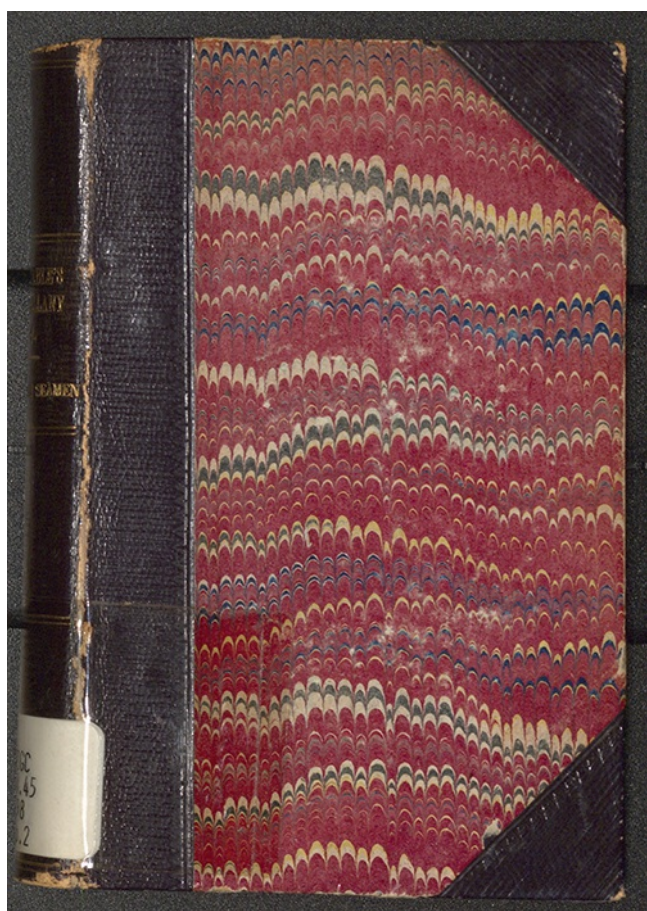




Adventures of British Seamen in the Southern Ocean [New Zealand chapter only]

Hugh Murray

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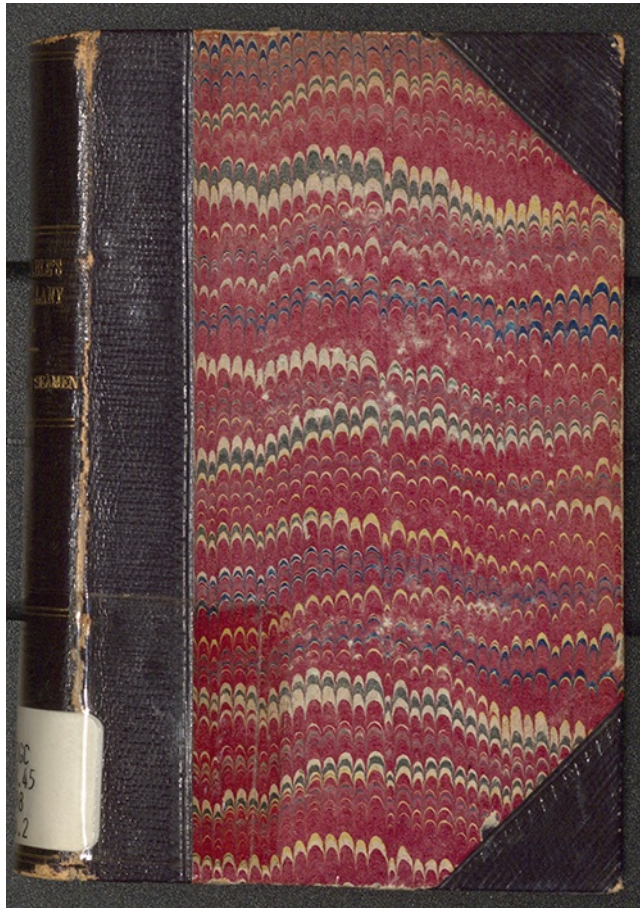
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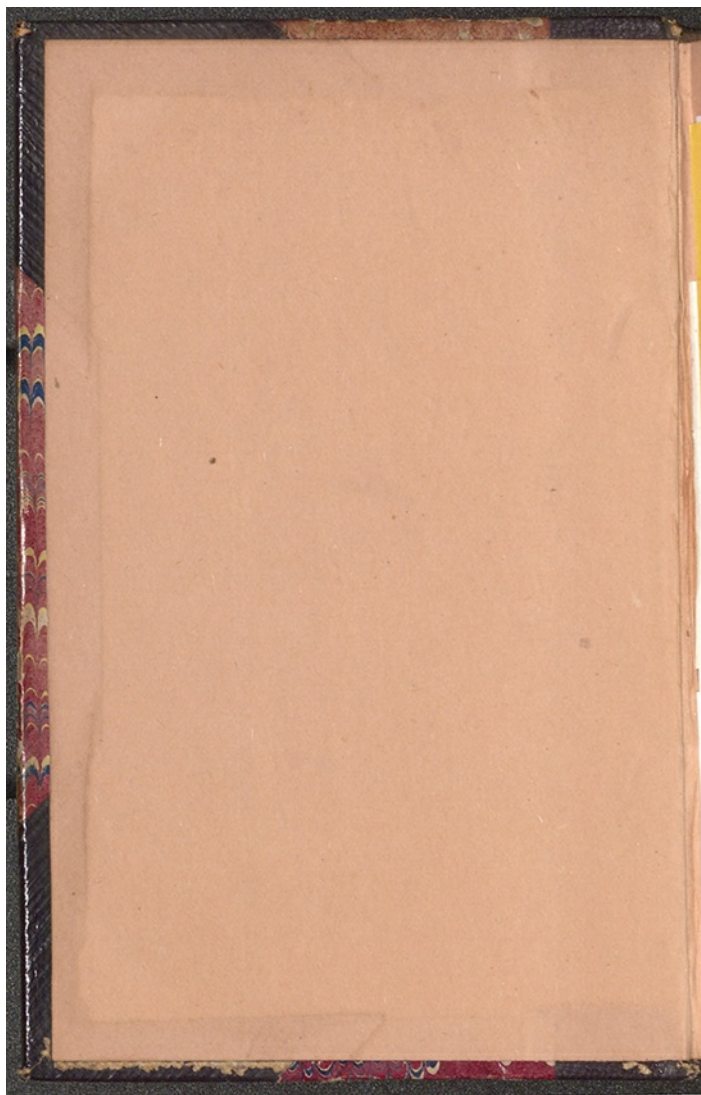
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BRITISH SEAMEN.

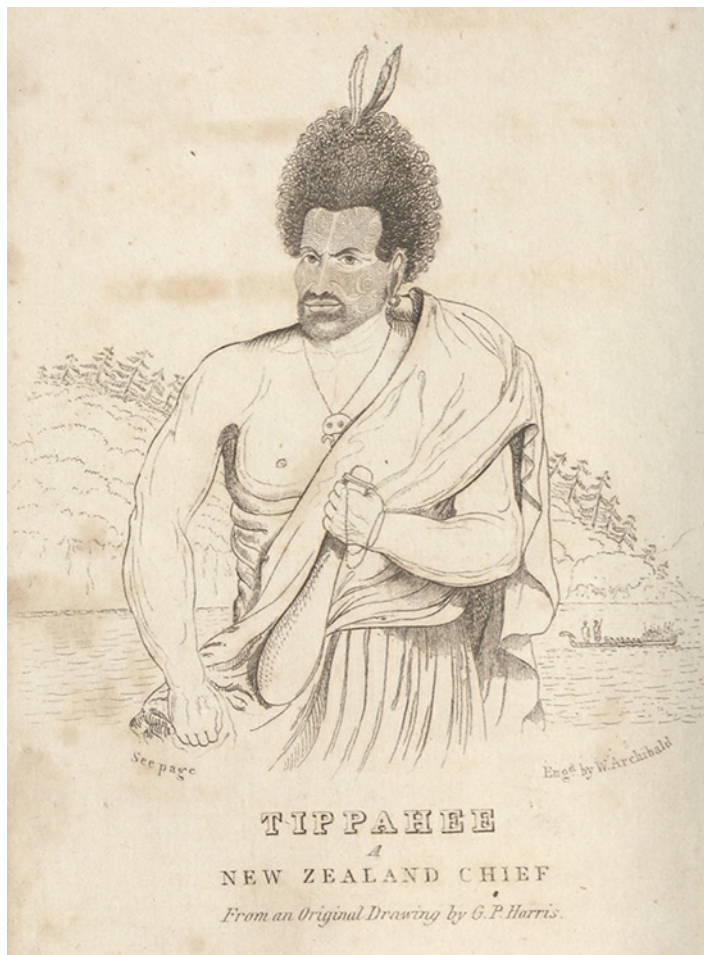
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TIPPAHEE
NEW ZEALAND CHIEF
From an Original Drawing by G. P. Harris.
Engd. by W. Archibald

CONSTABLE'S MISCELLANY

OF

Original and Selected Publications

IN THE VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS

OF

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, & THE ARTS

VOL. IV.

ADVENTURES OF BRITISH SEAMEN



Engraved on Steel by W. Archibald.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR CONSTABLE & CO.

1827

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ADVENTURES
OF
BRITISH SEAMEN
IN
THE SOUTHERN OCEAN,

DISPLAYING
THE STRIKING CONTRASTS
WHICH THE HUMAN CHARACTER EXHIBITS
IN AN
UNCIVILIZED STATE

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR CONSTABLE AND CO.

1827.

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[PREFACE]

PREFACE.

THE vicissitudes of a life at sea are more striking, and calculated to excite a deeper interest, than any other which the circle of real life presents. The continued change of scene, and the extreme peril which every moment impends over the mariner, render his life a scene of perpetual excitement. This is most particularly the case, when his course is through vast and distant oceans, and towards savage shores, where human safety exists in a form wholly different from any to which he has been accustomed. All the voyages through the Pacific are therefore interesting; yet those made under prosperous auspices, and with an united crew

are neither so eventful, nor calculated to give such striking views of human nature, as others, where mutiny, disaster, shipwreck and desertion, have thrown the crews entirely at the mercy of the elements, or of the savage natives. A selection, therefore, of some remarkable recent instances of this nature appeared to form an appropriate part of a Miscellany, of which the object is to combine instruction with rational amusement.

The adventure of Captain Wilson, cast away upon the Pelew Islands, a hitherto unknown group, and received there with a kindness which places the character of untutored man in its most amiable light, would, it was conceived, form a peculiarly interesting part of the present volume. An excellent narrative, which appeared at the time, with some additions, has, it is hoped, enabled us to condense all that is valuable in this beautiful and eventful story.

The violent mutiny which broke out in the *Bounty*, sent out under Captain Bligh to the South Sea with a patriotic object,

gave rise to a series of adventures of the most striking description, and in which all the extremes both of civilized and savage life were displayed with peculiar force. The almost miraculous preservation of Captain Bligh, and the remnant of his crew; – the voyage and shipwreck of the *Pandora*, sent out to discover and punish the guilty; – last of all, the establishment of the mutineers on Pitcairn's Island, and thus the formation of an European society upon a solitary island in the heart of the Pacific: – these form a chain of events, which, taken in connexion, surpass in novelty and interest any thing that is almost ever presented in ordinary life.

The last part of the volume, narrating the catastrophe of a crew on the coast of New Zealand, presents an adventure truly tragical, and places in a strong light the character of a race, in whom many amiable qualities are wildly and strangely united with the most savage barbarism.

H. MURRAY.

Edinburgh,
February 1827.

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PARTICULARS

OF THE

DESTRUCTION OF A BRITISH VESSEL

ON THE

COAST OF NEW ZEALAND;

WITH

ANECDOTES OF SOME NEW ZEALAND CHIEFS.

With a Portrait of Tippahee, from an Original Drawing in the possession of George Brown Esq.

CERTAIN philosophers have asserted, that man in savage life presents an image of genuine innocence and simplicity, and that all his powers and feelings are then most happily unfolded. Such theories have been confuted in the most decisive manner, by modern observation. Savage man has been found not only stained with all the crimes to which the most highly civilized society is incident, but abandoned to a fury and frenzy of passion, of which even its most depraved members are never guilty. Of this a dreadful instance is now to be recorded. An English vessel, the Boyd, Captain Thompson (George Brown, Esq. owner), having sailed from the River Thames on the 10th March 1809, arrived at Port Jackson on the 14th August, with convicts to New South Wales, and proceeded

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to New Zealand for a cargo of timber. The events which followed are detailed in the following letter from Captain Berry of the City of Edinburgh; before proceeding to give which, however, we shall premise a very short sketch of the singular country and nation, among whom this dreadful adventure took place.

New Zealand was discovered, in 1642, by Abel Tasman, an eminent Dutch navigator, and its coasts were afterwards visited by Quiros, Roggewein, and several others, who all supposed it to form a portion of the great imaginary southern continent, or Terra Australis. Captain Cook, however, in his first voyage, sailed completely round it, and discovered that it consisted of two large islands, called by the uncouth names of Poenamoo and Eaheinomauwee. A great part of both is composed of lofty and barren mountains; but many tracts are level and capable of cultivation, though at present they are left entirely to nature. The inhabitants subsist by fishing, or upon fern roots and other spontaneous productions of the earth, they are, perhaps the most savage race known in the world. The small tribes into which the territory is divided, carry on war with a ferocity which has no parallel. They reside in small hippahs, or fortified villages on the tops of hills, where they remain in a continual state of watchfulness and alarm. In their combats, the victorious party proceed invariably to that most dreadful consummation, the tearing to pieces and devouring the flesh of their unfortunate captives. In almost every cove where Captain Cook touched, he found human bones lying near large fires, which had been the scene of these execrable festivities. Yet the

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same writer describes their domestic conduct, and that of the members of the tribe towards each other, in terms of the highest admiration. He even represents their deportment as peculiarly mild, placid, and gentle, and says that they treat each other with the tenderest affection. The death of their friends and relations is bewailed with the most doleful cries, and they then inflict deep wounds on their faces, till the blood flows down and mixes with their tears. These mournings leave numerous scars, which, with various ornaments of bone or wood, serve, for life, as memorials of those whom they held dear. In their intercourse with Europeans, hostility seems the sentiment first excited, as they can with difficulty conceive any but a hostile motive for coming upon their shores. So soon, however, as they are satisfied that these strangers entertain no hostile intention, and are willing even to do them good offices, they change to a friendship and confidence almost unbounded. Their dispositions were fully experienced by Captain Cook and several other navigators, by whom they have been visited. Unfortunately, in the present instance, circumstances occurred, which called forth all the fury of their vindictive nature. What these were, will appear in the course of the narrative, which we shall now exhibit to our readers, beginning with the letter already alluded to, which we copy from the original, addressed to Mr Brown, the proprietor.

Ship City of Edinburgh,
Lima, 20th Oct. 1810.

SIR – I am very sorry to have the painful task

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of introducing myself to you with an account of the loss of your ship Boyd, Captain Thompson.

Towards the end of last year, I was employed at the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, in procuring a cargo of spars for the Cape of Good Hope. About the middle of December, the natives brought me an account of a ship's being taken at Wangeroa a harbour about fifty miles to the N. W. At first, we were disposed to doubt the truth of this report; but it every day became more probable from the variety of circumstances of which they informed us, and which were so connected as appeared impossible for them to invent.

Accordingly, about the end of the month, when we had finished our cargo, although it was a business of some danger, I determined to go round.

I set out with three armed boats; but we experienced very bad weather, and, after a narrow escape, were glad to return to the ship. As we arrived in a most miserable condition, I had then relinquished all idea of the enterprise; but, having recruited my strength and spirits, I was shocked at the idea of leaving any of my countrymen in the hands of these savages, and determined to make a second attempt. We had this time better weather, and reached the harbour without any difficulty. Wangeroa is

formed as follows: First, a large outer bay, with an island at its entrance. In the bottom of this bay is seen a narrow opening, which appears terminated at the distance of a quarter of a mile, but, upon entering it, it is seen to expand into two large basins, at least as secure as any of the docks on the banks of the Thames, and capable of containing (I think) the whole British navy. We found the wreck of the Boyd in shoal

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water at the top of the harbour, a most melancholy picture of wanton mischief. The natives had cut her cables, and towed her up the harbour, till she had grounded, and then set her on fire, and burnt her to the water's edge. In her hold were seen the remains of the cargo; coals, salted seal skins, and planks. Her guns, iron, standards, &c. were lying on the top, having fallen in when her decks were consumed.

The cargo must have been very valuable; but it appears that the captain, anxious to make a better voyage, had come to that port for the purpose of filling up with spars for the Cape of Good Hope.

Not to tire you with the minutiae of the business, I recovered from the natives a woman, two children, and a boy of the name of Davies, one of your apprentices, – who were the only survivors. I found also the accompanying papers, which I hope will prove of service to you. I did all this by gentle measures; and you will at least admit, that bloodshed and revenge would have answered no good purpose. The ship was taken the third morning after her arrival. The captain, it appears, had been rather too hasty in resenting some slight theft. Early in the morning, the ship was surrounded by a great number of canoes, and many of the natives gradually insinuated themselves on board. Tippahee, a chief of the Bay of Islands, and who had been twice at Port Jackson, also arrived. Tippahee went into the cabin, and, after paying his respects to the captain, begged a little bread for his men; but the captain received him rather slightly, and desired him to go away, and not trouble him at present, as he was busy. The

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proud old savage (who had been a constant guest at the Governor's table at Port Jackson) was highly offended at this treatment, immediately left the cabin, and, after stamping a few minutes on the deck, went into his canoe. After breakfast, the captain went ashore, with four hands, and no other arms but his fowling-piece. From the account of the savages, as soon as he landed, they rushed upon him; he had only time to fire his piece, and it killed a child. As soon as the captain left the ship, Tippahee, who remained alongside in his canoe, came again on board. A number of the sailors were repairing sails upon the quarter-deck, and the remainder were carelessly dispersed about the decks, and fifty of the natives were sitting on the deck. In a moment, they all started up, and each knocked his man on the head. A few ran wounded below, and four or five escaped up the rigging, and in a few seconds the savages had possession of the ship. The boy Davies¹ escaped into the hold, where he lay concealed for several days, till they were fairly glutted with human blood, when they spared his life. The woman says, that she was discovered by an old savage, and that she moved his heart by her tears and embraces; that he (being a subordinate chief) carried her to Tippahee, who allowed him to spare her life. She says, that at this time the deck was covered with human bodies, which they were employed in cutting up; after which, they exhibited a most horrid song and dance, in honour of their victory, and concluded by a hymn of gratitude to their god.

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Tippahee now took the speaking trumpet, and, hailing the poor wretches at the mast-head, told them that he was now captain, and that they must in future obey his orders. He then ordered them to unbend the sails, they readily complied; but when he ordered them to come down, they hesitated, but he enforced prompt obedience, by threatening to cut away the mast. When they came down, he received them with much civility, and told them he would take care of them; he immediately ordered them into a canoe, and sent them ashore. A few minutes after this, the woman went ashore with her deliverer. The first object that struck her view, was the dead bodies of those men lying naked on the beach. As soon as she landed, a number of men started up, and marched towards her with their patoo patoos; a number of women ran screaming betwixt them, covered her with their clothes, and, by their tears and entreaties, saved her life. The horrid feasting upon human flesh which followed would be too shocking for description. The second mate begged his life at the time of the general massacre; they spared him for a fortnight, but afterwards killed and eat him.

I think had the captain received Tippahee with a little more civility, that he would have informed him of his danger, and saved the ship; but that, from being treated in the manner I have mentioned, he entered into the plot along with the others.

I think it is likely that I will receive little thanks for this ample detail of such a melancholy business; but I can assure you, it has been very unpleasant for me to write it; and I could only have been induced to do it from a sense of duty, and a

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desire to give you all the information in my power, which, I suppose, may be of some use. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

ALEX. BERRY.²

George Brown, Esq. Owner of the Ship Boyd, London.

Captain Berry afterwards, at the request of Mr Constable, the publisher of this Miscellany, communicated the following additional particulars of the circumstances which led to, and which followed this dreadful catastrophe.

In May or June 1808, Captain Ceronci, the master of a sealing vessel, called the Commerce, belonging to Port Jackson, on his return from the southward, entered into the Bay of Islands, and came to an anchor in that part of the harbour which is called Tippona by the natives, and which then acknowledged the authority of Tippahee, celebrated on account of his voyage to Port Jackson, where he had been treated with the greatest attention by Governor King. Tippahee requested Captain Ceronci to give him a passage to Port Jackson, that he might again have the pleasure of visiting his former friends. On Ceronci's acceding to his request, he begged that he would go with the vessel to Wangeroa, where he assured him that every thing was more abundant, on account of the stores of the natives in his own district being quite exhausted by the whalers, who were continually touching there. Ceronci yielded to the suggestions of

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Tippahee, and, from his own account, was equally pleased with the harbour, the natives, and their chief. As the natives of this district had then little knowledge of Europeans, many trifling articles in common use were to them equal objects of wonder and curiosity. A watch, however, was so much beyond their

comprehension, that they to a man agreed in calling it Etua (or God.) Ceronci, proud of possessing an object of so much veneration, used to embrace every opportunity of displaying his Etua. In one of those vain-glorious exhibitions, the redoubted Etua dropt into the water, to the no small terror of the natives. Shortly after this unfortunate occurrence, he left the harbour, but, for some reasons best known to himself, he departed during the night, and without taking leave, which confirmed the natives in their opinion that he had done them an irreparable injury by leaving his Etua behind him as a demon of destruction. Shortly afterwards, a violent epidemic took place amongst them, which carried off great numbers, and amongst others, their adored Kytoko. This they attributed to the devouring spirit left amongst them, and the survivors vowed revenge against the white men, the supposed authors of their calamity. Tippahee, on his voyage to Port Jackson, touched at Norfolk Island, where (being then employed by the Government to evacuate that settlement) I had an opportunity of seeing him, and dined in his company at the house of Captain Piper the Commandant. He was dressed in certain robes of state presented to him 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 im-

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provement, 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 amongst 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.

Tippahee again received every due attention at Port Jackson, and was, after some months, sent back to his own country. In November 1808, the ship Spike, Captain Kingston, arrived in Port Jackson from London, bringing as passenger a son of Tippahee, called Matara, who had been treated in England with every attention, and even introduced

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to the Royal family. This young gentleman lived whilst he remained at Sydney in the family of the ci-devant governor Bligh, and afterwards in January following, accompanied me as a passenger in the City of Edinburgh to New Zealand. 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 in company 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 few months brought him to his grave.

Some time after our second arrival in New Zealand, Tippahee came on board, and we saw him for the last time; he appeared then much altered, and expressed himself as deeply affected by the loss of his son. This happened a short time before the catastrophe of the Boyd, and his concern in that unfortunate affair was a sufficient reason for his not coming near us any more. Captain Ceronci, already mentioned, was our passenger on board the Edinburgh as well as Matara. From his previous account of Wangeroa, we determined to prefer it. On approaching it, however, his tone en-

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tirely changed, and he exerted himself in persuading us that the Bay of Islands was far preferable to our purpose, and the winds aided his arguments so effectually, that we were compelled to enter the latter port. The vessel anchored at Tippona, and on being visited by Tippahee, we were informed of the melancholy events which had taken place at Wangeroa, and that the great Kytoko was then lying dead, and that his funeral was only deferred until he went round to honour it with his presence. He assigned no cause for these calamities, otherwise than by generally observing, that an evil Etua had been busy amongst them.

On requesting his assistance to forward our views in New Zealand, he at once told us that nothing could be done in the Bay of Islands, and urged us strongly to go round to Wangeroa, which he said now belonged to him by right of inheritance from the death of Kytoko. Before, however, adopting his proposal, we applied to the two brothers, Tupee and Tarra, chiefs of districts on the eastern side of the harbour called Cororarika, and Cowa Cowa. On approaching their village with two boats, which is situated on the side of a little hill; the natives first displayed their flag, consisting of a large piece of scarlet cloth, and came crowding to the beach soliciting us to land. I was then unaccustomed to savages, and for a moment stood upon the bow of the boat, hesitating whether I should trust myself in the midst of such a crowd of uncouth beings, dressed in their rush mats. At this instant a venerable old man, blind of one eye, stalked through the crowd, with an air of authority, pushed back the natives, held out his hand, and assisted me to land. The moment I reached the

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shore, this venerable dignitary seized the collar of my coat with his two hands, drew me towards him, and joined noses. Tupee did not appear for some minutes, being employed in changing his national dress for a pair of duck-trowsers, a check shirt, waistcoat, and an old slouched hat, without either jacket or shoes; while still at a respectful distance, he took off his hat, and made a low bow, and on his approach, instead of joining noses, offered his hand in the most friendly manner. All the disadvantages of his present dress could not conceal the dignity of his person, he being a tall, athletic, well proportioned man; his countenance was very prepossessing, and, although his manly cheeks were already furrowed with a few wrinkles, they seemed rather the effect of exposure to the weather, than of time or sorrow; and, on the other hand, his face and manner equally bespoke a man of judgment and humanity; he spoke with great fluency, a mixed jargon of English and New Zealand, which he contrived to render very intelligible. He immediately introduced by name the venerable chieftain, who, as I have already mentioned, received me on landing. This gentleman, he said, was the illustrious Tarra, his own brother, and his equal in power. He also introduced by name the other subordinate chiefs who had collected around us. Having distributed a few presents to Tupee and his chiefs, the purpose of our visit was then explained, when he immediately promised that he would do every thing in his power to accomplish our wishes. As it was late in the afternoon, it became necessary to shorten our visit; and Tupee, on our first invitation, agreed to accompany us to the vessel, although she was an-

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chored at a distance of seven miles. On stepping into the boat, and perceiving our muskets, he inquired if they were loaded, and on being answered in the affirmative, in an instant, before we could prevent him, fired several into the air to prove his skill in the use of fire-arms. Our passage to the ship was. beguiled by his talents for conversation, and we remained convinced that he was equally facetious and intelligent. Although altogether foreign to my present purpose, it would be unjust not to give this tribute of praise to the characters of Tupee and Tarra. Tarra appeared a man of threescore, Tupee about 45. Tarra's venerable furrowed face was strongly marked with firmness and dignity, and in his youth, before his face was disfigured by the loss of an eye, he is said to have been handsome. Tarra was, however, too much a philosopher to repine at this loss, which was occasioned by a wound he received from a spear in fighting the battles of his country. Tarra's general character was that of firmness and perseverance, a steady attachment to his friends, united to the most unremitted exertions to serve them. He liked white men on account of the physical advantage which he saw they might render his country; but being of the order of the priesthood, was strongly attached to his own national customs. His general integrity might be depended on, and his word was sacred. I do not, however, pretend to describe the old gentleman as perfect, for no doubt interest was his ruling motive; still there is a certain consistence in his conduct worthy of every praise. Tupee, on the other hand, had less firmness and strength of character; he was more liable to be swayed by his passions, and therefore less to

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be depended on, though they generally leaned to the side of humanity. Tupee was proud of his acquirements in European manners, – he was a philosopher of the modern school, more attached to innovation than to the ancient usages of his own country; he was, therefore, the subject, in this respect, of the private ridicule of his countrymen. This ridicule, however, they never dared to display in his presence; and really, upon the whole, it was perhaps more the effect of envy than any thing else. Tupee, had he lived in England, would have rivalled Chesterfield in politeness, and perhaps, as a youth of the nineteenth century, he might have been a London dandy. Tupee loved his friends, but, from a certain indolence of constitution, was less active than Tarra to serve them; his fidelity, however, might be depended on. In domestic life, he was exemplary as a husband and a father. The customs of his country allow polygamy; he, however, confined himself to one wife, by whom he had issue, – one daughter, the heiress of Cowa Cowa, then in her infancy. On being asked why he had deviated from the custom of his country, he coolly observed, that where there were more wives than one, there was never any peace in the house. But my friendship for those two respectable characters must not induce me to enlarge farther; I shall merely say, that, under their auspices, from the 1st March to the end of May 1809, we landed the stores, &c. of the ship City of Edinburgh, of 526 tons register, hove her down, completely stripped her of her copper, caulked, repaired her bottom, and resheathed her with plank made of New Zealand pine, and, after completing our repairs, we

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made sail for the Feejee Islands, for sandal wood, and again returned to New Zealand, about the end of October, in the same year; and in little more than two months, procured a full cargo of spars, in opposition to difficulties which are foreign to my present purpose to recount, occasioned equally by the Europeans on board, and by hostile tribes of natives. Far be it from me, on the other hand, to confine my praise to Tupee and Tarra, as the conduct of many of their friends was truly admirable, though I must always regard them as the mainsprings of the whole.

During our first stay in New Zealand, we heard nothing of the story of Ceronci's watch. On leaving the harbour, however, with all our friends on board, with a singular fatality, he again dropt a second watch overboard. The venerable Tarra, who was near him, wrung his hands, and uttered a shriek of distress, exclaiming, that Ceronci would be the destruction of the Bay of Islands, as he had already been of Wangerooa. Tupee, however, came up, and endeavoured to compose his brother, treating the whole as a matter of ridicule.

We carried along with us six or eight young Zealanders, who volunteered their services to assist in the navigation of the ship. They were all natives of the Bay of Islands, and in a short time proved equally useful as our best men on board. On our second return to New Zealand, Ceronci was not on board. As our intentions now were to load with spars, we again determined to give the preference to Wangerooa. On approaching the land, our intentions became known to the New Zealanders on board. They immediately came in a body, and requested we would desist, detailing, at great length,

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the history of the watch; and when they found that we were determined, they even burst into tears. The winds, as in the former instance, availed more than all their arguments, and compelled us to enter into the Bay of Islands. I say compelled, because we must otherwise have sacrificed a considerable time to gain an uncertain object. On the other hand, we did not give full credit to their assertions, nor, perhaps, do sufficient justice to their motives; for, being well acquainted with the jealousy of neighbouring tribes, we imagined that they were anxious to monopolize all the advantages which were sure to be derived from the ship to their own tribe.

The reception we received at the Bay of Islands was such as might be expected from the terms on which we had formerly lived with the natives, and the characters of Tupee and Tarra. The physical strength of the island was at our command, and rafts of spars came floating down the river as fast as we could take them in.

By the time, however, that the ship was half loaded, news were received of one of their chiefs, who had taken a journey to the southward, being treacherously murdered by the natives. The chiefs were filled with indignation, and vowed revenge. At all their intervals of rest, one or other of their most popular chiefs used to rise up, and make the most moving harangues to the listening multitude. It was a striking sight to see a large multitude, seated on the ground, listening with deep silence and fixed attention to a chief who, on these occasions, used to pace in their front along some stately pine, felled for the purpose of being dragged into the water. He used to begin with expatiat-

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ing on the virtues of the deceased, the friendship which he enjoyed with one, and the ties of blood with another. Continuing to expatiate in this strain until he had touched the feelings of every auditor, he next dwelt upon the sad and irreparable loss to all present occasioned by his death. He then, with energy, endeavoured to rouse them from their melancholy, by pointing out the uselessness and folly of unavailing sorrow, and that vengeance was now their indispensable duty. Now rage and indignation used to flash from every eye; and the multitude, to a man, would start up and join their orator in the war-song and dance. The song and dance being ended, the orator once more addressed his hearers to this effect: – "Yes, my friends, we shall have vengeance, but the day is yet at a distance. The white men are our friends, and we have promised to load their ship with the trees of our country. Arise, kill the trees, drag them down to the water, and we will afterwards kill our enemies." On such occasions, an enthusiast might easily have supposed himself transported back to the heroic ages of Greece; the venerable Tarra might well have been compared to Nestor; Tupee to the silver-tongued Ulysses; and the proud, impassioned, and unbending Metenanga to Achilles. The consequence of all this was, that their love of vengeance gradually overcame their love of riches (axes and other iron tools), and they began to collect war canoes from different quarters. Our work got on more slowly, and they were evidently impatient to get rid of us. About this time, one morning very early, on leaving my cabin, I observed

a number of strangers sitting on the gangway, and Tarra in deep conversa-

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tion 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 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 Wangeroa, who had killed and eaten the captain and crew; that the Wangeroons having procured the fire-arms 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 dependents to assist in defending you. Tarra, on being further questioned, informed us that the vessel carried 20 great guns, and 40 men; which, together with their former anxiety to get rid of us, rendered the story hardly credible. Upon the whole, however, I determined neither to slight Tarra's advice, nor to allow my object to be defeated by vamped up stories. I discouraged the report among the sailors, lest they should get disheartened, and proceeded in my undertaking with increased activity, but with greater caution and

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vigilance. For some time the report hardly gained credit even among the natives; and, on mentioning the affair to Tupee some days after, while he was superintending the wood-cutters, he merely observed that he had heard such a report, but that it had gone in at the one ear, and out at the other. In a short time, however, it received such confirmation as to compel belief; the circumstances related being not only so consistent with one another, but of such a nature as evidently to exceed the powers of invention possessed by the natives. I therefore thought it indispensable to arrange a party for the purpose of ascertaining the fact, and liberating some captives who were said to have escaped the general carnage. Having advanced thus far, I am unwilling to repeat what I have said in another place, and shall, therefore, only state some circumstances illustrative of the character of the natives.

They, to a man, inveighed against the danger and folly of such an attempt, and made use of every argument to dissuade me from undertaking it. No argument could induce any of them to accompany me. They observed, that, after the fidelity with which they had so long served us, it was ungenerous to ask them, as such a thing would infallibly embroil them with the natives of Wangeroa, who, in whatever way the undertaking ended, would certainly take revenge upon them after the departure of our ship, and that they had now great advantage from the possession of 60 many European arms. They, however, gave me abundant directions how to guard against being surprised. I, however, prevailed upon a young Zealander, who had been along with us on our

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former voyage, and who had engaged to go to Europe in the vessel, to accompany us, it being essential to have a New Zealander along with us, in order to bring about an interview with his countrymen at Wangeroa. As we had only 24 muskets on board, and the party to Wangeroa consisted of 22, including the New Zealander and myself, it became necessary to borrow from Tupee and Tarra all the fire-arms in their possession for the defence of the ship in my absence. These arms were up the country, and a delay of some days took place before their arrival. As the time was pressing, I could not wait for them; but, trusting entirely to their fidelity, I left the ship guarded merely by her two six-pounders, and two or three defective pieces. I went out, however, in the night, that my expedition might not be generally known among the natives. On returning again to the ship next night, being driven back by a gale of wind, I found that the muskets had arrived, and that the cabin was filled with Tupee, Tarra, and many of their friends, who had come on board for the safety of the ship. A few days previous to this undertaking, a young native of Otaheite, known by the name of Tom, absconded from the ship with a young female to whom he was attached. This young man, although not particularly serviceable as a sailor, was, notwithstanding, a great favourite on board, and on many occasions rendered considerable service from speaking English and the New Zealand language, which is a dialect of his own, with equal facility; the loss of him, therefore, was considerably felt.

While preparing the boats for the second attempt to go to Wangeroa, one of the mates said

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that he had been informed that Tom had gone away with a man that was under the authority of Metenangha, a chief considerably attached to us, and who was then on board. I immediately informed him of what I had heard, and desired that he would take measures for the recovery of the man. His answer was, that he had no control over the man who had taken away Tom, and, therefore, could do nothing for his recovery. Convinced of the contrary from what I had just heard, I observed with some warmth, 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, at the same time, turned from him with a degree of contempt, and walked towards the cabin. Metenangha was strongly moved by such unusual treatment, and called me back several times by name in a manner that showed his agitation. As I did not attend to him, he ran towards me, and seized my arm, declaring, with great emotion, that he had been my friend from our first arrival in the country, and had rendered us every service in his power; that he was perfectly innocent of the crime alleged against him; that he could not bear to be treated in such an unworthy manner; that he would, therefore, leave the ship immediately, and I should never see him more. Unwilling to bring matters to this extremity, I immediately offered him my hand, observing that I would say no more on the subject, if he would accompany me to Wangeroa. Yes, he replied, taking my hand, I will go with you; my presence will insure you every thing you require at that place. You shall see what a great man I am. The men of Wangeroa are a small

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people, and must do what I order. Thus a most trifling circumstance, at first not of the most auspicious kind, produced in a moment what all my persuasion, promises and bribes, were unable to effect. Let it not be supposed that Metenangha was or could be at all accessory to the catastrophe of the Boyd, because he claimed, whether true or not, an authority over the people of Wangeroa; for at the time that unhappy occurrence took place, he was employed in procuring spars for our ship. From the confidence I reposed in Metenangha, every thing, on our reaching Wangeroa, was left to his management. He landed ashore by himself, and directed the boats to a more convenient landing-place, where he quickly joined us with two of the principal chiefs and several of their friends, who had been engaged in the massacre of the Boyd. Those gentlemen, dressed in canvas, the spoil of the ship, approached us with the greatest confidence, held out their hands, and addressed me by name in the style and manner of old acquaintances. The conversation soon turned upon the capture of the ship, which, far from avoiding, they delighted to dwell upon, evidently regarding it as a most heroic exploit, in the same way as a party of British tars look back with pleasure to some successful attempt against an enemy's ship of superior force. They readily mentioned the name of the ship and captain, the number of men and guns. I then asked the reason of the attack, "Because," they replied, "the captain was a bad man." On inquiring what he had done, they answered, that some of their chiefs having secreted the

carpenter's axe beneath his clothes, the theft was detected before he left the ship, in consequence of which, the

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captain tied him to the capstan, where he kept him for several hours, and threatened to flog him. On my remarking that the conduct of the chief merited the treatment he received, they replied, that any indignity offered to a chief was never forgiven. I then inquired if there were any survivors, to which they readily replied in the affirmative, mentioning their names with great familiarity, and even with an appearance of kindness and sympathy. They were then informed that we had come to Wangeroa for the purpose of delivering the captives. I then pointed to my men and their muskets on the one hand, and to the heaps of axes on the other, bidding them take their choice, and either deliver the captives peaceably, when they should be paid for their ransom, or I would otherwise attack them. The chief, after a moment's hesitation, replied with great quickness, that trading was better than fighting, then give us axes and you shall have your prisoners. He now pointed the way to his settlement, and desired us to go with our boats, and that he himself would go round by land. I, however, compelled him to get into the boat, and go along with us. He was for few moments a good deal daunted on finding himself entirely in our power, but soon recovered from his alarm, and talked on every subject with the greatest coolness and composure. A winding tide river, so narrow as hardly to leave room for a boat to turn, with low banks covered with mangroves, conducted us to their settlement. On our passage up, the natives, concealed among the mangroves, saluted us with their muskets, whether with a view to honour our arrival and celebrate their reconciliation with the white men, or to convince us that

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they were as well armed as ourselves, I did not learn. On reaching the settlement, we found a great crowd collected, of whom several of the females were decently dressed as Europeans. We were told that the prisoners were then up the country, that they would immediately send for them, and that they would be delivered up the next morning. The chiefs then pressed us to sleep amongst them all night, promising to provide plenty of fish and potatoes for our supper. Metenangha and our young friend Towaaki seconded their request with great earnestness. Towaaki, seeing me bent against it, went so far as to ask if I felt afraid to sleep among so many natives; observing that Metenangha was our assured friend, all present were Metenangha's friends, and therefore they must be mine. That the captain and my people had frequently slept with every security in the midst of his friends on former occasions, and might now do so with equal safety. I could only reply to this reasoning, that, although perfectly assured of my own safety, and the firm friendship of Metenangha and his friends, still that I thought it preferable to sleep with our men on a small island near the remains of the Boyd, but recommended him and Metenangha to sleep with his countrymen. The natives again promised to bring down the prisoners next morning, as soon as the tide flowed enough to allow their canoes to leave the river. I now observed, from the tide ebbing, that our boats would soon be aground, and was therefore obliged to hasten our departure, not without observing some slight attempts to detain us by compulsion, by the same chief whom I had just compelled to accompany us round in the boats

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and, although no doubt from equally harmless motives, still the attempt rendered our departure for the moment more urgent, lest it might have been necessary to repel violence by violence, which might have entirely defeated our object. I thought it quite unnecessary to keep the chiefs in my possession, being fully convinced, that, as they had acquired confidence by once putting themselves in our power without danger, they would do the same a second time without scruple. It is singular that, although they said the prisoners were at a distance up the country, the female survivor afterwards related that she was kept seated among the natives in the bushes, so near as to overhear the whole conversation between them and myself.

I had so much confidence in Metenangha and Towaaki, that I believed we might have accepted their invitation to sleep in the midst of the natives with safety; but as there was nothing to gain by such a step, I thought it unwise to incur any risk. On the other hand, we had just examined the miserable remains of the Boyd; – we had seen the mangled fragments and fresh bones of our countrymen, with the marks even of the teeth remaining upon them; and it certainly could not be agreeable to pass the night by the side of their devourers. The island where we took up our abode for the night was a small perpendicular rock, where we could have defended ourselves against any number of New Zealanders. Here we made a fire, cooked some victuals, and passed the night in safety. About one in the morning we received a visit from our friend Towaaki, who came to assure us that the chiefs would keep their word; adding, that he had seen the lady, to whom one of the chiefs being at-

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tached, which was the cause of her being detained here for a night longer. Next morning the natives, agreeable to promise, brought to our quarters a young woman and her sucking child, and a boy belonging to the vessel about fifteen years old. On inquiring at the female whether there were any other survivors, she mentioned the infant daughter of Mr Commissary Broughton, with whose family I was intimately acquainted, I thereon applied to the chief, demanding its restitution, observing that it was of more importance than all the others, who were strangers to me, but that Mr Broughton was my brother, employing the word in the emphatic sense used by the natives, who often employ it to signify that relation which subsists between friends or equals. He replied, that it was in the possession of the chief of the island, at the entrance of the harbour; that this island being under his authority, he would send one of his people to order its being given up to me. I then told him he must go himself, as perhaps the chief of the island might not obey the orders of his servants. Make yourself easy, (he replied), you shall have the child, but I will not go with you, as the sea is very rough outside. His refusal was peremptory, and there was no time to parley; I, therefore, to the no small consternation of their attendants, compelled the two principal chiefs and several of their followers to go into the boats. On reaching the island I sent ashore one of the followers, who received orders from the chief to demand the delivery of the child. A long conversation took place between him and his countrymen, and no child appearing for upwards of an hour, I began to be greatly alarmed for its

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safety. This delay, I afterwards had reason to believe, proceeded from the endeavours of the natives to deliver it up in as decent a manner as possible. It was tolerably clean, with its hair dressed and ornamented with white feathers, in the fashion of New Zealand. Its only clothing, however, consisted of a linen shirt, which, from the marks upon it, had belonged to the captain. The poor child was greatly emaciated, and its skin was excoriated all over. When brought to the boat it cried out in a feeble and complaining tone, "Mamma, my mamma!" Having thus given a detailed account of such circumstances connected with the loss of the Boyd as at present occur to my memory, it only remains for me to say a few words concerning the survivors. We left New Zealand with a cargo of spars about the 6th January 1810. Bound to the Cape of Good Hope, the early part of our voyage was prosperous; but, about the middle of February, being then 57° S. lat., we lost our rudder in a gale of wind. It would be foreign to my present purpose to enlarge upon the consequences of this event. Suffice it to say, that we drifted about at the mercy of the elements amongst the ice of the Southern Ocean, were afterwards driven into a bay on the west coast of Terra del Fuego, about forty miles to the south of Magellan's Straits, where we lost all our anchors and cables, and only at last saved the ship by keeping her for many days fast along side of the rocks. This bay I

chose, like a second Crusoe, to call the Bay of Providence. After suffering considerable distress, and escaping the most imminent dangers, we arrived at Valparayso about the end of May; and, after giving some repairs to the ship, sailed for Lima, where we arrived in

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August. In this latter place, circumstances compelled us to remain ten months, during which period the female died, as was supposed, from the consequence of her own irregularities. Davies, the hoy, came to England in an English vessel called the Archduke Charles. The children were regarded by the humane Spaniards with the greatest interest. They considered it as a mysterious act of God's providence to bring the unoffending innocents to a Christian country, where they might be educated in the Holy Catholic faith, without danger of being tainted by the heresy of their parents and countrymen.

Miss Broughton was taken under the immediate care of the lady of Don Gaspar Rico, the Director of the Company of the Five Gremios, and became a general favourite. She soon acquired such a knowledge of the Spanish language as to speak it equally well as any native child of her own age, in a country where all the children are remarkable for their early development of intellect. Notwithstanding her tender age, she had a perfect recollection of the massacre of the Boyd. I have more than once been present when the cruel but interesting question was put to her, if she recollected what the Zealanders did to her Mamma? Her countenance, on such occasions, assumed the appearance of the deepest melancholy; and, without uttering a word, she used to draw her hands across her throat. On farther questions, she would say, with every appearance of the most painful feeling, that they afterwards cut her up, and cooked and eat her like victuals. No one acquainted with human nature can suppose this perfect recollection of circumstances incompatible with her feeble and plaintive cries after

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her Mamma on being brought down to the boats. Don Gaspar Rico was equally attached to his little protegee as his lady. On one occasion, having taken her along with him into his study, after some time he observed, that, from being unusually lively and full of play, she suddenly became serious, and sat down upon the sofa, where she continued for a considerable time absorbed in the deepest melancholy. Fearing that she was ill, he inquired affectionately what was the matter. Ah! she replied, clasping her little hands, I am thinking what they did with my Mamma. The interest which the extraordinary history of the little creature at first excited, readily ended in a most affectionate attachment from her endearing qualities, more particularly as Mrs Rico had no children of her own. In a little, Mrs Rico could not bear the idea of parting from her little charge, and every endeavour was made to induce me to permit it to remain with her for at least some years. I considered, however, that I had no discretionary power, and that it was my bounden duty to return the child, under all circumstances, to its father. Therefore, as the solicitations became so urgent, and as I could not help sympathizing in the affection which subsisted between Mrs Rico and the child, I began, with good reason, to distrust my own resolution; and, lest I might sacrifice my duty to my feeling, found it necessary to forego the pleasure I derived from visiting in that family. The other child remained, as may be supposed, under the care of its own mother during her lifetime. After her death, it was taken into the house of a Spaniard, from which, with great difficulty, I took it away on the sailing of the ship, after paying a considerable sum

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for its nursing. It was considerably younger; not such a fine child as the other, although sufficiently healthy and lovely; and, from the conduct of its mother, did not excite so much interest as the other.

From Lima the ship proceeded to Guayaquil, where she loaded with cacao for Cadiz. She afterwards arrived at Rio Janeiro in December 1811, two full years from the time of the survivors of the Boyd being received from the New Zealanders. In the harbour of Rio Janeiro, we found a small whaling vessel, called the Atlanta, about to sail for Port Jackson, the captain of which (his name I do not at present recollect) being acquainted with Mr Broughton, offered to take charge of his daughter, which offer was acceded to, on his also agreeing to take the other child to its father. I know that the two children reached Port Jackson in safety.

ALEX. BERRY.

London, January 1819,

To Archd. Constable Esq.

THE END.

Printed by the Heirs of D. Willison.

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¹ Davies was long afterwards in the employment of Mr Brown, but unfortunately lost at sea some years ago.

² This Gentleman is now resident at Sydney in New South Wales, and of the highly respectable Commercial House of Barry and Woolstencroft.

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