don, which was sold about 1880, and were acquired from the purchaser in exchange for a pair of Moriori crania from the Chatham Islands These heads are claimed by the Bay of Islands natives to be those of two of Kawiti's tribe named Moetarau and Koukou, who were killed in a fight which took place about sixty years ago near the site of the present railway-station of Opua. They were taken to Te Puna, where they were preserved by an old chief named Muru Paenga, and were afterwards presented to the party of Hokianga natives who had assisted in the fight, by whom they were eventually sold to the captain of a vessel for £20. These were the last heads preserved in the Bay of Islands.

Art. LXXI.—*Some Account of the Earliest Literature and Maps relating to New Zealand.*

By Dr. T. M. Hocken, F.L.S.

[*Read before the Otago Institute, 11th September, 1894.*]

What mystery surrounds the origin of the human race! Weary with the effort to penetrate it, men, both civilized and savage, seek rest in myth, and, after tracing back their ancestry through a chain with many broken links, exclaim that they are descended from the gods. Will the faithful labours of an increasing body of workers ever succeed in casting aside this veil and giving us fact for fable? Of equal mystery—yet of surpassing interest—are questions relative to the dispersion of the human race throughout the world, and to the history of that race before the time of that high civilization which, thanks to the labours of these workers, we know existed more than seven thousand years ago. Every year gradually unfolds to our astonished sight the spectacle of a mighty people possessed of all the magnificence and advancement of the present day, yet whose monuments have lain buried under a waste of sand and almost unknown for thousands of years. Where at that period was located that branch of mankind which to-day we call the Polynesian? Is it now the degraded remnant of a once-civilized people which occupied some lost Atlantis—some continent now buried beneath the Pacific waves? Perhaps, and probably, the tablets and papyri of Egyptian discovery will yield us abundant light on speculations of this sort. We may deem it impossible, because so inconceivable, that Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, and English sailors were really the first to discover the Pacific Ocean,

and those numberless islets which lead to the gateways of the day. Rather let us believe that revelations await us in the buried records of the past, full of light on this portion of lost history, and that ours are but rediscoveries extending over the comparatively inconsiderable period of the last three hundred and fifty years. Be this as it may, it is certain that to this period our present inquiries must be limited, or, rather, to the still more limited period of two hundred and fifty years dating from Tasman's discovery of New Zealand in 1642. Doubtless before Tasman there were voyagers who had visited New Zealand, but of these we have no trace, or but the faintest. Soon after the great discovery of Columbus, adventurous Portuguese and Spanish poured into the Pacific seas. Their object was not to prosecute research, or even to gratify curiosity, but to amass wealth, and to annex distant lands to their own nationalities. Hence each maritime nation was jealous of its neighbour, and guarded its discoveries with every care from prying curiosity. Hence it followed that published accounts of voyages were few: the journals were consigned to close keeping, and were only utilized as occasion arose. If published, it was not unusual to find latitudes and longitudes omitted in a way that must have been provoking to the rival sailor. Similarly there are old maps in existence, issued a hundred years before Tasman's time, of whose history we know but little, and of which, certainly so far, there exists no written or printed record. Thus we are justified in thinking that there are buried in the old archives of Portugal and Spain journals which, if found, would give an earlier account of New Zealand than those we consider our earliest. A search for such should be made, and doubtless would well repay the discovery. The iron-bound chests of Portugal and Spain are the probable repositories of these treasures; or these may have been emptied into the papal and monkish libraries, upon whose shelves the contents are still resting, covered with the accumulated dust of ages. Sir James Hector, I understand, caused such inquiry to be instituted some years ago, but without result. A statement exists that, as far back as 1576, Juan Fernandez, a Spanish pilot, sailed W.S.W. from Chili for the space of a month, and that then he came upon a fertile and pleasant land, inhabited by light-complexioned people, who wore woven cloth, and who were exceedingly hospitable. From the course steered and the time occupied on the voyage it has been concluded that this fertile land was New Zealand. So well pleased was Juan Fernandez with his visit and reception that on his return to Chili he made extended preparations for a further visit to this "fertile land." His intention was cut short by death. Here is an instance in point where no

history remains. The little information we have is derived from a lengthy memorial presented thirty-five years later—that is, in 1610—to King Philip of Spain, by his dutiful subject Dr. Juan Luis Arias, who earnestly beseeches His Catholic Majesty to anticipate the English and Dutch by taking possession of the newly-discovered islands in the Pacific, and thus prevent the natives from becoming infected with the venomous heresy of those two nations. Possibly this slender and unsubstantial reference relates to New Zealand, and, if so, it is perhaps the first of which there is record. As it is evidently founded on a knowledge of Fernandez' voyage thirty-five years before, it is not unlikely that here is an example of unpublished manuscript for research to unearth. (*Vide* Dalrymple's Voyages, vol. i., p. 53; Burney's Voyages, vol. i., p. 300; and Hakluyt Society—Major's "Early Voyages," p. 1.)

One other reference to unverified utterance I think it well to repeat, as it seems to have value. On p. 65, vol. iii., of the Proceedings of our Institute, is a paragraph, vague enough, wherein it is stated that the Arabian geographers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were acquainted with a large and mountainous country in the farthest southern ocean, uninhabited by man, and containing gigantic birds known as the "Seemoah." The paragraph does not state by whom, in this uninhabited land, these gigantic birds were called "Seemoah," but it proceeds to say that translations of these old Arabian geographers are to be found in the fine libraries of Paris and Vienna. I firmly believe that scientific, ardent, and well-endowed research applied to "Terra Australis Incognita," using that term in a different sense from that in which it was used during the last century, must result in discoveries of the first importance to ethnology. Unsatisfactory as are these dim allusions, they yet shadow forth an acquaintance with this country earlier than that which we are accustomed to estimate as the earliest.

Leaving them, however, I proceed to speak of our earliest authentic literature, and for which we are indebted to the Dutch. So early as the close of the sixteenth century this nation entered the lists as a competitor with the Spanish and Portuguese in the East India trade. Several trading companies were formed, but the rivalry between them became so keen and so destructive of fair profits that the Government of the United Dutch Provinces—of which Zealand was one—stepped in and cured matters by granting in 1602 a charter for the formation of the afterwards celebrated Dutch East India Company. The Island of Java was selected as the suitable centre of trade, and upon it, in 1610, was founded the City of Batavia, the capital. It was so named after the Batavi, who in the time of Cæsar were the ancient inhabitants of Holland.

From this capital sailed many an expedition in quest of discovery, and of new and fertile lands, which might extend the trade and fame of Vaderland. These were under the control and direction of the Governor-General, as he was entitled, and his Council. Amongst them was no one more eminent than Governor Antony van Diemen, and amongst his commanders none more skilful, or one who added more to the geographical knowledge of the time, than Abel Jansz Tasman. It was during such expeditions, ranging from 1606 onwards, that the western and southern coasts of Australia were discovered, and named, with true patriotic sentiment, New Holland. Tasman's memorable voyage, which is full of interest for us, extended over a period of ten months, and resulted in the discovery not only of New Zealand, but also of Tasmania, the Tonga or Friendly Isles, the Fijis, and others of less note. The expedition consisted of two vessels—the "Heemskerck" and the "Zeehaan." It was fitted out with much forethought, and, what was very unusual, if not unique, an artist formed one of the ship's company. The vessels sailed from Batavia on the 14th of August, 1642, for the Isle of France, or, as it is now called, Mauritius. Thence they proceeded south, discovering and naming Van Diemen's Land. Seven days after, on the 13th of December—not a bad passage for a sailing-vessel even in these days—they fell in with or descried the high land on the west coast of New Zealand. "Staten Land" Tasman first called it, believing it to be part of that great southern continent which his friend and countryman Schouten was supposed to have discovered twenty-five years before. However, on his return to Batavia, Tasman, finding that Schouten's continent was a small island, rechristened his own discovery "New Zealand," after one of the States of Holland. From the north cape of New Zealand he continued sailing north, adding to his discoveries. Keeping close to the north coast of New Guinea, he made Ceram and then Batavia, where he dropped anchor on the 15th of June, 1643, having thus performed a voyage which has conferred undying lustre on his name, and has marked him the foremost seaman of his century. As was the practice, his journal was handed in to the Governor Van Diemen and the Council, and its valuable contents were reserved for their special use and profit. It rested secure amongst the archives of the great corporation, safe from the longing eyes of trade rivals. But so important a contribution to maritime discovery was not allowed to remain entirely hidden, for thirty years after, in 1674, an abridged narrative of it appeared in Amsterdam by one Van Nierop. Short and unsatisfactory as this was, it was immediately translated into many European languages. But a much more valuable contribution was made in 1726 by Fran-

çois Valentyn in his publication entitled "The Old and New East Indies." Here is a much fuller, though still far from perfect, text of the original, and it is accompanied by copies of the thirty-eight plates drawn by Tasman's artist. Valentyn married a daughter of the secretary to the Council at Batavia, and it is readily seen how by a little piece of nepotism Valentyn gained surreptitious access to this and other valuable documents. His text remained long the standard. A translation of it appears in that splendid "Collection of Dutch Voyages in the South Pacific," published by the celebrated Alexander Dalrymple, Hydrographer to the Admiralty, of whom more anon. It is embellished with several of Tasman's quaint plates, one of which depicts the double canoe formerly used by the New-Zealanders. When Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Banks returned from his great voyage round the world with Captain Cook he assumed that position of Mæcenas which his great wealth, education, and tastes enabled him to take, and, as we know, continued to the end of his life an ardent lover and supporter of literature and science. Whatever was curious or rare gravitated towards him, and thus he became possessed of what was considered—but incorrectly—Tasman's own long-hidden journal. This treasure was brought to England about 1773 or 1774, and was offered to Sir Joseph, who bought it without ado. We may be sure that no too curious questions were asked or answered on either side of the bargain. The services of the Rev. Charles Woide, chaplain of the King's Dutch Chapel at St. James's Palace, were secured to translate it, and this translation, with charts and illustrations, appears in Burney's Voyages, vol. iii., 1813. This supplies us to the present time with the most complete account we have in English of Tasman's discoveries. Mr. Woide expressed the belief that this was not the original, but an imperfect copy. This opinion I am quite able to confirm, having collated Dalrymple and Burney with an authentic copy of the original Dutch journal in my possession, and which is here exhibited. It is printed in its entirety by the old-established firm of Van Keulen at Amsterdam, celebrated as cartographers and nautical publishers. The book is but little known apparently beyond Holland, perhaps because interest in the subject is limited, and also because Dutch literature, unlike French and German, is almost confined to its own land. To Jacob Swart is due the honour of giving to the world Tasman's perfect journal. This gentleman was, or is, if he is still alive, a Knight of the Oaken Crown of Holland, a member of various learned societies, a lecturer in the Naval School, and editor of the Zeemans-Almanak, the equivalent probably of our Nautical Magazine. From the introduc-

tion it would seem that the letter-books, journals, foliants, charts, &c., of the old Dutch Company had been transferred from the iron chests of Batavia to the more congenial shelves of Van Keulen's establishment at Amsterdam, and that many had been submitted to the critical study of the editor. Amongst these was Tasman's journal, which Swart had already originally contributed in parts to a nautical magazine, but which he here presents in a collected form, and well annotated. Appended is a copy of the original chart, showing Tasman's track on both his voyages; for, on his return to Batavia in 1643, he was again despatched in 1644 to examine the north coast of New Holland, and to explore what is known to-day as Torres Straits, which separate Australia from New Guinea, but which then were not known to exist. Tasman failed to sail through them—a feat which it was reserved for Cook to perform. Even at the present day Dutch is not a mellifluous tongue; but what it was two hundred and fifty years ago I leave those to discover who contend with the crabbed and hard-favoured words of Tasman's journal. It has not yet been put in English dress; but, with the assistance of a valued coadjutor, I can promise that the Institute shall soon have presented to it the first full English translation of Tasman's discoveries of Tasmania and New Zealand. In taking leave of this eminent seaman, I would refer to the quaint, pious way in which he begins and ends his journal, which is something after the manner of a child saying grace before and after meat: "May God Almighty be pleased to give His blessing on this voyage. Amen." "May God be praised and thanked for this prosperous voyage. Amen." Tasman was born in Holland in 1602, and died at Batavia in 1659 at the comparatively early age of fifty-seven years.

And now for the long space of one hundred and thirty years nothing more was known of New Zealand than that which Tasman's discovery had vouchsafed. Little by little something was added to the chart of the South Seas, but there in a remote corner remained unaltered and with sphinxlike impenetrability the curious piece of coast-line which Tasman's hand had traced. Speculation concerning it was always keen, and it was pretty generally agreed that it formed part of that vast Terra Incognita of the Southern Hemisphere whose existence was considered necessary to balance the great globe. To Cook, as we know, fell the honour of solving the mystery, and how thoroughly he solved it we also know. Our task, however, is not to describe his labours, but to review the manner in which they have been recorded, as well as those of his companions, on the occasion of the three celebrated voyages. That famous barque the "Endeavour," of 350 tons, returned from her three years' voyage

in June, 1771, laden with more valuable spoil than ever ship before; collections and curiosities of all kinds, wonderful stories from the uttermost parts of the earth, large and important additions to the scanty map of the Southern Hemisphere, faithful drawings of new scenes, and the valuable journals of those who had undertaken this great voyage. All Europe rang with the event, and eagerly awaited the details. The Admiralty determined that these should be given to the world in a befitting way, and they therefore intrusted the editing and publication of the journals and papers to a well-known literary man—Dr. John Hawkesworth, who from a very humble origin had raised himself to a position of eminence in the literary world. His degree of LL.D. was conferred by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, amongst other functions, exercises to this day the curious one of granting degrees without examination. Hawkesworth was a miscellaneous writer, had been associated in literary ventures with Johnson and others, had written poetry, essays, romances, and plays, all of which had been well received. It was doubtless through his connection with Garrick, in the matter of the drama, that the influence of this great actor was exercised in procuring for him in 1771 his post of editor under the Lords of the Admiralty. His task was completed in what we should now consider the protracted time of nearly two years, and then appeared, in 1773, in three volumes quarto, his "Account of the Voyages undertaken by the Order of His present Majesty for making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere." The first volume is devoted to the voyages of Captains Byron, Wallis, and Carteret, who had conducted their explorations during the nine years previous to Cook; the second and third volumes contain the account of Captain Cook's first voyage; and the whole three form part of the eight which, together with the separate atlas of plates, form the *editio princeps* of "Cook's Three Voyages." Now, how did Dr. Hawkesworth execute his really difficult task? The papers and periodicals of the time reply that it was executed very badly indeed. He was accused of justifying the murder of savages, of introducing obscenities, of failing to recognize the protecting hand of Providence throughout the dangers of a remarkable voyage, of interpolating his own heavy remarks upon its varied incidents, and generally of presenting to his readers an exceedingly ponderous and unreadable version of what should have shone and sparkled with the genius of Cook and the accomplished descriptions of Banks. So beset was the unfortunate editor by these pungent criticisms that he died of chagrin and low fever two years later, at the premature age of fifty-eight. He did not deserve this fate so far as I may judge, and I have carefully read over his narration more than once. The separate journals of Cook,

and Banks, and probably of Solander, were intrusted to him to weld or weave together in the most skilful and agreeable manner he could. This must have been a difficult task. Cook, though a genius, had not, to use his own words, "the advantage of much school education," nor "the plausibility of a professed bookmaker." And this is quite apparent on perusing his original journal, which, curiously enough, first saw the light but last year, and to which I shall again presently refer. Interesting as it undoubtedly is, much of it relates to those purely nautical matters of which every captain takes daily note in his log. Banks's journal has not yet been published, though there are perhaps three or four manuscript copies extant, one of which I have had the advantage of seeing. He wrote this journal when a young man of twenty-five. Later on in life, and though President of the Royal Society and a Mæcenas, he showed no special literary ability, and it is therefore fair to conclude that his journal suffered no injury from Dr. Hawkesworth's treatment, and, at any rate, Banks himself uttered no complaint. Altogether, I am of opinion that our judgment may reverse that of one hundred and twenty years ago, and that we may consider Hawkesworth's account as a complete and able one. To this day, however, some critics repeat the old charges. It must not be forgotten, too, that both Cook and Hawkesworth had bitter enemies, who hurled some of the shafts of this envenomed criticism. That able man, Alexander Dalrymple, Hydrographer to the Admiralty, was one. He held the opinions strongly that when the expedition for South Sea discovery was fitted out its command should be conferred upon himself, as one specially fitted for it, and also that, without doubt, there existed in the Southern Hemisphere an undiscovered continent. Hence, when Cook was appointed to the command, and especially when the keel of the "Endeavour" passed over the site of this supposed continent, these opinions were magnified into grievances, which Dalrymple plainly sets forth in a rare letter or pamphlet addressed to Dr. Hawkesworth. In this, he accuses him of having made groundless and illiberal imputations in his account of the voyages, which he then proceeds to slaughter in a very merciless manner. He further reiterates his belief in the continent, although Cook had sailed more than 20° south of the coast-line laid down in a chart constructed by himself prior to the sailing of the expedition.

Every precaution was taken that no account of the voyage, however brief, should appear before that under the auspices of the Admiralty. The public curiosity was keen, and its edge was not to be dulled. Naval officers are to this day forbidden to publish their journals without permission of the

Admiralty, to whom, indeed, they are handed over. Despite this care, some leakage occurred, and two or three short and anonymous publications made their appearance. One of them, a small quarto of 130 pages, with a three-page vocabulary of Otaheite, has been attributed—I am sure, incorrectly—to the joint authorship of Banks and Solander. But to one large and important work of this surreptitious sort I must make special reference. It is the Journal of Sydney Parkinson, who was engaged by Mr. Banks as his draughtsman. Quite a melancholy and romantic story attaches to this interesting book, which is partially told by Mr. Colenso in vol. x. of our Transactions. As this gentleman was evidently unaware of the whole story, I shall not hesitate to record it more fully, and so to supplement it as to do Sir Joseph Banks justice, and free his name from that grave reproach under which it rests in the pages of Mr. Colenso's article, "Manibus Parkinsonibus sacrum." Young Parkinson was a very intelligent, gentle youth, the son of a Quaker in Edinburgh. His skill in the use of the pencil, and the fidelity with which he drew plants and objects of natural history generally, led to an introduction to Mr. Banks, who was then about to sail with Captain Cook in the "Endeavour." Mr. Banks offered him the post of draughtsman, at a salary of £80 a year and rations. This offer, so agreeable to his curiosity and love of nature, the young man joyfully accepted. He gained the affection of all on board, and performed his artistic duties in the most competent way. His botanical drawings, which now lie in the Banksian Collection at the British Museum, are of great beauty and accuracy, and attest his merit. After nearly three long years of absence the "Endeavour" turned her head towards home. Near Batavia the dread scourge of dysentery and fever struck the vessel. Amongst the victims was poor young Parkinson, who died in January, 1771. Barely was the anchor dropped in English waters before his brother Stanfield demanded the papers, drawings, and curiosities of his deceased relative. Mr. Banks, who had possession, contended that all these belonged to him, as Sydney Parkinson's employer. He was, however, willing and desirous to make the most liberal concessions, both pecuniarily and in the way of permitting a selection from the curiosities for friends. Here the negotiations became of a very disagreeable and prolonged character, notwithstanding the judicious mediation of the celebrated Dr. John Fothergill, who was not only a friend of Mr. Banks, but was also, like Parkinson, a Quaker, and presumably therefore disposed to act with justice and sentiment to both parties. It soon became evident that Parkinson was the tool of designing persons, who advised him to be first in the field with what material of his brother's he could collect and

publish. Under a solemn promise that he would merely peruse and make no other use of it, Mr. Banks lent him his brother's journal, which, naturally enough, he had expressed a strong desire to read. This secured, Parkinson lost no time in preparing it and some sketches for the press, and the work thus compiled was ready for issue much in advance of Dr. Hawkesworth's. An injunction was at once applied for and obtained in the High Court of Chancery, suspending its publication; but meanwhile seventy copies had been issued. These are now extremely rare. After argument, the injunction was annulled; but this involved a delay which was fatal to the sale and success of the book, supplanted as it speedily was by Hawkesworth's fuller and much more interesting account. The introduction to Parkinson's Journal recites the whole dispute, of course from Parkinson's point of view, and the reader would not hesitate to conclude that poor Parkinson had been shamefully oppressed by the wealthy and powerful Mr. Banks and Dr. Fothergill—a conclusion naturally enough expressed by Mr. Colenso in his article. But eleven years later a different complexion was placed on the matter; for in 1784 appeared a fresh edition, or, rather, a reissue, of the work, in which the calumnious statements were refuted by Dr. Fothergill, who further showed that Parkinson had been guilty of treachery and ingratitude. To settle all demands, and to prevent the possibility of any dispute, it was proved that Sir Joseph Banks had given Parkinson the liberal sum of £500, had permitted him to select from the curiosities, and to peruse his brother's journals—a confidence which, as we have seen, was grossly abused. Parkinson, who, it would seem, had always been in necessitous circumstances, became insane, and after some years' detention died in a lunatic asylum, leaving his family unprovided for. Dr. Fothergill, as a co-religionist, and as one brought in this curious way into close contact with him, now acted generously to the distressed family. He also bought from the executors the unsold portion of the Journal, numbering nearly four hundred copies. These, with a valuable compendium of previous South-Sea voyages and other additions, form the issue of 1784. The book is of much value, and the plates, thirteen of which relate to New Zealand, are of great beauty: in a few copies they are coloured.

Returning from this digression: Hawkesworth's edition met with a large and immediate sale, and was at once translated into French and German. To Banks's liberality and public spirit its excellence is largely due. Not only is the history of the voyage drawn largely from his journal, but the illustrations, with the exception of the charts, are supplied from the admirable drawings of the two artists, Parkinson and Buchan, whom he engaged to accompany him round the

world. This voyage owed much to Sir Joseph Banks's princely liberality. He expended upon it no less a sum than £10,000. To Dr. Solander he paid £400 per annum during the voyage.

I have said that only last year did Cook's original journal see the light of day through the press. To Captain Wharton, Hydrographer to the Admiralty, are we indebted for this. It appears that Cook kept his journal in triplicate, in obedience to a requirement of the service. These copies were written by Orton, his clerk, but they have many additions and interlineations in Cook's own handwriting. One of them was forwarded to the Admiralty from Batavia, and is, of course, complete only to the date of arrival at that port. This copy had been evidently appropriated by Sir Philip Stephens, Secretary to the Admiralty; from him it passed to his descendants, was sold in 1868 to Mr. Cosens, and again sold in 1890 to Mr. John Corner. The second copy is now in the possession of the Admiralty, though for some years it was missing; and the third copy is the property of the Queen. It is from Mr. Corner's copy, collated with that of the Admiralty, that Captain Wharton's volume has been edited, and it contains all the odd spelling, shrewd remarks, and quaint composition of the original; much-abused Dr. Hawkesworth is evidently and entirely absent. On this, his first voyage, Cook spent nearly six months in and around New Zealand, from the 6th October, 1769, to the 31st March, 1770. His chart or map of New Zealand, which appears in Hawkesworth's account, has won the praise of all for its accuracy. Curiously, he placed the North Island 30min. and the South Island 40min. too far east. The site of Wellington is placed on the Wairarapa plains, that of Dunedin forty miles out to sea. This error was corrected on the second voyage.

The second voyage was undertaken on a much more extensive scale than the first, and the literature connected with it is correspondingly extensive. Its great object was to set at rest the still fervent question of the Great Southern Continent, which still occupied men's minds, and especially that of Mr. Dalrymple, who, as we have seen, put trifling value on Cook's discoveries. King George, moreover, was far from satisfied, and considered that the great expectations he had formed had not been realized by the recent discoveries. On this occasion two vessels were attached to the service—the "Resolution" and the "Adventure," the latter being under the command of Captain Tobias Furneaux. To Captain Cook's regret his favourite old "Endeavour" had been sent to the Falkland Isles. The patriotic Sir Joseph Banks again made every preparation to accompany the expedition. As

previously, he, at his own expense, made extensive preparations to insure the success of the voyage from a scientific point of view. He engaged quite a retinue of assistants, and sent on board an ample supply of stores and of scientific instruments, which were placed in an upper works or top-hamper on board the "Resolution," which had been erected under his own supervision. Dr. Solander was again to form one of the party, and there were also one or two other scientific men. At the last moment, when all were ready to start, the pilot found fault with Sir Joseph Banks's additions, which he considered absolutely unsafe for such a voyage, and likely to cause disaster. Banks, in high dudgeon, at once ordered his goods ashore, bade adieu to all, and started on his well-known tour to Iceland. Mr. Banks's scientific friends followed their chief. In this dilemma the Royal Society recommended Dr. John Reinhold Forster as competent to undertake the post of naturalist and to make scientific observations. Dr. Forster was accompanied by his son George, a youth of eighteen.

The expedition sailed in July, 1772, and after an absence of three years returned in July, 1775. It was welcomed, as before, with every demonstration of curiosity and pride, and every effort was made to have the account of the voyage published with less delay than before. Captain Cook is credited with having on this occasion acted as his own editor; but, as a matter of fact, the account of the voyage was edited by the Rev. Dr. John Douglas, who was afterwards successively Bishop of Carlisle and of Salisbury. It will be of some interest here to say that this learned critic and divine was the grandfather of Mr. J. A. Douglas, formerly a runholder in this province, of the firm of Comber and Douglas, of the Upper Waitaki. The work was issued in two quarto volumes, and appeared a few days after Cook's departure on his third and last voyage in 1776. The illustrations were chiefly done by Mr. William Hodges, who was engaged by the Admiralty to take portraits and landscape views. New Zealand was visited twice on this voyage, and a stay made there of three months altogether.

As a highly disagreeable incident occurred in the Parkinson episode, so now one somewhat similar took place in an unexpected quarter. Throughout the voyage Dr. Forster cherished the idea—and probably with good grounds—that on arrival home the honour of writing its history would be intrusted to him; and for this task he was undoubtedly well qualified. He was a learned scientific man, an extensive linguist, a good observer, and was in high favour with the Royal Society. Add to this that, unlike the ponderous Hawkesworth, whose acquaintance with salt water

was confined to that of the Thames, he formed one, and a *magna pars*, among the voyagers, and his qualifications seem complete. Unfortunately he was of overbearing temper, quarrelsome, and passionate, and during the voyage he succeeded in securing the hearty dislike of his comrades. By the time New Zealand was reached he had fallen out with all. During his disputes he had a childish trick of saying, "I shall tell the King; I shall tell the King." The very sailors caught up the words, and jeeringly used them in their own quarrels. On two occasions he behaved so severely, if not cruelly, to the natives that Captain Cook placed him under arrest. It is, however, gratifying to observe that his references to the great commander are invariably couched in terms of praise and admiration. On arrival home, to his chagrin he learnt that, whilst the Admiralty expected him to publish his own scientific observations, for which purpose the artists' drawings were placed at his disposal, he was forbidden to contribute to the history of the voyage. This the Admiralty desired that Captain Cook should undertake. An agreement was drawn up precisely specifying the special part allotted to each, and Forster was informed that any infringement would entail the loss of half the profit accruing from the sale of the books. Forster, obliged to acquiesce in these arrangements, published his "Observations . . . on the Physical Geography, Natural History, and Ethic Philosophy" of the voyage, in a thick quarto. But father and son conjointly were not thus to be outwitted. If the father was stringently bound the son was not, and so there speedily appeared—anticipating, indeed, by three or four months Cook's publication—"A Voyage round the World in His Britannic Majesty's Sloop the 'Resolution.'" This was in two large volumes quarto, with the son's name, George Forster, on the title-page, the said son being then but just twenty-two years of age: curiously enough he was at this tender age a F.R.S., as the initials appended to his name attest. The Admiralty were naturally incensed with such sharp practice, and at once withdrew all further countenance and patronage. The result was that the twain soon found it necessary to depart for Germany, their native land, whence from time to time they issued other contributions which have much enriched our knowledge of this voyage. In his preface the son naively says, "I was bound by no agreement whatever, and that to which my father had signed did not make him answerable for my actions, nor in the most distant manner preclude him from giving me assistance. Therefore in every important circumstance I had leave to consult his journals, and have been enabled to draw up my narrative with the most scrupulous attention to historical truth." This is queer morality: *qui*

facit per alium facit per se. And so it was with Stanfield Parkinson. Yet posterity, whilst condemning the method, must congratulate itself on the possession of such valuable results. If Solander, Banks, and Cook had published each his own separate account there would have been no plagiarism and we should have been all the richer. To the "Characteres Generum Plantarum," published in 1776 and dedicated to the King, we are indebted for the first contributions to our New Zealand and South Sea Island botany; the plates are exceedingly primitive, especially those in the German edition published three years later when father and son had shaken the English dust from their feet. Their name remains with us in *Forstera*, a genus of New Zealand alpine plants. In 1786 appeared a "Dissertatio inauguralis Botanico-medica de Plantis esculentis Insularum Oceani Australis." This is of eighty pages octavo, and is of considerable interest. It would be tiresome to particularize many other products of their pen, which were chiefly pamphlets of a disputatious kind and an outcome of the treatment they had received.

I do not here more than refer to the astronomical treatises of Charles Green, William Wales, and William Baily of the two voyages; nor to the work of Dr. Andrew Sparrman, who joined the expedition at the Cape of Good Hope as an assistant to Dr. Forster.

Nor on this occasion did Cook's enemies omit to launch their shafts of ridicule. A volume appeared with this odd title: "The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman, Esquire, into Carnovirria, Taupiniera, Olfactaria, and Auditante, in New-Zealand; in the Island of Bonhommica, and in the powerful Kingdom of Luxovolupto on the Great Southern Continent. Written by himself; who went ashore in the 'Adventure's' large Cutter, at Queen Charlotte's Sound, New Zealand, the fatal 17th of December, 1773, and escaped being cut off and devoured, with the rest of the Boat's crew, by happening to be a-shooting in the woods; where he was afterwards unfortunately left behind by the 'Adventure.'" This very rare book is written somewhat after the manner of "Gulliver's Travels," and is full of concealed raillery, apparently directed against Cook, Banks, and Solander, whose adventures are travestied. In one of the illustrations two men are represented walking on the pavement, whilst a third, apparently Cook, is floating in the air in the arms of a flying female, whose hair is dressed in extraordinary fashion. It is difficult to suggest the writer of this skit: perhaps it was Dalrymple, who to his dying day never forgot to sneer at Cook,—or perhaps the celebrated Dr. Horsley, who had no more affection for Banks.

The third voyage—from which, alas! Cook was not destined to return—had for its object the discovery of a north-

west passage through which vessels might sail to the East by a short route, instead of by the long journey round the Cape. As all previous expeditions with this mission had failed, it was now determined to make the attempt from another direction, and to seek an entrance from the Pacific instead of from the Atlantic Ocean. As we know, this discovery was achieved by Sir John Franklin in 1847. Had Cook been spared to complete his voyage it is quite probable that his experience, skill, and determination would have conquered the difficult problem set before him. As with the previous two, so this voyage proved rich in contributions to its history. It extended over four years—from July, 1776, to October, 1780. The vessels were the old "Resolution" and the "Discovery," the command of the latter devolving on Captain Clerke, and, after his death, on Captain James King. The month of February, 1777, was spent in New Zealand, at the old favourite spot in Queen Charlotte Sound. The account of this voyage appeared in 1784 in three large quarto volumes; the first and second nominally by Cook, the third by King. Again the services of Dr. John Douglas as editor were put in requisition; but from the introductory remarks it would seem as though Cook had formed the strong resolve of editing himself his journal and of trusting to no deputy. But death forbade this. The plates and charts were, as previously, of the best character, and executed by eminent engravers from the drawings of James Webber, the artist of the expedition. The plates are of large size, and were consequently issued separately in elephant folio. Some copies of the letter-press have, however, the plates infolded. A few copies of the folio plates have an additional engraving at the end by the celebrated Bartolozzi, representing the death of Cook. Such copies are very rare and accordingly valuable. In 1808 an additional folio of coloured illustrations by Webber was published. One of the views represents Ship Cove, in Queen Charlotte Sound, where Cook was wont to lie. The representation is most faithful, and I immediately recognized the spot when visiting it five years ago. The great earthquake of 1846, which did such damage at Wellington and which raised the eastern beaches, had here the effect of depressing the land some feet below the water. Hence the beach whereon Cook erected his huts, and which is depicted in Webber's illustration, no longer exists.

These nine volumes, then, form the complete and original edition of Cook's voyages; though, as has been explained already, the first relates to the discoveries of Cook's immediate predecessors. It is needless to speak of the numberless editions which have since appeared and with some of which we are all acquainted. I may, however, add

that much extra matter, and some of it of value, is to be found in those compilations of the voyages which appeared soon after the publication of the original, in the numerous collections of voyages issued towards the close of the last and the beginning of this century; such, for instance, as Portlock's and Anderson's. The compilers interviewed many of Cook's companions, and thus procured some extra details. The British Museum contains a large number of manuscripts, drawings, charts, and other unpublished collections relating to Cook's voyages, which are of great interest and should be brought into the light of day. I have a list of perhaps thirty of these. Here, again, is an opportunity of conferring a great service open to any one possessed of wealth and patriotic spirit. The Museum authorities would gladly grant permission to any person desirous of placing these in an available form.

Fifteen years ago—in 1879—occurred the centenary of Cook's death, and this was commemorated at Paris in a very distinguished way by the Société de Géographie. The members of this great society held a séance, at which many eminent persons assisted. Orations were delivered, eloquently referring to Cook and his labours, to Dalrymple, and to Hawkesworth, and reviewing our rapidly-increasing knowledge of Oceania. There was also exhibited an extensive collection of articles which had belonged to Cook or were personal to him, his manuscripts and those of his companions, of old drawings, and of curiosities from the South Seas, lent by the British Admiralty, Lady Brassey, and many other persons, all proud to aid so great a celebration. A full account of these proceedings was issued by the Society in a bulletin, together with a very excellent cartography and bibliography, the whole forming a very valuable, but little known, contribution to the literature of the subject. In reading this, one feels not only pleasure, but also a warm sense of gratitude towards the French nation in thus doing honour to our great countryman. But, indeed, Cook, like Shakespeare, belongs to all nations. To the French we are also indebted for early literature relating to New Zealand. At the very moment, in 1769, when Cook was sailing down the west coast of the North Island in the "Endeavour," Captain De Surville was on the east coast in the "St. Jean Baptiste," each unaware of the other's vicinity, and separated by but a few miles. The history of De Surville's visit to New Zealand is very interesting. His vessel was chartered to trade to various islands in the Indian seas, and with this view was being fitted out in the French settlement of Pondicherry. At this moment astounding news was suddenly circulated that the English had discovered a wonderful island somewhere in the South Seas, which not only abounded in gold and other riches, but also contained a

curious colony of Jews. The destination of the vessel was at once changed to a search for this remarkable spot. It was on this quest that De Surville fell in with the coast of New Zealand at Mongonui, or Doubtless Bay, as Cook had named it three days before De Surville's arrival. The Frenchman called it Lauriston Bay, probably after M. Laws, who was the Governor of Pondicherry and one of the charterers of his vessel. Here he stayed for three weeks, being received very hospitably by the natives—a hospitality which he requited in a discreditable manner. During a terrible storm, of which, indeed, Cook also speaks, he lost one of his boats. Suspecting the natives of having stolen it, he set fire to their village, otherwise maltreated them, and kidnapped their principal chief Naginoui, whom he took with him to sea, and who shortly afterwards died heart-broken. For the only account we possess of this voyage we are indebted to the Abbé Alexis Rochon, himself an extensive traveller. The abbé happened to be at Pondicherry at the time of the "St. Jean Baptiste's" return, and thus got access to De Surville's journal. From it he made those extracts which appear as an appendix to his "Nouveau Voyage à la Mer du Sud," published at Paris in 1783. These extracts give us the sole knowledge we possess of the first visit of the French to New Zealand. From some remarks the abbé makes it is apparent that the original journal contains further information regarding the natives and the productions of the country, which he did not think it worth while to detail. Now, where is this lost journal? This "Nouveau Voyage" is an extremely rare and valuable book, copies fetching as much as £3 or £4. It also contains the sad and eventful story of the second visit paid to these shores by the French in 1772 in the ships "Mascarin" and "Marquis de Castries," under the command of Marion du Fresne and Duclesmeur. On this occasion the vessels were anchored at the Bay of Islands, known on the old French maps as the Bay of Treachery, for more than a month. Apparently the utmost friendship existed between the natives and the French, and then, without a moment's warning or the least suspicion, that terrible catastrophe took place when Marion and nearly thirty of his officers and men were massacred and eaten. I think we are all pretty well acquainted with the story. The command devolved on Crozet, Marion's lieutenant, and after his arrival home the journals were edited and published by the Abbé Rochon. Thus they are known as "Crozet's Voyage." They were excellently translated into English three years ago by Mr. Ling Roth, the Librarian of the Imperial Institute; the translation, however, does not reproduce the old plates and charts of the original edition, nor the abbé's preface, nor the appendix relative to De Surville—omissions which I pointed

out in a review appearing in the *Otago Daily Times* of November, 1891. The abbé considers that the massacre was a just retribution—*utu*—for De Surville's brutal cruelty three years before. Long afterwards the "Wiwis" were known amongst the natives as "the bloody tribe of Marion."

With the years 1783 and 1784 terminates the history of the earliest New Zealand literature. It reopens again in 1807, with "An Account of the Bay of Islands," written by Mr. Savage, who was surgeon of one of the early convict vessels to Botany Bay. After discharging its human cargo of criminals on the shores of New South Wales the ship was sent down in 1805 to New Zealand to collect a cargo of spars for the British navy. This writer has, then, the honour of being the author next in order after Cook, with an interval of nearly five-and-twenty years between them. From this time onwards, and to the present day, the publications anent New Zealand have increased and multiplied exceedingly. At times they have poured forth from the press in a perfect torrent, and it may be asserted that for its age and size no other country has had more written concerning it. But an account of these does not come within the scope of this paper.

My subject would not be complete without saying a few words relative to an old map, dated 1542, a century before Tasman's discovery of New Zealand. It was executed by one Jean Rotz, was dedicated to Henry the Eighth, is in the British Museum, and is over 7ft. in length. This interesting and ancient map is one of four, also in the British Museum, which were photo-lithographed ten years ago at the joint expense of the Governments of New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia. In this the Governments of these colonies have acted with a noble public spirit, and have done a very great service in extending a knowledge of such old documents, which are certainly the oldest charts of Australia known to exist. The originals were made the subject of much careful study by Malte-Brun, more than sixty years ago, in his "Histoire de Géographie," and still more fully in 1859 by Mr. Major, of the British Museum, in a long and learned contribution to the Hakluyt Society. The whole subject is one of great intricacy, and requires much patience and further research before it can be fully elucidated. For some time I have been collecting information upon it from many sources, which I shall have the pleasure of laying before the Institute at another time. Meanwhile, I exhibit a facsimile section of that portion of Jean Rotz's map which contains all that was known of Australia before 1542. It may fairly be presumed that the large islands to the east are those of New Zealand. To the small island is affixed the name of "Y^{a} de Saill," to the larger "Yslas de magna."

And now a door for the widest speculation opens. It may be accepted as proved, by those who have made these early maps their study, that accuracy of latitude and longitude, or much approach thereto, is not to be found in them, and that the positions of many of the countries and of their coast-lines are constantly misplaced or distorted. All this is what we might expect in the infancy of cartography. Witness, in the map before us, the close proximity of Java to the northern coast of Australia—Iava la Grande, or the Londe of Iava, as it is called—where but the width of a large river or narrow strait divides the two countries. Again, this huge eastern projection is supposed, with considerable reason, to represent Tasmania. Here it has been tacked on to Australia in a manner most regardless of every cardinal point. If this be allowed, we must view "Bay Neufve" as Bass Strait, and the "C. de Fremose" as the south-east point of this Island. If this be admitted, I would hazard the conjecture that the "Yslas de magna" is our South or Middle, and the "Y^{a} de Saill" the southern portion of the North Island, with Cook Strait between. Dusky Bay would be represented by this conspicuous opening. Some may think that with further cartographical perversity Jean Rotz has placed the islands in reversed position; and, if so, we may assume that Stewart Island and the Middle Island are represented, with Foveaux Strait between them, and that the North Island is not shown at all. I incline to the first conjecture, and shall be glad on a future occasion to give reasons for this belief. Meanwhile, this strange map shadows forth the strong probability that New Zealand was known to Europeans, and most likely the Portuguese, at least three hundred and fifty years ago. In concluding with this portion of my subject, it is needless to point out the remarkable interest which surrounds it; and if I have succeeded in gaining for it your sympathy, and, what is more important, the determination to make research for yourselves, I am content.