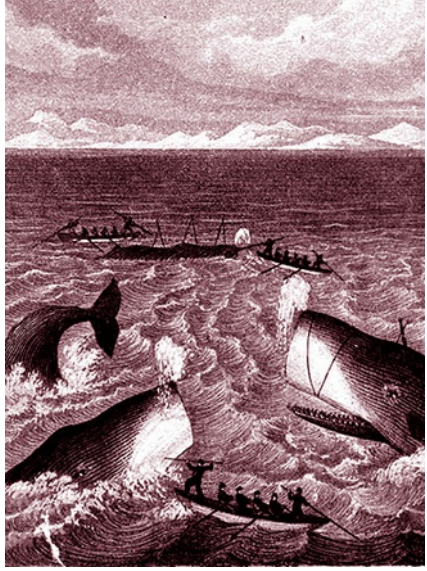


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Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage... Vol. I. [Selected chs.]

Peter Dillon

First published by Hurst, Chance and Co. in 1829

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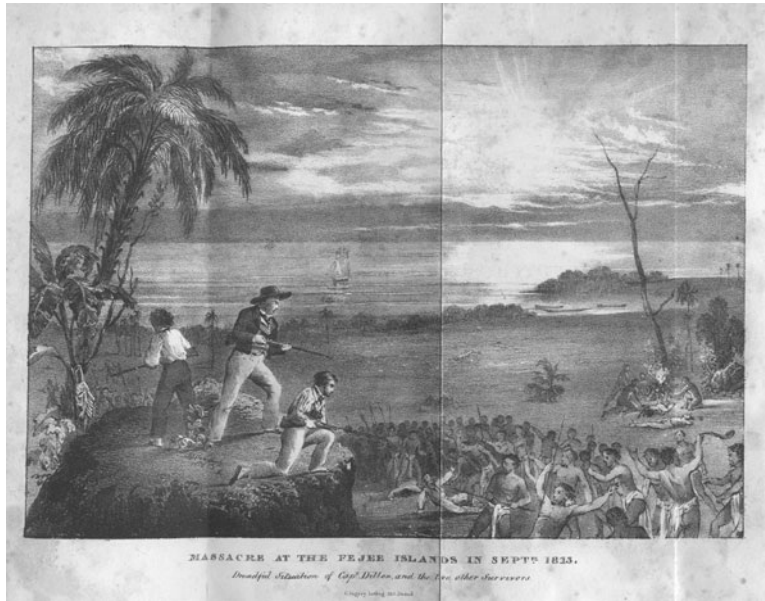
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MASSACRE AT THE FEJEE ISLANDS IN SEPT. 1823.
Dreadful Situation of Capt. Dillon, and the two other Survivors.
C. Ingrey, Lithog. 310 Strand.

[TITLE PAGE]

NARRATIVE
AND
SUCCESSFUL RESULT
OF A
VOYAGE IN THE SOUTH SEAS,

PERFORMED BY ORDER OF THE
GOVERNMENT OF BRITISH INDIA,
TO ASCERTAIN
THE ACTUAL FATE
OF
LA PEROUSE'S EXPEDITION,
INTERSPERSED WITH
ACCOUNTS OF THE RELIGION, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND CANNIBAL PRACTICES
OF THE
SOUTH SEA ISLANDERS.

BY THE
CHEVALIER CAPT. P. DILLON,
Member of the Legion of Honour; of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and of the Geographical Society of Paris:
Commander of the Hon. East-India Company's Ship Research.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

LONDON:
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[DEDICATION]

TO

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Page v

THE CHAIRMAN,
DEPUTY CHAIRMAN,

AND

COURT OF DIRECTORS

OF THE

Honourable East-India Company,

THIS

SIMPLE BUT FAITHFUL NARRATIVE

OF A

VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY,

PERFORMED BY COMMAND OF

THE SUPREME GOVERNMENT OF BRITISH INDIA,

WHICH HAS THEREBY SECURED THE GRATITUDE OF THE FRENCH NATION,

AND OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD,

BY AN ACT EVINCING A NOBLE REGARD

FOR THE CAUSE OF HUMANITY AND SCIENCE,

CALCULATED TO RENDER NATIONS ILLUSTRIOUS,

AND TO CEMENT THE BONDS OF AMITY BETWEEN STATES,

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY THEIR MOST OBEDIENT,

AND VERY HUMBLE SERVANT,

PETER DILLON.

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[PREFACE]

PREFACE.

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AMID the numerous books of voyages and travels continually presented to the public, it may be thought difficult for a new work of this kind to obtain attention. But the reader is requested to observe, that this work has many claims to notice quite peculiar to itself. It is not an account of nations which resemble ourselves in manners and civilization, or of countries which had been a hundred times before visited and described; on the contrary, in this voyage the reader is conducted amid the savage tribes of the South Seas, through tracts never before fully explored, and made acquainted with human nature under a new aspect, described from the personal observation of a living witness, who has had ample

opportunities of studying their characters both in peace and war, and who had nearly fallen a victim to their cannibal propensities.

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This voyage also possesses a peculiar interest, from its having solved a question which divided the opinion of the scientific world for a period of forty years. And the discoverer of the fate of La Perouse, after having effected this discovery, considered that to lay a narrative of the voyage before the public, was a duty he owed to the French as well as to the British nation, and more especially to the Government of British India, under whose auspices it was performed.

As his professional education, studies, and habits of life, have however been hitherto directed to action rather than to the description of the acts of himself or others, he has entered with diffidence on the task of authorship, only when thus imperatively called on to do so, in order

that the world may be put in possession of a correct account of the important transactions and extraordinary scenes in which he has had the honour to take a part. He does not, therefore, attempt to engage attention by an eloquent style or flowery description, but rests his claim to notice on a simple statement of facts, set forth without ostentation in the unadorned language of a plain seaman. He trusts, therefore, that the reader will not expect from him the niceties of diction which may be justly required of a professed author, but will treat the work with indulgence, as the first essay of an unpractised pen.

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In conclusion, the author hopes that these pages will meet with a favourable reception from his professional brethren, who are able from their own experience to judge of the difficulties he had to overcome. The successful result of his labours may teach the unfortunate naviga-

tor, encountering danger in the cause of science, to bear up even amid the greatest calamities: for, on whatever remote island or sequestered shore he may

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have been thrown, unwearied public sympathy will at last find out the scene of his disasters; and if, unhappily, too late to restore him to his friends and country, it will erect a trophy to his memory and mourn over his untimely fate.

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CHAPTER VI.

OCCURRENCES FROM PORT JACKSON TO NEW ZEALAND.

4th June 1827. – FIRST part of the day light airs and calms: latter part, winds strong from the northward. At 9 A. M. weighed and stood to sea. At 11 A. M. the pilot left us. Latitude obs. at noon 34 deg. 50' S. when the point of South-head bore W. 4 miles. Thermometer in the shade 70 deg.

Not knowing whether fresh water could be procured at Tucopia, and dreading the disposition of the Mannicolese, where, if I should succeed in finding anchorage, and require water, it would be exposing my men to too great hazard to land them among hundreds of savages armed with poisoned arrows, I determined to take in water at the nearest known watering-place to Mannicolo, and thus, by having a sufficient supply of this indispensable article of consumption, I could set the natives at defiance, until an opportunity offered of establishing a friendly intercourse with them, as I understood them to be very hostile to Europeans since the wreck of the two French vessels upon their coast. I therefore determined to sail for the Friendly Islands, to which place I expected a

short passage, it being the middle of winter in these southern latitudes, at which time the wind mostly prevails from the west. Having arrived there, I could water and resume the voyage without delay,

13th. – Nothing worthy of notice having occurred for the last nine days, I pass them over as uninteresting.

I have crossed this part of the Pacific Ocean at least twenty times, and have uniformly had short passages till now.

For the first two days after quitting Port Jackson, the winds prevailed from the westward; from that period the wind blew from S. E. to N. E. At 1 o'clock this morning it blew a violent gale, accompanied by heavy falls of rain. The main-topsail was split, and we were obliged to heave-to for the remainder of the day.

14th – At 8 A. M. the gale abated: the wind shifted from N. E. to N. N. W., when we swayed up the top-gallant mast and yards, which were housed during the gale. Set all sail, and stood to the eastward. Latitude at noon 34 deg. 22' S.; Longitude 164 deg. 40' 30" E.

17th – We have had for the last three days the winds mostly from the eastward. Latitude at noon 34 deg. 24' S.; longitude 167 deg. 23' E.

Being on a voyage fraught with danger, not only from the seas, but from surprise while at

anchor in the ports, on shores which are inhabited by barbarians relentless and treacherous, or by cannibals, who besides their naturally savage disposition, are further impelled to seek our destruction by their horrible propensity to devour us, – I deemed it more imperatively necessary that the officer on watch should at all times and in all places be on the alert.

To prevent the recurrence of a most disgraceful instance of criminal neglect which took place this morning, I caused the following remark to be placed on the log-board, for the information of the officers keeping watch: –

"Received information that one of the officers has been in the habit of sleeping on deck in his watch: found it to be the case. Looked over the offence this time, although such conduct is in direct violation of the articles of agreement, and contrary to the rules and regulations of the service. It endangers the life of every individual on board, as also the property of the Hon. East-India Company. I am determined, should such an occurrence take place again, to disrate the officer and send him off the quarter-deck. An officer who sleeps on his watch, exposes himself to the sarcasms of the common sailors, and can never command with authority, having placed himself in the power of his inferiors."

Latitude by observation to-day, 34 deg. 24' S. Longitude by lunar observation, 167 deg. 29' 30" E.

23d. – Having met with so much bad weather and foul winds on this passage, I gave up the idea of proceeding to the Friendly Islands, and thought of proceeding to Tanna, one of the New Hebrides, to complete my water and re-stow the ship, which duty had not been performed since leaving Calcutta; and there but very indifferently, through the unseamanlike conduct and want of skill in the former chief officer. On the 20th instant, the second officer had informed me that he found seventeen water-casks empty in the hold, besides those which had been emptied for the ship's use.

Before determining to bear away, I deemed it prudent to ascertain the exact complement of water on board, and to my utter astonishment found only twenty-seven casks, being little more than one cask to every three individuals in the ship.

From this circumstance it would appear that my late chief officer did not cause more than half of the casks to be filled at the Derwent, although he wrote to me stating that all the water-casks in the ship were filled by a person on shore, with the exception of three, which he stated would be immediately filled by the crew. I had therefore now no alternative but

to proceed for New Zealand, and there complete my water, notwithstanding such a proceeding was likely to cause some delay.

At 5 1/2 P. M. the boatswain caught a very large shark of the brown species, an occurrence highly gratifying to "his excellency" Morgan McMarragh, inasmuch as it promised a feast of no ordinary delicacy. He declared that the mogow (their name of the shark) was most delicious food, and proceeded to exemplify his taste by scoring off a piece for his supper. But, notwithstanding his argument was thus ably supported by example, the sailors did not seem to pay much attention to either, and were about to toss the remaining part of the monster overboard, when, vexed to the heart to see so much excellent fish thrown away, he commenced an earnest expostulation with them on the subject, advising them to preserve it for the ladies at the Bay of Islands (at which place they would soon arrive), who, he said, most melodiously, sweeter by far than the nautch girls of Calcutta: giving them reason to hope that they might, on their arrival in the bay, expect numerous visits from those Eastern Catalanis.

25th. – Fresh breezes, and cloudy throughout the day: winds from N. N. E. Shortly after daylight observed that the sea assumed a light

colour, an indication that we were not far from the coast of New Zealand. Our latitude by observation at noon was 34 deg. 53' S., longitude 172 deg. 2' E.

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Thermometer in the shade 63 deg. At half past one P. M. land in sight bearing N. N. E. per compass, distance ten leagues, which proved to be the Three Kings, off the north coast of New Zealand.

The wind blowing directly from the shore, we could not approach it. Carried as much sail during the night as the ship could conveniently bear, beating to windward.

26th – First and middle part of the day strong breezes from the north. At 1 P. M. hard squall with rain: at 2 P. M. it fell nearly calm with variable airs. At 5 P. M. a light breeze sprung up from the south-west, accompanied with fine clear weather. At noon the latitude observation was 34 deg. 31' S.; thermometer in the shade on deck 64 deg. At 6 A. M. the Three Kings hove in sight, and at 8 they bore N. E. by N. 1/2 N. six leagues. We had all sail set working to windward, as it blew directly from the shore. At 4 P. M. the centre of the Three Kings bore N. E. by N. six or seven leagues. We had all sail set steering to the northward, with a view of passing on that side of them, not wishing to be caught in this un-

settled weather between the islands and Cape Maria Van Diemen.

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27th. – The first part of the day, light variable airs from the south-west; the latter part perfect calm. At daylight this morning we had the Three Kings in sight, bearing E. by S., distance about ten leagues. Latitude by observation at noon 34 deg. 7' S.; thermometer on deck 63 deg. in the shade. At sunset the centre of the Kings bore E. 1/2 S. per compass, eight or nine leagues.

28th – Unsteady breezes throughout these twenty-four hours, from N. E. to N. by W. with occasional showers of rain. Carried as much sail as possible, working the ship to windward. At noon the Kings bore E. 1/2 N. per compass ten leagues. The thermometer on deck at the same time stood at 61 deg.

29th – The first and middle part of these twenty-four hours strong breezes and cloudy, thick weather with rain; winds from N. to N. W. Latter part light breezes with clear weather; winds from W. N. W. to W.

Being on the starboard tack standing to the westward till 4 A. M., tacked about and stood to the eastward. At 10 A. M. the Kings were in sight. At noon the centre of them bore E. by S. distance nine miles. The wind being free, stood to the eastward under a heavy press of

sail, and happily succeeded in passing them at 3 P. M., this being the fifth day the ship was in sight of them. This was rather an extraordinary occurrence at this season of the year, as the wind generally blows strong from the westward, enabling ships from Sydney to make a passage to the Kings in eight or ten days at most; but, unfortunately for our expedition, the ship had been now twenty-seven days on the passage.

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OCCURRENCES AT NEW ZEALAND.

1st July 1827. – Though the first part of this day had been squally, in the middle and latter part we had fine pleasant weather. At daylight stood in for the Bay of Islands, and at 9 A. M. anchored in five and a half fathoms of water in Corararicka Bay. The ship was surrounded before letting go the anchor by several canoes, containing a number of natives. Being Sunday, we were all attired in our best. I spoke to them in the native language, but they did not recognize me for a long time. At length one of the young ladies called out most lustily, notwithstanding her delicate sex, "Rangatheera no Patareekee," it is the captain of the St. Patrick; alluding to the ship which I commanded here last year. This recognition was re-echoed in every New Zealand throat, and nothing for some time was audible but the word "Peter," the name by which I am known by the South Sea Islanders.

A man who appeared to be of some consequence in one of the canoes, requested to be admitted on board, but this I refused; alleging as my reason that he had nothing to barter.

He replied that he had. I repeated that I could see nothing: but he, pointing to the stern of his canoe, in which sat a pretty female about twelve years old, insisted with a significant glance that he had something better than a "buocka" (hog). I thanked him for his kind intentions, but replied, that the ship was tabooed (i. e. sacred, or not to be approached) until another anchor was let go, and the sails handed. Our conversation then assumed a political cast, in the course of which he informed me that he was the nephew of Boo Marray, a great and powerful chief, and the proprietor of this harbour, who, he said, my friends at the river Thames had killed about twelve months ago. He also said that Boo Marray's son had been killed with about two hundred warriors, and that there was an expedition then fitting out against the Thames tribes, consisting of all the allied chiefs of the north, who were fully determined to exterminate the whole of the Boroos and McMarraghs. He then inquired where the two young men were that belonged to the Thames country, whom I took from thence in the St. Patrick. Being informed that they were with me he then said, "You must deliver them up, that we may kill and eat them directly." He was clothed in a war mat, with a mantle of dog-skins thrown loosely over his

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shoulders; his countenance at this moment assumed an aspect of the most savage ferocity, his eyes starting from their sockets with the intenseness of desire to seize on the innocent relatives of a people with whom he happened to be at war. It is hardly necessary to say, I replied to his cannibal request by telling him that the young men were under the protection of the British flag and guns, and should not be molested while on board: that they were tabooed. When on shore they might be treated conformably with the laws of New Zealand; but the intimation of his intentions regarding them, would make me careful as to where they should land.

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I ordered up my friends, Brian Boroos and Morgan McMarragh, who went to the side of the vessel and commenced a conversation with their would-be devourer. The chief spoke to them with as much nonchalance as if he had never expressed a wish to pick their ribs or sup on their roasted chine: a business that, if I might judge from the preparations his canoe exhibited, he seemed to have entertained some idea of, prior to putting off to the ship. He spoke in terms of the highest respect and praise of Brian's father, saying that two of Boo Marray's sons were taken in battle, with other men of consequence belonging to his tribe, and enslaved. That Brian's father shortly afterwards

ordered them to be released, and furnished them with a canoe, in which they returned to their native district, and were now two days' march in the interior, but would pay him a visit the moment they heard that he had arrived.

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The ship being moored, this gentleman was allowed to come on board. Brian Boroos and he took each other by the hand, and gently inclined their heads until their noses touched. Their conversation then turned upon the heroic exploits of Brian's countrymen in the late wars.

Several young ladies condescended to come on board, and the decks were shortly crowded with females, some of whom made a very genteel appearance, being dressed in English gowns, shirts, and petticoats: others were in their native costume. Without solicitation, they proceeded voluntarily to amuse us with songs, dances, war whoops, and comic performances, in which they succeeded inimitably.

Many of them were so kind as to remain all night on board, and indeed did not depart during the ship's stay. This, however, I would not have permitted, were it not that I knew they expected it as a matter of course. It being the practice with whalers touching here, to receive and treat them very kindly, and a deviation from such custom on my part, might tend

to engender suspicion and distrust in their minds, which was a feeling I particularly wished to avoid.

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This mode of acting toward savages is in my opinion founded on the soundest policy. All savage nations with whom I have had intercourse for the last nineteen years, when meditating any thing against the lives of those whom they regard as enemies, as the first step secure their wives, children, and the aged, and place them beyond the reach of those they intend to attack. When neither women nor children are to be seen, it may with certainty be concluded that an attack is in contemplation: whereas their allowing them to remain on board a ship, is a sure guarantee of their peaceful intentions. They become, as it were, hostages for the lives of the seamen who are employed on shore to procure wood and water; for should a party on the land have formed any design on the lives of the boat's crew, others interested in the safety of the females would oppose the execution of it, and would naturally reason thus: "if you molest those people, my sister, my niece, or my daughter, who are now on board, will be murdered."

I have been at islands where nothing could induce the natives to come on board till they beheld a couple of women and children moving about. Their fears then vanished, and gave

place to the most implicit confidence; and not only would the men venture into the ship, but they would bring their females also to visit the strangers. Confidence being thus established, I always managed to have a sufficient number of women on board on a friendly visit, while my men were employed on shore wooding, watering, and searching for sandal-wood.

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The opening or entrance of the Bay of Islands is formed between Point Pocock on the north-west and Cape Brett on the east. The distance between the Point and Cape Brett is about four leagues in breadth. The shore may be approached within a cable's length on either side of this large bay. There is only one danger to be avoided, which is the Whale Rock of Captain Cook, laid down on my chart of this bay.

Within half a mile of the islands which front the coast from Cape Brett, near Thapecka Point, which forms the eastern boundary of the harbour of Cororaricka, the hills on each side of the bay present to view a covering of green fern and innumerable trees of various sizes and species.

2d. – Light breezes, with fine weather; wind from the westward. Thermom. in the shade 61 deg.

My people were employed in hoisting out the long-boat, and getting down the lower yards,

in order to replace them with new ones, they having been much injured by the late stormy weather.

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Shortly after daylight several canoes put off to the ship, laden with hogs, potatoes, &c, a part of which I purchased in exchange for muskets and gunpowder.

About 10 A. M. I went ashore, accompanied by Monsieur Chaigneau and Mr. Griffiths the surgeon. We landed at the watering place, where we found the stream very scanty, owing to the long drought. The natives received us kindly, and conducted us along a path which they said led to an Englishman's house.

We shortly reached a very neat hut, surrounded with a palisading of about nine feet high. On entering it, we found the inhabitants consisted of an English cooper and his wife, a native of New Zealand. The man informed us that he had been cooper's mate to a whaler, and had been left on the island in consequence of ill health; that he had not thoroughly recovered yet from his illness, and never expected that he should. He is sometimes employed by the shipping that touch here in repairing their water-casks, making buckets, and performing any other work that they may occasionally require in the way of his trade, for which he receives gunpowder, flints, musket-balls, cut-

lery, ironmongery, &c, and barter those articles with the natives for hogs, fish, poultry, wild ducks, pigeons, and potatoes, whereby he ekes out a very comfortable subsistence for himself and wife.

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He is under the protection of a mighty chief, named King George, who was up the river at the timber district, procuring spars for his son-in-law, the captain of an English whaler, shortly expected to arrive from the fishery, whither he had also taken his wife.

The cooper told us that he understood a company had been formed in England for the purpose of establishing a factory here, and to procure spars, flax, and the other productions of New Zealand. That for this purpose a ship and cutter belonging to the company arrived from England, under the command of their agent, Captain Herd, with mechanics of the descriptions most likely to promote the end in view. They consisted of ship-carpenters, sawyers, blacksmiths, and flax-dressers, and they had on board with them machines for sawing and flax-dressing.

Captain Herd, however, disliked the appearance of the New Zealanders¹ so much that he abandoned the expedition, and proceeded to

Port Jackson, and on his arrival at Sydney such of the mechanics as desired it were discharged. Four of them returned to New Zealand, took up their lodgings with the cooper, and were now employed on the other side of the bay, by the missionaries established here, in repairing a small schooner that plies to New South Wales, and brings supplies for the missionary establishment.

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We passed a little further along the beach, and came to another small cabin, inhabited by a blacksmith that belonged to Captain Herd's expedition, and settled here when it first touched at the islands. He is married to a New Zealand woman.

Further on we came to a third dwelling, occupied by four Europeans, employed in sawing plank. Johnston, the proprietor of it, was discharged from a whaler about three years ago, and forming the resolution to settle here, united himself with a native woman of the country, who had two fine children by him. He disposes of his planks to the ships which touch here, receiving in return tea, sugar, biscuit, flour, and such articles as the cooper accepts for his work.

This man informed me that he lived under the protection of Moyhanger, the chief who accompanied Mr. John Savage to England in 1805 or 1806, and was the first New Zealander

that ever appeared in Europe or at the British court. Moyhanger is a chief of considerable importance, brother to queen Terrooloo, the mother of the great and powerful king George.

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We extended our walk across an isthmus that conducted us to a beautiful bay, about a mile and a half distant from the ship. Here we found the village and fort of the late Boo Marray, in which was a house, built of plank, of English construction, or rather resembling the houses of New South Wales, with glass windows. It consisted of two apartments; the one a bed and the other a dining room. The house was furnished with some chairs, a table, bedstead and bedding, a looking-glass and dressing-case, with various other necessaries. This house, I understand, belongs to the captain of an English whaler called the Emily, son-in-law to the late Boo Marray, and at the time of my visit the gentleman and his wife were absent at the fishery on the equator.

The personage who conducted us from the watering place was Thee Thory, chief of Wyemattee, holding a rank similar to that of a marquis in Europe, and brother-in-law to the great chief Shanghi. He was, without exception, one of the finest made men I ever met with. He informed me that Shanghi had lately made war upon the Wangeroa tribe, one half of whom he

slew, and drove the other half from that part of the country.

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Wangeroa is about sixteen miles from the Bay of Islands, and is the place where the dreadful catastrophe of the Boyd took place. It was here that the crew and passengers of that ill-fated ship were cruelly massacred and devoured, in the year 1809.

In 1823, or early in 1824, this savage tribe attacked the Mercury, an English whaler brig, and plundered her of every thing portable on board. The captain and crew sought safety in the boats, abandoning the ship to the fury of the savages, leaving only the chief mate and steward on board. Being taken by surprise, they could not bring the latter off with them, but proceeded with the boats to the Bay of Islands, and joined some whalers whom they found at anchor there. The two men would have been massacred but for the interference of one of the missionaries established at Wangeroa, who reached the vessel just in time to save the lives of his hapless countrymen. Having succeeded in persuading the natives to quit the brig, and the wind at the same time springing up from the shore, the mate, assisted by the missionary and steward, made sail and stood out to sea.

At the time the islanders boarded her the Mercury touched the ground, which rendered

her very leaky, and those on board were therefore compelled to abandon her, taking to the whale-boat in order to preserve themselves from going down.

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Shortly afterwards the vessel was thrown on shore near the North Cape, and became a total wreck.

We learnt from the Europeans who resided on shore that the object which the four carpenters before-mentioned had in view in returning to New Zealand, was to proceed to Hookianga, a harbour on the west side of this island, distant from hence about thirty-five miles, and there build a vessel on their own account. Messrs. Cooper and Levery, and Messrs. Raine and Ramsay, two respectable firms at Port Jackson, have each I understand, an establishment at Hookianga for procuring pork, flax, spars, planks, &c. and are very well treated by the natives, who have permitted them within the last twelve months to build two or three small schooners.

In the afternoon I returned to the ship, in company with my conductor, the Marquis of Wyemattee, who seemed highly pleased with her warlike appearance but particularly viewed with eager eyes the musket-rack: indeed so intense was his attention to these fire-arms, that it was not an easy matter to divert it to any other object. He expressed a very anxious wish to go to Bengal, and inquired from Prince Brian Bo-

roo (whom he tenderly embraced) if he was likely to meet with as good a reception at Bengal as his kinsman Shanghi had experienced in England, who was kindly received by his royal brother, King George the Fourth of Great Britain, who bestowed on him a coat of scale armour, impervious to musket-balls, spears, or arrows, and an elegant double-barrelled gun, with a vast variety of other presents. Page 196

Prince Brian endeavoured, though without effect, to dissuade him from encountering the Indian climate, which he represented as very unhealthy; saying it was intolerably warm, and so much infested with mosquitoes as to prevent sleep. That the only person he (the prince) met in Bengal to give him muskets, food, lodging, or clothing, was his friend Peter, and that, all things considered, he had much better remain in his own country. However, the idea of all the fine things that his kinsman had received in Europe so wrought upon the marquis's imagination, that his resolution to see Bengal could not be conquered by Brian's rhetoric, and he avowed his intention of acquainting Shanghi, his brother-in-law, of the affair, who knew and had sailed with me when he (the marquis) was quite a lad.

These Thory made me a present of seven hogs, and forty or fifty baskets of potatoes, each

weighing about seventeen pounds; in return for which I presented him with an old musket and some gunpowder, as the most desirable gift I could confer, which was evinced by the thankfulness of his countenance on receiving them. He then bid me adieu, and set out for his brother-in-law's residence at Wangeroa. Page 197

At night I gave the officers the strictest charge to keep a good look-out, and not to suffer their vigilance to be lulled by the friendly appearance of the natives: for though they gave the whalers a friendly reception, our conduct was not to be guided by theirs, since our circumstances were so widely different. The small arms, ammunition, cutlasses, &c. which we had on board, were powerful stimulants to a fierce and warlike people, and might act as an additional inducement to them to surprise us, as they did the Boyd and the Mercury. It was incumbent on us, for the general safety, to keep the most vigilant watch during the night.

3d. – My first visit to this bay was in the Mercury, in November 1809. My next was in command of the Active brig, of Calcutta, in June 1814, sent here by the Reverend Samuel Marsden, to convey Messrs. Kendall and Hall, missionaries, to try the disposition of the natives, and ascertain if it were possible to establish a mission among them with any degree of safety.

My third visit was in August 1823, while commanding the Calder, of Calcutta. My fourth was also in the Calder, in February 1825; my fifth in the ship St. Patrick, in April 1826; and the present made my sixth visit to New Zealand. Page 198

The following chiefs went passengers from here to Port Jackson with me in the Active in 1814: – Dueetarra, Korrakorra, Tui, king Shanghi, Depero, son to Shanghi, and Thenana.

Before I reached this port in the St. Patrick last year, I had been in the river Thames, where I lay at anchor during the months of January, February, and March, purchasing and taking in a cargo of spars for the East-India market.

4th. – I was visited this morning by queen Terrooloo, her brother Moyhanger, and her son king George, who were on their return from the spar district to their respective residences at Korrararicka.

Shortly after king George came on deck he inquired for Brian Boroo, who after some persuasion on my part came up from below. King George approached him and embraced him tenderly, as did his mother and Moyhanger, and in a long and eloquent speech to Brian Boroo and Morgan M'Marragh, desired them, on their arrival at the Thames, to inform their friends that himself and the chiefs of the

north had not forgot the death of Boo Marray: that it was his determination to set out for the Thames as soon as the potato crops were housed (which would be in January next), to seek revenge for the loss of Boo Marray, and several other friends, slain in battle about twelve months ago. He at the same time admitted that the battle in which Boo Marray was killed took place in the middle of the day, that there was no treacherous night-work in it, and that it was all fair fighting. He then presented Brian Boroo with a few baskets of potatoes, and assured him that he had the greatest regard for his father, and was exceedingly sorry that the laws of New Zealand compelled him to seek blood for blood, and go to war with Brian's friends. Page 199

Moyhanger is a man with a small shrewd eye: his countenance indicates all that cunning, characteristic of one brought up in a state of nature. On seeing the lascars, he knew they were from a country he once visited. He enquired of me if I had seen his friend "Missi Savage." I knew he meant Dr. John Savage, now a full surgeon in the Hon. East India Company's service at Calcutta. I replied, "I saw Dr. Savage a few months ago, who asked me whether Moyhanger was alive or not. I told him I believed you were alive; that you were

now known by the name of king Charley; and that I had seen you when I was here in the St. Patrick." Page 200

He wept bitterly, and said, "Missi Savage was a very good man: he took me to England and brought me to King George's house. I was a fool at that time; I did not know what was good. When King George asked me what I liked, I told him some tokees (iron tools) and nails. Had I asked for muskets, he would have given me a hundred. We did not know the use of them in New Zealand at that time, and set no value on them: but were I to go to England now, and King George the meidey (meaning King George the son) were to ask me what I liked in England, I would say 'boo, boo' (that is, 'musket, musket')."

I requested him to inform me how he got to England. He gave his narrative nearly in the following words:

"Missi Savage came here in a whaler from Port Jackson: I went with him. We were four months going from here to St. Helena, where we lay at anchor some weeks, until a number of large ships from the lascars' country (India-men) came in. We left the whaler, and went on board of one of them. We all sailed together from St. Helena for England. I saw the coast of France before I got to London, to which

country, I understood, Marion belonged, who was killed in Parao Bay a long time ago.

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"After I arrived in London, a friend of Dr. Savage (Earl Fitzwilliam) took me to King George's house: I was dressed in my New Zealand mats. We entered a large room, and shortly after King George and Queen Charlotte came in. I was much disappointed: I expected to see a great warrior; but he was an old man that could neither throw a spear nor fire a musket. Queen Charlotte was very old too: she was bent with age. They behaved very kind, and asked me what I liked best in England to take home with me. I told them tokees. Queen Charlotte put her hand under her mat into a little bag that was there, and took out of it some red money (meaning guineas) and gave it to me. Queen Charlotte asked me to give the war-dance of New Zealand. When I did so she appeared frightened: but King George laughed, saying, ha! ha! ha!

"I then went out with my friends, and got the full of my hand of white money (shillings) for one of the red ones. I thought the people in England very foolish to give so many white monies of the same size for the red one of Queen Charlotte.

"Shortly after this I got a wife with some of Queen Charlotte's red money; her name was

Nancy. She was very fond of me, and proved pregnant. She used to ask me if the child when born would go to New Zealand, and if it would have such marks on its face as mine.

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"I was then ordered on board the Porpoise man of war, and went with her to St. Helena, the Cape of Good Hope, and Madras, where I saw Governor Barlow, who looked very much like you: I believe he is your father. He is great man." (In this I did not undeceive him.)

From what I could now make out, I supposed him to have gone up the Persian Gulph. He described some country he visited that I could not properly understand.² However, he soon after stated himself to have sailed from Madras for England, and on his arrival there to have been put on board a whaler commanded by Capt. Skelton. In her he proceeded to Van Diemen's Land, and from thence to New Zealand, without touching at Port Jackson.

He, with his sister the queen, and his nephew king George, begged and intreated of me to take him with me to Bengal to see his friend Mr. Savage; and being ten or twelve men

short of my complement, I agreed to it. He said he could not pull the ropes, but that he would make a good soldier and fight, either on board the ship or in the boats. I told him to be prepared, and that I would take him on board when I was about to sail.

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As Moyhanger mentioned the name of Marion, I deemed it prudent to inquire into the circumstances that led to that gentleman's massacre in this bay. From what I learnt, Capt. Marion being on a voyage of discovery in 1772, touched at the Bay of Islands, where the ships anchored in a bay, now called 'Man o' War's Bay,' situated at the back of Parao Island, which is one of those islands fronting the coast from Cape Brett to near Tapecka Point. Queen Toorooloo said she recollected perfectly well the massacre. That there was an European female on board of Marion's ship, whose name was Micky; and that she had a child with her, but whether male or female I could not make out. Micky had been on shore at Parao washing some linen; and a party of the Wangeroa tribe being there on a fishing party, stole some of it. A scuffle also ensued between the seamen and natives about some fish that were taken in a net. Micky was alarmed, and made the best of her way off to the ship in one of the boats. In the mean time Captain Marion, unacquainted

with what had taken place, landed, and was killed.

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The account of what had happened shortly reached the ships, and two hundred men went on shore armed with muskets; but the natives, confident in their numbers, and unacquainted with the deadly effect of fire-arms, faced them boldly. The patoo-patoo and spear stood no chance against musket-balls, and the Wangeroa people, who fell in dozens, could not conceive how it happened, not being able to discover the instrument by which they were wounded. At length they flew to the main land, and sought safety in a fortified place, supposing they had been engaged with spirits, who blew fire and smoke at them out of their mouths through the muskets. The musket they called "boo," which word in New Zealand signifies "to blow." They were pursued by the Frenchmen to the main land, where vast numbers were killed.

The person who murdered Captain Marion was named Cooley (or the dog): he was a native of Wangeroa; and it is rather extraordinary that the Wangeroa tribes were the first and last to molest and injure Europeans.

There are several songs composed by native bards on the battle and death of Marion, in which the name of Micky and her child are frequently mentioned. I have heard those

songs sung on various occasions, but did not understand the meaning of them till now.

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When the natives learnt that Monsieur Chaigneau, the French gentleman attached to the expedition, was a countryman of Marion's, they called him by the name of Marion, and continued to do so during our stay here.

Towards evening king George left the ship with his mother and uncle, having each of them teased me out of a musket.

5th. – This morning at daylight I went on deck, pointed out to the carpenter and the other mechanics their respective jobs for the day, and returned to my cabin. Shortly after the chief officer informed me that the carpenter refused to work, pretending to be sick; which I considered rather extraordinary, having but a few minutes before seen him, when he did not complain of illness. I proceeded therefore on deck, and was informed that the carpenter had retired to bed; on which I sent for him, and directed him to go to work: he refused, and told me plainly he would go on shore. To deter and affright him from this step I had recourse to the following expedient. I asked him if he had seen any preserved human heads offered for sale by the natives since our arrival? He replied, "Yes." – "Then, sir," said I, "if you attempt to desert from the ship, I will pay the natives

to preserve your head and bring it here as a curiosity." This threat had the desired effect.

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Seeing the four carpenters belonging to Capt. Herd's expedition settled on shore, with as many wives as they thought proper to keep, and under no control, my carpenter had formed the wish to join them as already stated.

I sent the surgeon to see if there was any thing the matter with the man, who reported that he was intoxicated, and ought not to be exempted from work. I therefore sent for him again; but, as he hesitated in coming up from his birth, I desired him to be informed, that if he did not immediately return to his duty I

would punish him. He then approached me in a menacing posture, with a sharp-pointed chisel in his hand, and as I expected he was going to stab me, I seized on the first weapon I could make use of to defend myself. This happened to be the leg of a chair: with it I succeeded in keeping him off, and ultimately forced him to ascend the main rigging and proceed into the top, where he resumed his duty.³

The officer then complained to me that the

officers of the night-watches had great trouble in getting their respective watches on deck last night, and that several of the crew were then in a state of intoxication. I was not surprised at this, such occurrences having frequently taken place on board during the time of the former chief officer, but I was at a loss to ascertain how they procured the liquor. The only rational conjecture I could form was that they had been plundering the hold, or my cabin stores, as I had already lost nearly eighteen dozen of wine. Page 207

Two of the men who refused to work were this day punished with a few stripes of a rattan and rope's-end.

The European part of my crew were without exception the most abandoned set I ever met with; they were all deserters from other ships, not one of them going by his proper name. They had been suffered to act as they pleased by my late chief officer, and were indulged in their sloth and filth, of which neglect the ship displayed evident marks. If an officer now requested them to do their duty, he was treated with the grossest insolence; as they fancied that they ought to be permitted to act in the same manner as formerly, and that the lascars should clean the ship, leaving these mutinous unprincipled rascals nothing more to do than steer the vessel, eat, drink, and sleep.

6th. – Yesterday and to-day, which were the only days of fine weather that we have had since our arrival here, I had the people employed in stowing and cleaning the hold fore and aft. The weather being much unsettled, impeded our progress, as we had to hand all our dry provisions on deck before we could get at our water-casks, which were stowed in the ground tier; and when an occasional shower of rain came, or any appearance of it, we had to put our provisions off deck immediately to preserve them, and get them up again when the weather would permit. Page 208

The ship having been much injured, both in her spars and bolts, during the late gales, I employed a carpenter from the shore, with a blacksmith, to assist those on board.

At 2 1/2 A. M. the moon shone with peculiar brilliancy. All was hushed in the most solemn silence on deck: not a foot in motion throughout the ship, although there ought at that time to have been fifteen men on the alert, that being the complement of which each watch consisted. Supposing all was not right, I went on the quarter-deck, when to my astonishment, I beheld the second officer sound asleep upon a small cask, loudly snoring as he sat. I did not disturb him, wishing to ascertain how long he would continue in that situation.

There was not one man of the watch to be seen, and the vessel seemed deserted by all, save the sleeper and myself. I reflected on the risks to which the lives and property of all on board were exposed by this shameful disregard of my most positive injunctions, and my mind dwelt with pain on the instance before me of a dereliction from all the principles of duty. Page 209

While I was thus employed, one of the men having at length perceived me, with cool deliberation walked from the poop to the quarterdeck, and feigning to look out of the port near to which the officer was still sitting asleep, he had the audacity to stand upon his foot, although I was steadfastly looking at him all the time. Observing his intention, which was to awaken him, I reprov'd his unmannerly behaviour, and asked him how he dared take the liberty to disturb the gentleman while sleeping so comfortably? The man replied, that he had only come from the poop in order to look through the port at a canoe which he supposed to be coming up to the ship. This was but a petty subterfuge, for on board of a ship we always get upon the most elevated situation to look out for approaching danger; but this man, on the contrary, had descended to the quarterdeck from the poop, to look through a port that was nearly blocked up by a twelve-pounder,

The officer being now awake, I addressed him nearly in the following words: "Sir, are you devoid of all sense of manly and honourable feeling, thus to expose this ship, the property of the Hon. East-India Company, with all the lives on board, to the savage inhabitants of New Zealand! Can you so soon forget the remark I placed on the log-board on the 17th June last, for your guidance as well as that of the other officers in the ship? do you forget whose conduct gave rise to that remark? To what purpose did I address you and the other officers on Monday evening last, when I so strictly charged you to be vigilant, particularly at night? Did I not endeavour most forcibly to impress on your mind, that no confidence is to be placed in savages, who at best only await favourable opportunities for destroying us? Consider the melancholy catastrophes of the Boyd and Mercury: do you wish to have the dreadful scene re-acted on board the Research? What do you mean by this conduct? If I were in a port where I could procure another officer to fill your situation, I would instantly dismiss you. Such conduct is disgraceful to the character of a British officer and seaman; and if again repeated I shall disrate you, and send you off the quarter-deck." He listened attentively, and promised to behave better in future. Page 210

8th. – Fine pleasant weather throughout the day. At 7 A. M. an English South-seaman, called the Emily of London, arrived here from the fishery with a full cargo of sperm oil. She had put in to refit, and proceed thence to London direct. On board of her was Boo Marray's daughter, whom I had often seen before. She wept bitterly on seeing me, as I was a particular friend of her father, who she said was now no more. Page 211

It is the custom in New Zealand, when friends or relations meet after long absence, for both parties to touch noses and shed tears. With this ceremony I have frequently complied out of courtesy; for my failure in this respect would have been considered a breach of friendship, and I should have been regarded as little better than a barbarian, according to the rules of New Zealand politeness. Unfortunately, however, my hard heart could not upon all occasions readily produce a tear, not being made of such melting stuff as those of the New Zealanders; but the application of a pocket handkerchief to my eyes for some time, accompanied with an occasional howl in the native language, answered all the purposes of real grief. This ceremony is dispensed with from strange Europeans; but with me it was indispensable, I being a "Thongata moury;" that is, a New Zea-

lander, or countryman, as they were pleased to term me. Page 212

After the excess of our sorrow at the recollection of Boo Marray had subsided, the captain's lady seemed very much pleased on learning that Brian Boroo was on board the Research and in good health. She said that he had been an old sweetheart of her's, and in treated of me to protect him from the fury of her brothers and tribe. Both she and her husband dined with me to-day, and she handled her knife, fork, and spoon, and otherwise conformed to our rules of table etiquette, in a style that would do credit to many persons laying claim to a greater share of refinement.

The commander of the Emily informed me that he procured his cargo of oil on or about the equator, between the longitudes of 175 deg. E. and 175 deg. west. His water falling short, he touched at Simpson's Island, in latitude 0 deg. 25' N. and longitude 175 deg. 32' E., to procure a supply. With this view he sent two of his

boats on shore with their respective crews, where one remained for the purpose of digging a well in the sandy beach, while the other put back to the ship for the casks.

On the return of this last boat the natives rushed out from the woods, armed with lances and daggers, the sides and points of which were

set with sharks' teeth, and attacked the Europeans so suddenly that they were thrown into some confusion. In one of the boats were two muskets, one of which was rendered unserviceable by the water, but with the other one of Brian Boroo's subjects did a good deal of execution. The party were compelled to abandon one boat to the fury of the natives, and retreat in the other, after one European and one New Zealander had been slain in the affray, whose bodies fell into the hands of the savages. A second attempt to land was not made. Page 213

9th. – Moderate breezes and fine weather. Our people employed rafting off water-casks. The run of water on shore is very small at this season, the rains not having properly set in yet. The whole force of the stream was not greater than if it ran through a pistol-barrel. I kept the people on shore during the nights as well as the days to fill the casks.

I was visited this morning by a lascar, and an Otaheitan named Jemmy, whom I had seen on board the ship *City of Edinbro'*, in this port in November 1809. They left that ship, and have since resided among the New Zealanders. The *City of Edinbro'* belonged to the Cape of Good Hope, and was owned by Messrs. Shortt and Berry, of Cape Town, both of whom now reside in New South Wales. The lascar in-

formed me that he was treated very kindly by the natives. His countrymen on board and myself made him several presents of ironmongery and other things which might be useful to him in his adopted country, and I also made Jemmy some presents. He had a son with him, a lad of about twelve years old. Shortly afterwards Moyhanger came on board, to know if I yet retained my intention of taking him with me to Bengal, to see his friend Mr. Savage? I told him that I would: when he said that he had something to shew me, and drew from under his cloak an old soldier's cap, asking me if I could accommodate him with a red jacket. Having satisfied him in this respect, he observed that he should make a brave soldier, and would no doubt look well in uniform. Page 214

In the course of our conversation he informed me that his tribe had assisted Mr. Berry, of the ship *City of Edinbro'*, to rescue the survivors of the *Boyd* from the people of Wangeroa. His mentioning this circumstance induced me to inquire of him what he knew concerning the unhappy fate of that ship, which he readily agreed to relate to me.

Before giving Moyhanger's story I must relate some circumstances anterior to it, which I am myself acquainted with, and which will serve as a prelude to the tragedy.

The first European vessel that entered Wangeroa was the *Star*, an English South-seaman, commanded by Captain Wilkinson, who arrived there in the year 1805 or 1806. The head chief of Wangeroa at that period was named "Peepee" (or Cockle), who had a son. This chief requested Captain Wilkinson to take his son with him to Europe, where he might procure some tokees and fish-hooks for his father and tribe. The young man accordingly embarked with an attendant on the *Star*, and sailed with Captain Wilkinson to the seal fishery at the Antipodes Islands. While on board the young prince obtained the name of George, which he retained till his death, which happened in 1823. On the captain's return from the seal fishery he touched at Wangeroa, where George requested to be landed, and was accordingly restored to his friends, having been treated by the good captain with particular kindness during the voyage. Page 215

The next vessel which visited Wangeroa was the *Commerce brig*, which came here for spars in 1807.

After her, in 1808, the *Elizabeth*, belonging to Mr. Blackall, of Port Jackson, and commanded by Captain Stuard, bound for the Fejees, touched at Wangeroa on her voyage. It was in this vessel that Prince George a second time quitted his friends and native country, to

try what he could gain by adventure. He performed the voyage to the Fejees, and from thence to Port Jackson, where he arrived in November of the same year. Here he met his old friend Captain Wilkinson, of the *Star*, and did not require much persuasion to induce him to embark with him upon a sealing expedition to the South Seas. Page 216

It may be necessary to observe in this place, that the rate of payment in whaling and sealing ships entirely depends upon the success which may attend the voyage, there being a certain proportion of the skins or oil allotted to each individual, according to the capacity in which he engages, or his skill in the fishery. Hence it is not improbable that the adventurers may, on some voyages, make a very handsome "lay," as the South-seamen term it; while it is equally possible that they may have nothing for a long and tedious voyage, the whole depending, as before stated, on the success which they have.

The vessel in which George shipped was employed till late in 1809 in a fruitless search after seals, and the consequence was, that after twelve months' labour and fatigue at sea, poor George had nothing to receive: a circumstance which, no doubt, preyed on his mind, being incapable of reasoning on the fairness of the system of pay in the sealing trade. It was suffi-

cient for him to know that he had worked enough for the white people to be entitled to some compensation, and not receiving any, he considered himself injured. Page 217

On his return to Port Jackson he shipped on the *Boyd*, without either tokees or nails, to return to his native country, almost as poor as he had quitted it. The *Boyd* was a ship of nearly 500 tons burden, and was commanded by Captain John Thomson: she belonged to the highly respectable firm of Boyd, Buckle, and Buchanan, of London. She was chartered by the British Government early in 1809 to convey convicts and stores to New South Wales, where having arrived, she was partly chartered by Mr. S. Lord of Sidney, to proceed to Wangeroa for spars, which were to be discharged at the Cape of Good Hope. Mr. Lord also put on board a large quantity of New South Wales mahogany, seal skins, oil, and coals, for the same market, in all amounting to £15,000 worth.

There was an East-India captain named Burnsides, who was a passenger in her, and who having by industry accumulated a fortune of £30,000, was on his return to end his days among his friends on the banks of the Liffey. This was an object poor Burnsides had always kept in view: it was the goal of his long and arduous exertions; a subject to which with

much fondness he constantly reverted, during the period I had been intimately acquainted with him. But, alas! he was doomed to end his days far otherwise than among friends: he never again beheld the populous banks of the river Liffey, but was murdered on the savage shores of the Wangeroa. Page 218

Having premised thus much, I shall now proceed with Moyhanger's narrative.

A few days after the Boyd had sailed from Port Jackson, the cook, by accident or neglect, threw overboard in a bucket of water a dozen of pewter spoons belonging to the captain's mess. Apprehensive of incurring a rope's-ending for his negligence, he formed the fatal resolve of exculpating himself by a lie, which, as it in the event proved, was the cause of the destruction of the ship, of the loss of seventy lives, British subjects, who were killed, roasted, and devoured, and of the demolition of property to the amount of nearly £40,000.

The cook, to screen himself from blame, informed the captain that George and his attendant had stolen them; and the captain, without sufficient investigation into the affair, ordered the New Zealand chief before him, and directed the boatswain to punish him, who, being a powerful man performed this office with severity.

In vain did George urge that he was a chief, and ought not to be degraded by punishment: Captain Tompson only replied that he was a cokey (slave), thus adding insult to the injury. George still insisted that he was a chief, and that upon their arrival at New Zealand the captain should see it! His remonstrance, however, was of no avail, and he received a punishment the marks of which he bore on his back when he rejoined his friends. Page 219

Captain Thomson's behaviour in this affair cannot be too much censured. Savages are characterized by a peculiar susceptibility of indignity, while they are equally susceptible of gratitude. In fact, the extreme to which these opposite passions predominate in their breasts, forms one of the principal traits in the uncivilized mind. There cannot be the least doubt that from the moment George's appeals were disregarded, the Boyd and those on board were marked for destruction, as the only means of appeasing his thirst for revenge.

The ship arrived at Wangeroa, I believe, late in December the same year, and George with his attendant immediately landed, having apparently forgotten his recent chastisement, but inwardly vowing deep revenge. He hastened to his friends, and informed them that he had served the white men for two raw-ma-

thies,⁴ but had not received any thing in return; that he came back nearly as poor as when he first departed from among them; and that, to crown all his wrongs, the captain of the Boyd had severely beaten him but a few days before. He then uncovered his back and exhibited the marks, yet livid from the effects of the lash. This sight roused the feelings of George's subjects to the highest pitch of indignation, and they vowed revenge on those who had thus maltreated their chief. The shew of friendship toward the devoted captain and his people was however kept up to the last; and the next morning was appointed by Capt. Thomson to proceed to the forest where the spars grew, which was situated about nine or ten miles up the river. Page 220

George now planned the massacre, which he successfully and fatally carried into effect on the following day. He directed those of his countrymen who stopped behind in the village to get on board the ship by dusk in the evening, and that he with the party who accompanied Captain Thomson and his men would murder them, and clothing themselves in the European dresses, would under this disguise join their countrymen on board before any tidings

of the affair arrived, and when there they would complete the destruction of every white survivor. Page 221

The captain's arrangements in the morning unfortunately afforded too great a facility to the execution of this murderous project, having taken three boats with their crews up the river, and leaving very few hands to take care of the ship, or to defend her in case of an attack.

George before setting out reminded the villagers to obtain admittance to the ship before dusk, as arranged the evening before: this they faithfully performed. In the mean time the Europeans proceeded up the river, accompanied by George and his tribe, until they arrived at the spar forests, where they debarked, and proceeded into the recesses of the wood in quest of trees fit for their purpose. The captain began to object against one that it was too crooked, another as being too large, and a third as too short, when George threw off his New Zealand cloak, and in very plain language told him that he should have no others, and continued, "Captain Thomson, see how you have served my back" (pointing at the same time to the marks of his punishment). The throwing off the cloak was the signal for a general massacre; and George had scarcely finished the last words, when his brother dashed out the cap-

tain's brains; and in a moment, before the least opposition could be offered, every European was laid dead on the spot. Page 222

The bodies being then stripped, were placed in the canoes, to be conveyed to the village and devoured, while George and a party of his men corresponding to the number of the murdered whites, attired themselves in the European clothes, and embarking in the boats, proceeded down the river to join the ship; which they too successfully effected before any tidings had reached those on board respecting the bloody affair.

Here another dreadful scene of carnage ensued. The villagers, who, faithful to their chief's orders, had been some time in the ship, immediately began an indiscriminate slaughter of all those on board, in which they were instantly joined by George and his party, yet reeking with the blood of the hapless captain and his boat's crews! Terror and dismay seized all on board, and of the whole crew and passengers only four escaped! These were: Mrs. Marley, wife of a publican of that name at Port Jackson, with her child; Miss Broughton, daughter of the acting deputy commissary-general at Port Jackson; and the cabin-boy, whose name was George, and who had behaved with much kindness to the New Zealand chief during the

voyage from New South Wales. Even these were forced to conceal themselves during the sanguinary scene, and were spared the next morning when discovered, the fury of the savages having by that time in a great measure subsided. Page 223

During the hurry of the slaughter six or seven seamen took refuge in the maintop, whither the murderers did not choose to pursue them; and they also might have been spared, were it not for the following circumstance. Tippahee, a chief from the Bay of Islands, who had been to Port Jackson twice, and was friendly toward Europeans, happened to put into Wangeroa on a fishing party while the dreadful tragedy was acting. The sailors, immediately recognising him, besought him to save them by taking them on board of his canoes, to which he consented, desiring them to leap overboard and make the best of their way to him. In attempting this, however, some of them were overtaken and destroyed by the Wangeroans, while those who succeeded in gaining the canoes shared the same fate, Tippahee not being powerful enough to defend them from the fury of their enemies.

But the most horrible part of this scene was yet to be performed, a scene at which humanity must shudder – namely, the dissecting, baking, and devouring of our unfortunate countrymen;

seventy human bodies were about to glut the horrible appetites of cannibals. As the description of the scene would only disgust the reader, I will spare his feelings, and drop the painful subject. Page 224

On the day after the massacre all the gunpowder was got on deck for partition among the natives, some of whom went on shore with their allotments; while others, less prudent, remained on board, brooding over and rejoicing at the complete success of their bloody operations, which put them in possession of so great a

quantity of that which they prized above all other things. Among the latter was a chief who had possessed himself of a musket, and pleased with his acquisition, was carelessly snapping it, to ascertain, as may be supposed, the goodness of the lock; but happening to repeat the experiment over a quantity of loose gunpowder, it ignited, and communicating with some that was lying on the deck, exploded, destroying several of the natives then on board. By this means the ship took fire, and was quickly burnt to the water's edge.

Mr. Berry, then lying in the Bay of Islands, on board the *City of Edinbro'*, hearing of the melancholy occurrence, and understanding that four people had survived the massacre, in the most philanthropic manner succeeded in ran-

soming them from the savages, and restored them all to their friends; except Mrs. Morley, who died at Lima.

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Various accounts of this horrid affair have appeared, all more or less incorrect. The present may be depended upon as the most accurate yet published, having been obtained from information communicated to me by a native, who visited the scene of action a few days after it had happened. The interpreter employed for this purpose had been living there for four or five years, and, from my own knowledge of the language, could not, had he been so inclined, impose on me.

12th. – At an early hour this morning we discharged the guns, which had been loaded for some time, and were damp, in consequence of the almost constant rains that prevailed since our arrival here. The noise of the cannon produced great consternation on shore among the natives at a distance from the ship, who supposed that we had commenced hostilities against them, and were then actually employed in destroying their countrymen. They flocked from all parts adjoining the bay to ascertain the cause of our firing.

Among other spectators was a female orator and priestess, of the highest rank and consideration among these people, called Vancathai.

This lady was regarded by her countrymen as more than mortal, and was supposed by them to have a powerful influence with the deity who presides over all departed souls in the other world. She was also supposed to have the power of magotoo (or bewitching her countrymen to death) when she pleased. In all expeditions against the enemy, she was consulted as to the probable result; from her they learnt the most propitious day for sailing, and the day and hour most agreeable to the deity that his people should give battle. Of course this soothsayer possessed the most unlimited control over the minds of her blind votaries, and her auguries of the fate of a campaign not unfrequently tended to verify themselves, by inspiring diffidence or confidence, as it might be her inclination or interest to forward or defeat the objects of the enterprise.

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This priestess is said to be friendly to Europeans, and exhibits a pretty sure proof of her attachment by always choosing a husband from among them; her votaries deeming her goddess-ship too sacred for any intercourse of this nature to be permitted with her august person by ordinary or unsanctified individuals of her own nation.

This lady boldly put off from shore, and entering the ship, demanded to see Peter. I immediately made my appearance, when she

inquired the cause of the guns being discharged, which I explained to her entire satisfaction. Being a person of supreme dignity in the country, from her sacred character, as well as noble by birth, it was necessary that I should testify my veneration for so august a personage, in order to instil into the minds of the New Zealanders a just notion of the respect I entertained for their customs, religious as well as civil.

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It may not be amiss perhaps to observe, that a strict regard to this line of conduct toward these islanders is the most effectual mode of conciliating their esteem: it serves this end more powerfully than bestowing the most costly presents. The one excites their cupidity, and ensures their friendship only in proportion to the amount of your gifts, and their expectation of more; while the other insensibly gains their affections, and at a cheap and easy rate secures a place in their best regards. Indeed, it is much to be feared that to a deviation from this line of conduct may be traced many of those disasters which have befallen navigators.

I accordingly invited her highness into the cuddy, where she seated herself in an armchair, with a degree of majesty, and in a manner so unembarrassed, as plainly evinced that she was conscious of her own dignity.

This priestess presented a noble figure. She

appeared to be of a middle age; her complexion brunette, with sparkling black eyes; and her jet black hair, which was of a considerable length, gently flowed in ringlets over her shoulders, waving gracefully in the air as she walked. She was attired in the state robes of her country, and conveyed to the mind a forcible idea of savage royalty.

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She had not been long seated before she remarked that the day was rather cold, and demanded if there was any rum on board, and if so, requested that some might be produced and given her. I told her that we had some, and ordered a decanter of brandy to be placed before her. After significantly eyeing it for some time, and not liking the colour, she observed, "this is not rum: I have never seen such as this before; let me have such rum as the whalers have on board." – With this request I immediately complied: she filled a tumbler nearly, and without hesitation quaffed it to the bottom. She then called for a segar, and having smoked a little, soon became very talkative.

The person who mostly attracted her notice was an elderly gentleman named Richardson, the surgeon's assistant. She inquired of me who he was. I made answer that he was our doctor and priest. With this information she seemed much pleased, saying that she herself was a

priestess and physician; and added, "Will not my brother salute me according to the custom of New Zealand?" that is, gently to incline the head and touch noses. On the lady's request being communicated to Mr. Richardson, he with much gallantry complied; but, unfortunately, on stooping his wig fell off, and exhibited a huge bald pate. It is more easy to conceive than express her highness's alarm and terror at this preternatural mode of salutation, for she verily believed that he had taken of his scalp by the aid of magic. She screamed most dreadfully, having for the first time seen a real proof of that skill in the black art, which she pretended that she was possessed of. All her female attendants joined in yelling most piteously on witnessing this phenomenon, and scampered with their mistress as speedily as they could out of the cuddy, screaming out in the native tongue, "a witch! a wizard! an enchanter!"

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During the alarm Mr. Richardson recovered his wig, and placed it on his head as before, to the no small astonishment of some of them who ventured to peep slyly at him during the process.

After much trouble I succeeded in allaying the fears of her highness and suite, who once more ventured to sit down; not however without casting many a terrified glance at our priest and doctor, whom she did not require to salute her

a second time. She with much anxiety inquired if it was not by the aid of magic that he had disencumbered himself of his hair, and wished to know if he could with equal facility take off his head, which I did not altogether deny. This intelligence caused her to eye our doctor with a degree of profound reverence, and she requested I would inform her how many evil spirits he had influence over, and if he could also shake the hair and skin from the back part as from the front of his head. I replied, that with regard to the number of spirits over which he had control it was out of my power to inform her truly; but as regarded his hair, I assured her he could dismember himself from head to foot with the greatest facility.

During our conversation, one of the nymphs attending on the priestess, a girl of about fourteen years, slyly approached Mr. Richardson, and mistaking a tuft of his natural hair for its moveable substitute, determined, by a good pull, to ascertain if the virtue lay in the hair or in its owner; but the hair holding fast, she was compelled to make a precipitate retreat, lest the magician should metamorphose her into a hog, those people believing in transmigration. This incident, no doubt, tended to confirm their belief in our priest's power, and caused a hearty laugh at the expense of the female casuist.

Before her departure, the priestess informed me that her husband had, about two months ago, left her to visit his parents in England, and requested that I would oblige her with one of my officers to supply his place, to which I jocularly answered that our Doctor was entirely at her service. But, whether it was that she dreaded his superior power, and therefore despaired of maintaining a proper influence over so mighty a magician, or that she fancied he was too old, I cannot say; but she would not hearken to my proposal of such a substitute, and pointed to a youth of about eighteen, the son of the governor of Valparaiso, whom I had taken on the voyage, his father having placed him under my charge while in South America. She said that she loved him greatly, and would thank me for him. I informed her that I could not comply with her request, he being a great chief's son, and could not be left in New Zealand. She then took her leave, saying she would come on board again the following morning.

Towards evening a boat returned, in which was Mr. Russell, who had been employed in making a survey of the bay.

13th – We were engaged the greater part of this day in embarking our fire-wood, the weather being damp and dismal as usual.

About noon Vancathai, the priestess, again

visited us, accompanied by the late Boo Marray's two sons, who came to see Brian Boroo. Some other chiefs also were in the train of the priestess. They all embraced Brian Boroo tenderly, and lamented with tears the affair which had severed the friendship of the two families, and compelled them to seek blood for blood from the friends of Boroo.

Boo Marray's sons related the account of their father's death in nearly the following words. They commenced by asking me if I recollected, when laying at the Thames, loading the St. Patrick, about fifteen months ago, that I had applied to their father, who was then going round to the Bay of Islands, to bring with him two thousand men to cut spars for me, as the Thames people were rather slow in performing the work. I replied, that I recollected the circumstance perfectly well, and that I had promised their father, if he succeeded in loading me in two months, a present of five muskets and two barrels of gunpowder.

They then resumed. Boo Marray, with upwards of two thousand men all armed, set out for the Thames to cut the spars, but on their arrival found I had sailed for this port. The party then proceeded up the river in their canoes as far as it was navigable, from whence they crossed to the Boroo country by land,

where they were hospitably received, and had gifts presented to them. Their father requested of the Boroo tribe to assist him in an invasion he then meditated upon the country of Wyecatto; but the Boroos declined, and begged of him to return peaceably to his own district; to which he agreed, and sailed down the river to the Barrier Islands, the place of general rendezvous for his forces. Here one of his chiefs, named Thowy, declared that he would not return home without killing some person, as he longed for a meal of human flesh. Thowy proceeded from thence to the main, where a party, anticipating his intention, lay in ambush, and cut him off with all his warriors.

Boo Marray waited several days for the chiefs return, but finding he did not appear, concluded that some accident had happened, and went in search of him. On proceeding up a narrow creek in his canoe, the banks of which were very steep, a sudden fire of musketry was opened on him, accompanied by a thick shower of spears and stones from a party in ambuscade. Before Boo Marray's people could reach an eligible spot for landing they were nearly all killed: only himself, his eldest son, and a few others effected a landing. Boo Marray was shot through the thigh bone and fell upon one knee, when the enemy came in a body and attacked

him. He shot two of them with his double-barrelled gun; but before he could reload was despatched by them, and his head cut off.

Thus fell Boo Marray, by an unexpected assault from an enemy he could only discern from the deadly and sudden effects of their guns and spears. His enemies preserved his head, but devoured his body, as well as that of his eldest son, who died gallantly fighting by his father's side.

The two sons of Boo Marray, from whom I had this relation of the skirmish in which their father lost his life, escaping from the field of action, fled to the coast, where they were taken prisoners. One of them was desperately wounded in three places by a boat-axe, two wounds on the right arm, and one on the back. They were then sold as slaves or kokeys in the interior of the country, from which degraded situation Brian's father released them soon after, and supplied them with a canoe and provisions to enable them to return home, begging of them not to forget his kindness if his son should arrive in their harbour.

Brian admitted the probability of this story, but could by no means be induced to land amongst them.

While I was engaged on deck listening to the narrative of Boo Marray's sons, the draughtsman and officers were busily engaged in the gun-

room, concerting a plan to surprise and astonish further the New Zealand priestess with the transmigratory powers of the surgeon's assistant. With this view they prevailed on him to submit the bald part of his head to the draughtsman's art, who in a short time metamorphosed it in such a way, that had he been in ancient Greece or Rome during the sway of Pagan superstition, he might have obtained worshippers as the god Janus, who had in pity to men condescended to pay them a visit. His head presented the perfect appearance of an additional phiz, most hideously pourtrayed on the bald part of the cranium.

Vancathai, with her numerous female friends and attendants, being seated in the cuddy, begged as an especial favour that I would send for the magician, and prevail on him to shake off the hair and skin from his head as he had done yesterday. She stated, as her reason for this request, that those to whom she had mentioned the circumstance would not believe that so wonderful a thing could be done by any man, and that she had brought the most incredulous with her to-day, that they might be eyewitnesses of the miracle. Mr. Richardson with much politeness consented to a repetition of it, and approaching her highness, made a most graceful bow, and in a moment cast off his arti-

ficial hair, when instead of an inoffensive bald pate, beheld a horrible double face met the eyes of the astonished priestess and her companions.

Dreadful indeed was the confusion which immediately succeeded this display of even super-magical power. The cuddy was in a moment cleared of the visitants, and the magician left in peaceable possession of the apartment. Infidelity itself was now convinced of his magical powers, and there was not a native unbeliever in the ship.

Mr. Richardson now replaced his wig, and exerted himself to tranquillize those whom he had so much alarmed. Various were their conjectures respecting this supposed wonderful man, until I undeceived them in the evening; when their admiration of our ingenuity was only equalled by their groundless alarms at the effect of it. Mr. Richardson, however, had good cause to regret his willingness to entertain the swarthy strangers, for during our stay here they never ceased to tease and perplex him in a thousand different ways, especially by pulling off his hat and wig.

14th. – This morning I expected the ship would have been ready for sea, having completed the supply of fire-wood and water; but in this I was mistaken, for, through the negligence of the carpenter, four of the dead eyes in

the lower rigging that had been broken by the straining of the ship during the tempestuous weather which we experienced in the passage from Port Jackson, were not yet repaired.

Wishing to make my further stay here as short as possible, I ordered a survey of the damage reported by the carpenter to be instituted by the officers, and the result made known to me; which was, that it would be dangerous to put to sea in our present state. A considerable time would necessarily be employed in completing the repairs, as hard wood was to be procured from the forests, and the iron straps to bind the blocks could not be completed by the smith for several days. I mentioned this impediment to a Mr. Anson, residing in the Bay of Islands: who informed me that in 1823 the ship Brampton, of London, missed stays in working out of the Bay during a gale of wind from the northward, and running on shore, became a total wreck; that he purchased a part of the wreck, and could supply me with as many oaken dead eyes, ready strapped with iron, as I might require. I joyfully closed with his offer, fearing that, to add to our difficulties, the blacksmith might not be able to raise sufficient heat with his small bellows to complete such heavy work: therefore to obviate further inconvenience in this respect, I not only furnished myself with as many as I needed

for immediate use, but also with a few to spare.

16th. – Found it very tedious to get the old chain-plates removed, – in consequence of the bolts having been driven and forelocked prior to the adoption of the new system of waterways being put on the ship; and it being impracticable to drift or take the forelocks out of the bolts, I ordered the heads to be cut off, and new holes bored lower down the side.

19th. – The carpenter having completed the chain-plates, the fore-rigging was set up, and all made ready for sea. We were, however, prevented from sailing by a most violent storm which ushered in the day. It blew up the harbour with such violence, that at night we were obliged to wear out cable and bring both anchors ahead.

The officer formerly on board had paid so little attention to the ship's stowage, that when ready for sea she drew twelve or fourteen inches of water more forward than aft, which prevented her from sailing, steering, or staying so well as I wished. I attributed this to the dead weight of two bow guns weighing 30 cwt., four anchors of 12 cwt. each, two cabboses, the one of iron the other of wood, bricks and mortar weighing at least 20 cwt., and all this independent of the usual dead weight in the fore part

of the ship. The fore peak was also filled with kintledge, of which I had upwards of six tons on deck. Of the latter I was determined to rid myself, and was about to throw it overboard, not having a convenient place to stow it and it impeded the ship's way; but before I absolutely did so, whereby it could be of no use to any person, and the distance being great from any place where similar ballast could be obtained, I sent to the Missionaries on shore, acquainting them that I had a quantity of kintledge for sale, and would dispose of it upon reasonable terms; who agreed to take it from me at its prime cost in England. These terms were not very advantageous, but preferable to throwing it into the bay, which would occasion inequalities in the bottom, against which cables might rub and be injured, so I deemed it prudent to let them have it on their own terms.

22d. – Throughout yesterday the wind was variable, with constant rain. The crew were employed as necessary in the between-decks.

Succeeded this morning in unmooring the ship, after much trouble and fatigue. The weather being very unsettled, and wind variable, with a heavy sea setting into the harbour, I did not deem it prudent to sail this day.

23d. – The day commenced with moderate breezes and cloudy weather. At 8 A. M. we

made the signal for sailing, and began to weigh the second anchor, which we found very difficult, it having got buried in the mud in the late stormy weather. A new eight-inch messenger broke twice before we could trip the anchor. We had but just succeeded in getting the anchor off the ground, when it commenced blowing a gale of wind on shore; we were therefore obliged to let it go again, or be stranded before sail could be set. In this state we remained during the day.

Martin Bushart had come along with me under the most solemn assurances of being relanded at Tucopia, after I had obtained a correct account (as far as possible) of the ships lost at Mannicolo. The cause of my not putting on shore while in the St. Patrick has already been explained in a former part of my journal. While I remained at Calcutta, his continual cry was to return to the island on which he had spent nearly thirteen years; nor would he sign the ship's articles there, alleging as his reason, that if he did so he should become one of the ship's company, and should any thing befall me during the voyage, the person who succeeded to the command might compel him to return to India, where he had no friends or prospects; and that as he was addicted to the use of spirituous liquors, which injured his con-

stitution, he ought not to live in places where they could be procured.

I was thoroughly acquainted with the value of this man's services, and that the expedition could not be prosecuted with success without him, and therefore indulged him in many respects to conciliate his friendship, which I am confident I gained. Indeed, he displayed a striking proof of his attachment to my person at Van Diemen's Land; for when I was imprisoned there he quitted the ship to reside on shore, declaring that he would never more return to her without me, unless forcibly compelled.

Martin Bushart came to me this evening, saying, "Captain Dillon, you have proved a friend to me: we were together under sentence of death among the Feejee men,

when fourteen of our companions were killed and eaten by them; I hope you do not forget that." I replied, "That fatal day has been impressed too indelibly on my memory to be so easily forgotten, Martin." – "Then, Sir," resumed he, "I have a favour to ask of you: I have attached myself to a New Zealand girl, who is now my wife according to the laws of her country, and she wishes to accompany me to Tucopia: I hope you will permit her." To this I had no objection, as I wished to take a few females and children to Mannicolo, if it could be effected by fair means, for the following reasons:

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I have often conversed with savages, who informed me that when first they beheld Europeans, they supposed them to have descended from the clouds; nor could they imagine what our business was in their country, unless to carry off their provisions, wives, and children, as slaves: this idea being grounded on the universal practice in those islands of men carrying off the women and children of their enemies in their war expeditions; whilst, on the contrary, when they pay a friendly visit to a neighbouring island, or to a strange country, their wives and children usually accompanied them.

I have visited the most ferocious tribes in the South Seas, and never failed of becoming friendly with them.

Curiosity (that all-powerful passion in the female breast, whether in the wilds of a savage country, or in the elegant drawing-room of refined and civilized Europe) never fails to induce the women on shore to approach the ship, where, seeing some of their own sex on board, they presently commence making friendly signals to them. The ladies on shore having thus established a pantomimic acquaintance with

those on board, feel inclined to become more intimate with the strangers, and approach the sides of the ship, where, a few small presents being made to them, and being otherwise kindly treated, away they post to land with the glad tidings, exhibiting the tokens of friendship. More of them then put off in the expectation of meeting with similar treatment, and a judicious distribution of beads, showy ribbons, scissors, looking-glasses, &c, never fails to ensure a hospitable reception from them. Thus, mutual confidence being established by means of the women, it rests with the visitors to act with that prudence and caution which will not fail of making it permanent.

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Brian Boroo requested me to land him at the river Thames, saying he would bring down a plentiful supply of fresh provisions and vegetables, with some spars, of which we stood much in need. I told him that it was my intention to proceed there for those supplies, as there was but little to be procured at this place; so many ships having visited the bay of late, they had cleared the adjacent country of all the spare provisions. He then told me that there were two young women on board who had relatives living at the Thames, and desired much to see them, and that if I would allow them to go round in the ship, they would be extremely

thankful. To this I assented, as I considered they would serve as hostages for the safety of my people, while on shore cutting the spars we required; and Brian made them acquainted with the result of his application on their behalf, with which they seemed highly pleased.

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A native chief named Thenana, who had accompanied me in the Active from this island in 1814, teased me sadly to be allowed to go in the ship. I told him that he was too old, and would die at Calcutta; but his reply was, "I will go; I have plenty of muskets and powder, and only want a barrel of musket-balls, which having obtained, I will return by the first ship to Port Jackson, from whence Mr. Marsden will send me home." This was a ready calculation for an untutored savage: he traced in idea his departure from hence, his arrival in Bengal and the total fulfilment of his desires, thence to Port Jackson, and back to his native country, all in the space of five minutes, depending on Providence for the realization of this fairy dream.

I told him that I would give him an answer in the morning, as I should most likely dream on the subject in the night: a course the most likely to please him, as these people place implicit reliance on dreams, and I had resolved, too,

by that means to rid myself of his importunities.

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24th. – At an early hour this morning the ship was surrounded by several canoes, having on board many chiefs of consequence, who had received notice of our intention to depart, and had come with the double purpose of bidding us farewell and receiving presents. The friends of those natives who were to sail with us to the Thames and to Mannicolo, came on board at an early hour. Each of them demanded something from me as presents for their friends and relatives, urging that this was the general custom with captains who took any of their people with them to assist in whaling, sealing, or otherwise. I observed that no benefit had been yet derived from their services, and that most likely they would run away from the ship after receiving an advance. They admitted that such tricks had not unfrequently been played, and generally to strange captains, whom they never expected to see in their harbour any more; but that they could not think of treating me thus, for I was their countryman, and came every year to see them, and always behaved well to such of their friends as accompanied me to foreign parts. Upon this I made each person who was to accompany me a present.

Thenana, the old man to whom I was this

morning to give an answer, was very importunate to know if I had dreamt last night. I informed him I had. He then was in pain to learn the purport of my dream, which, after I had adjusted my face to a most rueful length, thereby affording some idea as to the result, I delivered as follows: – "I dreamt last night that we were at Calcutta, and that both you and I died there. Now, should I die, which of course I shall since I dreamt so, what will become of you? no person there knows you, and it will be out of your power to return to New Zealand."

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He did not much admire my interpretation of the dream, and applied to Vancathai, the priestess, and resolver of such mysteries, for her opinion on the subject. Vancathai, true to the practice of her profession, observing that I did not wish to take him, gave an appropriate explanation of the fatal consequences likely to result from a contumacious neglect of divine warning. Poor Thenana had therefore nothing to do but submit to his hard fate, and thus I quietly got rid of his solicitations; whereas had I at first bluntly refused to take him, he would have sought an opportunity to revenge himself, even ten years afterwards-

We now began to heave up the anchor. The priestess mounting the capstern, loudly implored

the gods of New Zealand to grant us a fair breeze and prosperous voyage, and that they would preserve us in all places and at all times from encountering the fatal oven!

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At 9 A. M., the anchor being weighed and all sails set, with a light breeze approaching to a calm, the canoes went on shore. About an hour afterwards I heard a dreadful noise upon deck, and went out from my cabin to ascertain the cause. There I found Vancathai, the priestess, whom I supposed to have gone on shore, weeping bitterly. On inquiring into the cause, I learnt that for some time back an attachment had been formed between her and the boatswain, and that on this occasion, having gone down into his cabin to take a parting glass, she had remained on board till after the departure of her countrymen. Having been left below by the boatswain, who had to attend on deck, she helped herself to the liquor too freely, and quite overcome, fell asleep. The boatswain in the hurry of duty forgot her,

and the first intimation of her being on board was the dreadful yelling she set up, when on awaking she found us under weigh, and at a distance of about three or four miles from the shore. She begged of me to get her on shore in the ship's boat, which I immediately ordered out for the purpose: for this she expressed herself extremely grate-

ful, and promised never again to drink rum.

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The names of the natives who joined us to proceed to the Thames were Emooca and Perry-cow, two females; the others were Martin Bushart's wife, Tetorey; the Marquis of Wyemattee; Moyhanger, alias King Charley; Robert Tytler, a New Zealand doctor; Phelim O'Rourke, one of the Marquis's confidential friends; and Murtoch O'Brien, son to King Charley.

It is necessary to remark, that the New Zealanders are very fond of being called by European names, as they suppose it ensures them a better reception on board ships. With this view the above persons applied to be named after Europeans, and the names I have given them they will retain during life.

At noon the latitude observed was 35 deg. S., when Cape Brett bore E. S. E. four miles. We stood along the shore toward the Thames, and at 8 P. M. the Poor Knights bore W. N. W. three or four leagues.

While lying in the Bay of Islands, I was informed by the missionaries residing there that Captain Dumont D'Urville, commander of the French sloop of war l'Astrolabe, had been there making a survey of the coast, and had sailed about two months for the Thames and

Friendly Islands. I had received instructions from the Bengal Government to meet with, if possible, and communicate to him all the intelligence I could, respecting the expedition and the fate of the Count de la Perouse.

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25. - We were driven considerably to leeward during the night. At 8 A. M. the largest of the Barrier Islands bore S. E. 3/4 S.

As the wind was now, I considered that entering the Thames would be attended with much loss of time, and communicated this my opinion to Prince Brian Boroo, who implored me most piteously to land him: that he was now in sight of his country, and if he departed from it, might perhaps never see it again. He stated that, should he delay his return two or three years, he would, in all probability, find his father, brothers, sisters, and friends, had been murdered or carried off by the enemy; and he therefore wished to land and share their fate, whatever it might be, as he had no desire whatever to survive them. He further observed, that his presence would encourage his friends, and the arms which he had procured in India would be of the greatest service in repelling the enemy. The Marquis and Moyhanger also importuned me on behalf of this fine young man, who is now nearly civilized, and might by his conduct and advice

release his countrymen in some degree from that darkness in which they are plunged.

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All the New Zealanders who joined the ship at the Bay of Islands were very sea-sick: so much so, that they would have made any sacrifice to be put on shore from the vessel. Nay, they were willing to be landed, although in an enemy's country, and trusted to Brian's mercy to spare their lives. I felt much for poor Brian and the others, and stood in for the river.

The season being now far advanced, I was particularly anxious to reach the Mannicolos before the north-west monsoon prevailed in those seas. At 9 o'clock I found it impossible to get close in with the land with the wind in its present quarter; in justice to my employers therefore I could not lose more time and was obliged to bear away. On observing the ship's stern point to his beloved land, poor Brian wept bitterly, as did also his friend Morgan McMurragh. I did all that was in my power to console them, stating that I was going to Tongataboo, the capital of the Friendly Islands, where there were several whalers fishing at this season of the year, and would sail from thence for the New Zealand fishery in summer, which was now fast approaching, and I promised that

I would prevail on the captain of the first whaler I fell in with to take them on board and return them to their native land. With these assurances they were pacified, as they knew how common a thing it is for above fourteen sail of whalers to be in the Bay of Islands during the months of December and January every year. During the winter they fish off the Friendly, Feejee, and Navigator's Islands, and return in summer to whale off New Zealand, where they complete their cargo, take in supplies of hogs, potatoes, fish, wood, and water, and refit their rigging and ships.

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Each officer and seaman on board the whalers has his wife at the Bay of Islands, who on his return from the fishery joins him, and remains with him on board till the ship's departure. It often happens that these women accompany their husbands to the fishing station, as was the case with the daughter of Boo Marray, who was absent when I first anchored in the Bay.

I now determined to sail for Tongataboo, in the hope of meeting with Mons. D'Urville, and likewise to take in fresh supplies of poultry, hogs, &c.

In la Perouse's last letter to the French minister of marine, which I here copy, he says that he intends touching at the Friendly Islands; I might therefore expect to obtain some informa-

tion relative to him in the course of a visit to that quarter.

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From M. de la Perouse, dated Botany Bay, Feb. 7th 1788.

Sir: - I shall run up to the Friendly Islands, and obey all my instructions relative to the southern part of New Caledonia, the island of Santa Cruz de Mendana, the southern coast of La Terra des Arsacides of Surville, and the Louisiade of Bougainville, examining at the same time whether this last is, or is not, a part of New Guinea.

About the end of July 1788, I shall pass between New Guinea and New Holland, by another strait than that called Endeavour Strait, if any can be found.

During the month of September and part of October I shall visit the gulph of Carpentaria, and all the western coast of New Holland as far as Van Diemen's Land, but so that I may be able to get to the northward soon enough to arrive in the Isle of France about the beginning of December 1788.

At half past five this evening New Zealand was yet in sight. The New Zealanders mounted on the poop, and prayed to their deity to protect them, and grant that they might be enabled to revisit their native shores, of which they were now about to lose sight.

I shipped in the Bay of Islands a man named John Bumpsted, as a marine, who had been employed by the missionaries there as a farmer for three or four years. I also found an American of half-caste, who said his mother was an Indian squaw.

This poor fellow had lived with Johnston the

sawyer, who stated that he was an idiot, and his name John Downey; that he had arrived at New Zealand in an American whaler, where he was put on shore by the captain and officers as useless. He set out by land to find his way home to Boston in America, supposing himself to be then on the continent, and the New Zealanders to be American Indians of a different nation from that to which his mother belonged. He travelled for a full month through the forests of New Zealand, when he returned to the coast half-starved and naked, not being able to reach Boston, and the sawyer hospitably admitted him under his roof, where he had lived for the last five months. Page 253

Johnston complained of poverty, and begged of me to take the poor fellow on board, for that he should be obliged shortly to turn the wretched idiot out of doors, who would perish from the want of food.

I asked Johnston if the missionaries, who are supported in a luxurious style by charitable donations, would suffer this miserable being to starve. He replied, that they never allowed people from the ships to visit them; and that they represented all their countrymen (themselves of course excepted) as sinners and bad men, whenever the natives inquired the reason of their not behaving with sociability towards

other classes of Christians besides their own missionary brethren. Page 254

I told Johnston that it was my intention to touch at Tongataboo, where provisions were plentiful, and the inhabitants humane, hospitable, and generous in the highest degree to all foreigners who reside on shore, and that I had no objection to take him there. The sawyer made my reply known to the unfortunate idiot, who gladly received the news, and embarked as a passenger for that place.

The natural productions of New Zealand, most in demand by the Europeans, are flax and spars. Since its discovery, hogs, potatoes, and all manner of garden vegetables and esculent roots, have been introduced, and now abound, forming an abundant and opportune supply for ships touching there during the whaling seasons. There are, however, two species of potatoes indigenous to the soil, which with the fern-root constitute the principal article of their food. The sea contiguous to the shores affords an abundant supply of excellent fish, which the natives catch and dry during the summer months, and lay up as a winter store. They have also a breed of dogs peculiar to the island, and much resembling the Pariah dog of India, which is considered as furnishing a most delicate dish. They manufacture a kind of cloth

from the flax plant, with which, and their cloaks and mats, they defend themselves from the inclemencies of the winter. Their mats and cloaks are made in divers shapes and fashions, with ornamented borders of dark colour. Page 255

From the knowledge I have acquired of the New Zealand language, I succeeded in obtaining a very full account of their civil and religious customs, but want of time and space prevents me from giving any details in this place. I intend, however, to give a full description of them on a future day.

While lying at the Thames in the St. Patrick in 1826, the Bay of Islanders, under command of Shanghi, suddenly attacked a party of the Kayaparas, slew all the men, and made captive the women and children. With respect to their being cannibals no doubt can be entertained, for on that occasion an opportunity was afforded me of ascertaining the revolting fact.

After the battle between the Bay of Islanders and the Kayaparas I proceeded for the Bay of Islands, where King George had arrived before me in his canoe. He paid me a visit, and I promised to make him a present before I sailed. I was surprised by seeing my friend alongside early next morning demanding his present, and I replied that I was not going to sail yet. He answered, that as he was going to the west

part of the island and would not return till I should have sailed. I was anxious to know his business, which he informed me was to carry presents of human flesh to his friends there, whom the Kayaparas had offended, and whose flesh was in the canoe. I demanded to see it, when he shewed me several calabashes filled with the shocking viand, baked in a South-sea oven to preserve it from putrefaction. I felt my blood curdle at the sight; so hastening to give George his present, I left him to proceed on his horrid mission. Page 256

1 And certainly, from his own account, he was perfectly justified in so doing.

2 Since my arrival in England I have been informed that Moyhanger did not make the voyage to India, as he here represented, no doubt to serve some purpose or gratify some fancy of his own. – April 1829.

3 This gross insubordination arose from the example set to my crew by the Van Diemen's Land convict judge, who had given them to understand that I had no more authority or control over my men than the master of a merchant vessel trading between London and Botany Bay. However, I soon convinced them to the contrary.

4 Raw-mathy signifies a year: literally a dead leaf, or the fall of the leaf.

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