship of the same name was setting out for the New Zealand coast. Five months on board of her and Ruatara was safely landed at home, to the inexpressible joy of his people and of himself, after an absence of about four years.

Ruatara had landed, provided by Marsden with seed wheat and with implements of husbandry to cultivate the soil. Portions of the wheat he distributed to six different chiefs and to some of his own tribe, directing them how to

sow it, and telling them that it was from it that the European biscuit was made. When the grain had been sown, but before it was ripe, many of the Natives became impatient and pulled up the plants, expecting to find the grain at the root, like the potato, and, finding nothing, burnt the wheat and heaped ridicule upon Ruatara, telling him that because he was a great traveller he must not expect to impose on them with these yarns. Ruatara's and Hongi's (his uncle's) crops were the only ones allowed to come to maturity, and be reaped and threshed. The Natives were now satisfied that the grain came from the head and not the root, but there was still the problem of making bread from the grain. Captain Barnes of the *Jefferson* was applied to for a pepper or coffee mill, but it proved too small, and an appeal had to be made to Marsden in Sydney.

This brings us down to the time when we can pick up the thread of work with Marsden in Sydney again.

Desiring to send grain and agricultural tools to Ruatara, Marsden took advantage of the *Queen Charlotte* clearing for the Pearl Islands, to send some bags of seed wheat, hoes, etc., to be put off at the Bay of Islands. The *Queen Charlotte* passed without touching at the Bay, and was afterwards taken by the Natives at Tahiti, and Ruatara's stock was all stolen or destroyed. This convinced Marsden that nothing could be done without a ship of his own.

By the *Earl Spencer*, on 10th October 1813, arrived a Mr. Kendall, who had been sent out as a schoolmaster for service in New Zealand, but until preparations for his work in New Zealand were complete his services were to be available to the New South Wales Government.

Mr. Kendall had no sooner arrived than Marsden determined either to charter or purchase a vessel for mission work, and to establish in New Zealand the Settlement which had been decided on by the C.M.S. as far back as 1808. The first efforts were in the direction of the less expensive method of chartering a craft, but none were found willing to risk a

voyage to New Zealand and back for less than £600, a sum which was properly considered by Marsden to be out of all reason.

Before describing the next step taken by Marsden in this direction we will recount his efforts in Sydney to secure popular and Government support to his Mission.

Though the reports of the whalers always spoke of the vindictiveness and inhumanity of the New Zealanders, at times a voice could be heard to state that European masters and crews were sometimes responsible for some of the awful calamities which occasionally visited shipping. Marsden now came forward with a Petition to Governor Macquarie to investigate matters, and himself offered to tender evidence in support of the charges he made, against men whom he named in his Petition.

The statement of the case to the Governor was that the loss of the *Boyd* and the *Parramatta*, with their captains and crews, was brought about by the unprovoked cruelties of Europeans, and that the misdeeds of these men were difficult to punish because so many of the ships proceeded straight from New Zealand to England. An opportunity of doing something was, however, at hand now ; Captain Lasco Jones of the *King George* had acted with great injustice and cruelty to a Native whom he took from Sydney to the Bay of Islands. He was now in Sydney, and an investigation should be made of his conduct, and he (Marsden) would submit evidence in proof of his contention, both against Jones and on the general charge against whaling masters.

The evidence tendered, so far as it is now available, was a deposition of John Besent, who stated that he had been in the *King George*, at the Bay of Islands, in March 1812, and that Jones' treatment of the Natives was so bad that he was fearful that the ship would be taken and the crew murdered, and he left the vessel and went to reside with the Natives. While he was among them he heard the details of the massacre of the *Boyd*, and learned that it had been brought about by Captain Thompson's cruel treatment of the son of a chief who, with his companion, was a passenger from Sydney. The

young man had been with Captain Wilkinson on board the *Star*, and, his term of service having ended, he was paid off and kindly treated, and a passage got for him on the *Boyd*. There, however, the captain had tied him to the rigging, flogged him, and had kept possession of his property, with the result that after he landed the massacre was his revenge.

In October 1808, when the *Star* was advertising her crew according to Regulations, there appeared the names "George and Teara (New Zealanders)." These were evidently the two men mentioned in Besent's evidence.

Whatever was the form of the Inquiry made by Governor Macquarie, Marsden appears to have proved his charges, as a Proclamation was issued, dated 1st December 1813, imposing certain well-defined obligations on the masters of all vessels leaving Sydney for New Zealand or the South Seas. They were required to "peaceably and properly demean themselves, and be of their good behaviour towards the Natives of New Zealand," etc. ; not to "commit any act of trespass upon the plantations, gardens, lands, habitations, burial grounds, tombs, or properties of the natives"; not to "make war or cause war to be made upon them, or in any way interfere" in their disputes and strifes, but to leave them free in the enjoyment of their religious ceremonies ; not to ship away Natives without their consent, nor, in the case of females, without the Governor's consent ; and all Natives employed were, when being discharged, to be paid their due wages. All these obligations were enforced by a Bond in the penal sum of £1000. The Proclamation also stated that acts of "rapine, plunder, robbery, piracy, murder, or other offences against the law of nature and nations," against the person and property of the Natives, would be punished with the utmost rigour of the Law.

Having got so far as to procure a Proclamation threatening the penalties of the Law against offences committed upon the New Zealanders and their property, Samuel Marsden decided to get a Society formed for the protection of South Sea Islanders (including New Zealanders) who might come to Port Jackson. A Petition, signed by Marsden and seven

other prominent residents of Sydney, was presented to Wm. Gore, the Provost-Marshal, asking him to convene a meeting of the inhabitants of the Colony to consider "some measure for affording Support and Relief to the Natives of the South Sea Islands, who may come to Port Jackson, and to promote their Civilization."

The meeting was a great success, and unanimously voted approval of the scheme, adopted regulations, and appointed officers. Generally speaking it was decided that the Society should seek to protect those Natives who came to the Colony, should make efforts to instruct them in any simple branches of trades they were capable of acquiring, and should endeavour to disseminate Christianity among them.

Always ready himself, and with his mechanics and his schoolmaster now in the same condition, and with the law, so far as it could be moved, controlling the action of shipmasters and declaring protection to New Zealanders, Marsden now took a big step forward. He got the opportunity of purchasing a vessel. A brig called the *Active* was offered for £1400. As Marsden had not that amount of money available, he sold, so he says, £900 worth of sheep, financed £500 from some other source, and made the purchase. Immediately the transaction was complete he communicated with the Secretaries of the C.M.S. and the L.M.S., informing them of what had taken place, and, in reply, the Secretary of the former requested him to draw upon that body for the money, but as there was a strong undercurrent working against him in Sydney, and financial interests, jealous of the influence which missionaries would acquire over the Natives, were poisoning the minds of the latter regarding his ultimate intentions, he deemed it best to keep the purchase in his own name and shoulder the risk, which he did.

With a ship in his own hands and being no longer dependent on a charter, Marsden hastened on preparations for the New Zealand Mission. He was Principal Chaplain for New South Wales and had, as such, to obtain leave of absence before he could set out for New Zealand. On application Governor Macquarie declined to give permission, assigning

as a reason the danger of his being cut off by the New Zealanders. Marsden then asked whether, if he sent the *Active* over with some members of the Mission, and brought back some of the principal chiefs to Sydney so as to arrange matters with them, His Excellency would then grant permission for him to return with them and see the Mission established? Macquarie replied that he would. Marsden then set to work to prepare the preliminary Expedition.

The Instructions given to Captain Dillon, to whom had been given command of the *Active*, required him first of all to take that vessel down to the Derwent and deliver some stores which were on board of her for that port when she was purchased, after which he was to proceed to the Bay of Islands and open up negotiations with the Chiefs, Ruatara, Tara, Kawiti, Korokoro, and any other whose goodwill might be of advantage to the Expedition. The Natives were to be treated with the utmost kindness, and all quarrels with the ship's company were to be prevented. All were to be told that Marsden desired to see some of the chiefs, and any who might wish to come over, or to send their children for education, were to be accommodated. For a return cargo, hemp, spars and timber, pork, salt fish, and rosin (kauri gum), were to be secured, and the ship was to fill up with potatoes packed in the native baskets as the best way of preserving them. The Sabbath was to be closely observed, and the prayers of the Church were to be read by Mr. Kendall. Captain Dillon was to be careful what Natives he allowed on the vessel, and he was not to "suffer any of the native women to come on board."

As the visit was more in the nature of a preliminary one, Marsden sent only Messrs. Kendall and Hall, their wives and families remaining with Mr. King and his wife at Parramatta. A young chief—Tui—who had been living for some time at Parramatta, and who had taken a great liking to Mr. Kendall, accompanied that gentleman to educate him in the language of the New Zealanders and to explain to his countrymen the nature of the voyage. He was to return with Mr. Kendall.

The *Active* sailed from Sydney early in March, and from the Derwent on 23rd May, reaching the Bay of Islands on 10th June. There they were met by Ruatara, to whom Mr. Kendall gave the following letter :

Paramatta, March 9, 1814.

Duaterra [Ruatara], King.

I have sent the Brig *Active* to the Bay of Islands to see what you are doing, and Mr. Hall and Mr. Kendall from England. Mr. Kendall will teach the boys and girls to read and write. I told you, when you were at Paramatta, that I would send you a gentleman to teach your Tamoneekees (boys) and Keoteedos (girls) to read. You will be very good to Mr. Hall and Mr. Kendall. They will come to live in New Zealand, if you will not hurt them ; and they will teach you how to grow wheat, and to make houses and every thing. Charles has sent you a cock, and Mrs. Marsden has sent you a shirt and jacket. I have sent you some wheat for seeds, and you must put it in the ground as soon as you can. If you will come in the *Active* to Paramatta, I will send you back again. Send me a man or two to learn to make an axe and every thing. You will send the *Active* full of moca, potatoes, lines, mats, fish, nets and every thing. I have sent a jacket for Kowheetee [Kawiti]. Tell him to assist you and Terra to lade the ship. You will be very good to all my men and not hurt them, and I will be good to you. Ann, Elizabeth, Mary, Jane, Charles, Martha, Nanny and Mrs. Bishop and Mrs. Marsden, are all well, and wish to know how you are. If you cannot come to see me, send me word by Mr. Kendall and Mr. Hall what you want, and I will send it to you.

I am your Friend

SAMUEL MARSDEN.

Ruatara took Messrs. Kendall and Hall to Rangihoua, and in his storeroom there they saw rum, tea, sugar, flour, cheese, and chests of European clothing. They found pork plentiful, and an axe or a good-sized piece of iron bought a

pig, sometimes two. The soil was good and the cultivations produced potatoes, cabbages, turnips, carrots, onions, etc.

On 12th June, which was the first Sunday of their visit, Mr. Hall read prayers, and several Natives attended. In the afternoon they wanted to trade as usual, but they were refused.

On Monday a visit was made to Ruatara's farm, where was found some wheat growing in an enclosure and already five or six inches above the ground, and Natives were clearing more land for potatoes, and for two bushels of wheat which Kendall and Hall had brought from Mr. Marsden.

Hongi, not to be outdone, showed a musket which he had himself fitted with a stock and mounted.

On the fifteenth Kendall and Hall dined with Captain Foldger on board the brig *James Hay*. This vessel had sailed from Sydney on 2nd June *en route* for England. Advantage was now taken of her presence to send a mail to England.

An invitation was received from Tara at Kororareka, and when the visitors arrived they found the chief and his men preparing ground for potatoes.

On 17th June a visit was paid to some timber fourteen miles from the ship, and the following day some of the trees were cut and taken to the river.

Everywhere the missionaries met with the warmest welcome from the Natives, and numbers of the chiefs decided to accept Marsden's invitation and accompany the *Active* back to Sydney. The leading chiefs, Ruatara, Hongi, and Koro-koro, all went, and with them were several minor chiefs and attendants. The much-travelled Ruatara was satisfied with the implements he had received from Marsden, and did not desire to accompany the party, but his uncle Hongi was anxious to visit Sydney, and, not being familiar with the English language, persuaded Ruatara to accompany him.

The chiefs who intended going to Sydney came on board on 22nd and 25th July, on which latter day the *Active* sailed, and, after a lengthy passage reached Sydney on 21st August. They were immediately taken to Mr. Marsden's home at Parramatta, making eleven Natives under his roof.

Until their return was arranged for, no effort was spared to educate them in the benefits of civilisation. The various works going on in the smiths' and carpenters' shops, spinning, weaving, brickmaking, building houses, agriculture and gardening, were all brought under their notice ; and Marsden also tells us that he spent all the time he could with them conversing on "subjects of religion, government, and agriculture."

With Ruatara Marsden had long been well acquainted, and, as we have already seen, held him in high estimation. Hongi he described as "a very fine character," and a man "uncommonly mild in his manners, and very polite and well-behaved at all times." They all with one accord expressed themselves as delighted at the prospect of Marsden paying them a visit.

CHAPTER XIII.

MARSDEN ESTABLISHES THE MISSION, 1814 AND 1815.

THE *Active* had no sooner returned from New Zealand with satisfactory reports by Kendall and Hall, and with a cabin full of influential chiefs all eager to have a Settlement of Europeans among them, than Marsden waited upon Governor Macquarie for the redemption of the promise to grant leave of absence for him to proceed to New Zealand if the information available on the return of the *Active* warranted it. Leave was granted, and the preparations for departure were at once put under way.

It is usual to regard Marsden's visit to New Zealand a purely a visit in the interests of the Mission he had so much to heart, but, though such in its origin, it assumed greater proportions before the *Active* sailed. The directions in which its functions were extended were two : Marsden was instructed to present an Official Report of his Voyage to the Governor on his return, and Kendall was appointed a Justice of the Peace, to administer, with Ruatara, Hongi, and Korokoro, Orders which the Governor promulgated at the same time.

Marsden's commission was contained in the following communication :—

Secretary's Office, Sydney,
Nov. 17, 1814.

Rev. Sir,

Being now on the eve of your departure for the Islands of New Zealand ; and his Excellency the Governor, being anxious to promote the interests of the Crown, conjointly with those of the Christian Religion, on this occasion, wishes to avail himself of your superior activity, zeal, and intelligence.

For this purpose his Excellency desires that you will explore as much of the Sea Coasts and the interior of those Islands, as your limited time, a due regard to your personal safety, and that of your associates, and the other circumstances of your Mission will reasonably admit.

By these means you will be enabled to form a correct judgment of the nature and quality of the soil, its various productions and its general capabilities ; and your observations with regard to the Coasts will furnish you with means of appreciating the relative advantages of the Harbours as connected with the productions of the interior. Those Harbours which possess plentiful supplies of fresh water with safe anchorage for shipping, will necessarily claim your particular attention.

Should a satisfactory report be made to his Excellency, on the foregoing particulars, he will feel it his duty to represent to his Majesty's Government, which may probably be thereby induced to form a permanent establishment on those Islands ; and, under these considerations, his Excellency desires your particular attention to the foregoing circumstances, and that, on your return hither, you will make him a full report in writing of your progress and observations, together with the success which may attend your Mission.

I have the honour to be,

Rev. Sir,

Your obedient humble Servant,

J. T. CAMPBELL, Sec.

To

Rev. S. Marsden,

Principal Chaplain in New South Wales.

Duties such as those specified might be thought to be rather inappropriately placed on the shoulders of a chaplain, but Marsden was at once Principal Chaplain, Principal Magis-

trate, and Principal Agriculturist in New South Wales, and, removed from the greed of gain in trade, was absolutely the best man Macquarie could have looked to for a Report.

We now come to the second direction in which the duties of the *Active's* passengers were to be enlarged. Mr. Thomas Kendall was *en route* to New Zealand to be the first school-master in the country ; before he sailed Macquarie appointed him the first J.P. in the land of his adoption. His quaint Oath, wherein he swears to "do equal right to the poor and to the rich after my cunning wit and power," and his strange Declaration against Transubstantiation, dated 16th November 1814, are now in the Supreme Court, Sydney, and were recently published in *fac simile* with other important Australian papers, by Dr. Watson of Sydney, under direction of the Federal Government.

Contemporaneous with the appointment of Mr. Kendall a Government Order was published creating two classes of offences in New Zealand ; the first was masters or seamen of British ships removing Natives from New Zealand without obtaining the permission of the chiefs, which permission was to be certified to by Mr. Kendall ; and the second was for the same parties landing or discharging sailors or others without the like consent. Provision was made for the punishment of offenders against this Order, either in Sydney or in England, and Ruatara, Hongi, and Korokoro, were invested with powers to give the permission which had to be certified to by Mr. Kendall. The powers conferred, practically on the Mission, for the control of trade in New Zealand, were very great, but it was an easy task to collect evidence, from the treatment of the Natives by visiting masters and seamen, to justify them.

Four months was the extent of leave granted to the Chaplain, and the Rev. Benjamin Vale, Assistant Chaplain, was ordered to proceed to Parramatta and perform the clerical duties there until Mr. Marsden's return.

When the *Active* sailed from Sydney Cove, on Saturday 19th November 1814, there were on board the following :—

Rev. S. Marsden to see the Mission established.

John Liddiard Nicholas, taking the trip as a friend of Marsden.
William Hall, with Mrs. Hall and her son William.

Thomas Kendall, with Mrs. Kendall and her sons Thomas,
Henry, and William.

John King, with Mrs. King, and her son Philip.

Mrs. Hansen, and her son Thomas.

Walter Hall, Henry *alias* Patrick Shaffery, and Richard Stockwell, convicts to whom permission had been given to leave Australia for three years, the first two on the security of Marsden, the third of Kendall.

Captain Hansen and a crew of eight, including two New Zealanders.

Three chiefs and five other New Zealanders returning home.

Of live stock, there was on board one entire horse and two mares, one bull and two cows sent by Governor Macquarie from the Crown herd in Sydney, a few sheep, and some turkeys, geese, and other poultry.

Although the *Active* left the Cove on 19th November, it was not until the twenty-eighth that an E.S.E. gale then raging permitted her to get clear of the Heads. The intervening week was spent in Watson's Bay, and during that period an incident happened which very nearly prevented the setting out of the Expedition to New Zealand. Ruatara suddenly became gloomy, sullen, and reserved, and, though not quite so noticeable, the other chiefs showed signs of being similarly affected. Marsden was not long in detecting that things were going wrong, and ascertained from Ruatara that someone in Sydney had told them that the missionaries now going out to New Zealand would be followed by others, and that they would soon become so powerful that they would possess New Zealand and reduce her people to slavery, as they had done the Australian black. The man's name he refused to give. On learning this, and knowing at the same time that without the confidence of the chiefs a New Zealand Mission Settlement was an impossibility, Marsden gave a remark-

able exhibition of generalship. He first of all gave Ruatara every personal assurance that he was actuated by no other motive than the happiness of the New Zealanders, and, having done that, gave orders for the *Active* to return to Sydney and disembark her passengers and cargo. The effect was instantaneous, and Ruatara pleaded with Marsden to go on to New Zealand and there put the Mission under his care and protection. Marsden at once agreed, Ruatara's doubts were removed, and the voyage proceeded.

Clearing Sydney Heads on 28th November the Three Kings were sighted on the morning of 16th December, and early next morning the *Active* was off the North Cape, where advantage was taken of the proximity of land to send a boat ashore and obtain grass for the cattle. In this boat went Ruatara, Hongi, and Korokoro. While the chiefs were ashore the *Active* was visited by a number of Native canoes, and one chief who had come on board sent back his canoe for supplies of pigs and potatoes for the ship. Later on a war canoe came alongside, and Marsden was astonished to see in it a Tahitian who had once been in the employment of Macarthur in Sydney, and had often visited Marsden in his home at Parramatta. He was now settled in New Zealand and had married the daughter of a prominent chief near the North Cape. To him, after greetings had been exchanged, Marsden explained his scheme.

Amongst other things "Tahitian Jem," as he was known by the name of, cleared up the charge made by Captain Barnes of the *Jefferson* that the New Zealanders had tried to cut off two boats belonging to his ship and the *King George*. Jem's version was as follows :—The masters of the two vessels had agreed to pay one musket for 150 baskets of potatoes and 8 hogs, but when the goods had been delivered and payment asked for, the musket was handed over, but further potatoes and hogs were demanded, and the chief who accompanied Jem on board the *King George* was detained until Jem should go and get them. The head chief refused to give more, and when Jem went to tell Captain Jones he also was detained on board. In a few days Jem and the chief were

put on board the *Jefferson* and finally ransomed for 170 baskets of potatoes and 5 hogs. Two boats were sent ashore with the ransomed men, and when these were landed, the Natives, who were present in great numbers, fired on the boats and would have massacred their crews had they been able to—exactly what European sailors did twenty years afterwards in the case of the *Harriett* at Taranaki. Marsden was quite satisfied of Jem's accuracy, and promised that Governor Macquarie should be informed of the facts.

From the North Cape the *Active* proceeded to the Cavalle Islands, where friends of Korokoro resided, and there Marsden had an opportunity of witnessing the welcome of tears given by the New Zealanders to their returned friends. While at the Islands Marsden learned that the Whangaroan Natives were encamped on the mainland opposite, attending the funeral of a warrior. The Whangaroans were at war with Ruatara's tribe as a sequel to the massacre of the *Boyd*. After Te Pahi's tribe was attacked by the whalers the former declared war against the Whangaroans, and, in the campaign, Te Pahi was killed. The death of the chief meant further hostilities, and the relations between the Bay of Island Natives and those of Whangaroa was one of the chief sources of anxiety among the chiefs with Marsden, and the latter had set his heart upon having this feud ended and peace restored. Here was his chance, and Marsden decided to visit their camp and use his personal influence there in the interests of reconciliation and peace.

The party which went ashore to visit the Whangaroan Natives consisted of the three chiefs, and Messrs. Marsden, Nicholas, Kendall, King, and Captain Hansen, and, under Ruatara's direction, they were not long in getting into touch with the people they were in search of, and received a very hearty welcome. After the inevitable presents Marsden brought forward the question of the *Boyd*, and the version of that variously described incident which he got was as follows : Two of their number had been put on board the *Boyd* by Mr. Lord of Sydney. On the road across Tara was taken ill and rendered unfit for the work of a seaman which he had to

perform, with the result that he was punished by the captain and suffered indignities from which a chief is considered exempt, his claim to be a chief was ridiculed, and he was abused as only one sailor could be by another. As soon as Tara landed he showed the marks of his punishment to his tribe, and the rest of the story was what might be expected—the stupid landing of Captain Thompson, leaving his ship unprotected, the skulls of the whole party being cracked immediately on landing, the dressing up of the murderers in the clothes of the murdered, the return to the ship, the general massacre, the cannibal feast. Their version of Te Pahi's connection with it exonerated that chief, who, they said, did all he could to save those who had escaped into the rigging.

To accomplish his scheme of restoring peace, Marsden decided to spend the night with Tara and his warriors. Before doing so, however, he went down to a neighbouring village of Hongi's and there partook of some refreshment, after which he and Nicholas returned to the Whangaroan camp. Round the fire that night the Natives promised Marsden that if he came to Whangaroa he could have any part of the wreck he cared to take away, and Marsden himself took advantage of the occasion to point out the advantages to be derived from the cultivation of the soil and the adoption of the arts of civilisation, rather than their present method of everlasting warfare. An hour before midnight Marsden retired to rest by simply wrapping his great coat round him and lying on the ground near Tara, a bright starry sky his only covering, and his only companions the murderers of his countrymen lying around like sheep upon the bare ground. About three in the morning Marsden took a stroll through the sleeping camp, and by sunrise everyone was up. A boat arrived from the ship to take Marsden and Nicholas to breakfast, and, at the former's invitation, the chiefs accompanied them without manifesting the slightest hesitation. The night Marsden spent amongst the murderers of the *Boyd's* crew was the night of the 20th December 1814.

After breakfast presents were got out in the cabin of the *Active*, and, under the direction of Ruatara, were given

to the chiefs in solemn form, first to Te Puhi as the elder, then to Tara as the younger, and the missionaries were introduced and their various duties explained, Kendall to teach, Hall to build, King to make lines, and Hansen to command the ship. The onlookers were ranged around the cabin, and punctuated the ceremony at appropriate spots with rounds of cheers. This unique gathering was brought to a close by a lengthy harangue from Ruatara, addressed to Tara, describing the beauties of a peaceful life, and at the same time telling him what he might expect if he declined to follow it. All shook hands, and Marsden had the pleasure of seeing his efforts to secure peace between the contending parties entirely successful.

During the afternoon of 21st December the *Active* set sail for the Bay of Islands, and at the mouth of the Bay was met by a war canoe belonging to Korokoro, into which the chief went and made for the shore, leaving his son on the *Active*. Ruatara piloted the ship to an anchorage at Rangi-houa, some seven miles inside the Heads, and which was to be the home of the Mission. The next day (Friday, 23rd December) the horses and cattle were landed and the site of the residences fixed. Naturally the arrival of horses and cattle caused intense excitement. Nicholas gives us a description of the event in the following words :—

“On the arrival of the boats with the cattle, they appeared perfectly bewildered with amazement, not knowing what to conclude respecting such extraordinary looking animals. Cows or horses they had never seen before, and diverted now from everything else, they regarded them as stupendous prodigies. However, their astonishment was soon turned into alarm and confusion ; for one of the cows that was wild and unmanageable, being impatient of restraint, rushed in among them, and caused such violent terror through the whole assemblage, that imagining some preternatural monster had been let loose to destroy them, they all immediately betook themselves to flight.”

But when Marsden mounted a horse, and rode up and down the beach, he was, by common consent, given a status of more than mortal.

On Saturday morning Korokoro paid a visit in state to the *Active*, bringing with him ten canoes full of warriors and some women and children, and was received with a discharge of thirteen small arms. On this occasion presents were made by Korokoro to Marsden and Nicholas. It had been arranged between Ruatara and Korokoro that the ceremony was to conclude with a sham fight, and the former now left the *Active* to prepare the defending forces. The members of the Mission got into Korokoro's canoe and accompanied the landing forces. As they advanced towards the shore they saw one of Ruatara's chiefs, quite naked, rushing up and down the beach defying the landing party to come ashore. The latter, roused in time by their war songs, jumped out of their canoes and pursued the insulting challenger, who fled to his friends, and the attackers, in their headlong flight, were met unexpectedly by Ruatara's warriors and the fight became general. After various charges and retreats the forces combined in a dance and war song of victory. Women as well as men took part in the fray.

In the afternoon Ruatara made preparation for divine service the following day. Half-an-acre was cleared and enclosed with a fence, and in the centre of this space was erected a pulpit six feet from the ground, and a reading desk three feet high, both covered with black native cloth, or duck from Port Jackson, and bottoms of old canoes were used as seats for the Europeans. Into this primitive church Ruatara, Hongi, and Korokoro, with swords by their sides and switches in their hands, next day marched their people, and took up their positions, Korokoro on the preacher's right and behind the Europeans, Ruatara on the left of the inhabitants of the village, and the other chiefs in a circle round the whole. Korokoro acted as a master of ceremonies, signalling to the Natives with a switch when to stand and when to sit, and tapping on the head any who talked. Marsden preached to this strange audience from the tenth verse of the second

chapter of Luke, "Behold I bring you good tidings of great joy." Ruatara interpreted what was intended for the Natives, and, when they interrupted him with awkward questions of detail in his theology, wisely replied that they would be made fully acquainted with these things in due time. After the service the Natives, to the number of three or four hundred, danced a war dance around Marsden. Thus was the first sermon preached in New Zealand on 25th December 1814.

There being no timber at Rangihoua steps had to be taken to procure some from Kawakawa, and on Monday the iron was placed under Ruatara's control, the poultry put on shore, and the sawyers and smith, with Hansen jr., left the *Active* to commence the work of building a hut 60 x 16 for the settlers and their families, and on Tuesday the *Active* sailed to Kororareka. Tara, the old chief who had control over the timber country, met Marsden with the greatest friendliness and granted permission for timber to be taken from the Kawakawa. He had been given seeds and poultry from the *Active* during her last visit, and now showed Marsden the success of his agricultural experiments. The wheat was in ear, the peas in full bloom, and a young peach tree was growing from the stone; in regard to a cock and hen which had been left with him, the former had offended the superstitious feelings of the Natives by roosting on a sacred building which was *tapu*, and had been banished, while the poor hen had incurred the same punishment because she had deserted her eggs when hatching, owing to every Native in the place coming and disturbing her while she was sitting.

The *Active* came to an anchor at the mouth of the Kawakawa, and the following day two runaway convicts surrendered to Marsden. They had been on board the *James Hay* when that vessel was at the Bay with the *Active* during her former visit, and had been handed over to the missionaries but had made their escape and joined the Natives. They found their lot so unfortunate, however, that they were only too glad to surrender themselves, in the most miserable plight conceivable, to Marsden. By a strange coincidence Kendall knew the father of one of them, and Nicholas had seen him farewelling his convict son at Spithead.

Arrived at the mouth of the Kawakawa Marsden ascended the river for about ten miles, and made arrangements with a chief named Tekokee, who resided near a forest of very fine timber, to cut what was required for the vessel.

While the cargo was being got ready a visit was paid, on 29th December, to Waraki, a chief of Waitangi, to whose tribe one of the sailors on board the *Active* belonged. Though the chief was not at home a very friendly welcome was extended to the missionaries, and the surroundings seemed so favourable for establishing a station that they expressed a desire to settle there rather than at Rangihoua, but Marsden very wisely put his veto on the proposal to leave the protecting influence of Ruatara. Marsden was particularly struck by the possibilities of the "falls" at the head of the bay, which he stated would be a certain fortune to the possessor were they at Port Jackson. Pomare also was met and one of his villages visited, after which he accompanied the party to the head of the cove, to a village called Waikare.

A short spell of bad weather now interrupted Marsden's activity, but on 2nd January Korokoro called and invited him to come over to his possessions. Marsden straight away stepped into his canoe, and with Nicholas was landed at the head of a cove about five miles from the *Active*'s anchorage, from whence he was taken across a narrow neck of land to the other side, which commanded a view of the main Bay. Owing to the weather Korokoro's canoe did not venture out to meet the visitors, who thereupon accepted an invitation from Benee, an uncle of Korokoro, to partake of the hospitality of his *pa* at Paroa. On their road thither they traversed ground which Cook had visited when at the Bay in 1769, and Benee, who remembered Cook well, pointed out where the *Endeavour* had anchored and where Cook's men had cut what timber they required. After spending a most uncomfortable night the travellers were next morning taken back to the *Active* in the Natives' canoes.

The remainder of Marsden's stay at Kawakawa, waiting for the loading of his vessel to be completed, was taken up with receiving visits from various Native potentates. Rua-

tara, fearing the supplies would run short, came from Rangihoua with several baskets of potatoes. On the fifth came one of the Bream Bay tribes, at the suggestion of Hongi with whom they were on very friendly terms, and these had only just gone when a number of Natives from Waimate, and about the Kawakawa, came and traded with the ship's company. On the morning of the seventh the anchor was weighed, and after four hours' sailing the *Active* reached Rangihoua, where it was found that a great deal of work had been accomplished, and that the big building was almost completed.

Awaiting the completion of the house Marsden accepted an invitation to Hongi's *pa* at Waimate. The road was by water to the head of the Kerikeri Inlet and from there on foot to Waimate. While on the road Marsden was told of some looting of the potato grounds by sailors of the *New Zealander*, when a chief killed three of them after they had killed two men and a woman. Arrived at Waimate Marsden was struck most by the extraordinary and effective defences which everywhere surrounded the village; but apart from that everyone appeared to be employed, making baskets for potatoes, dressing flax, or making mats; none were idle. Hongi showed a field of forty acres fenced to keep out the pigs, and planted with common and sweet turnips; he had also a considerable quantity of wheat nearly ripe, and some very well grown imported flax. On the return journey Ruatara was met bringing provisions, fearing that their supplies were exhausted; he was only in time, however, to meet the returning boats and challenge Hongi to a race to the ship, which after a most exciting contest he won comfortably. By the time of Marsden's return the building was finished, and Kendall and Hall, with their families, were fairly comfortably provided for.

It was Marsden's intention to visit other parts of the coastline, and now, with that view, he arranged with Ruatara and Korokoro to accompany him with a force sufficiently strong to ensure the safety of the brig. This they did, and when the crew of the *Active* was paraded no less than

twenty-eight out of the whole thirty-five were Natives. On the thirteenth the brig sailed for the Cavalles *en route* to Whangaroa, but the wind being against her Marsden ordered a course to be steered for the Thames.

At various places in this southern journey canoes came off to meet the *Active*, and Ruatara, who had command of the "forces," insisted on giving all visitors a reception that would, to use a colloquial expression, "put the fear of death into them." His modus operandi has been thus put on record by Nicholas :

"Just as the old man was ascending the side of the vessel with youthful agility, Duaterra [Ruatara] and all his people, who were lying concealed, rushed forward with furious impetuosity, and setting up their horrid yells . . . presented the points of about a dozen spears at his breast, besides a great number of pistols and muskets ; which so alarmed the poor man, that, unable to retain his hold, he fell back in his canoe, and very nearly upset it. In this posture he remained, staring wildly at our warriors, and hardly conscious whether he was dead or alive, till Korra-korra [Korokoro], who knew him well, bade him dismiss his fears and come on board, which he did, after some hesitation, but in such a state of trembling terror, that he shook from head to foot ; and it was with much difficulty I could persuade him to come and speak to Mr. Marsden in the cabin."

This "initiation" ceremony all visitors to Marsden during his southern trip had to undergo. Marsden seems to have made a protest against it, but Ruatara was firm, and where the New Zealanders were twenty-eight to the Europeans seven, Ruatara had four times the best of the argument, and Marsden had simply to endure it.

About midday on 16th January the *Active* was well into the Firth of Thames, and opposite the residence of Te Houpa, the leading chief of that part of New Zealand, when two canoes approached, in one of which was Te Houpa. It was some time before his suspicions were allayed sufficiently to come on board, as his experiences of the last ship he had been

on had not inclined him to accept invitations too readily, but when he did come on board he commanded the unbounded admiration of Marsden and of Nicholas for his fine presence and his sterling qualities. Marsden promised to call at his village on his return journey, but bad weather compelled him to return sooner than he had expected, and the same cause prevented ready communication between the village and the ship. It was not until the eighteenth that Pethi, a nephew of Te Houpa, came on board and took Marsden ashore.

Arrived at the village it was found deserted by the young men, all of whom had gone off to the war, but the women gave the visitors the heartiest of receptions, and the trading which straight away took place gave the village the appearance of a fair. From here Te Houpa's *pa* was visited, and in the absence of the chief at the war the honours were done by his wife. Marsden tried unsuccessfully to purchase hogs for the insatiable hunger of his New Zealand crew, but none were available. Orere is supposed to be where Te Houpa's *pa* was. Pethi's village was then visited and the party returned to the ship. As Marsden was sitting down to dinner in his cabin, two canoes of chiefs and their wives appeared on the scene and readily accepted an invitation to share the evening meal. After dinner came the usual bargaining, then the visitors gave a dance, which had to be returned by Ruatara, and this was repeated until Marsden began to despair of getting rid of them ; even when he got them into their canoes they lay upon their paddles and watched the Natives on the quarter-deck, after which they took it up in their canoes, and this alternating system of entertainment continued until the *Active* was some considerable distance away.

Te Houpa, who so favourably impressed Marsden, was the chief who was captured by the *Venus*, and who plunged into the sea and was picked up by his own canoe. He had good reason, therefore, to be cautious. One of the sailors on board the *Active* had been with Captain Dell on board the *Fancy* when she visited the Thames for a cargo of timber in 1795, and he stated that the Natives then behaved in the most friendly manner, assisting in getting the cargo, and

furnishing whatever supplies they could. The Thames Natives appeared, therefore, to be of a very friendly disposition, though Ruatara gave them a very bad name.

The *Active* arrived at Bream Bay the following day, but no Natives being visible and the hoped-for supplies not forthcoming, a plentiful supply of fish was taken on board. Next morning the chief appeared, and with him Mohanga whom Dr. Savage had taken to England in 1805, and invited Marsden to land, which he did the following day, and was piloted to the chief's residence by Mohanga. Food was promised for the next day, but a change in the wind resulted in the sudden recall of Marsden to the ship. Difficult as had been the landing the embarking was much worse, and for some time it appeared to Marsden and Nicholas that the difficulties were going to prove too much for the Natives, but, with directions from those ashore, they proved equal to the emergency and landed all hands safely on board the *Active* at ten o'clock at night, much to the delight of Ruatara, who feared they had fallen victims to Native treachery.

The following afternoon the Expedition reached Rangihoua, where Marsden found all his missionaries in good health and spirits, the mechanics fully occupied, and Mr. Kendall with two scholars under his care.

To help to defray the expenses of the trip Marsden decided to load up what cargo he could get that would meet with a ready sale in Sydney, and, as fish were plentiful, he decided to cure some and try the market with them. As a fishing place he selected Korokoro's residence near Cape Brett, and crossed over with the chief, taking a cask of salt and an empty cask. Favoured by fine weather the fifteen miles to Porro was accomplished in two and a half hours. The whole of next day was spent in the preparation of the fish, the men caught and brought them, the women and girls cleaned them, and Marsden and Nicholas salted and cured them. By the following day the casks were full and Korokoro took them home.

Timber constituted the cargo which Marsden relied on mainly for the expenses of his vessel, so the carpenter was

set to cut two draught holes in the bows of the *Active* for loading purposes, and on 28th January she sailed to Kawakawa to load up with timber purchased from the chiefs in the vicinity. They had only been there a few days when Nicholas had to return to Rangihoua for more axes to pay for spars, and he was on the ground when messengers came and informed Ruatara that his cow had calved, and when the first cattle owner in New Zealand went to view his herd he found a fine black bull calf following its mother into the stockyard. While the *Active* lay at Kawakawa the Native chiefs came and went on board as if they owned the vessel, and their methods were such as to encourage the Europeans to give them a wide berth. Marsden alone appeared unmoved. Nicholas says :

"He could sit among them in the cabin, inhaling their intolerable stench, and beholding their filthy habits, with as much composure as if he had been in the midst of the most elegant circle in Europe ; and though I doubt not but his olfactory nerves were quite as acute as mine, still, on these occasions, it would seem that they were utterly incapable of executing their office."

On Sunday, 12th February, the *Jefferson*, commanded by the notorious Barnes, came into the Bay and cast anchor at Kororareka. Four days later Jones, the mate, called upon Ruatara, who was then very ill, and meeting Nicholas invited him on board his vessel. Nicholas found her a vessel of 250 tons, owned by Mr. Roche of Milford Haven ; he spent a night on her, and the following morning Tupe came on board but took umbrage at something and left suddenly. That day the boats' crews were refused wood, and when Nicholas went to patch up the trouble he found that the sailors had declined to pay for what they had already obtained, and that Tara had had his life threatened by one of the sailors. Jones admitted that on a former visit Barnes and the captain of the *King George*, in their drunken carousals, had acted very brutally towards Tara and his wife.

The story of the threat to shoot the old chief reached the ears of Marsden, who straightway went to Tara, and induced

him and Tupe, by the gift of an axe, to come on board the *Jefferson* with him and point out the culprit. Tara did as desired and indicated to Marsden who the offender was. The two parties on thus being brought face to face came to an understanding so satisfactory in its nature that the incident was forgotten. Marsden remained on board the *Jefferson* that night, and while he was there fresh trouble broke out between Tupe and a young man belonging to the ship, who had struck Tupe's wife with a sword and had several times stabbed at Tupe himself. When Marsden appeared Tupe in a very excited state was telling his countrymen to hang the offender from the masthead, and the offender, instead of realising that he was endangering the lives of every man on board, would give nothing but insolence to any who spoke to him, pour out foul language before everyone, and refuse to be reconciled to the injured chief. As a last resort the services of Mr. Kendall, J.P., were called into requisition, a formal examination held, and the evidence taken down for the Sydney Authorities—a course of conduct that satisfied the Natives and averted trouble.

This is the most valuable record we have of what sort of encounters sometimes took place between Europeans and Natives, because Marsden was present and recounts the incident himself; had it not been for that, the Europeans would have said nothing, in fact they might have been like the *Parramatta* men, unable to say anything because they had been eaten, and, beyond the burnt remains of the *Jefferson*, we would only have heard stray scraps of stories told by different chiefs, not one of which would probably be correct. Terrible as was the punishment inflicted by the New Zealanders for wrongs done them, it seemed to have little or no effect on the crews of visiting ships, and this, the author thinks, was due to the fact that, terrible as it was, it was no more severe than the civilised Australian laws of the same date. The feature of both was the death penalty, in which the New Zealanders substituted the *mere* for the rope, and the oven for the grave—sentimentally repulsive no doubt, but purely matters of detail.

From the *Jefferson* Marsden returned to Rangihoua to find Ruatara far gone with sickness, and evidently beyond human aid. It was thought that the illness was brought on by over exertion, and the superstitious treatment of the sick by the Natives only hastened the inevitable end. During the short period that the sickness was running its course everything that the missionaries could do or give him was done or was given him without arresting in any way the malady. The approach of the termination of the leave granted to Marsden prevented him waiting the few days necessary to witness the death of his friend, and he was compelled to leave just when it was hourly expected.

On Friday 24th February, a conveyance of the land required for the Mission was signed by two chiefs who owned the ground. The Deeds had been prepared in Sydney, and Hongi drew upon the document a complete representation of the markings on the vendor's countenance, and to this strange seal the vendor put his mark. The ground was estimated to contain 200 acres, was put in the name of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, and was purchased for twelve axes. After this document had been executed, Marsden baptised the son of Mr. and Mrs. King, born there on 21st February—the first European child born in New Zealand. On Saturday the *Active* sailed with ten Natives on board, and accompanied almost to the Heads with canoes full of weeping friends, New Zealanders and Europeans alike.

By Monday morning the *Active* was under the west side of the North Cape, ready to receive some flax which had been promised by Jem when Marsden had called in before. The Tahitian, who was ashore, was at once sent for to bring the flax on board. Later on Marsden himself went on shore and remained until late in the evening, when the Natives took him out to the *Active* in one of their canoes. The following morning Jem came out to the *Active*, but Marsden would not again go ashore, so he returned and brought some three hundred-weight of flax and a quantity of potatoes. With him came the chief's son desirous of going to Sydney, so Marsden added the

Tahitian and the young New Zealander to his already large family—now twelve all told—and bore away for Sydney.

After a very troublesome passage a party from the *Active* went ashore on 21st March, at Port Stephens, where they met some of the Australian aborigines who were dreadfully alarmed at the sight of the fierce New Zealanders, while the miserable condition of the former only excited the latter's pity and contempt. Two days later Marsden landed at the South Head, and reported himself to His Excellency, after an absence of four months as provided by his Leave.

The value of the cargo on board the *Active* was thus calculated :

4848ft. timber at 2s. 6d.	...	...	£606	0	0
Less Duty, 1s. per ft.	...	...	242	0	0
			<hr/>		
			364	0	0
1344 lbs. flax at 1s.	...	...	67	4	0
Fish and pork	...	...	20	0	0
			<hr/>		
			£451	4	0
			<hr/>		

CHAPTER XIV. THE BAY OF ISLANDS, 1815 TO 1818.

1815.

By the departure of the *Active* on 25th February, the young Settlement at Rangihoua was left to its own resources, and on 3rd March, Ruatara, to whom more than to any other Marsden looked for protection for his friends, died on a spot prepared for that sacred event by the Native priests. Before the first grief for his loss was over, Korokoro and Hongi waited upon the missionaries and promised to continue the protection they had enjoyed from the dead chief.

The first visitor from the outside world was Captain Parker on board the *Phænix*, who called in for wood and water on the very day that Ruatara died, and on 4th May Captain Powell, on his road from Port Jackson to Tahiti, brought in the *Endeavour* to procure pork, fish, and potatoes, for her company. The Captain brought the good news that the *Active* would soon be in as he had left her at Port Jackson ready to take to sea. On the eighteenth she put in an appearance after a twenty-day passage, and the following day the *Endeavour* sailed for Tahiti. On board the *Active* were the wives and children of the sawyer and the blacksmith, several chiefs returning from their holiday in Sydney, and the means of trade to purchase a cargo of spars.

It will be remembered that when Marsden was at the Bay the members of the Mission took a great fancy to Waitangi as the site of the Settlement, and it was only Marsden's veto on the proceedings that prevented them, there and then, abandoning Rangihoua and selecting that place for their residence. The advantages which Waitangi possessed became more and more patent after the Settlement was established. Hall says :

"Our timber being all wrought up at Tippoona, we experienced great difficulty in procuring any more, on account of the distance, and the shyness existing between the different parties of Natives. After serious deliberation, Mr. Kendall and I agreed to fix a Settlement at Waitanghee [Waitangi], about five or six miles from Tippoona, and by so much nearer the timber-ground ; being, on some accounts, the most eligible place for a Settlement, in all the Bay of Islands."

On 19th May, the day after the *Active's* arrival, Kendall and Hall visited Waraki the Waitangi chief, and purchased from him, for the Church Missionary Society, fifty acres of land, "the most eligible spot on the Bay of Islands," Kendall described it. The purchase "money" for this "valuable freehold farm" was five axes. In answer to any criticism regarding the insufficiency of the purchase money, the author would point out that if the whole of the Bay of Islands had been held by a purely money-making syndicate, the Church Missionary Society would have been paid five thousand axes to take the land.

On 28th May the second child and first girl of European parentage was born to Mrs. Hall.

On 1st June, and while Captain Hansen was procuring his cargo, Captain Parker again brought the *Phænix* into the Bay for wood and provisions. Parker was the same man who, as commander of the *Diana*, had helped to storm Te Pahi's stronghold after the Boyd Massacre, and the Natives, hearing of his arrival, asked Kendall to invite him to his house so that they could see him. Kendall did so, and Parker came ashore on Sunday 4th June, when he was immediately surrounded by some of the principal Natives who pointed over to Te Pahi's Island and said to the Captain in broken English, "Captain Parker, see Island ! Captain Parker, see Island !" The Captain was at a loss to understand their reference, and Kendall persuaded the chiefs to postpone further reference to the incident until after Divine service. After prayers, Kendall, addressing the Natives, told them that Captain Parker and the other whaler captains had been

informed that Te Pahi was the ringleader in the massacre, that they had been told falsehoods, and that Captain Parker now wished to be at peace with them. The Natives, through one of their number who could speak English,

"told him [Parker] how many men, women, and children, had been killed ; how many bullets had passed through the arms and legs of others, and that seven bullets had passed through the raiment of Tippahee [Te Pahi], one of which wounded him but not mortally ; and that all the rest of the inhabitants swam for their lives, and made their escape, except nine women, who, being wounded, sat on the beach and were discovered at daylight, but not killed, by the sailors."

After they had thus relieved their feelings some of them rose up and shook Captain Parker's hand as an indication that they were now at peace.

On 13th June the brig *Trial*, Captain Hovell, and the schooner *Brothers*, Captain Burnett, arrived from Sydney with some Natives on board as passengers. To understand their mission it will be necessary to explain the circumstances which led up to their departure from Port Jackson.

In the month of May 1814, Simeon Lord of Sydney conceived the idea of equipping an Expedition to New Zealand, and forthwith proceeded to enlist the support of several other merchants who were, he found, favourable to the scheme. Permission was then secured from Governor Macquarie to hold a meeting to consider the advisability of forming a joint stock company to establish a Settlement in New Zealand for the purpose of procuring flax, timber, and other products of that country. A meeting, called by advertisement, was held at the house of Mr. G. Blaxcell, George Street, on Friday 24th June, and it was there decided that a company should be formed with a capital of 400 shares of £50 each, and that a further meeting should draw up the rules and regulations. In the room 182 of the shares were taken up. Things remained at this pending the return of the *Active* from New Zealand.

After the arrival of the *Active* on 23rd August 1814, the friends of the proposal were again got together and prepara-

tions continued. As a result of this renewed activity a Memorial dated 3rd October 1814 was presented to Governor Macquarie expressing the desire of the memorialists to form a joint stock company to establish settlements and factories in New Zealand to deal with flax, timber, and other commodities. The company was to be incorporated under the designation of the New South Wales New Zealand Company, and was to be divided into 200 shares of £50 each. It was intended to purchase two small vessels, and with about fifty men establish a factory on Stewart Island, but the promoters asked for the necessary power to establish their settlement wherever they pleased in New Zealand ; they also asked for power to import and export what commodities were required free of duty, and to be protected from interference by other companies unless they secured similar permission and authority. In reply to their requests Governor Macquarie agreed to transmit the Memorial to London, and to recommend it to the favourable consideration of the Authorities.

Some time during the preparations for sending out vessels, the agents of the Company approached Robert Williams of Sydney, a ropemaker who was an enthusiast on New Zealand flax and who had already visited Foveaux Strait on board the *Perseverance* the preceding year, to put his services at their disposal, but for some reason which the author has not been able to ascertain, an agreement between the parties was never completed although its terms were formally reduced to writing.

The New South Wales New Zealand Company then proceeded to charter the brig *Trial* and the schooner *Brothers*, and on 31st December 1814 Simeon Lord advertised for twenty-six men to proceed to New Zealand in the employ of the Company for any term not exceeding five years, persons with a knowledge of hemp or flax having the preference. He also asked for a carpenter, a blacksmith, and a pair of sawyers. On 25th May the *Brothers*, and on the following day the *Trial*, sailed for New Zealand.

After spending about a month at the Bay the New South Wales New Zealand Company's vessels sailed southward.

On 11th July, after a period of nearly two months spent in gathering spars and flax, the *Active* sailed with a full cargo, and with several influential chiefs, bound for Marsden's home at Parramatta, on her passenger list. The arrival of these in Sydney on 8th August made Marsden responsible for the housing of no less than fifteen New Zealanders. Captain Hansen reported on his arrival at Sydney that the Mission had been visited by leading chiefs from Whangaroa and the Thames ; that from all directions promises of protection had been given ; that great progress had been made in acquiring the language ; and that Mr. Kendall had sent over with him, to be printed at the office of the *Sydney Gazette*, the manuscript of a primer which he had prepared. Of this primer, which was printed in due course, only one copy is now known to be in existence, and that is to be found in the Auckland Museum.

Hall, after the departure of the *Active*, took the sawyers with him to Waitangi, and there commenced the erection of a house 40 x 15 for a residence for himself and his family.

It was one of Marsden's grievances that timber imported into Sydney from New Zealand had to pay the enormous duty of one shilling per solid foot, and he had, on his arrival from New Zealand, represented his objection to Governor Macquarie, with the result that, on 19th August 1815, a Notice was issued reducing the duty to sixpence—a figure extortionate enough although only half the former figure.

On 31st August the *Trial* and the *Brothers* both returned to the Bay, and Captain Hovell thus reported their experiences from the time they had sailed :

"They adopted a south-easterly course, trading with the Natives as they went along. Making a short stay at a harbour which did not appear to have been before frequented by Europeans, they named it Trial Harbour, and received very hospitable treatment, with a promise of having a quantity of flax provided against the return of the vessels. They went towards Cook's Straits, and after running down a considerable extent of coast, returned to Trial Harbour—which proved the scene of

carnage. The Natives appeared no less friendly than before ; but not having procured the flax according to their promise, Mr. Hovell and Mr. Burnett prepared for quitting the place. They designed sailing thence on Monday the 21st August ; but were attacked on the noon of the preceding day, and the decks of both vessels taken possession of by an immense number of the natives. Mr. Hovell's account of the transaction states, that at half-past 12 a.m. he observed a number of canoes alongside both vessels ; but that from the friendly terms he was on with the chiefs and other natives, he had no suspicion of any design against the vessels, both which were provided with boarding nets, through the interstices of which they bartered their commodities with the islanders. The *Trial's* people were down at dinner ; Mr. Hovell was on the quarter deck, folding a mat with a friendly chief Narruroo, near to whom was another chief ; the latter, on some signal supposed to have been given by the former, sprang upon Mr. Hovell with his club, and struck him on the back of the neck ; he reeled, half stunned ; a second blow was levelled at him, which he avoided by rushing forward, and precipitating himself down the forecastle hatchway. The assailants now crowded upon the upper deck, of which they obtained complete possession, while several who had intruded themselves between decks were opposed by the people and killed. Those above tried to ship the main hatch in order to shut the crew below ; but to prevent this, two men were stationed at the hatchway, who kept them off with their muskets. Their numbers were increased ; and a rush was momentarily expected. A constant fire was kept up from below, and the natives crowded aft on the quarter deck to keep clear of the firing up the hatchway. The cabin sky-light affording an opportunity of firing upon them there, the occasion was embraced, and two discharges drove them off the quarter deck. They were astonished and confounded at the unexpected attack through the skylight, which was fatal

to several ; they ran forward, still determined, however, to persist in their attempt of capturing the vessel. In passing forward they were again fired at from the hatchway ; and at this critical moment arrived Jackey Warry, a native who had before belonged to the *Trial*—and by his directions to cut the cables of the two vessels, the crews were reduced to the last extremity. They soon drifted ashore ; and the assailants, to avoid the firing, crowded in and about the longboat. All appeared lost ; yet to avoid the horror of falling alive into the hands of the assailants, the crew came to the resolution of blowing the vessel up, and involving their enemies in their own destruction. Desperation redoubled exertion ; and a steady discharge of 7 muskets at one volley drove them overboard, and thus the crew regained the deck, of which the enemy had had possession 4 hours. They now saw the *Brothers* within half a cable's length, also aground, with upwards of 100 natives on her deck. The *Trial*'s swivels were now employed in aid of her musketry, and soon cleared her. Mr. Burnett, and his people regained the deck of the *Brothers*, from which they also had been driven, and a joint fire was kept up as long as the natives were within its reach, which did considerable execution.

"Mr. Burnett's report of the affair states, that at half past 12 he heard a shout from the *Trial*, and immediately his own decks were crowded with natives who had been previously alongside his vessel, that he was instantly aware of the intended assault, and seizing a musket, shot one of the most forward. Mr. John O'Neal mate of the vessel, and a native of this Colony, for some time defended Mr. Burnett against the attacks of several adversaries, with an empty musket. He was himself attacked, and fell, overpowered by numbers. Thos. Hayes was thrown wounded into a canoe, and killed on shore. Joseph Marsden, and George Halloghan, the former wounded, jumped overboard, and were protected by a chief's wife ; the latter rejoined the vessel, and supposes Marsden, who did not return, to be still alive.

Wm. Morgan, a boy was wounded, as was also Mr. Burnett, though not badly ; and the next morning the two seamen who had been unfortunately killed on board the *Brothers*, were interred. On board the *Trial* were killed, Matthew Jackson, an European, and Tetia, a Pomatoo native ; and Christopher Harper wounded."

Captain Hovell was of opinion that the Natives at Trial Harbour had no knowledge of firearms, as they expressed the utmost surprise at the effect they produced. He also believed that they came from inland, as they had no clothes, and the only European implement in their possession was an adze got from the Thames. Trial Harbour's position was given as lat. $36^{\circ} 40'$ S. and long. $175^{\circ} 49'$ E., which would appear to indicate that the encounter took place in Kennedy's Bay. The Natives stated that three ships had been cut off in that locality, one at the head of the River Thames, the second at Mercury Bay, and the third at Poverty Bay. No accounts of any of these, said the *Sydney Gazette*, had ever reached Port Jackson, which is quite possible when we consider the effective method the Natives had of removing incriminating evidence.

Mr. Kendall thought that the blame for this disaster lay at the door of the Europeans, and he states that before Captain Hovell sailed from the Bay of Islands he had defrauded a chief of a quantity of flax and a number of baskets of potatoes. The evidence in support of this statement is not set out in detail, and the author regrets to have to say that when reasons come to be given for these attacks of Natives on Europeans they too often appear to be supported by "hard swearing on both sides."

The *Active* returned from Sydney on 28th September, bringing back some of the Natives who had gone over on former trips, and the following Europeans : John Shergold, Thomas Hansen, Sarah McKenzie, and Joseph Rogers and his wife.

Six days after the arrival of the *Active*, the *Trial* sailed for Tahiti under Captain Burnett, and the *Brothers* for Port Jackson under Captain Hovell. Mr. and Mrs. Rogers returned

to Sydney with Captain Hovell. The cargo could not have proved a very profitable one, as the advertisement of its sale described it as :

"A Small Quantity of New Zealand dressed Flax, a fishing Seine ; some mats, for tables and floors ; gum, or resin and 20 spars, the product of New Zealand. Just arrived in the schooner *Brothers*. The Articles will be knocked down at sterling prices ; but Currency, with the discount of the day, will be taken. Terms, prompt payment."

The New South Wales New Zealand Company venture had proved anything but profitable so far.

While the *Trial* and the *Brothers* were lying at the Bay, Kendall, who had five Crown prisoners left by Captains Foldger, Barny, and Parker, sent two of them to Captain Hovell, who was now short of men on account of his losses against the Natives, under a promise that he would deliver them up before sailing, or take them in the *Brothers* to Sydney. The day Hovell sailed he reported that the two men were missing. At the same time the other men could not be found. In reporting the matter afterwards to Secretary Campbell, Kendall stated that the opinion at the Bay was that the prisoners had gone away in the *Trial* or the *Brothers*. There is little doubt that it is as Kendall says, and that Hovell shipped the escapees off in the *Trial* under Captain Burnett to Tahiti, while he took free men with him on board the *Brothers* to Sydney. Getting away as Hovell did, the news of his misdeeds would not reach Sydney until after he had left the place.

On 5th September Mr. and Mrs. Hall moved into their new residence at Waitangi, which was now ready for their reception, but things appear not to have gone on too well, as the sawyers returned to Rangihoua on the twentieth, giving as a reason that owing to disagreements with Mr. Hall they could stay there no longer.

On 31st October the *Active* sailed, but returned to the Bay on 5th November, leaving again on the third day afterwards. On board of her sailed the Captain's wife and his

son. Although living at the Bay Mrs. Hansen did not belong to the Settlement, and, from what transpired later on, it would appear that she was returning to Sydney to be present at her son's wedding.

Two days after the *Active* left the *Phœnix* entered the Bay, and after a short stay sailed away, to return on 22nd November in company with the *Cretan*, Captain Moore. Captain Parker of the *Phœnix* applied to Mr. Kendall to leave a man named Fop at the Settlement, as, having altered his route to Peru and from there to England, he could not return him to Sydney. Kendall declined to allow this, because Fop's name had not been entered on the ship's clearance at Sydney, and also because no proper proposal for his maintenance while under Kendall's control was made. The Natives were also averse to any of Captain Parker's men being left ashore. Fop was accordingly sent back to the vessel. Irritated at this, on 13th November Captain Parker sent ashore his first mate, Thomas Hunt, with a boat's crew for some letters he had handed in to be sent to Sydney. After they had been secured Hunt relieved his feelings, at the expense of Kendall's, by such a flow of profanity and abuse that Kendall shut and bolted the door and stood behind it with a drawn sword. Hunt then ordered his men to pull down the house, which they proceeded to do by bursting open the door, but by this time the Natives, alarmed by the noise, had rushed upon the scene. In a moment Hunt and his party found themselves surrounded by a hundred armed Natives, and two or three Europeans. Caught red-handed in a crime for which the local law imposed the death penalty, with the bodies of the offenders to go as food for the offended, who here numbered one hundred, all armed and no doubt all hungry—because we have Marsden's authority for the statement that the Natives were always hungry—we can well believe that Kendall accurately described what happened when he wrote that "they were glad to repair to their boat and go quietly away." Hunt's judgment might not have been of the best, but his good luck was phenomenal. The *Phœnix* and the *Cretan* sailed that evening.

1816.

On 7th January the whaler *Catherine* entered the Bay and cast anchor near Korokoro's village. On the fifteenth Captain Graham visited Mr. and Mrs. Hall at their new quarters at Waitangi and there left a boat for the convenience of the Mission. After he had returned on board the *Catherine*, and in the absence of the Natives who belonged to Waitangi, some strangers came over from the other side of the Bay and began to make free with things on the Station. Having mounted the sawyers' house and been ordered by Hall to come down, they seized him, threw him on the ground, and threatened him with death. When Mrs. Hall saw the fearful position of her husband she rushed to his aid, but was met by a Native who brutally knocked her down. Some friendly Natives who heard the commotion ran to Hall's assistance, but were too late to prevent the place being plundered of guns, axes, tools, cooking utensils, fire-irons, and bedding. Left in this manner destitute of all comforts, Hall gladly accepted the kind offer of Captain Graham of men and boats to remove him to Rangihoua, where he arrived three days after the attack. For the time being the Waitangi Settlement was abandoned, and the judgment of Marsden, who in the first instance put his veto on it on the ground of uncertainty of personal protection while residing there, was justified.

On 22nd January there was a great gathering of Natives at the Bay from far and near, and some who came from the North Cape told at the Settlement that the *Betsy* had been lost at the extreme north of the Island, and that the Captain and all the crew but eight had perished. The survivors had come ashore in a boat, and had been robbed of their clothes and muskets and powder, after which, fearful for their lives, they had sailed away in a boat for the Three Kings Islands, so it was thought.

The first vessel to arrive at the Bay after the news of the *Betsy* had been received was the *Queen Charlotte* from Sydney, whence she had cleared on 4th January, bound to Tahiti for a cargo of sandalwood and pork. After leaving the Bay Captain Powell endeavoured to go to the relief of the ship-

wrecked mariners, but the weather was against him and his vessel was blown off, so he was compelled to abandon the attempt.

On 24th January the *Active* sailed for the Bay of Islands, intending to go on afterwards to the Mission Station at Tahiti. On board of her were Mrs. Hansen, senr., and Thomas Hansen and his newly married wife. Mr. William Carlisle, a settler from Richmond who was going over to Rangihoua to help Mr. Kendall, was also on board. On the road to the Bay the *Active* called in at "Rimgatan," which the author thinks is intended for Cape Reinga, and learned from the Natives that the survivors of the *Betsy* had been there but had returned to Murimootu at the North Cape. Calling in at Murimootu as he passed, Captain Hansen found two Europeans and four lascars in a most pitiable condition, and straightway took them on board.

Beside the story of the *Betsy*, the accounts of all other tragedies connected with the sealing trade on the New Zealand coast sink into insignificance. As a tragedy it is a tragedy of tragedies, as a story of a voyage of suffering it has no parallel in New Zealand history.

The *Betsy* was a vessel in the employ of Mr. Joseph Underwood, the chief Sydney trader with the southern sealing islands; her captain was Phillip Goodenough, and her crew consisted of twenty-seven Europeans and six lascars. Leaving Sydney on 28th December 1814, she arrived safely at Macquarie Island on 13th February 1815, and there landed her gang and stores. The gang consisted of thirteen persons, all on shares; the prospects of the season were good, particularly for elephant oil, and all hands were in the best of spirits.

Having landed her Macquarie Island gang, the *Betsy* proceeded to Auckland Island. There she lost a European named Thomas Wilman, and a lascar, from scurvy. In August 1815, she sailed for Macquarie Island, which was reached in due course, but a few days afterwards she was blown out to sea and spent no less than three weeks in the vain attempt to again make the land. Baffled in his long

struggle Goodenough made for Port Jackson, but on his way he encountered heavy N.W. gales and was compelled to shape his course for New Zealand. The resources of the vessel were now taxed to the uttermost. The allowance of water was down to one-and-a-half pints per man per day, and there being no bread, water and flour had to be mixed and eaten ; in the absence of a sufficient supply of water the salt pork on board was useless. On 18th September a heavy sea carried away the rudder, and an attempt was made to steer with a cable ; this proved too laborious an operation and another rudder was constructed, but this also, on the twenty-sixth, met with the same fate as the first. From this time onward the crew were compelled to use the cable in steering. Serious as had been the condition of the vessel up to the present, day by day now added to the list of calamities until the state of the crew became appalling. Scurvy had obtained such a hold of the men that the master and eight Europeans were invalidated with it ; it manifested itself in swollen limbs, contracted sinews, and excruciating pains. Water was down to one pint per day with six pounds of flour per week. The sick men were only allowed four pounds. This miserable supply of food sadly reduced the strength of those who were not actually laid aside. The lascars were of no use for the trying labour devolving upon them. The few healthy men had gradually become too weak to labour except during the daytime. The result was that from sunset to sunrise the vessel was allowed to drift about with every change of wind and weather.

Death soon came to end the wretched existence of the exhausted men. On 28th September, Laurenza, a Portuguese, died, and on the thirtieth John Wilson followed. On 5th October the body of John Moffatt the first mate was committed to the deep, and three days later, while they lay becalmed within sight of Cook Strait, a Portuguese named Cordoza expired. Water had now been reduced to half a pint per day. The sight of land served to revive hope in the breasts of the despondent men, but that gave way to the depth of despair when a breeze sprung up and they were carried out once more to sea.

On 23rd October the doomed vessel was off the Bay of Islands and made an attempt to run in, but a sudden squall coming on, the main brace and top sail sheet gave way, the top sail was blown to shreds, and the jib fore topsail went to pieces. A second time she drifted off the shore. This time, however, no strength was left among the men to do anything but remain on the vessel while she drifted about, at one time threatened with destruction on rocks, at another with foundering at sea. On the twenty-eighth the last water cask was dry. In despair their remaining strength was marshalled to make a whale boat and a jolly boat watertight, and after infinite labour these were launched twenty miles from land on the morning of the twenty-ninth. By this time the third officer, William Grub, had died and been buried at sea.

In the jollyboat were placed four helpless men, John Tire, John Gabb, John Davies, and Fred Holstein ; in the whale boat to tow them were the master, in the last stage of illness, Thomas Rogers, Thomas Hunt, and five lascars ; a sixth lascar had shortly before been drowned. Exhausted with the ravages of disease, and freighted with the unfortunate cargo in the jollyboat, the whaleboat battled away for an hour and a-half without making any headway. When it became apparent that further struggling meant the loss of all hands, they discussed the position among themselves, and finally decided that nothing else could be done but abandon the sick men to their fate. The jollyboat was accordingly hauled alongside, and a bag of flour taken out ; a lascar engaged in baling out the water was also transhipped. None of the sick men commented upon their awful fate, the only words which passed being a request by one of them to have his coat, as the air was cold. The opinion of those in the whaleboat was that in two hours at most all would be over. In defence of this awful action the men stated that it was impossible to receive the four sick men into the whaleboat.

After twelve hours of incessant toil the whaleboat reached the coast of New Zealand near the North Cape. Out of nineteen persons who were on board, eight got on shore alive,

viz., Captain Goodenough, Thomas Rogers, Thomas Hunt, and five lascars. One of the lascars died after landing, as also did the Captain, on 1st November 1815. No sooner were they upon land than they fell into the hands of the Natives, who robbed them of their small supply of flour, and gave them in exchange a few potatoes. During the time of their captivity the wretched men lived in constant apprehension of personal violence. Regardless of their physical suffering they were driven from place to place, and frequently threatened with spears. The two Europeans were separated from the lascars, and at dusk were taken away in a canoe, for the purpose, they feared, of being devoured. After proceeding about a mile and a-half they perceived a large fire on shore, which confirmed them in the belief that they were destined for a cannibal feast. Here they were landed and received by a concourse of Natives, who obliged them to carry a basket of potatoes towards another group of men and women among whom were the four lascars. Upon being questioned by Rogers and Hunt as to the treatment they were likely to receive, the lascars told them it had been decided to devour them both, which from all the surrounding circumstances appeared very probable.

The same night (2nd November) they were placed in a hut, and next morning advanced further along the coast, sinking with fatigue and long fasting. Harassed in this manner for several days, they at length received the good news that their lives would be spared, but that they would become the property of their first captors. Fern root and dried fish were the only sustenance the place afforded, and even this was not plentiful. On the ninth a ship hove in sight, but did not approach the land. Two days later a brig coasted in near the shore, and the chiefs agreed to let them get on board if they could manage it. A canoe was obtained and every effort made, but when they had made the little craft ready for the water the brig was past. On 29th January 1816, they left Murimootu at the North Cape, and went to Cape Reinga, some distance away, but being worse off here than before, they returned to Murimootu, and on 23rd Feb-

ruary were taken off by the brig *Active*, the master of which had learnt their condition at Cape Reinga. The four lascars were left under the charge of the missionaries at the Bay of Islands, and the two Europeans proceeded in the *Active* to Tahiti.

In March the Bay was visited by the *Endeavour*, the third vessel belonging to the New South Wales New Zealand Company. This visit was due to the fact that a number of convicts had escaped in her when she left Sydney on 9th February. Captain Hammond, who was a stranger to New South Wales conditions, consulted his officers, and it was decided to make for the Bay of Islands and hand over the prisoners to the Magistrate there. On 4th March the *Endeavour* arrived, and the five men were offered to Kendall, who declined to receive them unless six months provisions were left with them, which the *Endeavour* could not afford to do. After staying two days the *Endeavour* sailed, and at the Island of Dominick the runaways either got or took their liberty.

As the year wore on the New South Wales New Zealand Company's ships began to arrive at Sydney. On 8th August the *Trial* came into port from Tahiti and the Marquesas, with six tons of pork and twenty of sandalwood, and on 1st October arrived the *Endeavour* with a somewhat similar cargo. In the latter also came up Rogers and Hunt, the survivors of the *Betsy*, who had left the *Active* at Huahine.

By this time Governor Macquarie was in possession of a reply from Earl Bathurst to the application of the Company's promoters, intimating that he could not see his way to advise the granting of the Royal sanction to the proposition. It was evident that the Company's course was run.

Apparently the first vessel to sail from the Bay of Islands after the departure of the *Active* for Tahiti in March was the *King George* on her road from the Marquesas and Tahiti to Sydney. She brought up Mr. Carlisle, who had gone down in the *Active* to help Mr. Kendall in his scholastic work. This gentleman's report to the press was very favourable to the Mission work :

"the natives there are also in a very improving way, the school being daily attended by nearly 60 young persons, many of whom begin to read and spell, and all are very attentive to some Gospel passages, which have been printed in their own language. Since the formation of the Missionary establishment, the spirit of contention among the different tribes of natives which had formerly been productive of the most calamitous consequences, has so happily declined that barbarous conflicts are no more considered as a necessary policy, and the inhabitants of distant places visit one another, and interchange their wishes of an amicable intercourse. They are also extending the means of life which industry affords, by attending to the culture of grain and vegetables, with which their new friends have acquainted them."

In addition to this glowing report, Mr. Carlisle "brought with him a drawing of our at present small settlement at the Bay of Islands, which contains several houses erected for the accommodation of the Missionaries and the mechanics who accompany them."

The New Zealand timber *ex* the *King George* was sold to James Smith, who advertised its sale in the *Sydney Gazette* of December 14, 1816 :

"Mr. James Smith having made a Purchase of the New Zealand Pine imported from that Island by the *King George*, begs to inform the Public that the said Timber is for Disposal at his Residence, No. 68, George-street."

On 29th December the *Active* returned from her long voyage of eleven months to Tahiti *via* the Bay of Islands. Needless to say, Marsden replaced Hansen by another commander.

As the old year was passing in the Mother Country a young New Zealand chief belonging to the Bay of Islands, who had lived for some time with Marsden in his Seminary at Parramatta, was quietly gathered to his fathers in a lonely lodging house in Edgeware Road, London. Maui, the chief

in question, had come across with Marsden on board the *Active*, and had remained among his countrymen to assist the Mission scheme by taking part in their education. After the departure of the *Active* the roving fever again took hold of him, and he shipped as a sailor on board the *Jefferson*, bound for England, which he reached in May 1816.

Finding him an encumbrance, the Captain of the *Jefferson* took Maui to the House of the Church Missionary Society in Salisbury Square, and there handed him over to the protection of the Committee, to be taken charge of until a vessel could be found to take him back to New Zealand. On 10th June the young chief was sent to Paddington, to the home of the Rev. Basil Woode, who made provision for him to lodge in Edgeware Road and receive instruction at a Charity School close at hand. Under careful tuition Maui made rapid progress in his education, showing a wonderful aptitude for enclid, and for drawing and the preparation of plans for buildings. As would be natural under such partonage his religious education was not neglected, and lessons were given him in the most approved methods of instructing others, in order to add to his usefulness when he should return.

Marsden, in Australia, had found it no easy task to acclimatise New Zealanders to the clear skies of Parramatta, so that it was only to be expected that in England the skies of a London autumn and winter had trouble in store. As the season wore on the rigorous climate made inroads in the constitution of the New Zealander, and a cough which he contracted in November rapidly developed into consumption, and carried him off on 28th December. The story of Maui was given a good deal of attention by chroniclers of missionary news of that date, so much being expected from the early promise of the young New Zealander, but in the light of later happenings it is doubtful whether the hopes of the Society would have been realised.

1817.

The last of the New South Wales New Zealand Company is an advertisement in the *Sydney Gazette* of March 8 :

“SALE BY AUCTION.

BY MR. LORD.

At his Warehouse in Macquarie Place, on Thursday next, the 11th Instant, At One o'clock precisely, will be put up for Sale, on account of the New South Wales New Zealand Company, the good Schooner *Endeavour*, now lying in Cockle Bay, with such Materials as belong to her.”

Later on the sale was postponed to the 18th at 11 o'clock.

Now that Hansen was out of the *Active* the position of captain was given to Joseph Thompson, and he sailed from Sydney in her on 18th April with Messrs. Carlisle and Gordon as passengers. The latter was under Mr. Marsden's instructions to apply himself to agriculture and teach the Natives to grow their own food. Six New Zealanders, some of whom had been at Parramatta for eighteen months, accompanied the vessel, and six head of horned cattle were shipped by Mr. Marsden. On 25th July the *Active* returned to Sydney, having filled up with spars at the Bay of Islands.

The report on the school established by Mr. Kendall, and in the conduct of which he was assisted by Mr. Carlisle, was highly satisfactory. It had been opened in August 1816 with thirty-three pupils ; in September there were forty-seven ; and in October, fifty-one. November and December were “holidays,” there being nothing to feed the children, and they had to separate to provide food for themselves. In January 1817 the school opened again with sixty ; in February, fifty-eight ; in March, sixty-three ; and in April, seventy. When Mr. Kendall commenced his labours there were nearly twice as many girls as boys, but latterly that disproportion almost disappeared. The ages ranged from seven to seventeen. One of Te Pahi's children attended,

and showed such diligence and aptitude in his work that in a few months he began to act as a pupil teacher ; of the others, several were sons of chiefs, several were orphans, and six were slaves taken in war. The school hours differed from those of the year 1914. The children rose at daylight and finished their morning lessons at an early hour, then the European children were taught ; in the afternoon the Native children renewed their lessons. Twice a day the scholars received a handful of potatoes each, which they cooked themselves, and sometimes some fish was given them. On the technical side the girls made their own apparel, and the boys made fences or learnt to dress and spin flax. In winter spinning tops was "in," in summer, kite flying, but dancing and singing was always indulged in.

The reader will remember that as a result of Marsden's persistent appeals to the Governor of New South Wales for protection to the Natives of New Zealand against the wrongs committed by European ship-masters, Orders had been issued dated 1st December 1813, and 9th November 1814, having for their object the protection of the Natives, and Mr. Kendall had been appointed a Magistrate for the Islands of New Zealand. To what extent these Orders were valid is a subject which the author does not intend to enter upon here, but that they had little effect beyond declarations of policy is proved by the fact that nothing is known to have been done under them, and the grievances they were intended to remedy continued to exist.

The Committee of the Church Missionary Society in London now took up the matter of the protection of the South Sea Islanders, and during the year 1817 presented a Memorial to Earl Bathurst, at that time H.M. Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, describing in detail the many atrocities which had been committed on unoffending Natives. The evidence submitted to substantiate their case consisted of the affidavits obtained at different times by Marsden in support of the applications he had made in Sydney, and dealt with the *Boyd*, the *Parramatta*, the *King George*, the *Jefferson*, and the *Mercury*, on the New Zealand

Coast, and other vessels among the South Sea Islands. In addition to the Affidavits, copies of the two Orders already referred to were submitted. The Committee pointed out that the only remedy then existing was to send the offender to England to be tried at the Admiralty Sessions, and that even the mere setting up of a Court in Sydney would not be sufficient, as the ships, after the commission of the offence, often sailed for some other port. As a result of this inability to punish crime the lives of the settlers were in constant danger, and civilisation was in a great measure retarded.

As a result of this Memorial, and of a Deputation which waited upon Earl Bathurst, the Act 57 Geo. III. cap. 53 was passed "for the More Effectual Punishment of Murders and Manslaughters committed in Places not within His Majesty's Dominions." The preamble recites that "Whereas grievous Murders and Manslaughters" have been committed, amongst other places, "in the Islands of New Zealand and Otaheite," that from and after the passing of the Act (27th June 1817), all such offences committed in the said Islands of New Zealand and Otaheite, by the Master of any British vessel, or any persons sailing in or belonging thereto, or having sailed in or belonged to a British vessel had quitted it to live on the said Islands, may be tried, adjudicated, and punished, in any of H.M. Islands, Plantations, Colonies, Dominions, Forts, or Factories, under or by virtue of the King's Commission or Commissioners. By this means the crimes of murder and manslaughter were provided for as well as the peculiar situation would admit of. This Statute is of interest as being the first one to mention the Islands of New Zealand, and, of greater interest still, to mention them as "not within His Majesty's Dominions."

The next vessel to sail for New Zealand was the *Harriet*, a vessel of 410 tons, and commanded by James Jones. She sailed in ballast on 23rd June, and returned with a cargo of spars on 10th September. Her captain's report was anything but flattering to the Natives :

"While the *Harriet* lay there, which was eight weeks (the greater part of which was in the South-East River),

Captain Jones received repeated information of plots formed among the chiefs for the capture of the vessel ; but being always on the alert, the conspirators never had the opportunity of making the actual attempt. These islanders were aware of the conditions of Capt. Jones's crew, nine of whom had refused duty ; and as there were but few other Europeans exclusive of the officers on board, she being partly manned with lascars, they encouraged their treacherous design until the last moment of the vessel's stay. She arrived at the Bay from hence the 23rd of June ; and had been more or less agitated with the apprehension of assault until the middle of August, when the conspirators, becoming impatient for the perpetration of their design, and finding that they could not by any stratagem prevail on the captain or officers to visit the villages (though frequently invited thither), the treachery assumed a bolder character, and at a little after daylight on the morning of the 22nd, a fleet of war canoes, 11 in number, had just cleared a point of land that before screened them, and stood directly towards the vessel, around which a number of other canoes with armed chiefs and natives were already collected. The chief Bumorri [Pomare], of whose perfidy Capt. Jones had received repeated information, at this time drew alongside, intending familiarly to go on board as before ; but this being refused him, and finding the ship in a thorough condition of defence, they thought prudent to obey Capt. Jones' orders not to presume to approach on pain of being fired into. The overbearing insolence of the chiefs of this inhuman race of people it is impossible to form an adequate idea of. Their insults to Capt. Jones and his officers and people were without parallel ; spitting in their faces, and using menacing gestures to them on board their own vessel was far from uncommon ; and in their insolencies they appeared to consider themselves protected by the consciousness of the ship's people that the Missionaries on shore were always in their power, and that to incense these cannibal tyrants might provoke some act of vengeance upon them. Messrs. Hall and

King, two of the Gentlemen belonging to the Missionary Establishment there, were frequently on board ; and declared their situation among them to be far from enviable. The natives rob them of whatever they see and have a wish for ; they break in *ad libitum* upon their enclosures ; destroy their garden fences ; and in all respects behave towards them, as we are confidently informed by Capt. Jones and Mr. Chace, chief officer of the vessel, in a most insolent and oppressive manner ;—The plan laid to cut off the *Harriet* was by no means limited in its extent, as the chiefs and their sanguinary subjects were attracted by the hope of plunder from the River Thames, which is 208, and others from places upwards of 300 miles distant. Such being their present feeling towards us, vessels proceeding thither cannot be too well upon their guard, against surprise ; as we were heretofore aware that treachery and a thirst of blood formed the leading feature, and opportunity was the only ingredient needful to avowed hostility, and success their countersign for successful slaughter.”

The *Harriet* was a vessel well provided for defence, having 12 guns on board, and being manned by 28 men. On 22nd December she sailed for England with a cargo of New Zealand pine, some seal skins, and some wool.

With Carlisle's report as a type of the missionary's, and Jones' as a type of the sailors', the reader will appreciate the problem which faces the author of giving the facts.

Six days before the *Harriet*'s arrival, the *Active* had sailed on another trip to the Bay of Islands, and from there to Tahiti, with some recently arrived missionaries.

1818.

On 24th March Captain Thompson reached Sydney, and reported that he had come from Ulitea and had put in to the Bay of Islands for some days (28th February to 9th March), and had found the Settlement all well. Two months were spent at Port Jackson, and the *Active* again sailed for the Bay on 30th May.

On her return journey to Sydney the *Active* reached the Bay on 9th November, and spent a month there, and shipping 6,000 feet of plank sawn by the Natives themselves, and paid for with articles of husbandry which were much in demand. In addition to the New Zealand timber a quantity of flax was shipped.

Captain Thompson gave the following census of the Missionary Establishment :—

“Mr. Kendall, Mrs. Kendall, and seven children ; Mr. Hall, Mrs. Hall, and three children ; Mr. King, Mrs. King, and three children ; Mr. Carlisle, Mrs. Carlisle, and one child ; Mr. Gordon, Mrs. Gordon, and one child.”

It is singular that all occupying humble positions are absolutely ignored. Marsden had a method of mentioning the fact that there was a sawyer or smith, but he also seemed to regard it as unnecessary to give their names.

In regard to the shipping at the Bay Captain Thompson reported that the whaler *Catherine*, Captain Graham, was there a full ship and on the eve of sailing for England.

The next Sydney vessel to call in at the Bay was the *Hawea*, commanded by Captain Nicholson (after whom Port Nicholson is called), returning from the Society Islands laden with pork and cocoa-nut oil.

While the events at the Bay of Islands were establishing the Mission settlers in their work of pioneers to the missionaries which were yet to come from the Church Missionary Society, events were happening in England which resulted in the appointment of the first missionary. Two New Zealanders, Tui, who had resided at Marsden's Seminary at Parramatta for about three years, and Titor, who had spent nearly eighteen months there, were sent to England by Marsden “to enlarge their ideas and prepare them for great usefulness to their countrymen.” Both were young men of fine temper and natural parts, and excellent representatives of their countrymen. Part of Marsden's scheme was to have a New Zealand vocabulary formed by some celebrated philologist in England, and the visit of these two chiefs was to be taken advantage of to have this done. Tui and Titor

were not to be idle during their stay ; when not engaged on the vocabulary they were to be put on a rope-walk and given information regarding the working of the flax plant. They sailed from Sydney in H.M. brig *Kangaroo* on 9th April 1817, and, after a ten months' cruise *via* Batavia, arrived safely in London.

For the philological work the Rev. Samuel Lee, Professor of Oriental Languages at Cambridge, and a man of special knowledge and experience in that line of work, was selected to fix the spelling, pronunciation, and construction of the New Zealand language.

The London autumn had proved too much for Maui, and it now seemed that the London spring was going to prove too much for the new arrivals ; but directly it was seen that their physical condition was unequal to their surroundings the two chiefs were sent off to Shropshire and placed under the care of a clergyman there who was very much interested in their work. They were given every opportunity of observing the coal, iron, and china works in the locality where they resided, and the clearer air of the country brought about such a change in their health that by June all concern for their health had passed away.

During the stay of the two New Zealanders, which lasted until the end of the year, the Church Missionary Society concluded arrangements with the Rev. Jno. Butler to proceed to New Zealand with his wife and two children and take up the position of first resident missionary there. Arrangements were also made with Francis Hall to go out as a schoolmaster, and James Kent as a smith, the latter accompanied by his wife. These appointees of the Church Missionary Society, with Messrs. Tui and Titori, embarked on board the Sydney-bound convict-ship *Baring*, Captain Lamb, at Sheerness, on Wednesday, 16th December 1818, but through accidents of various kinds the *Baring* did not leave the Downs until 27th January 1819.

On 18th August Marsden sent to England another party of New Zealanders—Powrow and Powreea. In view of what afterwards transpired in connection with Natives visiting

England it is interesting to know that Marsden had decided, before these men left Parramatta Seminary, that they were to be the last who should be encouraged to make the trip. They were sent on the *Claudine*, which, like the *Kangaroo*, proceeded to Batavia before going Home, and, as ill-luck would have it, the Natives caught fever at the Dutch Settlement, and never reached the English Channel.

The author suggests that a Settlement firmly established on the shores of the Bay of Islands, and Marsden's scheme for christianising the Natives so far advanced that the first Resident Missionary was on his road to the scene of his future labours, mark a point in the history of the development of New Zealand where author and reader alike can agree to call a halt. Even if we were not at a suitable stopping place the author has had enough of this class of work for the present, and intends to seek recreation by taking up other employment. Should reader and writer meet again there is plenty to interest them in discussing what the colonists did before the establishment of law and order in 1840 knocked all the romance out of New Zealand life. Meantime, good-bye.

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