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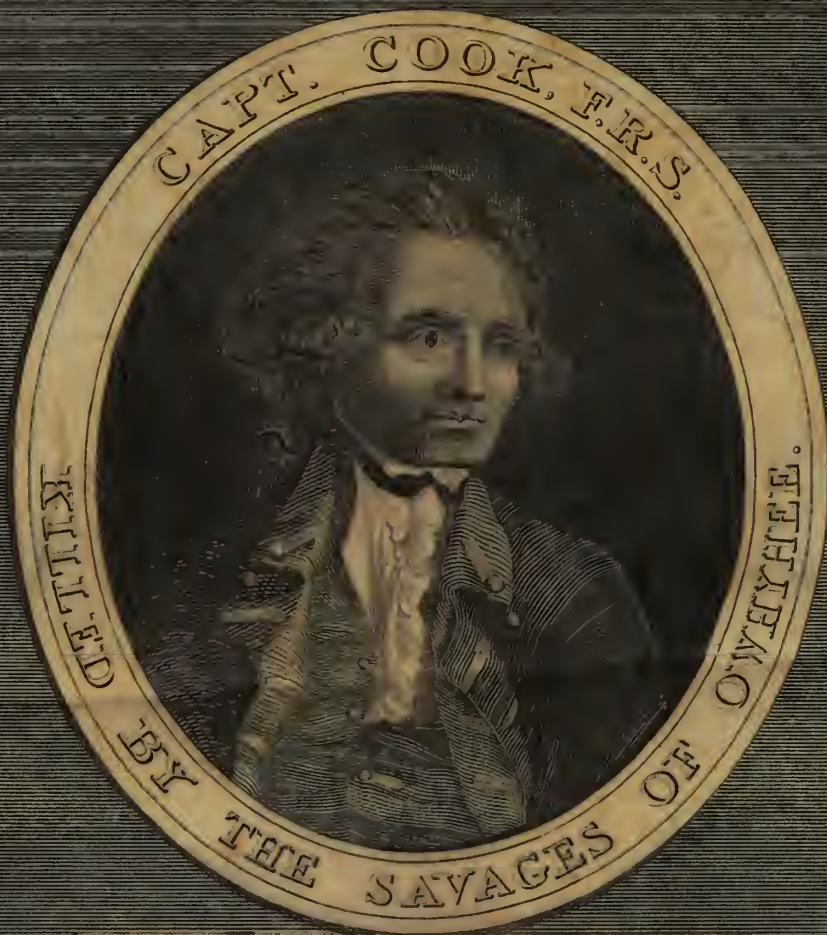


Received of Mr. Wm. H. C. Everett  
the sum of \$100.00  
for the purchase of the  
Farming

W. H. C. Everett.

1842.





L. Phillips sculp.

Published for J. Robinson & C. Albion Press, London.



CAPTAIN COOK'S  
ORIGINAL VOYAGES,

ROUND THE

WORLD:

*performed by*

ROYAL AUTHORITY.

*Containing the Whole of his Discoveries in*

GEOGRAPHY, NAVIGATION, ASTRONOMY, &c.

*With Memoirs of his Life, and particulars relative*

*to his Unfortunate Death.*



EMBELLISHED

*With Engravings from the Original Drawings.*









*J. Phillips sc.*

*Published by T. Cadogan & Co. Albion Press, London.*





# THE P R E F A C E.

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**T**HE great utility and very interesting nature of the important **FIRST, SECOND, and THIRD VOYAGES and DISCOVERIES** of the late Capt. COOK, are acknowledged by all ranks of people; consequently it might be deemed impertinent here to attempt any encomiums on the arduous but exact researches of this eminent and valuable Navigator, in which discoveries have been made far greater than those of all the other Navigators in the World, from the expedition of Columbus to the present time. Capt. Cook is unquestionably allowed to have been the ablest and most renowned Circumnavigator this or any other country has produced; and every enlightened nation must deplore his being unfortunately killed by the Savages of the Island of Owhyhee, on the 14th, of February, 1779, when prosecuting his **LAST VOYAGE** round the Globe.

This great man possessed, in an eminent degree, all the qualifications requisite for his profession and great undertakings. He was cool and deliberate in judging; sagacious in determining; active in executing; steady and persevering in enterprizes, vigilant, with unremitting caution; unsubdued by labour, difficulties and disappointments; fertile in expeditions; never wanting presence of mind; always possessing himself of the full use of a sound understanding; mild, just, but exact in discipline. His knowledge, his experience, and his sagacity, rendered him so entirely master of his subject, that the greatest obstacles were surmounted, and the most dangerous navigations became easy, and almost safe, under his direction. He explored the Southern Hemisphere, &c. to a much higher latitude than had ever been reached, and with fewer accidents than frequently befal those who navigate the coasts of Great Britain. By his attention to the welfare of his ship's company, he discovered and introduced a system for the preservation of the health of seamen in long voyages, which has proved wonderfully efficacious: for in his **SECOND VOYAGE** round the World, which continued upwards of three years, he lost only one man by distemper, of one hundred and eighteen persons, of whom his company consisted.

The death of this valuable man was a loss to mankind in general; and particularly to be deplored by every nation that respects useful accomplishments, and honours science. It is still more to be deplored by this country, which may justly boast of having produced a man hitherto unequalled for nautical talents; and that sorrow is farther aggravated by the reflection, that this country was deprived of this ornament by the enmity of a people, from whom, indeed, it might have been dreaded, but from whom it was not deserved: for, Capt. Cook frequently interposed, at the hazard of his life, to protect these very people from the sudden resentment of his own injured ship's crew. Let us contemplate, admire, revere, and emulate, this great Navigator; whose skill and labours have enlarged natural philosophy; have extended nautical science; and have disclosed the long concealed and admirable arrangements of the Almighty in the formation of this Globe, and at the same time the arrogance of mortals, in presuming to account, by their speculations, for the laws by which he was pleased to create it. It is now discovered, beyond all doubt, that the same great Being who created the universe by his fiat, by the same ordained our earth to keep a just poise, without a corresponding Southern Continent. The arduous and accurate researches of Capt. Cook have discovered Seas unnavigated and unknown before. They have made us acquainted with Islands, people, and productions, of which he had no conception; and the name of Capt. Cook will be revered,



## P R E F A C E.

while there remains an authentic account of his three respective VOYAGES, and as long as Mariners and Geographers shall trace the various courses and discoveries he has made.

Among other advantages which must result from the undertakings of this unparalleled Commander, it is probable that these VOYAGES may be the means of spreading, in time, the blessings of civilization amongst the numerous tribes of the South Pacific Ocean, of abolishing their horrid repasts, and their equally horrid rites; and of laying a foundation for future and more effectual plans, to prepare them for holding an honourable station amongst the nations of the earth. Other discoveries of new countries have, in general, been with wars, or rather massacres. Nations have no sooner been found out, than they have been extirpated; and the horrid cruelties of the conquerors of Mexico and Peru, can never be remembered without blushing for religion and human nature. But when the recesses of the Globe are investigated, not to enlarge private dominion, but to promote general knowledge; when we visit new tribes of our fellow-creatures as friends, and wish only to learn that they exist, in order to bring them within the pale of the offices of humanity, and to relieve the wants of their imperfect state of society, by communicating to them our superior attainments. VOYAGES of such discovery, planned with such benevolent views by GEORGE THE THIRD, and executed by Capt. Cook, have not, we trust, totally failed in this respect. The natives of the South Pacific Ocean comparing themselves with their visitors, cannot but be struck with the deepest conviction of their own inferiority, and be impelled by the strongest motives to strive to emerge from it, and rise nearer to a level with those Britons, who deigned to look upon them, and left behind so many specimens of their generous and humane attention. The very introduction of our useful animals and vegetables, by adding fresh means of subsistence, will have added to their comforts and enjoyments of life.



# FIRST VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD,

IN HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP, THE ENDEAVOUR.

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*The Departure of the Endeavour from Plymouth; Her passage to the Island of Madeira; A description of its natural curiosities and Trade; A particular account of Funchiale, the capital of Madeira; The passage from Madeira to Rio de Janeiro; An account of this Capital of the Portuguese dominions in South America, and of the circumjacent country; Incidents that happened while the Endeavour laid in the harbour of Rio de Janeiro.*

**T**HE Endeavour, a bark of three hundred and twenty tons, which had been originally built for the coal trade, was appointed to the service of Capt. Cook's first voyage round the world, having on board ten carriage, and twelve swivel guns. On August 26th 1768, we therefore got under sail, and took our departure from Plymouth. On the 31st, we saw several of those birds, called by seamen Mother Carey's Chickens, and which they think prognosticate a storm. On the 2nd of September we saw land between Cape Finisterre, and Cape Ortegal, on the coast of Galicia in Spain. In this course some marine animals were discovered, hitherto unnoticed by naturalists. One of these, described as a new species, is of an angular form, near three inches in length, and one thick. It has a hollow passage quite through it, and a brown spot at one end. Four of these animals appeared to adhere together by their sides; but when put into water, they separated, and swam about, shining with a brightness resembling the vivid colour of a gem. We also discovered another animal, exceeding in variety and brightness any thing we had seen; even in colour and splendour equal to those of an

opal. At the distance of about ten leagues from Cape Finisterre, we caught among the rigging of the ship, several bird not described by Linnæus. On the 12th we discovered Puerto Santo, and Madeira; and, on the following day, moored with the stream anchor in the road of Funchiale. In heaving up the anchor, Mr. Weir, the master's mate, was unfortunately carried overboard and drowned.

Upon approaching the island of Madeira from the sea, it appears exceedingly beautiful, the sides of the hills being covered with plantations of vines, which are green when all kinds of herbage, except here and there, are burnt up, which was the case at this time.

On the 13th in the forenoon, the boat came from the officers of health, no one being suffered to land from on board a ship without their permission. When this was granted, we landed at Funchiale, the chief town in the island, and proceeded directly to the house of Mr. Cheap, a considerable merchant, and, at that time, the English consul there, who received us with a brotherly kindness, and treated us with a princely liberality. We continued on the island only five days, during which time the season was the worst in



the year for searching after natural curiosities; however, the two gentlemen, Dr. Solander and Mr. Banks, pushed their excursions about three miles from the town, and collected a few plants in flower, by the obliging attention of Dr. Heberden, the chief physician of the island, and brother to Dr. Heberden of London. Mr. Banks inquired after, and found the tree called *Laura Indicus*, the wood of which he supposes to be what is called the Madeira mahogany, as there is no real mahogany upon the island.

The inhabitants of Madeira have no other article of trade than wine, which is made by pressing the juice out in a square wooden vessel. The size of this is proportioned to the quantity of wine; and the servants having taken off their stockings and jackets, get into it, and with their elbows and feet press out as much of the juice as they can. In like manner the stalks, being tied together, are pressed under a square piece of wood, by a lever with a stone fastened to the end of it.

During our stay upon this island we saw no wheel-carriages of any sort, nor have the people any thing that resembles them, except a hollow board, or sledge, upon which those wine vessels are drawn that are too big to be carried by hand. They have also horses and mules, very proper for their roads, but their wine is, notwithstanding, brought to town from the vine-yards, where it is made, in vessels of goat-skins, which are carried by men on their heads.

Nature has been very liberal in her gifts to Madeira. The inhabitants are not without ingenuity, but they want industry. The soil is so very rich, and there is such a variety in the climate, that there is scarcely any article either of the necessaries or luxuries of life, which cannot probably be cultivated here. On the hills walnuts, chesnuts, and apples flourish, almost without culture. Pine-apples, mangoes, guanas, and bananas, grow almost spontaneously in the town. They have corn which is large grained and fine, and it might be produced in plenty; but for want of being attended to, all they consume is imported from other countries. Beef, mutton, and pork, are remarkably good, and the

Captain took some of the former on board for his own use.

Funchiale (which took its name from *Foncho*, signifying fennel in the Portuguese language) is situate at the bottom of a bay, and though it is extensive in proportion to the rest of the island, it is but poorly built, and the streets are narrow and badly paved.

The churches are full of ornaments, with pictures and images of saints; the first are, for the most part, wretchedly executed, and the latter are dressed in laced clothes. The taste of the convents, especially of the Franciscans, is better; neatness and simplicity being united in most of the designs of the latter. The infirmary also is a piece of good architecture, and one of the most considerable in this place. In this convent is a small chapel, the whole lining of which, both sides and ceiling is composed of human skulls and thigh bones; the thigh bones are laid across each other, and a skull is placed in each of the four angles. When we visited the good fathers, just before supper-time, they received us with great civility. "We will not ask you," said they, "to supper with us, because we are not prepared, but if you will come tomorrow, though it is a fast-day, we will have a turkey roasted for you." This polite invitation it was not in our power to accept. There are many high hills in this island; Pico Ruivo in particular is near 5100 feet high. To a certain height these hills are covered with vines, above which are numbers of chesnuts and pine-trees; and above these again whole forests of various sorts of trees. The *Mirmulano* and *Paobranco* which are found among them, are unknown in Europe. The latter of these is very beautiful, and would be a great ornament to our gardens. The number of inhabitants in Madeira are computed to amount to about eighty thousand; and the customhouse duties produce to the king of Portugal a revenue of 20,000*l* a year, clear of all expences. But the balance of trade is against the people; for all their money going to Lisbon, the currency of the island is in Spanish. This coin consisteth of pistereens, worth about a shilling; bitts about sixpence, and half bitts worth about three-pence.



On the 19th of September the *Endeavour* sailed from Madeira, and on the 21st we saw the islands called the Salvages, northward of the Canaries. The principal of these was about five leagues to the south half west. On the 23rd the peak of Teneriffe bore west by south half south. Its appearance at sun-set was very striking; for when most part of the island appeared of a deep black, the mountain still reflected rays, and glowed with a warmth of colour which no painting can express. There is no eruption of visible fire, but a heat issues from the chinks near the top, too strong to be borne by the hand when held near them. The height of this mountain is 15,396 feet, which is but one hundred and forty eight yards less than three miles.

On the 30th we saw Bona Vista, one of the Cape de Verd Islands, in latitude 16 deg. north, and longitude 21 deg. 51 min. west. In our course to Teneriffe, we observed numbers of flying fish, which appeared very beautiful, their sides resembling burnished silver.

On the 7th of October Mr. Banks went out in a boat, and caught what our sailors call a Portuguese man of war; together with several shell fishes, or testaceous animals, which are always found floating upon the water; and on the 25th this gentleman shot a black-toed gull, not described by Linnaeus, and whose dung is of a red colour. We had now variable winds, with some showers of rain, and the air was so damp as to damage our utensils considerably.

On the 25th we crossed the line with the usual ceremonies; and on the 28th when the ship was in the latitude of Ferdinand Noronha longitude 32 deg. 5 min. west, we began to look out for the island, and for the shoals which are laid down as lying between it and the main; but neither the island nor shoals could be discovered. On the 29th we perceived that luminous appearance of the sea mentioned by navigators, which emitted rays like those of lightning. As Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were not thoroughly satisfied with any of the causes hitherto assigned for this phenomenon, and supposing it was occasioned by some luminous animals,

they threw out a casting net, in order to try by experiment whether they were right in their conjectures. A species of the *Medusa* was taken, which bore some resemblance to metalline substance greatly heated, and emitted a whitish light; they caught also some crabs which glittered very much; animals which had not before been taken notice of by the curious researches into the secrets of nature.

As provisions by this time began to grow short, we resolved to put into the harbour of Rio de Janeiro; and on the 8th of November we saw the coast of Brazil. Upon speaking with the crew of a Portuguese fishing boat, we were informed by them, that the land we saw was to the south of Santo Espirito. Mr. Banks, having bought of these people some fish, was surprised, that they required English shillings: he gave them two which he happened to have about him; for he imagined Spanish silver to have been the only currency, and it was not without some dispute that they took the rest of the money in pistereens. The fresh fish which was bought for about nineteen shillings, served the whole ship's company. We stood off and on along shore till the 12th, having in view successively Cape Thomas, and an island just without Cape Frio, and then made sail for Rio de Janeiro on the 13th in the morning. Capt. Cook sent his first lieutenant in the pinnace before to the city to inform the governor, that we had put into that port in order to procure refreshments, and a pilot to bring us into proper anchoring ground. The pinnace returned, but the lieutenant had been detained by the viceroy, till the Captain should come on shore. When the ship had come to an anchor, a ten-oared boat filled with soldiers approached, and rowed round her, but no conversation took place. Afterwards another boat appeared, which had several of the viceroy's officers on board. They inquired from whence the *Endeavour* came? what was her cargo? what number of men and guns she carried; and to what port she was bound? which questions having been punctually and truly answered, the Portuguese officers apologized for having detained the lieutenant.



and pleaded the custom of the place in excuse for their behaviour.

On the 14th Capt. Cook went on shore, and obtained leave to furnish the ship with provisions; but this permission was clogged with the conditions of employing an inhabitant as a factor, and of sending a soldier in the Endeavour's boat every time she came from shore to the vessel. To these uncivil terms the Captain made many objections; but the viceroy was determined to insist on them; neither would he permit Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander to remain on shore, nor suffer the former to go up the country to collect plants. Capt. Cook conceiving from these and other marks of jealousy, that the viceroy thought they were come to trade, used all his endeavours to convince him of the contrary; and acquainted him, that they were bound to the South Seas, to observe the transit of Venus over the disk of the sun, an object of great consequence to the improvement of navigation; but the viceroy by his answer, seemed to be entirely ignorant of this phenomenon. An officer was now appointed to attend the Captain, which order he was desired to understand as an intended compliment: however, when he would have declined such a ceremony, the viceroy very politely forced it upon him.

Dr. Solander and Mr. Banks, were not a little chagrined on hearing that they would not be permitted to reside on shore, and still more so, when they understood, that they were not even allowed to quit the ship: for the viceroy had ordered, that the Captain only, with such sailors as were required by their duty, should come on shore. Whether this arose from his jealousy in regard to trade, or from the apprehensions he entertained of the extraordinary abilities of the two gentlemen, in search of new discoveries; it is certain that they were highly disagreeable to Mr. Banks and the Doctor, who were resolved, if possible, to evade the order. With this view they attempted to go on shore, but were stopped by the guard-boat; yet several of the crew, without the knowledge of the centinel, let themselves down by a rope from the cabin window into the boat about midnight, and drove away with

the tide, till they were out of hearing. They afterwards landed on an unfrequented part of the country, and were treated by the inhabitants with great civility.

Capt. Cook, uneasy under these restrictions of the viceroy, remonstrated with him, but the latter would return no other answer, than that the king his master's orders must be obeyed. The Captain, thus repulsed, and much displeased, resolved to go no more on shore, rather than, whenever he did so, to be treated as a prisoner in his own boat; for the officer, who was so polite as to accompany him, constantly attended him, both to and from the shore. Two memorials were now drawn up, and presented to the viceroy, one written by the Captain, and the other by Mr. Banks; but the answers returned were by no means satisfactory. Several papers passed between them and the viceroy to no good purpose, the prohibition still remaining as before; from whence the Captain thought it necessary, in order to vindicate his own compliance, to urge the viceroy to an act of force in the execution of his orders. For this purpose, he sent lieutenant Hicks with a packet, giving him his order not to admit of a guard in his boat. As this gentleman was resolved to obey his Captain's commands, the officer of the guard-boat did not oppose him by force, but acquainted the viceroy with what had happened, on which the lieutenant was sent away with the packet unopened. When returned, he found a guard of soldiers placed in the boat, and insisted on their quitting it. Whereupon the officer seized the boat's crew, and conducted them under an escort to prison, and the lieutenant was sent back to the ship guarded. When the Captain was informed of this transaction, he wrote to the viceroy to demand his boat and her crew, inclosing the memorial which Mr. Hicks his lieutenant had brought back. These papers he sent by a petty officer, to avoid continuing the dispute concerning the guard, which must have been kept up by a commissioned officer. An answer was now promised by the viceroy; but before this could arrive, the long-boat, which had four pipes of rum on board, was driven to windward, (the rope



breaking that was thrown from the ship,) together with a small skiff that was fastened to the boat. Immediate orders were given for manning the yawl, which, being dispatched accordingly with proper directions, returned, and brought the people on board the next morning; from whom Capt. Cook learned, that the long boat having filled with water, they had brought her to a grappling, and quitted her, and falling in with a reef of rocks on their return, they were forced to cut the fastening of Mr. Banks's little boat, and send her adrift. The Captain now dispatched another letter to his excellency, wherein he informed him of the accident, desired he would assist him with a boat to recover his own, and, at the same time, renewed his demand of the delivery of the pinnace and her crew. The viceroy granted the request, but in his answer to the Captain's remonstrance, suggested some doubts that he entertained, whether the Endeavour was really a king's ship, and also accused the crew of smuggling. Capt. Cook, in his reply, said, that he was willing to shew his commission, adding, if any attempt should be made to carry on a contraband trade, he requested his excellency would order the offender to be taken into custody. The dispute being thus terminated, Mr. Banks attempted to elude the vigilance of the guard, which he found means to do, and got safe on shore on the 26th, in the morning. He took care to avoid the town, and passed the day in the fields, where he could best gratify his curiosity. Mr. Banks found the country people inclined to treat him with civility, and was invited to their habitations. But it was afterwards heard, that search had been making for this gentleman when absent. He and Dr. Solander, therefore, resolved to run no more risques in going on shore, while they remained at this place.

On the 1st of December, having taking in water and provisions, we got, with leave from the viceroy, a pilot on board, but the wind prevented us from putting to sea. A Spanish packet from Buenos Ayres, bound for Spain, arriving the next day, the Captain of her with great politeness offered to take our letters to Europe. The favour was ac-

cepted, and Capt. Cook delivered into his hands a packet for the secretary of the Admiralty, containing copies of all the papers that had passed between him and the viceroy, leaving the duplicates with his excellency. On the 5th we weighed anchor, and towed down the bay, but were stopped at Santa Cruz, the principal fortification, the order from the viceroy to let us pass, by an unaccountable negligence, not having been sent; so that it was not till the 7th that we got under sail. When we had passed the fort the guard-boat left us, and our pilot was discharged. It was observed, during our stay in this harbour, that the air was filled with butterflies, chiefly of one kind, and the greatest part above our mast-head. Of the town and neighbouring country we shall give the following description.

Rio de Janeiro was probably so called because discovered on the festival of St. Januarius, from whence we may suppose the river Januarius took its name, and also the town, which is the capital of the Portuguese in America. This town is situated on the west side of the river, from which it is extended about three quarters of a mile. The ground whereon it stands is a level plain. It is defended on the north side by a hill, that extends from the river, having a small plain which contains the suburbs and king's dock. On the south is another hill running towards the mountains which are behind the town. This is neither ill designed nor ill built; the houses in general are of stone, and two stories high; every house having, after the manner of the Portuguese, a small balcony before its windows, and a lattice of wood before the balcony; its circuit is about three miles; and it appears to be equal in size to the largest country towns in England. The streets are straight, and of a convenient breadth, intersecting each other at right angles; the greater part, however, lie in a line with the citadel, called St. Sebastian, which stands on the top of a hill that commands the town. The principal street is near 100 feet in width, and extends from St. Benedict to the foot of Castle-hill. The other streets are commonly twenty or thirty feet wide. The houses



adjoining to the principal street are three stories high, but in other places they are very irregular, though built after the same manner as at Lisbon. Water is conveyed to a fountain in the great square, from an aqueduct, raised upon two stories of arches. The water at this fountain, however, is so bad, that we could not drink it with pleasure. The churches are richly ornamented, and there is more religious parade in this place than in any of the popish countries in Europe. Not a day passes without a procession of some parish, with various insignia, splendid and costly in the highest degree. But the inhabitants may pay their devotions at the shrine of any saint, without waiting for a procession; for a small cupboard, having a glass window, and in which is one of these tutelary gods, is placed before almost every house, and a lamp is kept constantly burning, lest the old proverb should be verified, "Out of sight, out of mind." Before these saints the people pray and sing with such vehemence, that in the night they were distinctly heard by our sailors on board the ship.

In this town are four convents, the first is that of the Benedictines, situated near its northern extremity: the structure affords an agreeable prospect, and contains an elegant chapel, ornamented with several valuable paintings. The second is that of the Carmelites, which forms the centre angle of the royal square, and fronts the harbour; its church was rebuilding in a very elegant manner, with fine free stone, brought thither from Lisbon. The third is that of St. Anthony, situated on the top of a hill, on the south side of the town; before this convent stands a large bason of brown granite, in the form of a parallelogram, which is employed in washing. The fourth is situated at the eastern extremity of the town, and was formerly the Jesuits convent, but is now converted into a military hospital.

In the right angle of the royal square stands the viceroy's palace; this, with the mint, stables, goal, &c. compose one large building, which has two stories, and is 90 feet from the water. In passing through the palace, the first entrance is to a large

hall or guard-room, to which there is an ascent of three or four steps. In the guard-room are stationed the viceroy's body-guards, who are relieved every morning between eight and nine; and adjoining to the hall are the stables, the prison being in the back part of the building. Within the guard-room is a flight of stairs for ascending to the upper story, which divides at a landing-place about half way, and forms two branches, one leading to the right and the other to the left. The former leads to a saloon, where there are two officers in constant attendance; the viceroy's aid-de-camp at the same time waiting in the anti-chamber to receive messages and deliver orders.

The left wing of the royal square is an irregular building, which consists chiefly of shops, occupied by trading people. In the centre of this square is the fountain, of which we have made mention, as being supplied with water from a spring at the distance of three miles, from which it is brought by an aqueduct. The place is continually crowded with negroes of both sexes waiting to fill their jars. At the corner of every street is an altar. The market-place extends from the north-east end of the square along the shore, and this situation is very convenient for the fishing-boats, and those who bring vegetables from the other side of the river to market. Negroes are almost the only people who sell the different commodities exposed in the market, and they employ their leisure time in spinning cotton.

The form of government is in its constitution mixed, but in fact very despotic; the viceroy and civil magistrate of the town frequently committing persons to prison, or transporting them to Lisbon, at their own pleasure. In order to prevent the people from making excursions into the country, in search after gold and diamonds, certain bounds are prescribed them, sometimes at a few, and sometimes at many miles distance from the town; and if a man is taken up by the guard without the bounds, where they constantly patrole, he is immediately sent to prison.

The inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro are exceeding numerous, and consist of Portuguese,



Negroes, and Indians, which last were the original natives of the country. The township of Rio is but a small part of the Capitanea or province; yet is said to contain 37,000 white people, and 629,000 blacks, many of whom are free, making together 666,000, in the proportion of 17 to 1.

The military is composed of twelve regiments of regular troops, six being Portuguese, and six Creoles, and twelve regiments of provincial militia. The inhabitants are servilely submissive to the regulars, and it has been said, that if any of them should omit the compliment of taking off his hat, when he meets an officer, he would be immediately knocked down. But the subordination of the officers to the viceroy is equally mortifying, for they are obliged to wait three times every day to know, or receive his commands: the answer frequently is, "there is nothing new."

In Rio de Janeiro the gentry keep their chaises, which are drawn by mules; the ladies however use a sedan chair, boarded before and behind, with curtains on each side, which is carried by two negroes on a pole connected with the top of the chair by two rods, coming from under its bottom, one on each side, and resting to the top. The apothecaries' shops commonly serve the purposes of coffee-houses, as the people meet in them to drink capillaire, and play at backgammon. When the gentry are seen abroad, they are well dressed, though at home but loosely covered. The shopkeepers have generally short hair, and wear linen jackets with sleeves. The women in general, as in most of the Portuguese and Spanish settlements in South America, are more ready to grant amorous favours than those of any other civilized parts of the world. As soon as the evening began, females appeared at the windows on every side, who distinguished such of the men as best pleased their fancies, by throwing down nosegays: and Dr. Solander and two other gentlemen received so many of these love tokens, that they threw them away by hatfuls.

Without the Jesuits college on the shore, is a village called Neustra Señora del Gloria, which is joined to the town by a very few

intervening houses. Three or four hundred yards within the Jesuits college, stands a very high castle, but it is falling to decay. The bishop's palace is about three hundred yards behind the Benedictine convent, and contiguous to it is a magazine of arms, surrounded by a rampart.

The inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro maintain a whale-fishery, which supplies them with lamp oil. They import brandy from the Azores, and their slaves and East India goods from their settlements in Africa, their wine from Madeira, and their European goods from Lisbon. The current coin is Portuguese, which is struck here; the silver pieces are called petacks, of different value; and the copper are five and ten ree pieces. This place is very useful for ships that are in want of refreshment. They water, as we have before observed, at the fountain in the great square, but the water is not good. We landed our casks on a smooth sandy beach, which is not more than a hundred yards distant from the fountain, and upon application to the viceroy, a centinel is appointed to look after them. The harbour is safe and commodious, and distinguished by a remarkable hill, in the shape of a cone, at the west point of the bay. The entrance is not wide, but it is easy, from the sea-breeze which prevails from noon to sun-set, for any ship to enter before the wind. The entrance of the narrow part is defended by two forts, La Cruz, and Lozia; they are about three quarters of a mile from each other. The bottom being rocky, renders it dangerous to anchor there, but to avoid it, ships must keep in the mid-channel. The coast abounds with a variety of fish, among which are dolphins and mackarel. Provisions, except wheaten bread and flour, are easily procured. Yams and cassada are in plenty. Beef, both fresh and jerked, may be bought at two-pence farthing a pound, but it is very lean. The people jerk their beef, by taking out the bones, and cutting it into large but thin slices. They then cure it with salt, and dry it in the shade. It eats very well, and if kept dry, will remain good along time at sea. Mutton is



scarcely to be procured. Hogs and poultry are dear. Garden-stuff and fruit are in abundance, but the pumpkin only can be preserved at sea. Tobacco also is cheap, though not good. Rum, sugar, and molasses are all excellent, and to be had at reasonable prices.

The climate of Rio de Janeiro is healthy, and free from most of those inconveniencies incident to tropical countries. The air is seldom immoderately hot, as the sea breeze is generally succeeded by a land wind. The seasons are divided into dry and rainy, though their commencement of late has been irregular and uncertain, for the latter had failed for near four years preceding our arrival; but at this time the rain had just began, and fell in heavy showers during our stay; formerly the streets have been overflowed by the rain, and rendered impassable with canoes.

The adjacent country is mountainous, and chiefly covered with wood, a small part of it only being cultivated. Near the town

the soil is loose and sandy, but farther from the river it is a fine black mould. It produces all the tropical fruits in great plenty, and without much cultivation; a circumstance exceedingly agreeable to the inhabitants, who are very indolent. The mines, which lie far up in the country, are very rich. Their situation is carefully concealed, and no one can view them, except those concerned in working and guarding them. About twelve months before our arrival, the government had detected several jewellers in carrying on an illicit trade for diamonds, with slaves in the mines; and immediately afterwards a law passed, making it felony to work at the trade, or to have any tools fit for it in possession, the civil officers having indiscriminately seized on all that could be found. Near 40,000 negroes are annually imported to dig in the mines, so pernicious to the human frame are those works. In 1776, 20,000 more were draughted from the town to supply the deficiency of the former number.

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## CHAP. II.

*The departure of the Endeavour from Rio de Janeiro; Her passage to the entrance of the Streight of Le Maire; The inhabitants of Terra del Fuego described; Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander ascend a mountain in search of plants; An account of what happened to them in this excursion; The Endeavour passes through the Streight Le Maire; An account of her passage, and a further description of the inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, and its productions; Remarks respecting the southeast part of Terra del Fuego, and the Streight of Le Maire; Directions for the passage westward round this part of America, into the South Seas; The passage of the Endeavour from Cape Horn to the newly discovered islands; An account of their figure and appearance; The inhabitants described, with a narrative of the various incidents during the course, and on the Endeavour's arrival among them.*

**O**N the 8th of December, having procured all necessary supplies, we took our departure from Rio de Janeiro; and on the 9th an amazing number of atoms were taken out of the sea. These were of a yellowish colour, and few of them were more than the fifth part of an inch long; nor could the best microscope on board the En-

deavour discover whether they belonged to the vegetable or animal creation. The sea was tinged in such a manner with these equivocal substances, as to exhibit broad streaks of a similar colour, for near the space of a mile in length, and for several hundred yards in breadth. Whence they came, or for what designed, neither Mr. Banks nor Dr.



Solander could determine. Perhaps they might be the spawn of some marine animal, unknown to either ancient or modern philosophers.

On the 11th we hooked a shark. It proved to be a female. When opened we took six young ones out of it, five of which were alive, and swam briskly in a tub of water, but the sixth appeared to have been dead some time. From this time we met with no material occurrence till the 22nd, when we discovered numerous birds of the *procellaria* kind, in latitude 39 deg. 37 min. south, and longitude 49 deg. 16 min. west: we also discovered great numbers of porpoises of a singular species, about 15 feet in length, and of an ash colour. On the 23rd we observed an eclipse of the moon; and about seven o'clock in the morning, a small white cloud appeared in the west, from which a train of fire issued, extending itself westward: about two minutes after we heard two distinct loud explosions, immediately succeeding each other, like those of cannon, after which the cloud disappeared. On the 24th we caught a large loggerhead tortoise, weighing one hundred and fifty pounds. We likewise shot several birds, one an albatross, which measured between the tips of its wings nine feet and an inch, and from its beak to the tail two feet one inch and an half. On the 30th we ran upwards of fifty leagues, through vast numbers of land insects, some in the air, and others upon the water; they appeared to resemble exactly the flies that are seen in England, though they were thirty leagues from land, and some of these insects are known not to quit it beyond three yards. At this time we judged ourselves to be nearly opposite to the bay called Sans Fond (without bottom) where it is supposed by some writers, that the continent of America is divided by a passage: but it was the opinion of our circumnavigators, that there might be a large river, which probably had occasioned an inundation. On the 31st we had much thunder, lightning and rain. This day and the three following, we saw several whales; likewise a number of birds about the size of a pigeon, with white bellies and grey beaks.

No. 1.

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On the 3rd of January we saw the appearance of land, in latitude 47 deg. 17 min. south, and longitude 61 deg. 29 min. 45 sec. west, which we mistook for Popy's island. In appearance it so much resembled land, that we bore away for it; and it was near two hours and an half before we were convinced, that it was one of those deceptions which sailors call a Fog-bank. At this time our seamen beginning to complain of cold, they were furnished with a pair of trousers, and a Magellanic jacket, made of a thick woollen stuff called Fearnought. On the 11th after having passed Faulkland's Island, we saw the coast of Terra del Fuego, at the distance of about four leagues from the west to south-east by south. As we ranged along the shore to the south-east, smoke was perceived, made probably by the natives as a signal, for it was not to be seen after we had passed by.

On the 14th we entered the streight of Le Maire, but were afterwards driven out again with such violence, (the tide being against us) that the ship's bow-sprit was frequently under water. At length however, we got anchorage in a small cove, on the east of Cape St. Vincent, the entrance to which our Captain named St. Vincent's Bay. The weeds which grow here upon rocky ground are very remarkable, they appear above the surface in eight and nine fathoms water. The leaves are four feet in length, and many of the stalks, though not more than an inch and a half in circumference, above one hundred.

Dr. Solander and Mr. Banks went on shore, where having continued four hours, they returned about nine in the evening, with upwards of an hundred different plants and flowers, of which none of the European botanists had taken any notice near this bay. The country in general was flat, and the bottom, in particular, was a grassy plain. Here was plenty of wood, water, and fowl, and winter bark was found in great plenty. The trees appeared to be a species of the birch, but neither large nor lofty. The wood was white, and they bore a small leaf. White and red cranberries were found in these parts.

On the 18th we came to an anchor in



twelve fathom water, upon coral rocks, before a small cove, at the distance of about a mile from the shore. At this time two of the natives came down upon the beach, as if they expected that the strangers would land; but as there was no shelter here, the ship was got under sail again, and the Indians retired disappointed. The same afternoon about two o'clock, we came into the bay of Good Success, and the vessel coming to an anchor, the Captain went on shore, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, in order to search for a watering place, and discourse with the Indians. These gentlemen had not proceeded above one hundred yards before the Captain, when two of the Indians that had seated themselves, rose up and threw away the small sticks which they held in their hands, as a token of amity. They afterwards returned to their companions, who had remained at some distance behind them and made signs to their guests to advance, whom they received in a friendly though uncouth manner. In return for their civility, some ribbands and beads were distributed among them. Thus a sort of mutual confidence was established, and the rest of the English joined the party, the Indians conversing with them in their way, in an amicable manner. Capt. Cook and his friends took three of them to the ship, dressed them in jackets, and gave them bread and other provisions, part of which they carried on shore with them; but they refused to drink rum or brandy, making signs that it burned their throats, as their proper drink was water. One of these people made several long and loud speeches, but no part of them was intelligible to any of us. Another stole the covering of a globe which he concealed under his garment that was made of skin. After having remained on board about two hours, they returned on shore, Mr. Banks accompanying them. He conducted them to their companions, who seemed no way curious to know what their friends had seen, and the latter were as little disposed to relate as the former were to inquire. None of these people exceeded five feet ten inches in height, but their bodies appeared large and robust, though their

limbs were small. They had broad flat faces, high cheeks, noses inclining to flatness, wide nostrils, small black eyes, large mouths, small, but indifferent teeth, and straight black hair, falling down over their ears and foreheads, the latter being generally smeared with brown and red paints, and like all the original natives of America, they were beardless. Their garments were the skins of seals and guanicoes, which they wrapped round their shoulders. The men likewise wore on their heads a bunch of yarn, which fell over their foreheads, and was tied behind with the sinews or tendons of some animals. Many of both sexes were painted on different parts of their bodies with red, white, and brown colours, and had also three or four perpendicular lines pricked across their cheeks and noses. The women had a small string tied round each ankle, and each wore a flap of skin fastened round the middle. They carried their children upon their backs, and were generally employed in domestic labour and drudgery.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, attended by their servants, set out from the ship on the 16th, with a design of going into the country as far as they could that day, and returning in the evening. Having entered a wood, they ascended a hill, through a pathless wilderness till the afternoon. After they had reached what they took for a plain, they were greatly disappointed to find it a swamp, covered with birch, the bushes interwoven, and so inflexible that they could not be divided: however, as they were not above three feet high, they stepped over them, but were up to the ankles in boggy ground. The morning had been very fine, but now the weather became cold and disagreeable; the blasts of wind were very piercing, and the snow fell thick; nevertheless they pursued their route in hope of finding a better road. Before they had got over the swamp, an accident happened that greatly disconcerted them: Mr. Buchan, one of the draughtsmen, whom Mr. Banks had taken with him, fell into a fit. It was absolutely necessary to stop and kindle a fire, and such as were fatigued remained to assist him: but Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Mr. Monkhouse



proceeded, and attained the spot they had in view, where they found a great variety of plants that gratified their curiosity and repaid their toil. On returning to the company amidst the snow which now fell in great abundance, they found Mr. Buchan much recovered. They had previously sent Mr. Monkhouse and Mr. Green back to him and those that remained with him, in order to bring them to a hill which was conjectured to lie in a better track for returning to the wood, and which was accordingly fixed on as a place of rendezvous. They resolved from this hill to pass through the swamp, which this way did not appear to be more than half a mile in extent, into the covert of the wood, in which they proposed building a hut, and kindling a fire to defend themselves from the severity of the weather. Accordingly, the whole party met at the place appointed, about eight in the evening, whilst it was still day-light, and proceeded towards the next valley.

Dr. Solander, having often passed over mountains in cold countries, was sensible, that extreme cold when joined with fatigue, occasions a drowsiness that is not easily resisted; he therefore intreated his friends to keep in motion, however disagreeable it might be to them. His words were, Whoever sits down will sleep, and whoever sleeps will wake no more. Every one seemed accordingly armed with resolution; but, on a sudden, the cold became so very intense as to threaten the most dreadful effects. It was now very remarkable, that the Doctor himself, who had so forcibly admonished and alarmed his party, was the first that insisted to be suffered to repose. In spite of the most earnest intreaties of his friends, he lay down amidst the snow, and it was with difficulty that they kept him awake. One of the black servants also became weak and faint, and was on the point of following this bad example. Mr. Buchan was therefore detached with a party to make a fire at the first commodious spot they could find. Mr. Banks and four more remained with the Doctor and Richmond the black, who with the utmost difficulty were persuaded to come on; and, when they had traversed the great-

est part of the swamp, they expressed their inability of going any farther. When the black was told that if he remained there he would soon be frozen to death, his reply was, That he was so much exhausted with fatigue, that death would be a relief to him. Dr. Solander said he was not unwilling to go, but that he must first take some sleep, still persisting in acting contrary to the opinion which he himself had delivered to the company. Thus resolved, they both sat down, supported by some bushes, and in a short time fell asleep. Intelligence now came from the advanced party, that a fire was kindled about a quarter of a mile farther on the way. Mr. Banks then awakened the Doctor who had already almost lost the use of his limbs, though it was but a few minutes since he sat down; nevertheless, he consented to go on, but every measure taken to relieve the black proved ineffectual. He remained motionless, and they were obliged to leave him to the care of a sailor; and the other black servant, who appeared to be the least hurt by the cold, and they were to be relieved as soon as two others were sufficiently warmed to fill their places. The Doctor, with much difficulty, was got to the fire; and as to those who were sent to relieve the companions of Richmond, they returned without having been able to find them. What rendered the mortification still greater was, that a bottle of rum (the whole stock of the party) could not be found, and was judged to have been left with one of the three that were missing.

A fall of snow continuing for near two hours, there now remained no hopes of seeing the three absent persons again. At twelve o'clock, however, a great shouting was heard at a distance, which gave inexpressible satisfaction to every one present. Mr. Banks and four others went forward and met the sailor, who had just strength enough left to walk. He was immediately sent to the fire, and they proceeded to seek for the other two. They found Richmond upon his legs, but incapable of moving them; the other black was lying senseless upon the ground. All endeavours to bring them to the fire were fruitless; nor was it possible



to kindle one upon the spot on account of the snow that had fallen, and was falling, so that there remained no alternative, and they were compelled to leave the two unfortunate negroes to their fate, after they had made them a bed of the boughs of some trees, and covered them over thick with the same. As all hands had been employed in endeavouring to move these poor blacks to the fire, and had been exposed to the cold for near an hour and a half in the attempt, some of them began to be afflicted in the same manner as those whom they were to relieve. Briscoe, another servant of Mr. Banks, in particular, began to lose his sensibility. At last they reached the fire, and passed the night in a very disagreeable manner.

The party that set out from the ship had consisted of twelve; two of these were already judged to be dead, it was doubtful whether the third would be able to return on board, and Mr. Buchan, a fourth, seemed to be threatened with a return of his fits. The ship they reckoned to be at the distance of a long day's journey, through an unfrequented wood, in which they might probably be bewildered till night, and, having been equipped only for a journey of a few hours, they had not a sufficiency of provisions left to afford the company a single meal.

At day-break on the 17th nothing presented itself to the view all around but snow, which covered alike the trees and the ground; and the blasts of wind were so frequent and violent, that their journey seemed to be rendered impracticable, and they had reason to dread perishing with cold and famine. However, about six in the morning, they were flattered with a dawn of hope of being delivered, by discovering the sun through the clouds, which gradually diminished. Before their setting out, messengers were dispatched to the unhappy negroes; but these returned with the melancholy news of their death. Though the sky had flattered the hopes of the survivors, the snow continued falling very fast, a circumstance which impeded their journey, but a breeze springing up about eight o'clock, added to the influence of the sun, began to clear the air, and

the snow falling in large flakes, from the trees, gave tokens of a thaw. Hunger prevailing over every other consideration, induced our travellers to divide the small remainder of their provisions, and to set forward on their journey about ten in the morning. To their great astonishment and satisfaction, in about three hours they found themselves on the shore, and much nearer to the ship than their most sanguine expectations could have suggested. When they looked back upon their former route from the sea, they found that instead of ascending the hill in a direct line, they had made a circle almost round the country. On their return, these wanderers received such congratulations from those on board, as can more easily be imagined than expressed.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went on shore again on the 20th of this month, landing in the bottom of the bay, where they collected a number of shells and plants, hitherto unknown. After having returned to dinner, they went to visit an Indian town, about two miles up the country, the access to which, on account of the mud, was difficult. When they approached the town, two of the natives came out to meet them, who began to shout in their usual manner. They afterwards conducted Mr. Banks and the Doctor to their town. It was situate on a small hill, over-shaded with wood, and consisted of about a dozen huts, constructed without art or regularity. They were composed of a few poles, inclining to each other in the shape of a sugar-loaf, which were covered on the weather side with grass and boughs, and on the other side a space was left open, which served at once for a fireplace and a door. They were of the same nature of the huts that had been seen at St. Vincent's Bay. A little grass served for beds and chairs, and their utensils were a basket for the hand, a satchel to hang upon the back, and a bladder for water, out of which they drank through a hole near the top. This town was inhabited by a tribe of about fifty men, women and children. Their bows and arrows were constructed with neatness and ingenuity, being made of wood highly polished, and the point, which was either





*View of the INDIANS of TERRA DEL FUEGO with a representation of a HUT, and their mode of living*

*Published by H. Smith Woodbridge Street 10 1724*







glass or flint, very skilfully fitted. These latter substances were observed among them unwrought, as also cloth, rings buttons, &c. from whence it was concluded that they sometimes travelled to the northward, as no ship, for years past, had touched at this part of Terra del Fuego. The natives here did not shew any surprise at the sight of fire-arms, but appeared to be well acquainted with their use. It is likely that the spot on which the Doctor and Mr. Banks met them, was not a fixed habitation, as their houses did not seem as if they were erected to stand for any long time, and they had no boats or canoes among them. They did not appear to have any form of government, or any ideas of subordination. They seemed to be the very outcasts of men; and a people that passed their lives in wandering in a forlorn manner over dreary wastes; their dwelling being a thatched hovel, and their clothing scarcely sufficient to keep them from perishing with cold, even in those climates. Their only food was shell-fish, which on any one spot must soon be exhausted; nor had they the rudest implement of art, not even so much as was necessary to dress their food, yet amidst all this, we are told, that they appear to enjoy that content which is seldom found in great and populous cities; a species of content, which, if they really enjoyed it, must have arisen from stupidity, a satisfaction the offspring of the greatest ignorance. Such is the state of uncultivated nature; such the rude form which uncivilised man puts on. The wants of these people seemed to be few; but some wants all mankind must have, and even the most simple of them, these poor savages appeared scarcely in a condition to gratify. The calls of hunger and thirst must be obeyed, or man must perish, yet the people in question seemed to depend on chance for the means of answering them. Those who can be happy in such a situation, can only be so, because they have not a due feeling of their misery. We know that there have been admirers of simple nature amongst the philosophers of all ages and nations; and certainly simple nature has her beauties. In regard to the vegetative and brute creation, she operates with

resistless energy; her power is prevalent as her pencil is inimitable; but when we ascend in the scale of beings, and come to examine the human race, what shall we find them, without cultivation? It is here that instinct ends and reason begins; and without entering into the question, Whether a state of nature is a state of war? when we observe the innumerable inconveniences to which those are subject on whom the light of science never dawned, we may easily determine in the favour of those arts which have civilized mankind, formed them into societies, refined their manners, and taught the nations where they have prevailed, to protect those rights which the untutored savages have ever been obliged to yield to the superior abilities of their better instructed invaders, and have thus fallen a prey to European tyranny.

We observed in this place seals, sea-lions, and dogs, and no other quadrupeds; nevertheless it is probable there are other kinds of animals in the country; for Mr. Banks, remarked from a hill, an impression of the foot-steps of a large animal on the surface of a bog, but of what kind it was he could not determine. Not any land-birds were seen larger than an English blackbird, hawks and vultures excepted. Ducks and other water-fowls we saw in abundance; also shell-fish, clams, and limpets. The country, though uncleared, had neither gnat, musquito, nor any other noxious or troublesome animals. A great variety of plants were found by the Doctor and Mr. Banks. The wild celery and scurvy-grass are supposed to contain antiscorbutic qualities, which will therefore be of service to the crews of such ships as hereafter may touch at this place, after a long voyage. The latter is found in abundance near springs and in damp places, particularly at the watering place in the bay of Good Success, and it resembles the English cuckow flower, or lady's-smock. The wild celery is like what grows in our gardens in England, but the leaves are of a deeper green. This plant may be found in plenty near the beach, and upon the land above the spring tides. In taste it is between that of celery and parsley. The grateful seamen, long



confined to salt provisions, enjoy this healing vegetable diet, as a special blessing of an all-gracious Providence, particularly visible in providing in different climates different food and nourishment, suitable to his nature, wants, and necessities.

On Sunday, Jan. 22nd, having got in our wood and water, we sailed out of the bay, and continued our course through the Streight; and in passing this, notwithstanding the description which some voyagers have given of Terra del Fuego, we did not find that it had, agreeable to their representations, such a forbidding aspect. On the contrary, we found the sea coasts and the sides of the hills clothed with verdure. Indeed the summits of the hills were barren, but the valleys appeared rich, and a brook was generally found at the foot of almost every hill; and though the water had a reddish tinge, yet it was far from being ill tasted. Upon the whole, it was the best we took on board during our voyage. Nine miles westward of Cape St. Diego, the low point that forms the north entrance of the Streight of Le Maire, are three hills called the Three Brothers; and on Terra del Fuego is another hill, in the form of a sugar-loaf, which stands on the west side, not far from the sea. We had not that difficulty mentioned in the history of Lord Anson's voyage, in finding where the streight of Le Maire lies. No ship can well miss the streight that keeps Terra del Fuego in sight, for it will then be easily discovered; and Staten island, which lies on the east side, will be still more plainly perceived, for there is no land on Terra del Fuego like it. And let it be further particularly observed, that the entrance of the streight should be attempted only with a fair wind, when the weather too is moderate, and likewise, upon the beginning of the tide of flood, which here falls out upon the full and change of the moon, about one or two o'clock; let it also be remembered, to keep as near the shore of Terra del Fuego as the winds will permit.

The streight of Le Maire is bounded on the west by Terra del Fuego, and on the east by the west end of Staten island, and is nearly five leagues in length, nor less in

breadth. The bay of Good Success is seated about the middle of it, on the side of Terra del Fuego, which presents itself at the entrance of the streight from the northward; and the south end of it may be distinguished by a land-mark, resembling a road from the sea to the country. It affords good anchorage, and plenty of wood and water. Staten land did not appear to Capt. Cook in the same manner as it did to Commodore Anson. That horror and wildness, mentioned by the Commodore, were not observed by our gentlemen; on the contrary, the land appeared to be neither destitute of wood nor verdure, nor was it covered with snow; and on the north side we saw the appearances of bays and harbours. It is probable, that the season of the year and other circumstances might concur to occasion such different representations of a land, which all our circumnavigators must own to be unfriendly and disagreeably situated. On the west side of the Cape of Good Success whereby is formed the south-west entrance of the streight, we saw the mouth of Valentine's bay; from whence the land lies in a direction west-south-west for more than twenty leagues, appearing high and mountainous, with several inlets and bays. Fourteen leagues from the bay of Good Success, south-west half west, and nearly three leagues from the shore, is New Island; terminating to the north-east, in a remarkable hillock; and seven leagues from hence, south-west, lies Evout's isle; a little to the west of the south of which are two small low islands, near to each other, called Barnevelt's. These are partly surrounded with rocks, which arise to different heights above the water, and are twenty-four leagues from the streight of Le Maire. Three leagues south-west by south, from Barnevelt's islands, is the south-east point of Hermit's islands, which lie south-east and north-west. They appeared to us in different points of view, sometimes as one island, and at others as part of the main. From the south-east point of these islands to Cape Horn, the course is south-west by south, distant three leagues. Hermit, who commanded the Dutch squadron in 1624, certainly put into some of them, and Chapenham,



vice admiral of this squadron, first discovered that Cape Horn was formed by a cluster of islands. Between the streight Le Maire and Cape Horn we found, when near the shore, the current setting generally strong to the north-east; but we lost it at the distance of fifteen or twenty leagues from land.

January the 26th, we took our departure from Cape Horn, and the farthest southern latitude we made was 60 deg. 10 min. and our longitude was then 74 deg. 30 min. west. Cape Horn is situated in 55 deg. 53 min. south latitude, and 68 deg. 13 min. west longitude. The weather being very calm, Mr. Banks sailed in a small boat to shoot birds, when he killed some sheerwaters, and albatrosses. The latter were larger than those which had been taken to the northward of the streight, and proved to be very good food. At this time we found ourselves to be 12 deg. to the westward, and three and a half to the northward of the streight of Magellan, having, from the east entrance of the streight, been three and thirty days in sailing round Cape Horn. Notwithstanding the doubling of Cape Horn is represented as a very dangerous course, and that it is generally thought passing through the streight of Magellan is less perilous, yet the Endeavour doubled it with as little danger as she would the north Foreland on the Kentish coast; the heavens were serenely fair, the wind temperate, the weather pleasant, and being near the shore, we had a very distinct view of the coast. The Dolphin, in her last voyage, which was performed at the same season with ours, was not less than three months in passing through the streight of Magellan, not including the time that she lay in Port Famine; and it was the opinion of Capt. Cook, that if we had come through the streight, we should not at this time have been in these seas; and should have suffered many inconveniencies which we have not experienced. It is a question, Whether it is better to go through the streight of Le Maire, or to stand to the eastward, and go round Staten land? This can only be determined according to particular circumstances, which may make one or the other more eligible. The streight may

be passed with safety by attending to the directions already given; but if the land is fallen in with to the eastward of the streight, and the wind should prove tempestuous, it would be best, in our opinion, to go round Staten land. In any case, however, we cannot approve of running into the latitude of 61 or 62, before any attempt is made to stand to the westward.

March the 1st, we found ourselves, both by observation and the log, in latitude 38 deg. 44 min. south, and 110 deg. 33 min. west longitude, a concurrence very singular in a run of 660 leagues; and which proved, that no current had effected the ship in her course, and it was likewise concluded, that we had not come near land of any considerable extent; for currents are always found at no great distance from the shore. Mr. Banks killed above sixty birds in one day; also two forest flies, such as had never yet been described; he also found a cuttle-fish of a species different from those generally known in Europe. This fish had a double row of talons, resembling those of a cat, which it could put forth or withdraw at pleasure. When dressed it made excellent soup. On the 24th, our latitude was 22 deg. 11 min. south, and 127 deg. 55 min. west longitude. On the 25th, a young marine about twenty, threw himself overboard, on account of a quarrel about a piece of seal skin, which he took by way of frolic; but being charged with it as a theft, he took the accusation so much to heart, that in the dusk of the evening he threw himself into the sea, and was drowned.

On the 4th of April, about 10 o'clock, A. M. Peter Briscoe, servant to Mr. Banks, discovered land to the south, at the distance of about three or four leagues. Capt. Cook immediately gave orders to haul for it, when we found an island of an oval form, having a lagoon or lake in the centre, that extended over the greater part of it. The surrounding border of land was low and narrow in many places, especially towards the south, where the beach consisted of a reef of rocks. Three places on the north side had the same appearance, so that in the whole the land seemed to resemble several woody islands. To the west was a large clump of trees, and



in the centre two cocoa-nut trees. When within a mile of the north side, though we cast out a line, no bottom could be found at 130 fathom, nor any good anchorage. This island was covered with trees, but we could discern no other species than the palm and the cocoa-nut. Several of the natives were discovered on shore; they appeared to be tall, with heads remarkable large, which probably some bandage might have increased. Their complexion was of the copper colour, and their hair was black. Some of these people were seen abreast of the ship, holding poles or pikes of twice their own height. They appeared also naked, but when they retired, on the ship's passing by the islands, they put on a light-coloured covering. Some clumps of palm-trees served them for habitations, which at a distance appeared like hilly ground, and the view of the groves was a very agreeable one. Our Captain called this place Lagoon Island. It lay in 18 degrees south latitude, and 139 west longitude. In the afternoon we again saw land to the north-west, by sun-set we reached it, when it appeared to be a low island of a circular form, and about a mile in circumference. The land was covered with verdure of various kinds, but no inhabitants were visible, nor any cocoa-nut trees. This island is distant from that of Lagoon about seven leagues north, and 62 west, which our gentlemen on board named Thumb Cap.

On the 5th, we continued our course with a favourable wind, and about three o'clock discovered land to the westward. It was low, in form resembling a bow, and in circumference seemed to be ten or twelve leagues. Its length is about three or four leagues, and its width about two hundred yards. The beach was flat, and seemed to have no other herbage upon it than seaweeds. The resemblance of a bow was preserved in the arch and cord forming the land, while the intermediate space was taken up by water. The arch, in general, was covered with trees of various verdure and different heights. This island, from the smoke that was discovered, appeared to be inhabited, and we gave it the name of Bow Island.

On the 6th, about noon, we again saw land to the west, and at three o'clock we came up with it. This land seemed to be divided into two parts, or rather a collection of islands, (to which we gave the name of the Groups) to the extent of about nine leagues. The two largest were divided from the others by a streight, the breadth of which was about half a mile. Some of these islands were ten miles or more in length, but appeared like long narrow strings of land, not above a quarter of a mile in breadth, but they produced trees, however, of different kinds, among which was the cocoa-nut tree. Several of the inhabitants came out in their canoes, and two of them shewed an intention of coming on board; but these like the rest, stopped at the reef. From the observations made, these people appeared to be about our size, and well made. Their complexion was brown, and they were naked. In general, they had two weapons, one was a long pole, spear-pointed, and the other resembled a paddle. Several of their canoes were constructed in such a manner as not to carry more than three persons; others were fitted up for six or seven; and one of these boats hoisted a sail, which was converted into an awning when a shower of rain fell. Captain Cook would not stay for any of them, neither could we determine, whether the signals made were meant for defiance, or for invitation; one party waving their hats, and another answering by shouting. In this respect it was not judged prudent to try the experiment, in order to be convinced, as the island appeared of no importance, and the crew not being in want of any thing it could produce. This curiosity was therefore laid aside, in expectation of soon discovering the island, where we had been directed to make our astronomical observations; the natives of which, it was reasonable to conjecture, would make no resistance, having already experienced the danger of opposing an European force.

On the 7th, we discovered another island, judged to be in compass about five miles, being very low, and having a piece of water in the centre. It appeared to abound in wood, and to be covered with verdure, but we saw no inhabitants upon it. It was



named Bird Island, from the number of birds that were seen flying about. This lies in latitude 17 deg. 48 min. south, and 143 deg. 35 min. west longitude; distant ten leagues, in the direction west, half north from the west end of the Groups.

On the 8th, in the afternoon, we saw land to the northward, and came abreast of it in the evening at about five miles distance. This land seemed to be a chain of low

islands, of an oval figure, and consisted of coral and sand, with a few clumps of small trees, and in the middle of it was a lagoon. On account of its appearance, it was called Chain Island.

On the 10th, after a tempestuous night, we came in sight of Osnaburgh Island, called by the natives Maitea. This Island is circular, about four miles in circumference; partly rocky, and partly covered with trees:

### CHAP. III.

*The Endeavour arrives at Otaheite, or George the Third's Island; Rules established by Capt. Cook for conducting a trade with the natives; An account of several incidents during his stay in this island; An observatory and fort erected; Excursions into the woods; Visits from several of the chiefs; The music of the natives, and their manner of burying their dead, described. Other excursions and incidents, both on board and on shore; First interview with Oberea, the supposed Queen of the island; The fort described; The quadrant stolen, and the consequences. A visit to Tootahah, an Indian chief; A wrestling match described; European seeds are sown; The indians give our people names.*

ON the 11th we made Otaheite, or as Capt. Wallis had named it, King George the Third's Island. The calms prevented our approaching it till the morning of the 12th, when a breeze sprung up, and several canoes were seen making towards the ship. Few of them, however, would come near, and those who did could not be persuaded to come on board. They had brought with them young plantains and branches of trees, which were handed up the ship's side, and by their desire, were struck in conspicuous parts of the rigging, as tokens of peace and friendship. We then purchased their commodities, consisting of cocoa-nuts, bananas, bread-fruit, apples and figs, which were very acceptable to the crew. On the evening of the same day we opened the north-west point of the isle, to which the Dolphin's people had given the name of York Island. We lay off and on all night, and in the morning of the 13th we entered Port Royal Harbour, in the Island of Ota-

heite, and anchored within half a mile of the shore. Many of the natives came off immediately in their canoes, and brought with them bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, apples, and some hogs, which they bartered for beads and other trinkets with the ship's company. The tree which bears the bread-fruit, is about the size of a horse-chesnut: its leaves are near a foot and a half in length, in shape oblong, and very much resemble those of the fig-tree. The fruit is not unlike the cantaloupe melon; it is inclosed in a thin skin, and its core is as large as a man's thumb. The substance of this fruit is somewhat like that of new bread, and as white as the blanched almond. It must be roasted, and when eaten it has the taste of a slight sweetness.

Among those who came on board the Endeavour, was an elderly man, named Ow-haw, known to Mr. Gore and others who had visited this island with Capt. Wallis. Ow-haw being considered by our gentlemen as a



very useful man, they studied to please him, and to gratify all his wishes. As our continuance in George's Island was not likely to be very short, certain rules were drawn up to be observed by every person on board his majesty's bark the *Endeavour*, for the better establishing a regular trade with the natives. The substance of these rules were, "That in order to prevent quarrels and confusion, every one of the ship's crew should endeavour to treat the inhabitants of Otaheite with humanity, and by all fair means to cultivate a friendship with them. That no officer, seamen, or other person, belonging to the ship, excepting such only who were appointed to barter with the natives, should trade, or offer to trade, for any kinds of provision, fruit, or other produce of the island, without having express leave so to do. That no person should embezzle, trade, or offer to trade, with any part of the ship's stores: and, that no sort of iron, or any thing made of iron, nor any sort of cloth, or other useful articles in the ship, should be given in exchange for any thing but provision." These necessary rules were signed by Capt. Cook, and, being his orders, to the non-observance of them were annexed certain penalties, besides the punishment according to the usual custom of the navy.

When the bark was properly secured, Capt. Cook, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander, went on shore, with a party under arms, and their friend the old Indian. They were received by some hundreds of the natives with awe and reverence, who exchanged the tokens of peace, and offered to conduct them to a spot of ground, which would be more convenient for them to occupy, than that where they had landed. On their way, the English made the Indians some presents, which the latter very thankfully received. They now took a circuit of about four miles through groves of the bread-fruit and cocoa-trees. Intermingled with these were the dwellings of the natives, which consisted of huts without walls. In the course of their journey they found but few fowls or hogs, and understood, that none of their conductors, nor any of the people they had hitherto seen, were persons of rank in the island. Those

of our crew, who had before been at Otaheite in the *Dolphin*, were likewise of opinion, that the queen's residence had been removed, as no traces of it where now to be discovered.

Next day, in the morning, before they could leave the ship, several canoes came about her filled with people, whose dress denoted them to be of the superior class. Two of these came on board, and each of them fixed upon a friend: one of them chose Mr. Banks, and the other Capt. Cook. The ceremonials consisted of taking off their cloths in great part, and putting them upon their adopted friends. This compliment was returned by our gentlemen presenting them with some trinkets. They then made signs for their new friends to go with them to the place of their abode; and the latter being desirous of being acquainted with the people, and finding out a more convenient harbour, accepted the invitation, and went with them, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Capt. Cook, and others. We all landed in two boats at the distance of about three miles, among a great number of the natives, who conducted us to a large habitation, where we were introduced to a middle-aged man, named Tootahah. When we were seated, he presented to Mr. Banks a cock, a hen, and a piece of perfumed cloth, which compliment was returned by a present from Mr. Banks. We were then conducted to several other large dwellings, wherein we walked about with great freedom. The ladies so far from shunning, invited, and even pressed us to be seated. By frequently pointing to the mats upon the ground, and sometimes drawing us down upon them, we had no doubt of their being less jealous of observation than we were; but the huts that are all open, except a roof, afforded no place of requisite retirement. Walking afterwards along the shore, we met, accompanied by a great number of natives, another chief named Tubourai Tamaide, with whom we settled a treaty of peace, in the manner before described. This chief gave us to understand, that he had provisions at our service, if we chose to eat, which he produced and we dined heartily upon bread-fruit,



plantains, and fish. During this visit, Tomio, the chief's wife, placed herself upon the same mat with Mr. Banks close by him; but as she was not young, nor appeared ever to have possessed many charms, this gentleman paid little attention to her; and Tomio received an additional mortification, when Mr. Banks beckoned to a pretty girl, who, with some reluctance, came and placed herself by him. The princess was somewhat chagrined at this preference given to her rival; nevertheless she continued her assiduities to her guest. This whimsical scene was interrupted by an event of a more serious nature; Dr. Solander having missed his opera glass, a complaint was made to the chief, which interrupted the convivial party. The complaint was enforced by Mr. Bank's starting up and striking the butt-end of his musquet against the ground, which struck the Indians with such a panic that all of them ran precipitately out of the house, except the chief and a few others of the superior class. That no disadvantageous notions might be entertained of them on account of this circumstance, the chief observed, with an air of great probity, That the place which the Doctor had mentioned on this occasion, was not within his district, but that he would send to the chief of it, and endeavour to recover it, adding, that if this could not be done, he would make the Doctor compensation, by giving him as much new cloth, (of which he produced large quantities) as should be thought equal to the value. The case however was brought in a little time, and the glass itself soon after, which deprived us of the merit we should otherwise have had in refusing the cloth which had been offered us. But it afforded an opportunity of convincing the natives of our generosity, by lavishing rewards upon them for an action, to which self-interest had been the motive, rather than any sentiment of probity: to which from numerous transactions, they appeared to be absolutely strangers. After this adventure was amicably terminated, we returned to the ship about six o'clock in the evening. On Saturday the 15th, in the morning, several of the chiefs, one of whom was very corpulent,

came on board from the other point, bringing with them hogs, bread-fruit, and other refreshments, in exchange for which they received linen, beads, and other trinkets; but some of them took the liberty of stealing the lightening chain. This day the Captain, attended by Mr. Banks, and some of the other gentlemen, went on shore to fix on a proper spot to erect a fort for their defence, during their stay on the island, and the ground was accordingly marked out for that purpose; a great number of the natives looking on all the while, and behaving in the most peaceable and friendly manner.

Mr. Banks and his friends having seen few hogs and poultry in their walks, they suspected that they had been driven up the country; for which reason they determined to penetrate into the woods, the tent being guarded by a petty officer and a party of marines. On this excursion several of the natives accompanied the English. While the party were on their march they were alarmed by the discharge of two pieces fired by the guard of the tent. Owahaw having now called together the Captain's party, dispersed all the Indians, except three, who in token of their fidelity broke branches of trees, according to their custom, and whom it was thought proper to retain. When they returned to the tent, they found that an Indian having snatched away one of the centinel's musquets, a young midshipman, who commanded the party, was so imprudent as to give the marines orders to fire, which were obeyed, and many of the natives were wounded; but this did not satisfy them, as the offender had not fallen, they therefore pursued him and revenged the theft by his death. This action, which was equally inconsistent with policy and humanity, could not but be very displeasing to Mr. Banks; but as what had passed could not be recalled, nothing remained but to endeavour to accommodate matters with the Indians. Accordingly he crossed the river, where he met an old man, through whose mediation several of the natives were prevailed to come over to them, and to give the usual tokens of friendship. The next morning, however, they saw but few of the natives on



the banks, and none came on board, from whence it was concluded that the treatment they had received the former day was not yet forgotten, and the English were confirmed in this opinion by Owahaw's having left them. In consequence of these circumstances, the Captain brought the ship nearer to the shore, and moored her in such a manner as to make her broad-side bear on the spot which they had marked out for erecting their little fortification. But in the evening the Captain and some of the gentlemen going on shore, the Indians came round them, and trafficked with them as usual.

Mr. Banks on the 17th, had the misfortune to lose Mr. Buchan. The same day they received a visit from Tubourai Tamaide, and Tootahah. They brought with them some plantain branches, and till these were received, they would not venture on board. They bartered some bread-fruit and a hog which was ready dressed, for nails, with the English.

The fort began to be erected on the 18th. And now some of the company were employed in throwing up intrenchments, whilst others were busied in cutting fascines and pickets, in which work the Indians assisted them. They fortified three sides of the place, with intrenchments, and pallisadoes, and upon the other which was flanked by a river, where a breast-work was formed by the water-casks. The natives brought down such quantities of bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts this day, that it was necessary to refuse them, and to let them know that none would be wanting for two days. Mr. Banks slept for the first time on shore this night. None of the Indians attempted to approach his tent, he had however taken the precaution of placing centinels about it, for its defence, in case any attack should be meditated.

Tubourai Tamaide visited Mr. Banks at his tent on Wednesday the 19th, and brought with him his wife and family, with the materials for erecting a house, intending to build it near the fort. He afterwards asked that gentleman to accompany him to the woods. On their arrival at a place where he sometimes resided, he presented his guests with two garments, one of which was of red

cloth, and the other was made of fine matting; having thus clothed Mr. Banks, he conducted him to the ship, and staid to dinner with his wife and son. They had a dish served up that day, which was prepared by the attendants of Tubourai Tamaide, which seemed like wheat flour, and being mixed with cocoa-nut liquor, it was stirred about till it became a jelly. Its flavour was something like blanc mange. A sort of market was now established without the lines of the fort, which was tolerably well supplied, and Tubourai Tamaide was a frequent guest to Mr. Banks, and the other English gentlemen.

He was the only native that attempted to use a knife and fork, being fond of adopting European manners. Mr. Monkhouse the surgeon being abroad on his evening walk, reported that he had seen the body of a man who had been shot from the tent, of which he gave the following account. "The corpse was deposited in a shed, close to the house where the deceased had resided when he was alive, and others were within ten yards of it. It was about fifteen feet in length, and eleven in breadth, and the height was proportionable. The sides and one end were inclosed with a sort of wicker work; the other end was entirely open. The body lay on a bier, the frame of which was of wood, supported by posts about five feet high, and was covered with a mat, over which lay a white cloth; by the side of it lay a wooden mace, and towards the head two cocoa-shells; towards the feet was a bunch of green leaves, and small dried boughs tied together, and stuck in the ground, near which was a stone about the size of a cocoa-nut; here were also placed a young plantain tree, and a stone axe. A great many palm nuts were hung in strings at the open end of the shed; and the stem of a palm-tree was stuck up on the outside of it, upon which was placed a cocoa-shell filled with water. At the side of one of the posts there hung a little bag with some roasted pieces of bread-fruit." The natives were not pleased at his approaching the body, their jealously appearing plainly in their countenances and gestures.

On the 22nd we were entertained by some of



the musicians of the country, who performed on an instrument somewhat resembling a german flute, but the performer blew through his nostril instead of his mouth, and others accompanied this instrument, singing only one tune. Some of the Indians brought their axes to grind and repair, most of which they had obtained from Capt. Wallis and his people in the *Dolphin*; but a French one occasioned a little speculation, and at length upon inquiry, it appeared to have been left here by M. de Bougainville.

On the 24th Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander made an excursion into the country, and found it level and fertile along the shore, for about two miles to the east-ward; after which the hills reached quite to the water's edge; and farther on they ran out into the sea. Having passed these hills, which continued about three miles, we came to an extensive plain, abounding with good habitations, and the people seemed to enjoy a considerable share of property. The place was rendered still more agreeable by a wide river issuing from a valley, and which watered it. We crossed this river, when perceiving the country to be barren, we resolved to return. Just as we were about so to do, we were offered some refreshment by a man, which some writers have expressed to be a mixture of many nations, but different from all, his skin being of a dead white, though some parts of his body were not so white as others; and his hair, eye-brows, and beard were as white as his skin. His eyes appeared like those that are blood-shot, and he seemed as if he was near sighted. Upon our return, the excessive joy of Tubourai Tamaide and his women is not to be expressed.

On the 25th, in the evening, several of the gentlemen's knives being missed, Mr. Banks, who had lost his among the rest, accused Tubourai Tamaide of having taken it, which as he was innocent, occasioned him a great deal of unmerited anxiety. He made signs, while the tears started from his eyes, that if he had ever been guilty of such a theft as was imputed to him, he would suffer his throat to be cut. But though he was innocent, it was plain from many instances, that the natives of this island were very much

addicted to thieving: though Mr. Bank's servant had mislaid the knife in question, yet the rest were produced in a rag, by one of the natives.

When the guns on the 26th, which were six swivels, had been mounted on the fort, the Indians seemed to be in great trouble, and several of the fishermen removed, fearing, notwithstanding all the marks of friendship that had been shewn to them by our people, they should, within a few days, be fired at from the fort: yet the next day, being the 27th, Tubourai Tamaide came with three women, and a friend of his, who was a remarkable glutton, into the fort to dine with us, and after dinner returned to his own house in the wood. In a short time after he came back to complain to Mr. Banks, of a butcher, who had threatened to cut his wife's throat, because she would not barter a stone hatchet for a nail. It appearing clearly that the offender had infringed one of the rules enjoined by the Captain for trading with the natives, he was flogged on board in their sight. When the first stroke had been given, they were humane enough to interfere, and intreated earnestly that the culprit might be untied; but when this favour was denied them, they shewed strong signs of concern, and burst into tears.

On the 28th, Terapo, one of Tabourai Tamaide's female attendants, came down to the fort in the greatest affliction, the tears gushing from her eyes. Mr. Banks seeing her full of lamentation and sorrow, insisted upon knowing the cause, but instead of answering, she struck herself several times with a shark's tooth upon her head, till an effusion of blood followed, while her distress was disregarded by several other Indians, who continued laughing and talking with the utmost unconcern. After this she gathered up some pieces of cloth, which she had thrown down to catch the blood, and threw them into the sea, as if she wished to prevent the least trace and mark of her absurd behaviour. She then bathed in the river, and with remarkable cheerfulness returned to the tent as if nothing extraordinary had happened. During the forenoon of this day the Indian canoes were continually coming in, and people



of both sexes filled the tents of the fort. Mr. Molineux master of the Endeavour, seeing a woman whose name was Oberea, he declared she was the same person, whom he judged to be the queen of the island, when he was there with Capt. Wallis. The eyes of every one were now fixed on her, of whom so much had been said by the crew of the Dolphin, and in the account given of her by the Captain. With regard to her person, she was tall, and rather large made; she was about forty years of age, her skin white, and her eyes had great expression in them: she had been handsome, but her beauty was now upon the decline. It was not long before an offer was made to conduct her on board the ship, which she accepted. Many presents were made her, particularly a child's doll, which she viewed very attentively. Capt. Cook accompanied her on shore, and when we landed, she presented him with a hog and some plaintains, in return for his presents, which were carried to the fort in procession, Oberea and the Captain bringing up the rear. In the way they met Tootahah, who, though not king, seemed to be at this time invested with sovereign authority. Envy is found among those who are supposed to be the children of simple nature. Her influence was plainly visible in a matter which to us was rather a subject of laughter than of serious consideration. Tootahah no sooner saw the doll, than he discovered strong symptoms of jealousy, nor could any method be found of conciliating his friendship, but that of complimenting him with a baby also. A doll was now preferable to a hatchet; but a very short time taught the Indians the superior value of iron, which, on account of its usefulness, prevailed over every other consideration. To such of the men who came from time to time on board, the ship's provisions seemed to be very acceptable, but the women did not choose to taste them; and though they were courted to dine with our gentlemen, yet, for reasons known only to themselves, they preferred the eating of plain tains with the servants.

On the 29th, near noon, Mr. Banks paid a visit to Oberea, but was informed that she was asleep under the awning of her canoe;

and, going to call her up, was surprized at finding her in bed with a young fellow of about twenty five years of age, a discovery which caused him to retire rather disconcerted; but he soon understood that a commerce of this kind was by no means considered as scandalous, the ladies frequently courting the men to amorous dalliance, of which they made no secret; and as to young Obadee, found in bed with the queen, he was well known by every one to be the object of her lascivious hours. The queen soon got up, and dressed herself to wait upon Mr. Banks, and after having, as a token of her particular regard, put on him a suit of fine cloth, they proceeded together to the tents. In the evening Mr. Banks visited Tubourai Tanaide. He was astonished to find this chief and his family in tears, and not being able to discover the cause, he soon took leave of them. Upon his return the officers told him, that Owahaw had foretold, that the guns would be fired within four days, and as this was the eve of the third day, they were alarmed at the situation they judged themselves to be in. As we were apprehensive of ill consequences from this prepossession, the sentinels were doubled at the fort, and we thought it necessary to keep under arms; but Mr. Banks walking round the point, at two in the morning, and finding nothing that might tend to encourage his suspicions, he dropped them, and rested secure in the fort. This our little fortification was now complete. A bank of earth four feet and an half high on the inside, and a ditch without ten feet broad and six deep, formed the north and south sides. On the west, opposite the bay, was another bank (with pallisades upon it) four feet high; but a ditch was unnecessary, the works being at high-water mark. Upon the river's bank, on the east side, was a range of water-casks, filled with water. This being thought the weakest side, we planted two four pounders, and mounted six swivel guns, which commanded the only two avenues from the woods. We had about forty-five men in this fort, including the officers, and other gentlemen who resided on shore.

On the 30th, Tomio came in great haste



to our tents, and taking Mr. Banks by the arm, told him, that Tubourai Tamaide was dying, owing to somewhat that had been given him by our people, and intreated him instantly to go to him. Accordingly Mr. Banks went, and found the Indian very sick. He had been vomiting, and had thrown up a leaf, which they said contained some of the poison. Mr. Banks having examined the leaf, found it was nothing but tobacco, which the Indian had begged of some of the ship's company.

The matter, however, appeared in a very serious light to Tubourai Tamaide, who really concluded from the violent sickness he suffered, that he had swallowed some deadly drug, the terror of which no doubt contributed to make him yet more sick. While Mr. Banks was examining the leaf, he looked up to him, as if he had been just on the point of death. But when the nature of this dreadful poison was found out, he only ordered him to drink of cocoa-nut milk, which soon restored him to health; and he was as cheerful as before the accident happened. These people seemed in particular instances to be sometimes strangely afflicted from slight causes.

On the 1st of May, Capt. Cook having produced an iron adze, which was made in imitation of the stone ones used by the natives, shewed it to Tootahah, as a curiosity. The latter snatched it up and insisted on having it; and though he was offered the choice of any of the articles in the chests which were opened before him, yet he would not accept of any thing in its stead. A chief dined with us that day, who had been on board some time before, accompanied by some of his women that used to feed him. He now came alone; and when all things were set ready for dinner, the Captain helped him to some victuals, supposing that he would have dispensed with the ceremony of being fed; but he was deceived; for the chief never attempted to eat, and would have gone without his dinner, if one of the servants had not fed him. The next morning, May 2nd, we took the astronomical quadrant and some of the instruments on shore that afternoon; and to our great surprise, when

we wanted to make use of the quadrant, the next day, it was not to be found; a matter which was looked upon as the more extraordinary, as a centinel had been placed for the whole night within a few yards of the place where it was deposited. Our own people, at first, were suspected of being concerned in this theft, and, as the instrument had never been taken out of the case, it was suspected that some person might have carried it off, under the supposition that its contents were articles used in traffic. A strict search was made in and about the fort, and a considerable reward offered in order to obtain it again. But all this proving fruitless, Mr. Banks, accompanied by Mr. Green and some other gentlemen, set out for the woods, where they thought they might probably get some tidings of what was stolen. In their way, they met with Tubourai Tamaide and some of the natives. This chief was made to understand by signs, that they had lost the quadrant; and that as some of his countrymen must have taken it, they insisted upon being shewn the place where it was concealed. Having proceeded a few miles together, after some inquiry, Tubourai Tamaide was informed who the chief was, and it was found that he was then at a place about four miles distant. As they had no arms but a brace of pistols, not caring to trust themselves so far from the fort, a message was dispatched to Capt. Cook, requesting him to send out a party to support them. The Captain accordingly set out with a party properly armed, after having laid an embargo upon all the canoes in the bay.

In the mean time, Mr. Banks and Mr. Green proceeded on their way, and at the place which had been mentioned, were met by one of Tubourai Tamaide's own people, bringing with him part of the quadrant; the case and the other parts of the instrument were recovered soon afterwards, when it was found that it had received no real injury, though it had been taken to pieces.

When they returned in the evening, they were much surprised to find Tootahah under confinement in the fort, while a crowd of the natives surrounded the gate, discovering marks of the greatest anxiety for the fate of



their chief. The occasion of his detention originated from the conduct of the Indians: alarmed at Capt. Cook's having gone up the country with an armed party, most of the natives left the fort that evening, and one of the canoes attempted to quit the bay. The lieutenant who commanded on board the ship, having it in charge not to suffer any canoe to depart, sent a boat to detain her, but she no sooner approached than the Indians jumped into the sea. Tootahah being of the number, was taken up, and sent by the lieutenant to the officer that commanded at the fort, who concluded he should do right to detain him prisoner, while the poor chief thought of nothing but being put to death, till Capt. Cook caused him to be returned, to the great joy of his countrymen. But the natives were still inclined to bear this affair in their minds, and as a proof of it, they neglected to supply the market with provisions. Mr. Banks walking into the woods, heard great murmurings concerning the treatment of Tootahah, who, as they said, had been ill used and beaten, though Mr. Banks declared he was quite ignorant of his having received such treatment.

The chief now sent for such hogs to be restored as he had left behind him, at first intending them as a present, which by this time; perhaps, he did not think the English had merited; but they refused to send them unless he would come himself, thinking by an interview to promote a reconciliation; and this they were the more desirous of, as they were told it would be a fortnight before he would pay them a visit.

On the 3rd, provisions were extremely scarce, as the markets continued to be ill supplied on the account already mentioned; and it was not without some difficulty, that Mr. Banks got a few baskets of bread-fruit from Tubourai Tamaide. Tootahah on the 4th sent for an axe and a shirt in return for the hogs, which were accordingly promised to be brought him the next day. He sent again early in the morning of the 5th, and Mr. Banks and the Doctor set out in the pinnace, taking with them one of Tootahah's people and soon reached Eparre, where he resided, which was a few miles to the west-

ward. When they arrived there, they found a great number of the natives waiting for them on the shore, and were conducted directly to the chief, the people, notwithstanding the offence they had so lately taken, shouting out in their language, "Tootahah is your friend." He was sitting under a tree, and some old men were standing about him. Having made signs for them to be seated, he asked for the axe, which was then given him by Capt. Cook, as also the shirt that he had demanded, and a broad-cloth garment, which latter he put on, and was well pleased with the present. They ate a mouthful together in the boat, and were afterwards conducted to a large court-yard on one side of the chief's house, where they were to be entertained with wrestling after the manner of the country. He himself sat at the upper end of the area, having several of his principal men on each side of him, who appeared as judges of the sport, which was as follow:

Ten or twelve combatants entered the area, and after many simple ceremonies of challenging, they engaged, and each endeavoured to throw his antagonist by mere strength: thus they seized each other by the hand, or other parts of the body, grappling, without the least art, till one, by having a greater hold, or stronger muscular force, threw his antagonist on his back. The conquest was applauded by the old men with a few words repeated in a kind of tune, and with three huzzas. After one engagement another succeeded: but if the combatants could not throw each other in the space of a minute, they parted, either by consent, or the intervention of their friends. Several women of rank in the country were present, but it was thought they only attended this amusement in compliment to the English gentlemen. A man with a stick, who made way for us when we landed, officiated as master of the ceremonies, keeping order among the people, and those of them who pressed forward he struck with his stick very smartly. During these athletic sports, another party of men performed a dance, for the space of a minute, but neither of these parties took the least notice of each other, their attention being wholly fixed on their own endeavours.



to please and conquer. At the conclusion of this entertainment, not unlike the wrestling-matches of remote antiquity, we were told, that some hogs, and a large quantity of bread-fruit were preparing for our dinner, very agreeable intelligence to those whose appetites were sharpened by their journey; but our host, instead of setting his two hogs before us, ordered one of them to be carried into our boat. Here we thought to have enjoyed our good cheer, and yet we neither dined on shore nor in the boat, but at the desire of Tubourai Tamaide, proceeded as far as the ship: no small mortification this, as we had to row four miles, while our dinner was growing cold: however, we were at last gratified with our promised repast, of which our chief and his friends had a liberal share. This friendly reconciliation between them and us, operated on the natives like a charm: for it was no sooner known that Tubourai Tamaide was on board, than provisions of all kinds were brought to the fort in great plenty.

On the 8th, early in the morning, Mr. Molineux, the Master, and Mr. Green set out in the pinnace to the eastward, in order to procure some poultry, or hogs. They saw many of the latter, and one turtle, yet could not purchase either, because they belonged to Tootahah, and without his permission, the people could not be prevailed upon to sell them. Hence we concluded that Tootahah was indeed a prince; and we afterwards learnt, that, in this part of the island, he acted as regent for a minor, whom we never saw all the time of our stay here. However, some time afterwards, having produced some nails to barter for provisions, we obtained near twenty cocoa-nuts, and some bread-fruit, for one of the smallest size, so that we soon had plenty of these articles, though no hogs. In this excursion Mr. Green imagined he had discovered a tree sixty yards in circumference; but on his return, he was informed by our two gentlemen, that it was a species of the fig, whose branches bending down to the earth take fresh root, and thus form a mass of trunks, which being all united by a common vegetation, might easily be mistaken for one trunk or body.

On the 9th in the forenoon, Oberea paid us a visit, accompanied by her favourite Obadee, presenting us with a hog and some bread-fruit. This was the first visit we had received from this lady, since the loss of our quadrant, and the confinement of Tootahah. By this time our forge was set up and at work, which afforded a new subject of admiration to the Indians, and to Capt. Cook an additional opportunity of conferring obligations on them, by permitting the smith, in his leisure hours, to convert the old iron, which they were supposed to have procured from the Dolphin, into different kinds of tools. Oberea produced as much old iron as would have made for her another axe; this she requested to have done; however the lady could not be gratified in this particular, upon which she brought a broken axe, desiring it might be mended. The axe was mended, and to all appearance she was content. On their return home, the Indians took with them the canoe which had lain some time at the point.

On the 10th we sowed, in ground properly prepared, seeds of melons and other plants, but none of them came up except mustard. Mr. Banks thought the seeds were spoiled by a total exclusion of fresh air, they having all been put into small bottles, and sealed up with rosin. We learnt this day, the Indians called the island Otaheite, the name by which we have distinguished it; but we were not so fortunate in our endeavours to teach them our names; and, after repeated attempts to pronounce them, which proved fruitless, they had recourse to new ones, the productions of their own invention. Capt. Cook they named Toote; Mr. Hicks, Hete. The master they called Boba, from his christian name Robert; Mr. Gore, Toarro; Dr. Solander, Torano; Mr. Banks, Tapane; Mr. Green, Eterce; Mr. Parkinson, Patani; Mr. Sporing, Polini; and so on for the greatest part of the ship's crew. These perhaps, were significant words in their own language; and we are inclined to this opinion, because Mr. Monkhouse, who commanded the party that shot the man for stealing a musket, they named Matte, which was not merely an arbitrary sound, but in their language it signified dead.



## CHAP. IV.

*An extraordinary visit; Divine service attended by the natives of Otaheite; An uncommon sight; Tobourai Tamaide found guilty of theft; A visit paid to Tootahah; Various adventures at that time, and an extraordinary amusement of the Indians; A relation of what happened at the fort, while preparations were making to observe the Transit of Venus; The observations made with great success; A particular account and description of an Indian funeral; An unusual character among the Indians; A robbery at the fort; Specimen of Indian Cookery; A narrative of various incidents; A circumnavigation of the island, and occurrences during this expedition; A burying-place, and a Morai, or place of worship, described; An inland expedition of Mr. Banks; Preparations made by the crew of the Endeavour to leave the island of Otaheite; An account of the departure of the Endeavour, and the behaviour of the natives, particularly of Tupia on this occasion.*

ON the 12th of this month (May) an uncommon ceremony was performed by some of the natives. As Mr. Banks was sitting in his boat, trading with them as usual, some ladies, who were strangers, advanced in procession towards him. The rest of the Indians on each side gave way, and formed a lane for the visitors to pass, who coming up to Mr. Banks, presented him with some parrot's feathers, and various kinds of plants. Tupia, who stood by Mr. Banks, acted as his master of the ceremonies, and receiving the branches, which were brought at six different times, laid them down in the boat. After this some large bundles of cloth were brought, consisting of nine pieces, which being divided into three parcels, one of the women, called Oorattooa, who appeared to be the principal, stepping upon one of them, pulled up her clothes as high as her waist, and then, with an air of unaffected simplicity, turned round three times. This ceremony she repeated, with similar circumstances, on the other two parcels of cloth; and the whole being then presented to Mr. Banks, the ladies went and saluted him; in return for which extraordinary favours, he made them such presents as he thought would best please them. In the evening the gentlemen of the fort were visited by Oberea, and Otheorea, her favourite female attendant, who was a very agreeable girl, and whom we were the more pleased to see, because it had been reported that she was either sick or dead.

On the 13th Tubourai Tamaide offended Mr. Banks by snatching his gun out of his hand, and firing it in the air; an action which also much surprized that gentleman, as he imagined him totally ignorant of the use of it. And as the ignorance of the people of those countries in regard to this particular, must always cause them to fear their guests, Mr. Banks therefore made a serious matter of what probably, the other meant only as a joke; and, not without threats, gave him to understand, that for him but to touch the piece was a high insult. The offender made no reply, but set out immediately, with his family for Eparre. Great inconvenience being apprehended from this man, and as in many instances he had been particularly useful, Mr. Banks determined to follow him. He set out the same evening from the fort, accompanied by Mr. Molineux, and found him in the middle of a large circle of people, the picture of extreme grief, which was also visible in the countenances of his attendants. One of the women expressed her trouble in the same manner as Terapo had done, upon another occasion. Mr. Banks lost no time in endeavouring to put an end to all animosity. The chief was soothed into confidence, and a double canoe being got ready, they all returned together to the fort before supper; and as a pledge of sincere reconciliation, both he and his wife passed the night in the tent of Mr. Banks. That very night, notwithstanding their presence, one of the natives attempted



to scale the barricadoes of the fort; but being discovered by one of our centinels, he ran away much faster than any of our people could follow him. The temptation which caused him to attempt what might have cost him his life was, doubtless, the iron, and iron tools, which were in use at the armourer's forge; incitements to theft which none of the Indians could resist.

On Sunday the 14th, in the morning divine service was performed at the fort. We hoped to have had the presence of some of the Indians, but before the time fixed on for beginning the service, most of them were gone home. Tubourai Tamaide and his wife were present, but though they behaved with much decency, they made no inquiries with respect to the ceremonies, and their brethren were as little inquisitive upon their return. The day thus begun with acts of devotion, was concluded with those of lewdness exhibited among the natives by way of entertainment.

On Monday the 15th, Tubourai Tamaide was detected in having committed a theft. Mr. Banks had a good opinion of this chief, but when his honesty was put to the test, a basket of nails, left in the corner of the tent, proved irresistible. He confessed the fact of having stolen four nails, but when restitution was demanded, Tamaide said the nails were at Eparre. High words passed on the occasion, and in the end, the Indian produced one of the nails, and was to be forgiven on restoring the rest; but his virtue was not equal to the task, and he withdrew himself as usual, when he had committed any offence. At this time our long-boat was so much eaten with worms, that it was found necessary to give her a new bottom. On examining the pinnace, thinking she might be in the same state, we had the satisfaction to perceive, that not a worm had touched her. This difference in the condition of the two boats we attributed to the different ingredients with which their bottoms were paid; the long-boat had been paid with varnish of pine, and the pinnace painted with white lead and oil; which last coating we think to be the most eligible for the bottoms of all boats intended for this part of the world

On the 24th, Mr. Hicks was sent to Tootahah, who had removed from Eparre to a place called Tettahah. The chief having sent several times to request a visit from the Captain, promising at the same time, that he would acknowledge the favour by a present of some hogs, the business of Mr. Hicks was to obtain if possible the hogs, upon easier terms than the required visit. He was received in a friendly manner by Tootahali, who, upon his arrival, produced one hog only, but promised three more that were at a distance the next morning. Mr. Hicks waited patiently till the appointed time; but when the morning came, he was obliged to depart with the single hog that had been presented to him.

On the 25th, Mr. Banks seeing Tubourai Tamaide and his wife Tomio at the tent for the first time since the former had been detected in stealing the nails, he endeavoured to persuade him to restore them, but in vain. As our gentlemen treated him with a reserve and coolness which he could not but perceive, his stay was short, and he departed in a very abrupt manner; nor could our surgeon the next morning persuade to affect a reconciliation by bringing down the nails.

On the 27th, Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Capt. Cook, and some others, set out in the pinnace to visit Tootahah, who had again removed to a place called Atahourou, six miles from his last abode; and not being able to go half way thither in a boat, it was almost evening before we arrived. We found the chief as usual, sitting under a tree with a great crowd about him. Having made our presents in due form, consisting of a yellow stuff petticoat, and other trifling articles, we were invited to supper, and to pass the night there. Our party consisted of six only; but the place was crowded with a greater number than the houses and canoes could contain. Among other guests were Oberea with her train of attendants. Mr. Banks having accepted of a lodging in Oberea's canoe, left his companions in order to retire to rest. Oberea had the charge of his clothes; but notwithstanding her care they were stolen, as were also his pistols, his powder horn, and several other things out



of his waiscoat pockets. An alarm was given to Tootahan in the next canoe, who went with Oberea in search of the thief, leaving Mr. Banks with only his breeches and waiscoat on, and his musket uncharged. They soon returned, but without success. Mr. Banks thought proper to put up with the loss at present, and retired a second time to rest; just as he had composed himself to sleep, he was roused by some music, and observed lights at a little distance from the shore. He then rose to go and find his companions. As soon as he approached the lights, he found the hut where Capt. Cook and three others of the gentlemen lay, when he began to relate his misadventure to them; they told him in return, that they had lost their stockings and jackets. In effect Dr. Solander, who joined them the next morning, was the only one that escaped being robbed, and he had slept at a house that was a mile distant. This accident, however, did not prevent Capt. Cook, Mr. Banks, and the rest that were at the hut, from attending to the music which was a sort of concert called heiva, and consisted of drums, flutes, and several voices. They retired again to their repose, after this entertainment was over.

Their clothes and the other things which had been stolen, were never heard of afterwards, but Mr. Banks got some clothes from Oberea, in which he made a whimsical appearance.

On the 28th, we set out for the boat, having obtained only one hog, which had been intended for our supper the proceeding night; so that all things considered, we had little reason to be satisfied with our excursion. On our return to the boat, we had a specimen of the agility of the Indian swimmers, some of whom, merely for diversion, swam in a surf where no European boat could have lived, and where our best swimmers must have perished, had they accidentally fallen in with it.

At this time the preparations were made for viewing the transit of Venus, and two parties were sent out to make observations from different spots, that in case of failing on one place, they might succeed in another.

They employed themselves for some time in preparing their instruments, and instructing those gentlemen who were to go out, in the use of them; and on Thursday the first of June, they sent the long-boat with Mr. Gore, Mr. Monkhouse (the two observers) and Mr. Sporing, the latter of whom was a friend of Mr. Banks, with proper instruments to Emayo. Others were sent to find out a spot that might answer the purpose, at a convenient distance from their principal station.

The party that went towards Emayo, after rowing the greater part of the night, having hailed a canoe, were informed of a place by the Indians on board, which was judged proper for their observatory, where they accordingly fixed their tents. It was a rock that rose out of the water about 140 yards from the shore.

Saturday the 3rd (the day of the transit) Mr. Banks, as soon as it was light, left them in order to go and get fresh provisions on the island. This gentleman had the satisfaction to see the sun rise without a cloud. The king, whose name was Tarrao, came to pay him a visit, as he was trading with the natives, and brought with him Nuna his sister. As it was customary for the people in these parts to be seated at their conferences, Mr. Banks spread his turban of Indian cloth, which he wore as a hat, upon the ground, on which they all set down. Then a hog and a dog, some cocoa-nuts, and bread-fruit were brought, being the king's present, and Mr. Banks sent for an adze, a shirt, and some beads, which were presented to his majesty, who received them with apparent satisfaction. Tubourai Tamaide, and Tomio, who had gone with Mr. Banks, came from the observatory, when Tomio, who was said to be related to Tarrao, gave him a long nail, and left a shirt as a present for Nuna. Afterwards the king his sister, and three beautiful young women their attendants, returned with Mr. Banks to the observatory, where he shewed them the transit of Venus, when that planet was upon the sun, and acquainted them, that to view it in that situation was the cause of his undertaking a voyage to those remoter parts. According to this gentleman's account, the produce of this



island is nearly the same with that of Otaheite; the people also resembled those of that island; he had seen many of them upon it who were acquainted with the nature of trading articles. The parties that were sent out to make their observations on the transit, had good success in the undertaking: though they differed rather more than might have been expected in their account of the contact.

Mr. Green's account was as follows:

	Hours.	Min.	Sec.	
The first external contact - 9	25	4		} Morn.
The first internal contact, or				
total emersion - - - - - 9	41	4		
The second internal contact,				} Afternoon.
or beginning of the emer-				
sion - - - - - 3	14	8		
The second external contact,				}
or total emersion - - - - 3	32	10		
Latitude of the observatory 17 deg. 29 min.				
15 sec. south; longitude, 149 deg. 32 min.				
30 sec. west from Greenwich.				

While the gentlemen and officers were busied in viewing the transit, some of the ship's company having broke into the store-room, took the liberty of stealing a quantity of spike-nails. After a strict search the thief was found out; he had however, but few of the nails in his possession; but he was ordered to receive two dozen of lashes, by way of example.

On the 4th, the two parties sent out to observe the transit were absent; on which account we deferred keeping His Majesty's birth-day to the next day, the 5th, when we celebrated the same, several of the Indian chiefs partook of our entertainment, and in turn drank His Majesty's health by the name of Kihargo, the nearest imitation they could produce of King George. About this time an old female of some distinction dying, gave the English an opportunity of observing the ceremonies used by these islanders in disposing of the dead bodies of their people; which, as we have observed, they do not directly bury. The reader has already seen the description of the bier, the placing the bread-fruit, &c. which according to Tubourai Tamaide's account, was a kind of

offering to their gods. In the front of the square space, a sort of stile was placed, where the relations of the deceased stood to give tokens of their grief. There were under the awning some pieces of cloth, whereon were the tears and blood of the mourners, who used to wound themselves with a shark's tooth upon these occasions. Four temporary houses were erected at a small distance, in one of which remained some of the relations of the deceased; the chief mourner resided in another; and was dressed in a particular manner, in order to perform a certain ceremony. When the corpse is rotten, the bones are buried near the spot, and these places were found to answer the purposes of religious worship, though Capt. Wallis could not perceive the traces of any such worship among them. Concerning the ceremony we are about to speak of, the following is the account we have of it, which may not be unentertaining to the curious reader. It was performed on the 10th, and Mr. Banks was so desirous of being present, that he agreed to take a part in it, when he was informed that he could not be a spectator on any other condition. He went accordingly in the evening, to the place where the body was deposited, where he was met by the relations of the deceased, and was afterwards joined by several other persons. Tubourai Tamaide was the principal mourner, whose dress was whimsical, though not altogether ungraceful. Mr. Banks was obliged to quit his European dress, and had no other covering than a small piece of cloth that was tied round his middle; his body was blacked over with charcoal and water, as were the bodies of several others, and among them some females, who were no more covered than himself. The procession then began, and the chief mourner uttered some words which were judged to be a prayer, when he approached the body, and he repeated these words as he came up to his own house. They afterwards went on, by permission, towards the fort. It is usual for the rest of the Indians to shun these processions as much as possible; they accordingly ran into the woods in great haste, as soon as this came in view. From the fort the mourners



proceeded along the shore, crossed the river, then entered the woods, passing several houses, which became immediately uninhabited, and during the rest of the procession, which continued for half an hour, not an Indian was visible. Mr. Banks filled an office that they called Niniveh, and there were two others in the same character. When none of the other natives were to be seen, they approached the chief mourner, saying Imatata; then those who had assisted at the ceremony bathed in the river, and resumed their former dress. Such was this uncommon ceremony, in which Mr. Banks performed a principal part, and received applause from Tubourai Tamaide, the chief mourner. What can have introduced among these Indians so strange a custom as that of exposing their dead above ground, till the flesh is consumed by putrefaction, and then burying the bones, it is perhaps impossible to guess; nor is it less difficult to determine, why the repositories of their dead should be also places of worship.

On the 12th, the Indians having lost some of their bows and arrows, and strings of plaited hair, a complaint was made to the Captain. The affair was inquired into, and the fact being well attested, the offenders received each two dozen of lashes. The same day Tubourai Tamaide brought his bow and arrows, in order to decide a challenge of shooting between him and Mr. Gore; but it appeared they had mistaken each other, Mr. Gore intending to discharge his arrow at a mark, while the Indian meant only to try who could shoot farthest. The challenge was dropped in consequence of the mistake being discovered; but Tubourai Tamaide, in order to display his skill, kneeling down, shot an arrow, unfeathered (as they all are) near the sixth part of a mile, dropping the bow the instant the arrow was discharged. Mr. Banks having this morning met several of the natives, and being informed, that a musical entertainment was expected in the evening, he and the rest of the English gentlemen, resolved to be present at the same. They went accordingly, and heard a performance on drums and flutes by a kind of itinerant musicians. The

drummers sung to the music, and the English were much surprized when they found that they were the subject of their lays. The songs they therefore concluded to be extemporary effusions, the rewards whereof were such necessities as they required. On the 14th, in the night, an iron coat rake for the oven was stolen; and many other things having at different times been conveyed away, Capt. Cook judged it of some consequence, to put an end if possible to such practices, by making it their common interest to prevent it. He had already given strict orders, that the centinels should not fire upon the Indians, even if they were detected in the fact; but many repeated depredations determined him to make reprisals. About twenty-seven of their double canoes with sails were just arrived, containing cargoes of fish; these the Captain seized, and then gave notice that unless the rake, and all the other things that had been stolen, were returned, the vessels should be burnt. The menace produced no other effect than the restitution of the rake, all the other things remaining in their possession. The Captain however thought fit to give up the cargoes, as the innocent natives were in great distress for want of them, and in order to prevent the confusion arising from disputes concerning the property of the different lots of goods which they had on board. About this time another incident had nearly, notwithstanding all our caution, embroiled us with the Indians. The Captain having sent a boat on shore to get ballast, the officer not meeting immediately with what he wanted, began to pull down one of the sepulchral mansions of the dead; which sacrilegious act of violence was immediately opposed by the enraged islanders. Intelligence of this dispute being received by Mr. Banks, he went to the place, and a reconciliation was soon effected, which put an end to the dispute, by sending the boat's crew to the river-side, where a sufficient quantity of stones were to be had without a possibility of giving offence. This was the only instance in which they offered to oppose us; and (except the affair of the fort, which has been



related) the only insult offered to an individual was, when Mr. Monkhouse, the surgeon, took a flower from a tree which grew in one of their sepulchral inclosures. Upon this occasion, an Indian came suddenly behind him and struck him; Mr. Monkhouse laid hold of the assailant, but two of his countrymen rescued him, and then they all ran off as fast as they could.

On the 19th, in the evening, while the canoes were still detained, Oberea and several of her attendants paid us a visit. She came from Tootahah's palace, in a double canoe; and brought with her a hog, bread-fruit, and other presents, among which was a dog; but not a single article of the things that had been stolen: these she said had been taken away by her favourite Obadee, whom she had beaten and dismissed. She seemed, however, conscious that her story did not deserve credit, and appeared at first much terrified; though she surmounted her fears with great fortitude, and was desirous of sleeping with her attendants in Mr. Banks's tent; but this being refused, she was obliged to pass the night in her canoe. A whole tribe of Indians would have slept in the ball tent, but were not permitted. The next morning Oberea returned, putting herself wholly in our power, when we accepted of her presents, which she doubtless thought, and justly too, the most effectual means to bring about a reconciliation. Two of her attendants were very assiduous in getting themselves husbands, in which they succeeded, by means of the surgeon and one of the lieutenants: they seemed very agreeable till bed-time, and determined to lie in Mr. Banks's tent, which they accordingly did, till the surgeon having some words with one of them, Mr. Banks thrust her out, and she was followed by the rest, except Otea-Tea, who cried some time, and then he turned her out also. This had like to have become a serious affair, a duel being talked of between Mr. Banks and Mr. Monkhouse, but it was happily avoided. We had been informed, that in this island dogs were esteemed more delicate food than pork, as those bred by the natives to be eaten, fed entirely upon vegetables. The experiment

was tried. Tupia undertook to kill and dress the dog, which he did, by making a hole in the ground, and baking it. We all agreed it was a very good dish.

On the 21st, we were visited by many of the natives, who brought with them various presents. Among the rest was a chief, named Oamo, whom we had not yet seen. He had a boy and a young woman with him. The former was carried on a man's back, which we considered as a piece of state, for he was well able to walk. Oberea and some of the indians went from the fort to meet them, being bare-headed, and uncovered as low as the waist; circumstances we had noticed before, and judged them marks of respect, which was usually shewn to persons of high rank. When Oamo entered the tent, the young woman, though seemingly very curious, could not be prevailed upon to accompany him. The youth was introduced by Dr. Solander, but as soon as the indians within saw him, they took care to have him sent out. Our curiosity being raised by these circumstances, we made inquiry concerning the strangers, and were informed, that Oamo was the husband of Oberea, but that by mutual consent they had been for a considerable time separated, and the boy and girl were their children. The former was called Terridiri: he was heir apparent to the sovereignty of the islands, and when he had attained the proper age, was to marry his sister. The present sovereign, Outou, was a minor, and the son of a prince, called Whappai. Whappai, Oamo, and Tootahah, were all brothers; Whappai was the eldest, and Oamo the second; wherefore, Whappai having no child but Outou, Terridiri was heir to the sovereignty. To us it appeared singular, that a boy should reign during the life of his father; but in the island of Otaheite, a boy succeeds to his father's authority and title as soon as he is born; but a regent being necessary, that office, though elective, generally falls upon the father, who holds the reins of government till the child is of age. The reason that the election had fallen upon Tootahah, was on account of his warlike exploits among his brethren. Oamo was very inquisitive, asking a number



of questions concerning the English, by which he appeared to be a man of understanding and penetration. At this time, a woman, named Teetee, who came from the west of the island, presented to the Captain an elegant garment. The ground was a bright yellow, it was bordered with red, and there were several crosses in the middle of it, which they had probably learned from the French.

On the 23d, in the morning, one of our hands being missing, we inquired for him among the natives, and were told he was at Eparre, Tootahah's residence in the wood, and one of the Indians offered to fetch him back, which he did that evening. On his return he informed us, that he had been taken from the fort, and carried to the top of the bay by three men, who forced him into a canoe, after having stripped him, and conducted him to Eparre, where he received some clothes from Tootahah, who endeavoured to prevail on him to continue there. We had reason to conclude this account true; for the natives were no sooner acquainted with his return, than they left the fort with precipitation.

On June the 26th, early in the morning, Capt. Cook setting out in the pinnace with Mr. Banks, sailed to the eastward with a design of circumnavigating the island. They went on shore in the forenoon, in a district in the government of Ahio, a young chief, who at the tents had frequently been their visitant. And here also they saw several other natives whom they knew. Afterwards they proceeded to the harbour where M. Bougainville's vessel lay, when he came to Otaheite, and were shewn the watering place, and the spot where he pitched his tent.

Coming to a large bay, when the English gentlemen mentioned their design of going to the other side, their Indian guide, whose name was Titubaola, said he would not accompany them, and also endeavoured to dissuade the Captain and his people from going; observing "That country was inhabited by people who were not subject to Tootahah, and who would destroy them all." Notwithstanding, they resolved to put

their design into execution, loading their pieces with ball; and at last Titubaola ventured to go with them. Having rowed till it was dark, they reached a narrow isthmus which severed the island in two parts; and these formed distinct governments. However, as they had not yet got into the hostile part of the country, it was thought proper to go on shore to spend the night where Ooratoa, the lady who had paid her compliments in so extraordinary a manner at the fort, provided them with a supper, and they proceeded for the other government in the morning. They afterwards landed in the district of a chief, called Maraitata, and his father was called Pahairede. The former of these names signifies the burying place of men, and the other the stealer of boats. These people gave the Captain a very good reception, sold them a hog for a hatchet, and furnished them with provisions. A crowd of the natives came round the English gentlemen, amongst whom however they met only two with whom they were acquainted; but they saw several European commodities, yet they perceived none that came out of the Endeavour. Here they saw two twelve pound shot, one of which had the king's broad arrow upon it, yet the natives said they had them from M. Bougainville. They afterwards advanced till they reached that district which was under the government of Waheatua, who had a son: it was not known in whose hands the sovereign power was deposited. There they found a spacious plain with a river, which they were obliged to pass over in a canoe, though the Indians that followed them swam over without any difficulty. They proceeded on their journey for a considerable way along the shore, till at last they were met by the chief, who had with him an agreeable woman, of about twenty-two years of age, who was called Toudidde. Her name was not unknown to the English, who had often heard of it; and she was supposed to bear the same rank here as Oberea bore in the other part of the island. The parts through which they now passed, appeared to be better cultivated than any of the rest, and the burial places were more in number. They were neat, and



ornamented with carvings; and in one a cock was seen, which was painted with the various colours of the bird. Though the country was apparently fertile, very little bread-fruit was to be found here, a nut called Ahee, furnishing the principal subsistence of the inhabitants.

Being fatigued with their journey, they went on board their boat, and landed in the evening on an island which was called Otooareite, to seek for refreshment. Mr. Banks going into the woods for this purpose, when it was dark could discover only one house, wherein he found some of the nuts before mentioned, and a little bread-fruit. There was a good harbour in the southern part of this island, and the surrounding country appeared to be extremely fruitful. Landing at about three miles distance they found some of the natives whom they well knew, yet it was not without difficulty that they obtained a few cocoa-nuts before they departed. When they came a little farther to the eastward, they landed again, and here they were met by Mathiabo, the chief, with whom they were not at all acquainted. He supplied them with bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, and they purchased a hog of him for a glass bottle, which he chose in preference to all the other articles presented before him. A turkey-cock and a goose were seen here, which were much admired by the natives, and were supposed to have been left there by Capt. Wallis's people. They observed in a house near the same place several human jaw-bones, which seemed fresh, and had not lost any of the teeth, and were fastened to a board, of a semicircular figure; but they could not get any information of the cause of this extraordinary appearance.

When they left the place, the chief piloted them over the shoals. In the evening they opened the bay on the north-west side of the island, which answered to that on the south-east in such a manner as to intersect it at the isthmus. Several canoes came off here, and some beautiful women giving tokens that they should be glad to see them on shore, they readily accepted the invitation. They met with a very friendly reception from the chief whose name was Wiverou

who gave directions to some of his people to assist them in dressing their provisions, which were now very plentiful, and they supped at Wiverou's house in company with Mathiabo. Part of the house was allotted for them to sleep in, and, soon after supper they retired to rest. Mathiabo having borrowed a cloak of Mr. Banks, under the notion of using it as a coverlet when he lay down, made off with it without being perceived either by that gentleman or his companions. However, news of the robbery being presently brought them by one of the natives, they set out in pursuit of Mathiabo, but had proceeded only a very little way before they were met by a person bringing back the cloak, which this chief had given up rather through fear than from any principle of honesty. On their return they found the house entirely deserted; and about four in the morning, the centinel gave the alarm that the boat was missing. Capt. Cook and Mr. Banks were greatly astonished at this account, and ran to the water-side; but though it was a clear star-light morning, no boat was to be seen. Their situation was now extremely disagreeable. The party consisted of no more than four, having with them only one musquet and two pocket pistols, without a spare ball or a charge of powder. After having remained some time in a state of anxiety, arising from these circumstances, of which they feared the Indians might take advantage, the boat which had been driven away by the tide, returned; and Mr. Banks and his companions had no sooner breakfasted than they departed. This place is situated on the north side of Tiarrabou, the south-east peninsula of the island, about five miles east from the isthmus, with a harbour equal to any in those parts. It was fertile and populous, and the inhabitants every where behaved with great civility.

The last district in Tiarrabou, in which they landed, was governed by a chief named Omoe. He was then building a house, and was very earnest to purchase a hatchet, but the gentlemen had not one left. He would not trade for nails, and they embarked, the chief, however, following them in his canoe



with his wife. They were afterwards taken on board, but when they had sailed about a league, desired to be put on shore. Their request was complied with, when the Captain met with some of Omoe's people, who brought with them a very large hog. The chief agreed to exchange the hog for an axe and a nail, and to bring the beast to the fort. As the hog was a very fine one, Mr. Banks accepted the offer. They saw at this place one of the Indian Eatuas, a sort of image, made of wicker-work, which resembled a man in figure; it was near seven feet in height, and was covered with black and white feathers; on the head were four protuberances, called by the natives Tata-ete, that is, little men. Having taken their leave of Omoe, the gentlemen set out on their return. They went on shore again, after they had rowed a few miles, but saw nothing except a sepulchral building, which was ornamented in an extraordinary manner. The pavement, on which was erected a pyramid, was very neat; at a small distance there was a stone image, very uncouthly carved, but which the natives seemed to hold in high estimation. They passed through the harbour which was the only one fit for shipping, on the south of Opoureonou, situate about five miles to the westward of the isthmus, between two small islands, not far from the shore, and within a mile of each other. They were now near the district called Paparra, which was that where Oaino and Oberea governed, and where the travellers intended to spend the night. But when Mr. Banks and his company landed, about an hour before it was dark, it appeared they were both set out to pay them a visit at the fort. However, they slept at Oberea's house, which was neat, though not large, and of which there was no inhabitant but her father, who shewed them much civility.

They took this opportunity of walking out upon a point, upon which they had observed at a distance some trees called Etoa, which usually grow upon the burial places of these islanders. They call those burying grounds Morai. And here Mr. Banks saw a vast building, which he found to be the Morai of Oaino and Oberea, which was the

most considerable piece of architecture in the island. It consisted of an enormous pile of stone work, raised in the form of a pyramid, with a flight of steps on each side. It was near 270 feet long, about one third as wide, and between 40 and 50 feet high. The foundation consisted of rock stones; the steps were of coral, and the upper part was of round pebbles, all of the same shape and size. The rock and coral-stones were squared with the utmost neatness and regularity, and the whole building appeared as compact and firm as if it had been erected by the best workmen in Europe. What rendered this last circumstance the more extraordinary, was the consideration that when this pile was raised, the Indians must have been totally destitute of iron tools either to shape their stones, or for any other necessary purpose, nor had they mortar to cement them when made fit for use; so that a structure of such height and magnitude must have been a work of infinite labour and fatigue. In the centre of the summit was the representation of a bird carved in wood; close to this was the figure of a fish in stone. The pyramid constituted part of one side of a court or square, the sides of which were nearly equal; and the whole was walled in and paved with flat stones, notwithstanding which pavement, several plantains, and trees which the natives call Etoa, grew within the inclosure. At a small distance to the westward of this edifice was another paved square that contained several small stages, called Ewattas by the natives; which appeared to be altars, whereon they placed the offerings to their gods. Mr. Banks afterwards observed whole hogs placed upon these stages or altars.

On Friday the 30th, they arrived at Otahorou, where they found their old acquaintance Tootahah, who received them with great civility, and provided them a good supper and convenient lodging; and though they had been so shamefully plundered the last time they slept with this chief, they spent the night in the greatest security, none of their clothes nor any other article being missing the next morning. They returned to the fort at Port Royal Harbour on the



first of July, having discovered the island, including both peninsulas, to be about 100 miles in circumference.

After their return from this tour, they were very much in want of bread-fruit, none of which they had been able to provide themselves with, as they had seen but little in the course of their journey; but their Indian friends coming round them, soon supplied their want of provisions.

On the 3rd, Mr. Banks made an excursion, in order to trace the river up the valley to its source, and to remark how far the country was inhabited along the banks of it. He took some Indian guides with him, and after having seen houses for about six miles, they came to one which was said to be the last that could be met with. The master presented them with cocoa-nuts and other fruits, and they proceeded on their walk, after a short stay. They often passed through vaults formed by rocky fragments in the course of their journey, in which, as they were told, benighted travellers sometimes took shelter. Pursuing the course of the river about six miles farther, they found it banked on both sides by rocks almost 100 feet in height, and nearly perpendicular; a way however, might be traced up these precipices, along which their Indian guides would have conducted them, but they declined the offer, as there did not appear to be any thing at the summit which could repay them for the toil and dangers of ascending them. Mr. Banks sought in vain for minerals among the rocks, which were naked almost on all sides, but no mineral substances were found. The stones every where exhibited signs of having been burnt, which was the case of all the stones that were found while they staid at Otaheite; and both there and in the neighbouring islands the traces of fire were evident in the clay upon the hills. On the 4th, a great quantity of the seeds of water-melons, oranges, limes and other plants brought from Rio de Janeiro, were planted on each side of the fort, by Mr. Banks, who also plentifully supplied the Indians with them, and planted many of them in the woods. Some melons, the seeds of which had been sown on

the first arrival of the English at the island, grew up and flourished before they left it.

By this time they began to think of making preparations to depart; but Oamo, Oberea, and their son and daughter visited them before they were ready to sail. As to the young woman (whose name was Toimata) she was curious to see the fort, but Oamo would not permit her to enter. The son of Waheatua, chief of the south-east peninsula, was also here at the same time; and they were favoured with the company of the Indian, who had been so dextrous as to steal the quadrant, as above related. The carpenters being ordered to take down the gates and pallisadoes of the fort, to be converted into fire-wood for the Endeavour, one of the natives stole the staple and hook of the gate; he was pursued in vain, but the property was afterwards recovered, and returned to the owners by Tubourai Tamaide.

Before their departure, two circumstances happened which gave Capt. Cook some uneasiness. The first was, that two foreign sailors having been abroad, one of them was robbed of his knife, which as he was endeavouring to recover, he was dangerously hurt with a stone by the natives, and his companion also received a slight wound in the head. The offenders escaped, and the Captain was not anxious to have them taken, as he did not want to have any disputes with the Indians.

Between the 8th, and 9th, two young marines one night withdrew themselves from the fort, and in the morning were not to be met with. Notice having been given the next day that the ship would sail that or the ensuing day; as they did not return, Capt. Cook began to be apprehensive that they designed to remain on shore; but as he was apprised in such a case, no effectual means could be taken to recover them without running a risque of destroying the harmony subsisting between the English and the natives, he resolved to wait a day, in hopes of their returning of their own accord. But as they were still missing on the tenth in the morning, an inquiry was made after them, when the Indians declared, that they did not propose to return, having taken refuge



among the mountains where it was impossible for them to be discovered; and added, that each of them had taken a wife. In consequence of this, it was intimated to several of the chiefs that were in the fort with the women, among whom were Tubourai Tainaide, Tomio, and Oberea, that they would not be suffered to quit it till the deserters were produced. They did not shew any signs of fear or discontent, but assured the Captain that the marines should be sent back. In the mean time Mr. Hicks was dispatched in the pinnace to bring Tootahah on board the ship, and he executed his commission without giving any alarm. Night coming on, Capt. Cook thought it not prudent to let the people, whom he had detained as hostages, remain at the fort; he therefore gave orders to remove them on board, which greatly alarmed them all, especially the females who testified the most gloomy apprehensions by floods of tears. Capt. Cook escorted Oberea and others to the ship; but Mr. Banks remained on shore with some Indians, whom he thought it of less importance to detain. In the evening one of the marines was brought back by some of the natives, who reported that the other, and two of our men who went to recover them would be detained while Tootahah was confined. Upon this Mr. Hicks was immediately sent off in the long boat, with a strong body of men to rescue the prisoners; at the same time the Captain told Tootahah, that it was incumbent on him to assist them with some of his people, and to give orders in his name, that the men should be set at liberty; for that he would be expected to answer for the event. Tootahah immediately complied, and this party released the men without any opposition.

On the 11th, about seven in the morning they returned, but without the arms that had been taken from them when they were made prisoners; these, however being restored soon after the chiefs on board were allowed to return, and those who had been detained on shore were also set at liberty. On examining the deserters it appeared, that the Indians had told the truth, they having chosen two girls, with whom they

would have remained in the island. At this time the power of Oberea was not so great as it was when the Dolphin first discovered the island. Tupia, whose name has been often mentioned in this voyage, had been her prime minister. He was also the chief priest, consequently well acquainted with the religion of the country. He had a knowledge of navigation, and was thoroughly acquainted with the number, situation, and inhabitants of the adjacent islands. This chief had often expressed a desire to go with us when we continued our voyage.

On the 12th, in the morning he came on board with a boy about twelve years of age, his servant, named Taiyota, and requested the gentlemen on board, to let him go with him. As we thought he would be useful to us in many particulars, we unanimously agreed to comply with his request. Tupia then went on shore for the last time to bid farewell to his friends, to whom he gave several baubles as parting tokens of remembrance.

Mr. Banks, after dinner, being willing to obtain a drawing of the Morai, which Tootahah had in his possession at Eparre, Capt. Cook accompanied him thither in the pinnace, together with Dr. Solander. They immediately upon landing repaired to Tootahah's house, where they were met by Oberea and several others. A general good understanding prevailed. Tupia came back with them, and they promised to visit the gentlemen early the next day, as they were told the ship would then sail.

On the 13th, these friendly people came very early on board, and the ship was surrounded with a vast number of canoes, filled with Indians of the lower sort. Between eleven and twelve we weighed anchor; and notwithstanding all the little misunderstandings between the English and the natives, the latter, who possessed a great fund of good nature, and much sensibility, took their leave, weeping in an affectionate manner. As to Tupia he supported himself through this scene with a becoming fortitude. Tears flowed from his eyes, it is true, but the effort that he made to conceal them did him an additional honour. He went



with Mr. Banks to the mast head, and waving his hand, took a last farewell of his country. Thus we departed from Otaheite, after a stay of just three months.

## CHAP. V.

*An historical and descriptive account of Otaheite ; Of the Island, and its productions ; Of the inhabitants ; Their dress ; Dwellings ; Manner of living ; Diversions ; Manufactures ; Arts ; Sciences ; Language ; Diseases ; Religious ceremonies ; and government.*

**P**ORT Royal bay, in the island of Otaheite, as settled by Capt. Wallis, we found to be within half a degree of its real situation ; and point Venus, the northern extremity of this island, and the eastern part of the bay, lies in 149 deg. 30 min. longitude. A reef of coral rock surrounds the island, forming several excellent bays, among which, and equal to the best of them, is Port Royal. This bay, called by the natives Matavai, may easily be discovered by a remarkable high mountain in the centre of the island, bearing due south from point Venus. To sail into it, either keep the west point of the reef that lies before point Venus, close on board, or give it a birth of near half a mile, in order to avoid a small shoal of coral rocks, whereon there is but two fathom and an half of water. The most proper ground for anchoring is on the eastern side of the bay. The shore is a fine sandy beach, behind which runs a river of fresh water, very convenient for a fleet of ships. The only wood for firing upon the whole island is that of fruit trees, which must be purchased of the natives, or it is impossible to live on friendly terms with them. The face of the country is very uneven. It rises in ridges that run up into the middle of the island, where they form mountains which may be seen at the distance of sixty miles. Between these ridges and the sea is a border of low land of different breadths in different parts, but not exceeding any where a mile and a half. The soil being watered by a number of excellent rivulets, is extremely fertile, and covered with various kinds of

fruit trees, which form almost one continued wood. Even the tops of the ridges are not without their produce in some parts. The only parts of the island that are inhabited, are the low lands, lying between the foot of the ridges and the sea. The houses do not form villages, but are ranged along the whole border, at about fifty yards distant from each other. Before them are little groups of the plantain trees, which furnish them with cloth. According to Tupia's account, this island could furnish above six thousand fighting men. The produce is bread-fruit, cocoa nuts, bananas, sweet potatoes, yams, jambu, a delicious fruit, sugar-cane, the paper mulberry, several sorts of figs, with many other plants and trees, all which the earth produces spontaneously, or with little culture. But here are no European fruit, garden-stuff, pulse, nor grain of any kind. The tame animals are hogs, dogs, and poultry ; the wild ducks, pigeons, paroquets, and a few other birds. The only reptiles are rats, and not a serpent is to be found. In the sea is a great variety of excellent fish, which constitutes their chief luxury, and to catch them their chief employment.

The people in general are of a larger make than the Europeans. The males are mostly tall, robust, and finely shaped ; the women of the higher class about the size of our English ladies, but those of inferior rank are below our standard, and some of them very short. Their natural complexion is a fine clear olive, or what we call a brunett, their skin delicately smooth and agreeably



soft. Their faces in general are handsome, and their eyes full of sensibility. Their teeth are remarkably white and regular, their hair for the most part black, and their breath is entirely free from any disagreeable smell. The men, unlike the original inhabitants of America, have long beards, which they wear in various shapes. Circumcision is generally practised among them from a motive of cleanliness, and they have a term of reproach with which they upbraid those who do not adopt this custom. Both sexes always eradicate the hair from their arm-pits, and they reproached our gentlemen with want of cleanliness; their motions are easy and graceful, and their behaviour, when unprovoked, affable and courteous. Contrary to the custom of most other nations, the women of this country cut their hair short, whereas the men wear it long, sometimes hanging loose upon their shoulders, at other times tied in a knot on the crown of the head in which they stick the feathers of birds of various colours. A piece of cloth of the manufacture of the country, is frequently tied round the head of both sexes in the manner of a turban, and the women plait very curiously human hair into long strings, which being folded into branches, are tied on their foreheads by way of ornament. They have a custom practised in many hot countries, of anointing their hair with cocoa-nut oil, the smell of which is not very agreeable. Having, among their various inventions no sorts of combs, they were infested with vermin, which they quickly got rid of when furnished with those convenient instruments.

They stain their bodies by indenting or pricking the flesh with a small instrument made of bone, cut into short teeth, which indentures they fill with a dark blue or blackish mixture, prepared from the smoke of an oily nut (burnt by them instead of candles) and water. This operation, called by the natives Tattaowing, is exceedingly painful, and leaves an indelible mark on the skin. It is usually performed when they are about ten or twelve years of age, and on different parts of the body; but those which suffer most severely are the breech

and the loins, which are marked with arches, carried one above another a considerable way up the back. Mr. Banks was present at an operation of tattaowing, performed upon the posteriors of a girl about twelve years old. It was executed with an instrument that had twenty teeth, and at each stroke, which was repeated every moment, serum mixed with blood issued. She bore the pain with great resolution for several minutes; but at length it became so intolerable, that she murmured and burst into most violent lamentations; but her operator was inexorable, whilst some females present both chid and beat her. Mr. Banks was a spectator for near an hour, during which time one side only was tattaowed, the other having undergone the ceremony some time before, and the arches upon the loins, which are the most painful, but which they most value, were yet to be made.

They clothe themselves in cloth and matting of various kinds: the first they wear in fine, the latter in wet weather. These are in different forms, no shape being preserved in the pieces, nor are they sewed together. The women of a superior class wear three or four pieces. One which is of considerable length, they wrap several times round their waist, and it falls down to the middle of the leg. Two or three other short pieces, with a hole cut in the middle of each, are placed on one another, and their heads coming through the holes, the long ends hang before and behind, both sides being open, by which means they have the free use of their arms.

The men's dress is very similar, differing only in this instance, that one part of the garment instead of falling below the knees, is brought between the legs. This dress is worn by all ranks of people, the only distinction being quantity in the superior class. At noon both sexes appear almost naked, wearing only a piece of cloth that is tied round the waist. Their faces are shaded from the sun with small bonnets, made of cocoa-nut leaves or matting, which are constructed in a few minutes. The men sometimes wear a sort of wig of human or dog's hair, or of cocoa-nut strings woven



on a single thread, fastened under the hair, and hanging down behind. Both men and women wore ear-rings on one side, consisting of shells, stones, berries, or small pearls; but they soon gave the preference to the beads brought by the Endeavour's company. The boys and girls go quite naked; the first till they are seven or eight years old; the latter till they are about five.

The natives of Otaheite seldom use their houses but to sleep in, or to avoid the rain as they eat in the open air, under the shade of a tree. In those there are no divisions or apartments. Their clothes serve them for covering in the night. The master and his wife repose in the middle; then the married people; next the unmarried females; then the unmarried men; and in fair weather the servants sleep in the open air. The houses of the chiefs, however differ in some particulars. There are those that are very small, and so constructed as to be carried in canoes: all sides of them are inclosed with the leaves of the cocoa-nut; the air nevertheless penetrates. In these the chief and his wife only sleep. We likewise saw houses that are general receptacles for the inhabitants of a district, many of them being more than 200 feet in length, 40 in breadth, and 70 or 80 feet high. They are constructed at the common expence, and have an area on one side, surrounded with low palisadoes; but like the others without walls.

Their cookery consists chiefly in baking, the manner of doing which has been before noticed. When a chief kills a hog, which is but seldom, he divides it equally among his vassals. Dogs and fowls are more common food. When the bread-fruit is not in season, cocoa-nuts, bananas, plantains, &c. are substituted in its stead. They bake their bread-fruit in a manner which renders it somewhat like a mealy potatoe. Of this three dishes are made, by beating them up with bananas, plantains, or sour paste, which is called by them Mahie.

Sour paste is made by taking bread-fruit not thoroughly ripe, and laying it in heaps covered with leaves, by which means it ferments. The core is then taken out, and the

fruit put into a hole lined with grass: it is then again covered with leaves, upon which large stones are placed; this produces a second fermentation; after which it grows sour, without any other change for a long time. They take it from this hole as they have occasion for it, and make it into balls. It is then rolled up in plantain leaves and baked. As it will keep for some weeks, they eat it both hot and cold. Such is the food of this people, their sauce to which is only salt water. As to their drink it is generally confined to water, or the milk of the cocoa-nut, though some of them would drink so freely of our English liquors as to become quite intoxicated, such instances, however, were occasioned, more by ignorance than design, as they were never known to practice a debauch of this kind a second time. We were told, it is true, that their chiefs sometimes became inebriated by drinking the juice of a plant called Ava, but of this we saw not a single instance during the time we remained on the island.

The chief eats generally alone, unless when visited by a stranger, who is permitted sometimes to be his mess-mate. Not having known the use of a table, they sit on the ground, and leaves of trees spread before them serve as a table-cloth. Their attendants, who are numerous, having placed a basket by the chiefs, containing their provisions, and cocoa-nut shells of fresh and salt water, set themselves down around them. They then begin their meals with the ceremony of washing their mouths and hands; after which they eat a handful of bread-fruit and fish, dipt in salt water alternately, till the whole is consumed, taking a sip of salt water between almost every morsel. The bread-fruit and fish is succeeded by a second course, consisting of either plantains or apples, which they never eat without being pared. During this time a soft fluid of paste is prepared from the bread-fruit, which they drink out of cocoa-nut shells: this concludes the meal; and their hands and mouths are again washed as at the beginning. These people eat an astonishing quantity of food at a meal. Mr. Banks and others saw one of them devour



three fish of the size of a small carp; four bread-fruits, as large as a common melon, thirteen or fourteen plantains seven inches long, and above half as big round; to all which was added a quart of the paste by way of drink, to digest the whole.

The inhabitants of this island, though apparently fond of the pleasures of society, have yet an aversion to holding any intercourse with each other at their meals; and they are so rigid in the observation of this custom, that even brothers and sisters have their separate baskets of provisions, and generally sit at the distance of some yards when they eat, with their backs to each other, and not exchanging a word during the whole time of their repast. The middle aged of superior rank go usually to sleep after dinner; but, which is somewhat remarkable, older people are not so indolent.

Music, dancing, wrestling, and shooting with the bow, constitute the greatest part of their diversions. Flutes and drums are the only musical instruments among them. Their drums are formed of a circular piece of wood, hollow at one end only. These are covered with the skin of a shark, and beaten with the hand instead of a stick. Their songs are extempore, and frequently in rhyme, but they consist only of two lines; these couplets are often sung by way of evening amusements, between sun-set and bed-time; during which interval they burn candles made of an oily nut, fixing them one above another upon a small stick that is run through the middle: some of these candles will burn a long time, and afford a pretty good light. Among other amusements, they have a dance called Timorodee, which is generally performed by ten or a dozen young females, who put themselves into the most wanton attitudes, keeping time during the performance with the greatest nicety and exactness. Pregnant women are excluded from these dances.

One of the worst customs of the people of Otaheite, is that which several of the principal people of the island have adopted of uniting in an association, wherein no woman confines herself to any particular man, by which means they obtain a perpetual

society. These societies are called Arreoy. The members have meetings where the men amuse themselves with wrestling, and the women dance the Timorodee which end frequently at a very late hour, and in the greatest confusion and wantonness. A much worse practice is the consequence of this. If any of the women prove with child, the infant is destroyed, unless the mother's natural affection should prevail with her to preserve its life, which, however, is forfeited unless she can procure a man to adopt it. And where she succeeds in this, she is expelled from the society, being called Whannownow, which signifies a bearer of children, by way of reproach.

Personal cleanliness is much esteemed among these Indians. Both sexes are particular in washing three times a day, that is, when they rise in the morning, at noon, and before they go to rest. They are also very cleanly in their clothes, so that no disagreeable effluvia are found to arise in the largest communities.

Cloth is the chief manufacture of Otaheite, and of this there are three sorts, all which are made out of the bark of different trees, namely the mulberry, the bread-fruit, and a tree which bears some resemblance to the West-Indian wild fig-tree. The first of these produces the finest cloth, which is seldom worn but by those of the first rank. The next sort is made of the bread-fruit tree, and the last of that which resembles the wild fig-tree. But this last sort, though the coarsest, is scarcer than the other two, which are manufactured only in small quantities, as the same manner is used in manufacturing all these cloths. The following description will suffice for the reader's information.

The bark of the tree being stripped off, is soaked in water for two or three days; they then take it out, and separate the inner bark from the external coat, by scraping it with a shell, after which it is spread out on plantain leaves, placing two or three layers over one another, care being taken to make it of an equal thickness in every part. In this state it continues till it is almost dry, when it adheres so firmly that it may be



taken from the ground without breaking. After this process, it is laid on a smooth board, and beaten with an instrument made for the purpose, of the compact heavy wood called Etoa. The instrument is about fourteen inches long, and about seven in circumference; is of a quadrangular shape, and each of the four sides is marked with longitudinal grooves or furrows, differing in this instance, that there is a regular gradation in the width and depth of the grooves on each of the sides; the coarser side not containing more than ten of these furrows, while the finest is furnished with above fifty. It is with that side of the mallet where the grooves are deepest and widest that they begin to beat their cloth, and proceeding regularly, finish with that which has the greatest number. By this beating, the cloth is extended in a manner similar to the gold that is formed into leaves by the hammer; and it is also marked with small channels resembling those which are visible on paper, but rather deeper; it is in general beat very thin; when they want it thicker than common, they take two or three pieces and paste them together with a kind of glue prepared from a root called Pea. This cloth becomes exceedingly white by bleaching, and is dyed of a red, yellow, brown, or black colour; the first is exceeding beautiful, and equal, if not superior to any in Europe. They make the red colour from a mixture of the juices of two vegetables, neither of which used separately has this effect: matting of various kinds is another considerable manufacture in which they excel, in many respects, the Europeans. They make use of the coarser sort to sleep on, and in wet weather they wear the finer. They excel in the basket and wicker-work; both men and women employ themselves at it, and can make a great number of different patterns. They make ropes and lines of all sizes of the bark of the Poerou, and their nets for fishing are made of these lines; the fibres of the cocoa-nut they make thread of, such as they use to fasten together the several parts of their canoes; the forms of which are various, according to the use to which they are applied. Their

fishing lines are esteemed the best in the world, made of the bark of the Erowa, a kind of nettle which grows on the mountains; they are strong enough to hold the heaviest and most vigorous fish, such as bonettas and albicores; in short, they are extremely ingenious in every expedient for taking all kinds of fish.

The tool which these people make use of for building houses, constructing canoes, hewing stones, and for felling, cleaving, carving, and polishing timber, consists of nothing more than an adze of stone, and a chisel of bone, most commonly that of a man's arm; and for a file or polisher, they make use of a rasp of coral and coral sand. The blades of their adzes are extremely tough, but not very hard; they make them of various sizes, those for felling wood weigh six or seven pounds, and others which are used for carving, only a few ounces: they are obliged every minute to sharpen them on a stone, which is always kept near them for that purpose. The most difficult task they meet with in the use of these tools, is the felling of a tree, which employs a great number of hands for several days together. The tree which is in general use is called Aoie, the stem of which is straight and tall. Some of their smaller boats are made of the bread-fruit tree, which is wrought without much difficulty, being of a light spongy nature. Instead of planes they use their adzes with great dexterity. Their canoes are all shaped with the hand, the Indians not being acquainted with the method of warping a plank.

Of these they have two kinds, one they call Ivahahs, the other Palies; the former is used for short voyages at sea, and the latter for long ones. These boats do not differ either in shape or size, but they are in no degree proportionate, being from sixty to seventy feet in length, and not more than the thirtieth part in breadth. Some are employed in going from one island to another, and others used for fishing. There is also the Ivahah, which serves for war; these are by far the longest, and the head and stern are considerably above the body. These Ivahahs are fastened together, side



by side, when they go to sea, at the distance of a few feet, by strong wooden poles, which are laid across them and joined to each side. A stage or platform is raised on the fore part, about ten or twelve feet long, upon which stand the fighting men, whose missile weapons are slings and spears. Beneath these stages the rowers sit, who supply the place of those who are wounded. The fishing Ivahals are from thirty or forty to ten feet in length, and those for travelling have a small house fixed on board, which is fastened upon the fore-part, for the better accommodation of persons of rank, who occupy them both day and night. The Pahies differ also in size, being from sixty to seventy feet long, they are also very narrow, and are sometimes used for fighting, but chiefly for long voyages. In going from one island to another, they are out sometimes a month, and often at sea a fortnight or twenty days, and if they had convenience to stow more provisions, they could stay out much longer. These vessels are very useful in landing, and putting off from the shore in a surf, for by their great length and high stern they landed dry, when the Endeavour's boats could scarcely land at all.

They are very curious in the construction of these boats; the chief parts or pieces whereof are formed separately without either saw, plane, chisel, or any other iron tool, which renders their fabrication more surprising and worthy of observation. These parts being prepared, the keel is fixed upon blocks, and the planks are supported with props, till they are sewed or joined together with strong plaited thongs, which are passed several times through holes boared with a chisel of bone, such as they commonly make use of, and when finished, they are sufficiently tight without calking. They keep these boats with great care in a kind of shed, built on purpose to contain them.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were at a loss to find out their method of dividing time, they always made use of the term Malama, which signifies the moon; whenever they spoke of time, either past or to come, they reckon thirteen of these moons, beginning again when they are expired.

This proves that they have some idea of the solar year; but these gentlemen could not discover how they computed their months, to make thirteen equal to the year, as they said these months consisted of twenty-nine days, one day in which the moon was invisible being included. They however, knew the prevailing weather that was to be expected, as well as the fruits which would be in season. As to the day, they divide it into twelve equal parts, six of which belong to the day, and the other six to the night. When they numerate, they reckon from one to ten, making use of their fingers, and changing hands, till they come to the number which they intended to express; and joining expressive signs to their words, in the course of their conversation. But they are not so expert in measuring distances, for when they attempt describing the space between one place and another, they are obliged to express it by the time that would be taken in passing it.

With regard to their language, it is soft, as it abounds with vowels, and easy to be pronounced; but very few of their nouns or verbs being declinable, it must consequently be rather imperfect. However, we found means to be mutually understood without much difficulty. The following specimen will possibly enable the reader to form some notion of the language of these islanders.

Aheine, *a woman*

Aihoo, *a garment*

Ainao, *take care*

Aree, *a chief*

Aouna, *to-day*

Aoy, *water*

Eahoo, *the nose*

Eawow, *to scold*

Eei, *to eat*

Eeyo, *look you*

Emoto, *to box*

Epanoo, *a drum*

Epeenei, *an echo*

Epehe, *a song*

Erowroo, *the head*

Huaheine, *a wife*

Itopa, *to fall*

Kipoo a meemhee, *a*

*chamber-pot*

Mahana, *a day*

Marroowhai, *dry*

Matau, *the eyes*

Matte roah, *to die*

Mayneenee, *to tickle*

Meyoooo, *the nails*

Midee, *a child*

Mutee, *a kiss*

Myty, *good*

Neeheeo, *good night*

Oboboa, *to-morrow*

Oowhau, *the thighs*

Ore'dehaiya, *a large nail*

Ore'eetee, *a small nail*

Otaowa, *yesterday*



*Pahie, a ship*  
*Parawei, a shirt*  
*Poa, a night*  
*Poe, ear-rings*  
*Tane, a husband*  
*Tattate hommanne*  
*maitai a good-na*  
*tured person*  
*Tea, white*

*Teine, a brother*  
*Tooaheine, a sister*  
*Tooanahoe, you and I*  
*Toonoah, a mole in the*  
*skin*  
*Tumatau, a bonnet*  
*Walhoa, fire*  
*Waow, I.*

The natives of this country are seldom afflicted with any diseases except sometimes an accidental fit of the cholic; but they are subject to the erisypelas, attended with cutaneous eruptions somewhat resembling the leprosy; and if they have it to any considerable degree, they are excluded from society and live alone, in a small house in some unfrequented part of the island. The management of the sick belongs to the priests, whose method of cure consists generally of prayers and ceremonies which are repeated till they recover or die. If the former happens, it is attributed to their mode of proceeding; if the patient dies, then they urge that the disease was incurable.

The religion of these islanders appears to be very mysterious; and as the language adapted to it, was different from that which was spoken on other occasions, we were not able to gain much knowledge of it. Tupia, who gave us all the information that we got in regard to this particular, informed us, that his countrymen imagined every thing in the creation to proceed from the conjunction of two persons. One of these two first (being the supreme deity) they called Taroataihetoomo, and the other Tapapa; and the year which they called Tettowmatatayo, they suppose to be the daughter of these two. They also imagine an inferior sort of deities, known by the name of Eatuas, two of whom, they say formerly inhabited the earth, and they suppose that the first man and woman descended from them. The Supreme Being they stile "The causer of earthquakes;" but more frequently address their prayers to Tane, whom they conceive to be a son of the first progenitors of nature. They believe in the existence of the soul in a separate state, and suppose that there are

two situations differing in the degrees of happiness, which they consider as receptacles for different ranks, but not as places of rewards and punishments. Their notion is, that the chiefs and principal people will have the preference to those of lower ranks. For as to their actions they cannot conceive them to influence their future state, as they believe the deity takes no cognizance of them. The office of priest is hereditary; there are several of them of all ranks; the chief is respected next to their kings; and they are in general superior to the natives, not only in point of divine knowledge, but also in that of astronomy and navigation. They are not at all concerned with the ceremony of marriage, which is only a simple agreement between the man and the woman, and when they choose to separate, the matter is accomplished with as little ceremony as was thought necessary to bring them together. These people do not appear to worship images of any kind; but they enter their Morais with great awe and humility, their bodies being uncovered to the waist when they bring their offering to their altar.

As to their form of government, there is a sort of subordination among them which resembles the early state of all the nations of Europe when under the feudal system, which reserved authority to a small number putting the rest entirely in their power. The ranks of the people of this island were these, Earee Rahie, signifying a king or supreme governor; Earee, answering to the title of baron; Mannahoonies, to that of vassal; and Toutou, under which name was included the lowest orders of the people, such as are called villains according to the old law term. The Earee Rahie, of which there are two here, one belonging to each peninsula, had great respect shewn them by all ranks. The Earees are lords of one or more of the districts, into which these governments are divided; and they separate their territories into lots, which are given among the Manahoonies, who respectively cultivate the share that they hold under the baron. But they are only nominal cultivators; this, as well as all other



laborious work, being done by the Toutou, or lower class of the people. The sovereign, or Earee Rahie, and the baron, or Earee, are succeeded in titles and honours by their children, as soon as they are born; but their estates remain in their possession, and subject to the management of their parents. Every district under the command of an Earee furnishes a proportionate number of fighting men, for the defence of the common cause, in case of a general attack; and they are all subject to the command of the Earee Rahie. Their weapons consist of slings in the use of which they are very dextrous, and of long clubs remarkably hard, with which they fight obstinately and cruelly, giving no quarter to their enemies in time of battle.

While we staid at Otaheite there was a good understanding between the Earees of the two peninsulas, though it seems that the Earee of Tearrebau called himself king of the whole island; this was a mere nominal claim, and was considered as such by the inhabitants. There is not any thing among them substituted for money, or a general medium by which every desirable object may be purchased or procured: neither can any permanent good be obtained by force or fraud. The general commerce with women sets aside almost every excitement to commit adultery. In a word, in a government so little polished, though distributive justice cannot be regularly administered; as, at the same time, there can be but few crimes whereon to exercise it, the want of this justice is not so severely felt as in more civilized societies.

Soon after our arrival at this island, we were apprised of the natives having the French disease among them. The islanders called it by a name expressive of its effects, observing that the hair and nails of those

who were first infected by it, fell off, and the flesh rotted from the boites, while their countrymen, and even nearest relations, who were unaffected, were so much terrified at its symptoms, that the unhappy sufferer was often forsaken by them, and left to perish in the most horrible conditions.

Thus have we given an accurate, full, and complete description of the island in its present state; we shall only add a few remarks, which we apprehend may be of use to such gentlemen in the navy, who may hereafter have it in their orders to touch at the same. As this island can be useful only by supplying ships with refreshments in their passage through these seas, it might be made to answer fully this important end; European cattle, plants, Garden-stuff, and the most useful vegetables, would doubtless flourish in so rich a soil. The climate is remarkably fine, the heat is not troublesome, nor do the winds blow constantly from the east. We had frequently a fresh gale from the S. W. sometimes, though very seldom from the N. W. We learnt from Tupia, that south westerly winds prevail in October, November, and December, and we have no doubt but this is true. At the time the winds are variable, they are always accompanied by a swell from the S. W. or W. S. W. The same swell happens on a calm, and when the atmosphere is loaded with clouds, which shews that the winds are variable, or westerly out at sea; for with a trade wind the weather is clear. In these parts the trade wind does not extend farther to the south than twenty degrees, beyond which we generally found a gale from the westward. The tides here are perhaps as inconsiderable as in any part of the world. A south or south by west moon makes high water in the barbour of Matavai, and its perpendicular height seldom exceeds ten or twelve inches.



## CHAP. VI.

*The Endeavour continues her Voyage; Visits the islands in the neighbourhood of Otaheite; An account of several incidents, and of various particulars relative to the inhabitants; The passage of the Endeavour from Oteroah to New Zealand; Events on going ashore, and incidents while the ship lay in Poverty-Bay; This and the adjacent country described; Excursions to Cape Turnagain, and return to Tolaga; The inhabitants described, and a narrative of what happened while we were on that part of the coast; The range from Tolaga to Mercury Bay; Incidents that happened on board the Endeavour and ashore; A description of the country and its fortified villages; She sails from Mercury Bay to the Bay of Islands; A description of the Indians on the banks of the river Thames; And of the timber that grows there; Interviews and skirmishes with the natives on an island, and on different parts of the coast; Range from the Bay of the Islands round north Cape.*

ON the 13th, of July, 1768, after leaving the island of Otaheite, we continued our course, with clear weather and a gentle breeze; and were informed by Tupia, that four islands which he called Huaheine, Ulie-tea, Otaha, and Bolabola, were at the distance of about one or two day's sail; and that hogs, fowls, and other refreshments, very scarce on board, were to be got there in great abundance. He also mentioned an island to the northward, which he called Tethûroa. It is situated north half west, eight leagues distant from the northern extremity of Otaheite. It was a small low island, but as Tupia said, without any settled inhabitants. On the 15th, we made but little way, on account of the calms which succeeded the light breezes. Tupia often prayed to his god Tane for a wind, and boasted of his success, which indeed he took care to insure, by never applying to Tane, till he saw a breeze so near, that he knew it must reach the ship before his prayer was concluded.

On the 16th, we sounded near the north-west part of the island of Huaheine, but found no bottom at 70 fathoms. Several canoes put off; but the Indians seemed fearful of coming near the bark, till the sight of Tupia removed their apprehensions. They then came along side, and the king of the island, with his queen, came on board. They

seemed surprised at whatever was shewn them, but made no inquiries after any thing but what was offered to their notice. After some time they became more familiar; and the king, whose name was Oree, as a token of amity, proposed exchanging names with Capt. Cook, which was readily accepted. We found the people here nearly similar to those of Otaheite in almost every particular; but, if Tupia might be credited, they are not like them addicted to thieving. Having anchored in a small, but convenient harbour on the west side of the island, (called by the natives Owparre) we went on shore with Mr. Banks, and some other gentlemen accompanied by the king and Tupia. The moment we landed, Tupia uncovered himself as low as the waist, and desired Mr. Monkhouse to follow his example. Being seated, he now began a speech, or prayer, which lasted about twenty minutes; the king, who stood opposite to him, answering in what seemed set replies. During this harangue, Tupia delivered, at different times, a handkerchief, a black silk neckcloth, some plantains, and beads, as presents to their Eatua, or deity; and in return for our Eatua, we received a hog, some young plantains, and two bunches of feathers, all which were carried on board. These ceremonies were considered as a kind of ratification of a treaty between us and the king of Huaheine.



On the 17th, we went again on shore, and made an excursion into the country, the productions of which greatly resembled those of Otaheite; the rocks and clay seemed, indeed, more burnt; the boat-houses were curious and remarkably large. The level part of the country affords the most beautiful landscapes that the imagination can possibly form an idea of. The soil is exceedingly fertile, and the shore is lined with fruit trees of different kinds, particularly the cocoa-nut; however, in some places there were salt swamps and lagoons, which produced neither trees nor plants.

On the 18th, we went again on shore, and Tupia being engaged with his friends, we took with us Taiyota, his boy. Mr. Banks proposed taking a more perfect view of a kind of chest, or ark, which he had before observed. The lid of this ark was neatly sewed on, and thatched in a peculiar manner with palm-nut leaves. It was placed on two poles, and supported by small carved arches of wood. These poles served to remove it from one place to another, in the manner of our sedan-chairs. We remarked, that this chest was of a form resembling the ark of the Lord among the Jews; but it is still more remarkable, that, inquiring of Tupia's servant what it was called, he told us, Ewharre-no-Eatua, the House of God; though he could give no account of its meaning or use. Our trade with the natives went on slowly; we got, however, eleven pigs, and were not without hopes of obtaining more the next morning.

On the 19th, we offered them some hatchets, for which we procured three very large hogs. As we intended to sail in the afternoon, king Oree, and others of the natives, came on board to take their leave. Capt. Cook presented to Oree a small pewter plate, stamped with this inscription, "His Britannic Majesty's ship Endeavour, Capt. Cook, commander. July 16, 1769." We gave him also some medals or counters, resembling our English coin, and other trifles, which he promised to keep in order to remember us. The island of Huaheine lies in 16 deg. 43 min. south latitude, and 150 deg. 52 min. west longitude; about 30

leagues distant from Otaheite, and is twenty miles in circumference. Its productions are a month forwarder than those of the last mentioned island, as we found by several of the fruits, &c. Mr. Banks collected only a few new plants, but found a species of the scorpion which he had not before seen. The inhabitants are very lazy, but are stouter and larger made than those of Otaheite; the women very fair, and we thought them handsome. Both sexes seemed to be less timid and less curious. They made no inquiries when on board the ship, and, when we fired a gun, though apparently frightened, yet they did not fall down, as our friends at Otaheite constantly did when we came among them; but it is to be considered, that the former had never experienced its power of dispensing death. We now made sail for the island of Ulietea, distant seven or eight leagues from Huaheine.

On the 20th, by the direction of Tupia, we anchored in a bay, formed by a reef, on the north side of the island. Two canoes soon came off from the shore, and the natives brought with them two small hogs, which they exchanged for some nails and beads. The Captain, Mr. Banks, and other gentlemen now went on shore, accompanied by Tupia, who introduced them with the same kind of ceremonies that had taken place on their landing at Huaheine; after which Capt. Cook took possession of this and the three neighbouring islands, Huaheine, Otaha, and Balabola, in the name of His Britannic Majesty. We then walked to a large Morai, called by the natives Tabodeboatea, which we found different from the sepulchral monuments of Otaheite, being composed of four walls, about eight or nine feet high, and built of large coral stones, surrounding a court of about 30 feet square. At a small distance we found an altar, or ewhatta, whereupon lay the last oblation, or sacrifice, a hog about eighty pounds weight which had been offered whole, and very nicely roasted. We also saw four or five Ewharre-no-eatua, or houses of God, to which carriage poles were fitted. From hence we proceeded to a long house, where among rolls of cloth, we saw the model of a



canoe, about three feet long, to which were fastened eight human jaw-bones; we concluded they were trophies of war; but Tupia affirmed they were the jaw-bones of the natives of this island. Night now advanced with quick paces, but Mr. Banks and the Doctor continued their walk along the shore, and saw another Ewharre-no-eatua, also a tree of the fig kind, the trunk of which, (the nature whereof has been already described) was forty-two paces in circumference.

On the 21st, the master was sent to inspect the southern part of the island, and a lieutenant was dispatched in the yawl to sound the harbour where the Endeavour lay; while the Captain went in the pinnace to take a view of that part of the island which lay to the northward. Mr. Banks and the gentlemen were again on shore, trading with the natives, and searching after the productions and curiosities of the country. They discovered, however, not one particular worthy of notice.

The hazy weather and brisk gales prevented us from getting under sail, till the 24th, when we put to sea, and steered northward within the reef, towards an opening, at the distance of about five or six leagues, in effecting which we were in great danger of striking on a rock, the man who sounded, crying out on a sudden, "Two fathoms," which could not but alarm us greatly; but either the master was mistaken, or the ship went along the edge of a coral rock, many of which in the neighbourhood of these islands are as steep as a wall.

The bay where the Endeavour lay at anchor, called Oopoa, is capacious enough to hold a great number of shipping, and secured from the sea by a reef of rocks. Its situation, is off the easternmost part of the island. The provisions consist of cocoa-nuts, yams, plantains, and a few hogs and fowls. The country round about the place where we landed was not so plentiful as at Otaheite or Huaheine. The southernmost opening in the reef, or channel into the harbour, by which we entered, is little more than a cable's length wide; it lies off the easternmost point of the island, and may be found by a small woody island, which lies to the

south-east of it, called Oatara; north-west from which are two other islets called Opu-ruru and Tamou. Between these is the channel through which we went out of the harbour, and it is a full quarter of a mile wide.

On the 25th, we were within a league or two of the island of Otoha; but could not get near enough to land, the wind having proved contrary. In the morning Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went in the long-boat with the master, in order to sound a harbour on the east side of the island, which they found safe and convenient. We then went on shore and purchased a large quantity of plantains, and some hogs and fowls. The produce of this island was much the same with that of Ulietea, but it seemed to be more barren. We received the same compliment from the Indians here, as was usual for them to pay their own kings, which was by uncovering their shoulders, and wrapping their clothes round their bodies. We made sail to the northward, and at eight o'clock on the 29th, we were under the high peaks of Bolabola. We found the island inaccessible in this part, and likewise that it was impossible to weather the south end of it till late at night. On the 30th, we discovered an island which Tupia called Maurua, but said it was small, surrounded by a reef, and without and commodious harbour, but inhabited, and yielded nearly the same produce as the adjacent islands. In the middle is a high round hill which may be seen at eleven or twelve leagues distance. In the afternoon, finding ourselves to windward of some harbour that lay on the west side of Ulietea, we intended to put into one of them, in order to stop a leak which had sprung in the powder-room, and to take in some additional ballast. The wind being right against us, we plied on and off till the afternoon of the first of August, when we came to an anchor in the entrance of the channel, which led into one of the harbours.

On Wednesday the 2nd, in the morning, when the tide turned, we came into a proper place for mooring in 28 fathom. Many of the natives came off, and brought hogs,



fowls, and plantains, which were purchased upon very moderate terms. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went on shore, and spent the day very agreeably; the natives shewing them great respect: being conducted to the houses of the chief people, they found those who had ran hastily before them, standing on each side of a long mat spread upon the ground, and the family sitting at the farther end of it. In one house they observed some very young girls dressed in the neatest manner, who kept their places waiting for the strangers to accost them; these girls were the most beautiful the gentlemen had ever seen. One of them, about seven or eight years old, was dressed in a red gown, and her head was decorated with a great quantity of plaited hair; this ornament is called Tamou, and is held in great estimation among them. She was sitting at the upper end of one of their long mats, on which none of the people present presumed to set a foot; and her head was reclined on the arm of a decent looking woman, who appeared to be her nurse; when Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander approached her; she stretched out her hand to receive some beads, which they presented to her, with an air of such dignity and gracefulness as would have done honour to the first princess in Europe.

In one of the houses we were entertained with a dance, different from any we had seen before. The performer put upon his head a large piece of wicker-work, about four feet long, of a cylindrical form, covered with feathers, and edged round with shark's teeth. With this head-dress, which is called a Whon, he began to dance with a slow motion; frequently moving his head, so as to describe a circle with the top of his wicker cap, and sometimes throwing it so near the faces of the by-standers as to make them jump back: this they considered as an excellent piece of humour, and it always produced a hearty laugh, when practised upon any of the English gentlemen.

On Thursday the 3rd, as Mr. Banks and the Doctor were going along the shore to the northward, with a design to purchase stock, they met with a company of dancers, who retarded the progress of their excursion.

The company was composed of six men and two women dancers, with three drums. They were informed that these dancers were some of the principal people of the island, and though they were an itinerant troop, they did not, like the strolling parties of Otaheite, receive any gratuity from the by-standers. The women wore a considerable quantity of tamou, or plaited hair, ornamented with flowers of the cape-jessamine, which were stuck in with taste, and made an elegant head-dress. The women's necks, breasts, and arms, were naked; the other parts of their bodies were covered with black cloth, which was fastened close round them, and by the side of each breast, next the arms, was a small plume of black feathers, worn like a nosegay. Thus apparelled, they advanced sideways, keeping time with great exactness to the drums, which beat quick and loud; soon after they began to shake themselves in a very whimsical manner, and put their bodies into a variety of strange postures, sometimes sitting down, and at others falling with their faces to the ground, and resting on their knees and elbows, moving their fingers at the same time with a quickness scarcely to be credited. The chief dexterity, however of the dancers, as well as the amusement of the spectators, consisted in the lasciviousness of their attitudes and gestures. Between the dances of the women a kind of dramatic interlude was performed by the men, consisting of dialogues as well as dancing; but for want of a sufficient knowledge of their language, we could not learn the subject of this interlude.

Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander and some other gentlemen, were present at a more regular dramatic entertainment the next day. The performers, who were all men, were divided into two parties, one dressed in brown, and the other in white, by way of distinction. Tupia being present, informed them that the party in brown, acted the parts of a master and his servants, and the party in white, a gang of thieves; the master having produced a basket of meat, which he gave in charge to his servants: which party, exhibited a variety of expedients, in



endeavouring to steal this basket, and the brown as many in preventing the accomplishment of their design. After some time had been spent in this manner, those to whom the basket was intrusted, laying themselves down on the ground round it, pretended to fall asleep; the other party availing themselves of this opportunity, stole gently upon them, and carried off their booty; the servants awaking soon after, discovered their loss, but they made no search after the basket, and began to dance with as much alacrity as before.

On Saturday the 5th, some hogs and fowls, and several large pieces of cloth, many of them being fifty or sixty yards in length, together with a quantity of plantains and cocoa-nuts, were sent to Capt. Cook, as a present from the Earee Rahie of the island of Bolabola, accompanied with a message, importing that he was then on the island, and intended waiting on the Captain.

On the 6th, the king of Bolabola did not visit us agreeable to his promise, his absence however, was not in the least regretted, as he sent three young women to demand something in return for his present. After dinner we set out to pay the king a visit on shore, since he did not think proper to come on board. As this man was the Earee Rahie of the Bolabola men, who had conquered this, and were the dread of all the neighbouring islands, we were greatly disappointed instead of finding a vigorous enterprising young chief, to see a poor feeble old dotard, half blind, and sinking under the weight of age and infirmities. He received us without either that state or ceremony which we had hitherto met with among the other chiefs.

On Wednesday the 9th, having stopped a leak, and taken on board a fresh stock of provisions, we sailed out of the harbour. Though we were several leagues distant from the island of Bolabola, Tupia earnestly intreated Capt. Cook, that a shot might be fired towards it; which to gratify him, the Captain complied with. This was supposed to have been intended by Tupia as a mark of his resentment against the inhabitants of that place, as they had formerly taken from

him large possessions which he held in the island of Ulietea, of which island Tupia was a native, and a subordinate chief, but was driven out by these warriors. We had great plenty of provisions, as well of hogs, as of vegetables, during the time we continued in the neighbourhood of these islands, so that we were not obliged to use any considerable quantity of the ship's provisions, and we had flattered ourselves, that the fowls and hogs would have supplied us with fresh provisions during the course of our voyage to the south-ward; but in this we were unhappily disappointed, for as the hogs could not be brought to eat any European grain, or any provender whatever, that the ship afforded, we were reduced to the disagreeable necessity of killing them immediately on leaving those islands; and the fowls all died of a disease in their heads, with which they were seized soon after they had been carried on board. Being detained longer at Ulietea in repairing the ship than we expected, we did not go on shore at Bolabola; but after giving the general name of the Society Islands, to the islands of Huahine, Ulietea, Bolabola, Otaha, and Maurua, which lie between the latitude of 16 deg. 10 min. and 18 deg. 55 min. south, we pursued our course, standing southwardly for an island, to which we were directed by Tupia, at above 100 leagues distant. This we discovered on Sunday the 13th, and were informed by him, that it was called Obiterea.

On the 14th, we stood in for land, and saw several of the inhabitants coming along the shore. One of the lieutenants was dispatched in the pinnace to sound for anchorage, and to obtain what intelligence could be got from the natives concerning any land that might be farther to the south. Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia, went with the lieutenant in the boat. When they approached the shore, they observed that the Indians were armed with long lances. A number of them were soon drawn together on the beach, and two jumped into the water, endeavouring to gain the boat; but she soon left them and some others, that had made the same attempt, far enough



behind her. Having doubled the point where they intended to land, they opened a large bay, and saw another party of the natives standing at the end of it, armed like those whom they had seen before. Preparations were then made for landing on which a canoe full of Indians came off towards them. Observing this, Tupia received orders to acquaint them that the English did not intend to offer them violence, but meant to traffic with them for nails, which were produced. Thus informed, they came along side the boat, and took some nails that were given them, being seemingly well pleased with the presnet. Yet a few minutes after, several of these people boarded the boat, designing to drag her on shore; but some musquets being discharged over their heads they leaped into the sea and having reached the canoe, put back with all possible expedition, joining their countrymen who stood ready to receive them. The boat immediately pursued the fugitives, but the crew finding the surf extremely violent, did not venture to land there, but coasted along shore to try if they could not find a more convenient place. Soon after the canoe got on shore, a man opposite the boat flourished his weapon, calling out at the same time with a shrill voice, which was a mark of defiance, as Tupia explained it to the English. Not being able to find a proper landing-place they returned, with an intention to attempt it where the canoe went on shore; whereupon another warrior repeated the defiance: his appearance was more formidable than that of the other; he had a high cap on, made of the tail feathers of a bird, and his body was painted with various colours. When he thought fit to retire, a grave man came forward, who asked Tupia several questions, relating to the place from whence the vessel came, as, Who were the persons on board? Whither they are bound? &c. After this it was proposed that the people in the boat should go on shore and trade with them if they would lay aside their weapons; but the latter would not agree to this, unless the English would do the like. As this proposal was by no means an equal one, when it was considered that the

hazard must for many reasons be greater to the boat's crew than the Indians, and as perfidy was dreaded, it was not complied with. Besides, since neither the bay which the Endeavour entered, nor any other part of the island furnished good harbour or anchorage, it was resolved not to attempt landing any more, but to sail from hence to the southward.

The natives are very tall, well proportioned, and have long hair, which, like the inhabitants of the other islands, they tie in a bunch on the top of their heads, they are likewise tataowed in different parts of their bodies, but not on their posteriors. The isle does not shoot up into high peaks like the others that they visited, but is more level and uniform, and divided into small hillocks, some of which are covered with groves of trees. However, none of those bearing the bread fruit were seen, and not many cocoa-trees, but a great number of those called Etoa, were seen on the sea coast of this island. Both the nature of their cloth, and their manner of wearing it, differed in many respects from what had been observed in the progress of our voyage. All the garments that these people wore, were dyed yellow, and painted with a variety of colours on the outside. One piece formed their whole habit, having a hole in it through which they put their heads. This reached as far as their knees, and was tied close round their bodies with a kind of yellowish sash. Some of them also wore caps of the same kind, as we have already mentioned, and others bound round their heads a piece of cloth which resembled a turban.

On the 15th, we sailed from this island with a fine breeze; but on the 16th, it was hazy, and we bore away for what resembled several high peaks of land. The weather clearing up, we were convinced of our mistake, and resumed our course accordingly. We saw a comet on the 30th, about four o'clock, which was then about 60 deg. above the horizon. Land was discovered at west by north on Thursday the 7th, of October, and in the morning of the 8th, we came to an anchor opposite the mouth of a small river, not above half a league from the coast.



Capt. Cook, Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and some other gentlemen, having left the pinnace at the mouth of the river, proceeded a little farther up, when we landed, leaving the yawl to the care of some of our boys, and went up to a few small houses in the neighbourhood. Some of the natives that had concealed themselves in the neighbourhood took advantage of our absence from the boat, and rushed out, advancing and brandishing their long wooden lances. On this our boys dropped down the stream. The cockswain of the pinnace then fired a musketoon over their heads, but it did not prevent them from following the boat, in consequence of which he levelled his piece and shot one of them dead on the spot. Struck with astonishment at the death of their companion, the others remained motionless for some time, but as soon as they recovered their fright, retreated to the woods with the utmost precipitation. The report of the gun brought the advanced party back to the boats, and both the pinnace and yawl returned immediately to the ship.

On the 9th, a great number of the natives were seen near the place where the gentlemen in the yawl had landed the preceding evening, and the greatest part of them appeared to be unarmed. The long boat, pinnace, and yawl, being manned with marines and sailors, Capt. Cook, with the rest of the gentlemen, and Tupia, went on shore, and landed on the opposite side of the river, over against a spot where several Indians were sitting on the ground. These immediately started up, and began to handle their weapons, each producing either a long pike, or a kind of truncheon, made of stone, with a string through the handle of it, which they twisted round their wrists. Tupia was directed to speak to them in his language; and we were agreeably surprised to find that he was well understood, the natives speaking in his language, though in a different dialect. Their intentions at first appeared to be very hostile, brandishing their weapons in the usual threatening manner; upon which a musquet was fired at some distance from them: the ball happened to fall into the water, at which they appeared rather

terrified, and desisted from their menaces. Having now drawn up the marines, we advanced nearer to the side of the river. Tupia, again speaking, informed them of our desire to traffic with them for provisions; to this they consented, provided we would go over to them to the other side of the river. The proposal was agreed to, upon condition that the natives would quit their weapons; but the most solemn assurances of friendship could not prevail with them to make such a concession. Not thinking it prudent, therefore, to cross the river, we, in our turn, intreated the Indians to come over to us, and after some time prevailed on one of them so to do. He was presently followed by several others. They did not appear to value the beads and iron which we offered in the way of barter, but proposed to exchange their weapons for ours; which being objected to, they endeavoured several times to snatch our arms from us, but being on our guard, from the information given us by Tupia that they were still our enemies, their attempts were repeatedly frustrated, and Tupia, by our direction, gave them to understand, that any further offers of violence would be punished with instant death. One of them, nevertheless, had the audacity to snatch Mr. Green's dagger when his back was turned to them, and retiring a few paces, flourished it over his head; but his temerity cost him his life: for Mr. Monkhouse fired a musquet loaded with ball, and he instantly dropped. Soon after, though not before we had discharged our pieces loaded with small shot only, they retreated slowly up the country, and we returned to our boats.

The behaviour of the Indians, added to our want of fresh water, induced Capt. Cook to continue his voyage round the bay, with a hope of getting some of the natives aboard that by civil usage he might convey through them a favourable idea of us to their countrymen, and thereby settle a good correspondence with them. An event occurred, which though attended with disagreeable circumstances, promised to facilitate this design. Two canoes appeared, making towards land, and Capt. Cook proposed



intercepting them with our boats. One of them got clear off, but the Indians in the other, finding it impossible to escape, began to attack our people in the boats with their paddles. This compelled the Endeavour's people to fire upon them, when four of the Indians were killed, and the other three, who were young men, jumped into the water, and endeavoured to swim to shore; they were, however, taken up, and conveyed on board. At first they discovered all the signs of fear and terror, thinking they should be killed; but Tupia, by repeated assurances of friendship, removed their apprehensions, and they afterwards eat heartily of the ship's provisions. Having retired to rest in the evening, they slept very quietly for some hours, but about midnight, their fears returning, they appeared in great agitation, frequently making loud and dismal groans. Again the kind caresses and friendly promises of Tupia operated so effectually, that they became calm, and sung a song, which at the dead of night had a pleasing effect. The next morning, after they were dressed, according to the mode of their own country, and were ornamented with necklaces and bracelets, preparations were made for sending them to their countrymen, at which they expressed great satisfaction; but finding the boat approaching Capt. Cook's first landing place, they intimated that the inhabitants were foes, and that, after killing their enemies, they always eat them. The Captain, nevertheless, judged it expedient to land near the same spot, which he accordingly did with Mr. Banks, Doctor Solander and Tupia, resolving at the same time to protect the youths from any injury that might be offered them. These had scarcely departed on their return to their friends, when two large parties of Indians advanced hastily towards them, upon which they again flew to us for protection. When the Indians drew near, one of the boys discovered his uncle among them, and a conversation ensued across the river, in which the boy gave a just account of our hospitality, and took great pains to display his finery. A short time after this conversation, the uncle swam across the river, bringing with him a green

bough, a token of friendship, which we received as such, and several presents were made him. Notwithstanding the presence of this relation, all three of the boys, by their own desire, returned to the ship, but as the Captain intended to sail the next morning he sent them ashore in the evening, though much against their inclination. The names of these boys were Toahowrange, Korkerange and Maragovete. They informed us of a particular kind of deer upon the island, and that there were likewise tares, capers, romara, yams, a kind of long pepper, bald coöte, and black-birds.

On the 11th, at six o'clock in the morning we weighed, and set sail, in hopes of finding a better anchoring place, Capt. Cook having given the bay (called by the natives Toanora) the name of Poverty Bay; and the south-west point he called Young Nick's Head, on account of its first having been perceived by a lad on board, named Nicholas Young. In the afternoon we were becalmed; and several canoes full of Indians came off from the shore, who received many presents and afterwards bartered even their clothes, and some of their paddles, so eager were they to be possessed of European commodities. A single tree formed the bottom of their canoes, and the upper part consisted of two planks sewed together; these were painted red, representing many uncommon figures, and very curiously wrought. The Indians were armed with bludgeons, made of wood, and of the bone of a large animal: they called them Patoo-Patoo; and they were well contrived for close fighting.

Having finished their traffic, they set off in such a hurry, that they forgot three of their companions, who remained on board all night. These testified their fears and apprehensions, notwithstanding Tupia took great pains to convince them they were in no danger; and about seven o'clock the next morning a canoe came off, with four Indians on board. It was at first with difficulty the Indians in the ship could prevail on those in the canoe to come near them; and not till after the former had assured them, that the English did not eat men. The chief came on board, whose face was tattooed,



with a remarkable patoo in his hand, and in this canoe the three Indians left the ship. Capt. Cook gave the name of Cape Table to a point of land about seven leagues to the south of Poverty Bay: its figure greatly resembling a table; and the island, called by the natives Teahowry, he named Portland Island, it being very similar to that of the same name in the British Channel. It is joined to the main by a chain of rocks nearly a mile in length, partly above water. There are several shoals, called shambles, about three miles to the north-east of Portland, one of which the Endeavour narrowly escaped; there is, however a passage between them with twenty fathom water. Some parts of Portland Island, as well as the main, were cultivated; and pumice stone in great quantities lying along the shore, within the bay, indicated that there was a volcano in the island. High palings upon the ridges of hills were also visible in two places, which were judged to be designed for religious purposes.

On the 12th, several Indians came off in a canoe; they were disfigured in a strange manner, danced and sang, and at times appeared to be peaceably inclined, but at others to menace hostilities. Notwithstanding Tupia strongly invited them to come on board, none of them would quit the canoe. Whilst the Endeavour was getting clear of the shambles, five canoes full of Indians made off, and seemed to threaten the people on board, by brandishing their lances, and other hostile gestures. A four-pounder loaded with grape-shot, was therefore ordered to be fired, but not pointed at them. This had the desired effect, and made them drop a stern. Two more canoes came off whilst the Endeavour lay at anchor, but the Indians on board, behaved very peaceably and quiet, and received several presents, but would not come on board.

On Friday, the 13th, in the morning, we made for an inlet, but finding it not sheltered stood out again, and were chased by a canoe filled with Indians, but the Endeavour out-sailed them. She pursued her course round the bay, but did not find an opening. The next morning we had a view

of the inland country. It was mountainous, and covered with snow in the interior parts, but the land towards the sea, was flat and uncultivated, and in many places there were groves of high trees. Nine canoes full of Indians came from the shore, and five of them, after having consulted together, pursued the Endeavour, apparently with a hostile design. Tupia was desired to acquaint them, that immediate destruction would ensue if they persevered in their attempts; but words had no influence, and a four-pounder, with grape-shot, was fired, to give them some notions of the arms of their opponents. They were terrified at this kind of reasoning, and paddled away faster than they came. Tupia then hailed the fugitives, and acquainted them that if they came in a peaceable manner, and left their arms behind, no annoyance would be offered them; one of the canoes submitting to the terms, came along side the ship, and received many presents; but the other canoes returning, and persisting in the same menacing behaviour, interrupted this friendly intercourse.

On the 15th, we were visited by some fishing-boats, the people in which conducted themselves in an amicable manner. Though the fish which they had on board had been caught so long that they were not eatable, Capt. Cook purchased them merely for the sake of promoting a traffic with the natives. In the afternoon a canoe with a number of armed Indians came up, and one of them, who was remarkably clothed with a black skin, found means to defraud the Captain of a piece of red baize, under pretence of bartering the skin he had on for it. As soon as he had got the baize into his possession, instead of giving the skin in return, agreeable to his bargain, he rolled them up together and ordered the canoe to put off from the ship, turning a deaf ear to the repeated remonstrance of the Captain against his unjust behaviour. After a short time, this canoe, together with the fishing-boats which had put off at the same time came back to the ship, and trade was again begun. During this second traffic with the Indians, one of them unexpectedly seized Tupia's little boy, Taiyota, and pulling him,



into his canoe, instantly put off, and paddled away with the utmost speed; several muskets were immediately discharged at the people in the canoe, and one of them receiving a wound, they all let go the boy, who before was held down in the bottom of the canoe. Taiyota taking the advantage of their consternation, immediately jumped into the sea, and swam back towards the Endeavour; he was taken on board without receiving any harm; but his strength was so much exhausted with the weight of his clothes, that it was with great difficulty he reached the ship. In consequence of this attempt to carry off Taiyota, Capt. Cook called the Cape off which it happened, Cape Kidnappers, lying in latitude 39 deg. 43 min. south, and longitude 182 deg. 24 min. west, and is very distinguishable by the high cliffs and white rocks that surrounded it. The distance of this cape from Portland Island is about 13 leagues, and it forms the south point of a bay, which was denominated Hawke's Bay, in honour of Admiral Hawke.

Taiyota, having recovered from his fright produced a fish, and informed Tupia that he intended to offer it to his Eatua, or God, in gratitude for his happy escape; this being approved of by the other Indian, the fish was cast into the sea. Capt. Cook now passed by a small island, which was supposed to be inhabited only by fishermen, as it seemed to be barren, and Bare Island was the name given to it, and to a headland in latitude 40 deg. 34 min. south, and longitude 182 deg. 55 min. west, because the Endeavour turned, he gave the name of Cape Turnagain. It was never certainly known whether New Zealand was an island before this vessel touched there; on this account, the lords of the admiralty had instructed Capt. Cook to sail along the coasts as far as 40 degrees south, and if the land extended farther, to return to the northward again. It was for this reason that the Captain altered his course, when he arrived at the Cape above mentioned; the wind having likewise veered about to the south, he returned, sailing along the coast nearly in his former track. Between this and Cape

Kidnapper's Bay, the land is unequal, and somewhat resembles our downs and small villages, and many inhabitants were observed. The ship came abreast of a peninsula, in Portland Island, named Terakako, on Wednesday, the 19th. At this time a canoe with five Indians came up to the vessel. There were two chiefs among them, who came on board, and staid all night. One of these was a very comely person, and had an open and agreeable countenance. They were extremely grateful for the presents which they received, and displayed no small degree of curiosity. They would not eat or drink, but the servants devoured the victuals set before them with a most voracious appetite.

We gave the name of Gable End Foreland to a remarkable head-land, which we passed on the 19th. Three canoes appeared here, and one Indian came on board, to whom we gave small presents before he withdrew.

Many of these Indians wore pieces of green-stone round their necks which were transparent, and resembled an emerald. These being examined, appeared to be a species of the nephritic stone. Several pieces of it were procured by Mr. Banks, and it appeared that this furnished the islanders with their principal ornaments. The form of some of their faces was agreeable; their noses were rather prominent than flat. Their dialect was not so guttural as that of others, and their language nearly resembled that of Otaheite.

On Friday, the 20th, we anchored in a bay two leagues to the north of the Foreland. To this bay we were invited by the natives in canoes, who behaved very amicably, and pointed to a place where they said we should find plenty of fresh water. We determined here to get some knowledge of the country, though the harbour was not so good a shelter from the weather as we expected. Two chiefs, whom we saw in the canoes, came on board; they were dressed in jackets, the one ornamented with tufts of red feathers, the other with dog's-skin. We presented to them linen and some spike-nails, but they did not value the last so much



as the inhabitants of the other islands. The rest of the Indians traded with us without the least imposition, and we directed Tupia to acquaint them of our views in coming thither; and promise, that they should receive no injury, if they offered none to us. In the afternoon the chiefs returned; and towards the evening we went on shore, accompanied by the Captain, Dr. Solander, and Mr. Banks. We were courteously received by the inhabitants, who did not appear in numerous bodies, and in other instances were scrupulously attentive not to give offence. We made them several small presents, and in this agreeable tour round the bay, we had the pleasure of finding two streams of fresh water. We remained on shore all night, and the next day Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander discovered several birds, among which were quails and large pigeons. Many stages for drying fish were observed near where we landed, and some houses with fences. We saw dogs with pointed ears, and very ugly. Sweet potatoes, like those which grow in America, were found. The cloth-plant grew spontaneous. In the neighbouring valleys, the lands were laid out in regular plantations; and in the bay we caught plenty of crabs, cray-fish, and horse-mackerel, larger than those upon the English coasts. The low lands were planted with cocoas; the hollows with gourds; but as to the woods, they were almost impassable, on account of the number of supple-jacks which grew there. We went into several of the houses belonging to the natives, and met with a very civil reception; and without the least reserve, they shewed us whatever we desired to see. At times we found them at their meals, which our presence never interrupted. At this season, fish constituted their chief food; with which they eat, instead of bread, roots of a kind of fern; these, when roasted upon a fire, are sweet and clammy; in taste not disagreeable, though rather unpleasant from the number of their fibres. They have doubtless in other seasons of the year, an abundance of excellent vegetables.

The women of this place paint their faces with a mixture of red ochre and oil, which,

as they are very plain, renders them in appearance more homely. This kind of daubing being generally wet upon their cheeks, and foreheads, was easily transferred to those who saluted them, as was frequently visible upon the noses of our people. The young ones, who were complete coquets, wore a petticoat, under which was a girdle, made of the blades of grass, strongly perfumed, to which was pendant a small bunch of the leaves of some fragrant plant. The faces of the men were not in general painted; but they were daubed with dry red ochre from head to foot, their apparel not excepted. Though in personal cleanliness they were not equal to our friends at Otaheite, yet in some particulars they surpassed them, for their dwellings were furnished with privies, and they had dunghills, upon which their offals and filth were deposited. Among the females, chastity was lightly esteemed. They resorted frequently to the watering-place, where they freely bestowed every favour that was requested. An officer meeting with an elderly woman, he accompanied her to her house, and having presented her with some cloth and beads, a young girl was singled out, with whom he was given to understand he might retire. Soon after, an elderly man, with two women, came in as visitors, who with much formality saluted the whole company, after the custom of the place, which is by gently joining the tips of their noses together. On his return, which was on Saturday, the 21st, he was furnished with a guide, who, whenever they came to a brook or rivulet, took him on his back, to prevent his being wet. Many of the natives were curiously tattooed, an old man in particular, was marked on the breast with curious figures. One of them had an axe made of the green stone, which we could not purchase, though sundry things were offered in exchange. These Indians at night, dance in a very uncouth manner, with antic gestures, lolling out their tongues and making strange grimaces. In their dances, old men as well as the young ones, are capital performers.

In the evening, Mr. Banks, being apprehensive that we might be left on shore after



it was dark, applied to the Indians for one of their canoes to convey us on board the ship. This they granted with an obliging manner. We were eight in number, and not being used to a vessel that required a nice balance, we overset her in the surf. No one however was drowned, but it was concluded, to prevent a similar accident, that half our number should go at one time. Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Tupia, and Taiyota, were the first party who embarked again, and arrived safe at the ship, as did the remainder of our company, all not a little pleased with the good nature of our Indian friends, who cheerfully contributed their assistance upon our second trip. During our stay on shore, several of them went out in their canoes, and trafficked, with the ship's company. At first they preferred the cloth of Otaheite to that of Europe, but in the course of a day it decreased in its value five hundred per cent. These people expressed strong marks of astonishment, when shewn the bark and her apparatus. This bay, which we now determined to quit, the natives call Tegadoo, and it is situated in 38 deg. 10 min. south latitude.

On the 22nd, in the evening, being Sunday, we weighed anchor and put to sea, but the wind being contrary we stood for another bay a little to the south, called by the natives Tolaga, in order to complete our wood and water, and to extend our correspondence with the natives. In this bay we came to an anchor, in about eleven fathom water, with a good sandy bottom, the north point of the bay bearing north by east, and the south point south east. We found a watering-place in a small cove a little within the south point of the bay, which bore south by east, distant about a mile. Several canoes with Indians on board, trafficked with us very fairly for glass bottles.

On Monday the 23rd, in the afternoon, we went on shore accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and the Captain. We examined and found the water extremely good; also plenty of wood; and the natives shewed us as much civility as those from whom we had lately departed. At this watering-place we set up an astronomical

quadrant, and took several solar and lunar observations. In the morning of the 24th, Mr. Gore and the marines were sent on shore to guard the people employed in cutting wood and filling the casks with water. Capt. Cook, Mr. Banks, and the Doctor, also went on shore: the latter were employed in collecting plants. In our walks through the vales, we saw many houses uninhabited, the natives residing chiefly in sheds, on the ridges of the hills, which are very steep. In a valley between two very high hills, we saw a curious rock that formed a large arch, opposite the sea. This cavern was in length about seventy feet, in breadth thirty, and near fifty in height, commanding a view of the bay and hills on the other side, which had a very pleasing effect. Indeed the whole country about the bay is agreeable beyond description, and, if properly cultivated, would be a most fertile spot. The hills are clothed with beautiful flowering shrubs, intermixed with a number of tall, stately palms, which perfume the air, making it perfectly odoriferous. Mr. Banks and the Doctor, among other trees that yielded a fine transparent gum, discovered the cabbage-tree, the produce whereof, when boiled, was very good. We met with various kinds of edible herbage in great abundance, and many trees that produced fruit fit to eat. The plant from which the cloth is made, is a kind of Hemerocallis; its leaves afford a strong glossy flax, equally adapted to clothing, and making of ropes. Sweet potatoes and plantains are cultivated near the houses.

On our return we met an old man, who entertained us with the military exercises of the natives, which are performed with the patoo-patoo, and the lance. The former has been already mentioned, and is used as a battle-axe: the latter is eighteen or twenty feet in length, made of extreme hard wood, and sharpened at each end. A stake was substituted for a supposed enemy. The old warrior first attacked him with his lance, advancing with a most furious aspect. Having pierced him, the patoo-patoo was used to demolish his head, at which he struck with a force which would at one blow have



split any man's skull: from whence we concluded no quarter was given by these people to their foes in time of action.

The natives in this part are not very numerous. They are tolerably well shaped, but lean and tall. Their faces resemble those of the Europeans. Their noses are aquiline, their eyes dark coloured, their hair black, which is tied upon the top of their heads, and the men's beards are of a moderate length. Their tattaowing is done very curiously, in various figures, which makes their skin resemble carving; it is confined to the principal men, the females and servants using only red paint, with which they daub their faces, that otherwise would not be disagreeable. Their cloth is white, glossy, and very even; it is worn principally by the men, though it is wrought by the women, who indeed, are condemned to all drudgery and labour.

On the 25th, we set up the armourer's forge on shore for necessary uses, and got our wood and water without the least molestation from the natives, with whom we exchanged glass bottles and beads for different sorts of fish. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went again in search of plants; Tupia, who was with them, engaged in a conversation with one of the priests, and they seemed to agree in their opinions upon the subject of religion. Tupia, in the course of this conference, inquired whether the report of their eating men was founded in truth; to which the priest answered, it was; but that they eat none but declared foes, after they were killed in war. This idea, so savage and barbarous, proved however, that they carried their resentment even beyond death.

On the 27th, Capt. Cook and Dr. Solander went to inspect the bay, when the Doctor was not a little surprised to find the natives in the possession of a boy's top, which they knew how to spin by whipping it, and he purchased it out of curiosity. Mr. Banks was during this time employed in attaining the summit of a steep hill, that had previously engaged their attention, and near it he found many inhabited houses. There were two rows of poles, about fourteen or

fifteen feet high, covered over with sticks, which made an avenue of about five feet in width, extending near a hundred yards down the hill, in an irregular line; the intent of this erection was not discovered. When the gentlemen met at the watering-place, the Indians sang their war song, which was a strange medley of shouting, sighing, and grimace, at which the women assisted. The next day, Capt. Cook and other gentlemen went upon the island at the entrance of the bay, and met with a canoe that was 67 feet in length, six in breadth, and four in height; her bottom, which was sharp, consisted of three trunks of trees, and the sides and head were curiously carved.

We also came to a large unfinished house. The posts which supported it were ornamented with carvings, that did not appear to be done upon the spot, and as the inhabitants seem to set great value upon works of this kind, future navigators might find their advantage in carrying such articles to trade with. Though the posts of this house were judged to be brought here, the people seemed to have a taste for carving, as their boats, paddles, and tops of walking-sticks evince. Their favourite figure is a volute, or spiral, which is sometimes single, double, and triple, and is done with great exactness, though the only instruments we saw were an axe made of stone, and a chisel. Their taste, however, is extremely whimsical and extravagant, scarcely ever imitating nature. Their huts are built under trees, their form is an oblong square; the door low on the side, and the windows are at the ends; reeds covered with thatch compose the walls; the beams of the eaves, which come to the ground, are covered with thatch; most of the houses had been deserted, through fear of the English, upon their landing. There are many beautiful parrots, and great numbers of birds of different kinds, particularly one whose note resembles the European black-bird; but here is no ground-fowl, or poultry, nor any quadrupeds, except rats and dogs, and these were not numerous. The dogs are considered as delicate food, and their skins serve for ornaments to their apparel. There is a great variety of fish in the



bay, shell and cray-fish are very plentiful, some of the latter weigh near 12 pounds.

Sunday, October the 29th, we set sail from this bay. It is situate in latitude 38 deg. 22 min. south, four leagues to the north of Gable End Foreland; there are two high rocks at the entrance of the bay, which form a cove very good for procuring wood and water. There is a high rocky island off the north point of the bay, which affords good anchorage, having a fine sandy bottom, and from seven to thirteen fathom water, and is likewise sheltered from all but the north-east wind. We obtained nothing here in trade but some sweet potatoes, and a little fish. This is a very hilly country, though it presents the eye with an agreeable verdure, various woods, and many small plantations. Mr. Banks found a great number of trees in the woods, quite unknown to Europeans, the fire-wood resembled the maple-tree, and produced a gum of whitish colour; other trees yielded a gum of a deep yellow green. The only roots were yams and sweet potatoes, though the soil appears very proper for producing every species of vegetables.

On Monday, the 30th, sailing to the northward, we fell in with a small island about a mile distant from the north-east point of the main, and this being the most eastern part of it, the Captain named it East Cape, and the island East Island; it was but small, and appeared barren. The cape is in latitude 37 deg. 42 min. 30 sec. south. There are many small bays from Tolaga Bay to East Cape. Having doubled the cape, many villages presented themselves to view, and the adjacent land appeared cultivated. In the evening of the 30th, Lieutenant Hicks discovered a bay, to which his name was given. Next morning, about nine, several canoes came off from shore with a number of armed men, who appeared to have hostile intentions. Before these had reached the ship, another canoe, larger than any that had yet been seen, full of armed Indians, came off, and made towards the Endeavour with great expedition. The Captain now judging it expedient to prevent, if possible, their attacking him, ordered a

gun to be fired over their heads. This not producing the desired effect, another gun was fired with ball, which threw them into such consternation, that they immediately returned much faster than they came. This precipitate retreat, induced the Captain to give the cape off which it happened, the name of Cape Runaway; it lies in latitude 37 deg. 32 min. south, and longitude 181 deg. 48 min. west.

On the 31st, we found that the land, which during this day's run appeared like an island, was one, and we named the same White Island.

On the 1st, of November, at day-break, not less than between 40 and 50 canoes were seen, several of which came off as before, threatening to attack the English. One of their chiefs flourished his pike, and made several harangues, seeming to bid defiance to those on board the vessel. At last, after repeated invitations, they came close alongside; but instead of shewing a disposition to trade, the haranguing chief uttered a sentence, and took up a stone, which he threw against the ship, and immediately after they seized their arms. They were informed by Tupia, of the dreadful consequences of commencing hostilities; but this admonition they seemed little to regard. A piece of cloth, however, happening to attract their eyes, they began to be more mild and reasonable. A quantity of cray-fish, muscles, and conger-eels was now purchased. No fraud was attempted by this company of Indians, but some others that came after them, took goods from the vessel, without making proper returns. As one of them that had rendered himself remarkable for these practices, and seemed proud of his skill in them, was putting off with his canoe, a musquet was fired over his head, which circumstance produced good order for the present. Yet when these savages began to traffic with the sailors, they renewed their frauds; and one of them was bold enough to seize some linen that was hung to dry, and run away with it. In order to induce him to return, a musquet was first fired over his head, but this not answering the end, he was shot in the back with small shot, yet he still persevered in



his design. This being perceived by his countrymen, they dropped a-stern, and set up the song of defiance. In consequence of their behaviour, though they made no preparations to attack the vessel, the Captain gave orders to fire a four pounder which passed over them; but its effect on the water terrified them so much, that they retreated with precipitation to the shore.

In the afternoon about two o'clock, we discovered a pretty high island to the westward. Some time after perceiving other rocks and islands in the same quarter, but not being able to weather them before night came on, we bore up between them and the main land. In the evening a double canoe, built after the same fashion as those of Otahite, came up, when Tupia entered into a friendly conversation with the Indians, and was told that the island, close to which we lay, was called Mowtohora. It was but a few miles from the main land, pretty high, but of no great extent. We imagined the disposition of the Indians, from their talk with Tupia, to be in our favour, but when it was dark they began their usual salute, by pouring a volley of stones into the ship, and then retreated. South-west by west of this island, upon the main land, and in the centre of a large plain, is a high circular mountain, to which we gave the name of Mount Edgecumbe. It is very conspicuous, and is seated in latitude 37 deg. 59 min. longitude 193 deg. 7 min.

The next morning, being the 2nd, a number of canoes appeared, and one, which proved to be the same that had pelted us the night before, came up. After conversing with Tupia, and behaving peaceable about an hour, they complimented us with another volley of stones. We returned the salute by firing a musket, which made them instantly take to their paddles. Between ten and eleven we sailed between a low flat island and the main land. The last appeared to be of a moderate height, but level, full of plantations, and villages. The villages were upon the high land next the sea, more extensive than any we had seen, and surrounded by a ditch, and a bank with rails on the top of it. There were some inclosures

that resembled forts, and the whole had the appearance of places calculated for defence.

On the 3rd, we passed the night near a small island, which Capt. Cook named the Mayor; and at seven in the morning, distant from hence about six leagues, we discovered a cluster of small islands, which we called the Court of Aldermen. These were twelve miles from the main, between which were other small islands, mostly barren, but very high. The aspect of the main land was now much changed, the soil appearing to be barren, and the country very thinly inhabited. The chief who governed the district from Cape Turnagain to this coast was named Teratu. In the afternoon three canoes, built differently from those already mentioned, came along-side the Endeavour. They were formed of the trunks of whole trees, rendered hollow by burning; but they were not carved, nor in any manner ornamented. We now sailed towards an inlet that had been discovered, and having anchored in seven fathom water, the ship was soon surrounded by a number of canoes, and the people on board them did not seem disposed for some time to commit any acts of hostility. A bird being shot by one of our crew, some Indians, without shewing any surprise, brought it on board; and for their civility the Captain gave them a piece of cloth. But this favour operated upon them in a different manner than was expected; for when it was dark, they began a song of defiance, and endeavoured to carry off the buoy of the anchor; and notwithstanding some musquets were fired at them, they seemed rather to be irritated than frightened. They even threatened to return the next morning; but on Sunday night eleven of them were to be seen, and these retired when they found the ship's crew were upon their guard.

On the 4th, at day break no less than twelve canoes made their appearance, containing near two hundred men, armed with spears, lances, and stones, who seemed determined to attack the ship, and would have boarded her, had they known on what quarter they could best have made their attack. While they were paddling round her, which



kept the crew upon the watch in the rain, Tupia, at the request of the Captain, used a number of dissuasive arguments, to prevent their carrying their apparent designs into execution; but we could only pacify them by the fire of our muskets: they then laid aside their hostile intentions, and began to trade; yet they could not refrain from their fraudulent practices; for after they had fairly bartered two of their weapons; they would not deliver up a third, for which they had received cloth, and only laughed at those who demanded an equivalent. The offender was wounded with small shot; but his countrymen took not the least notice of him, and continued to trade without any discomposure. When another canoe was struck for their mal-practices, the natives behaved in the same manner; but if a round was fired over or near them, they all paddled away. Thus we found that theft and chicane, were as prevalent among the inhabitants of New Zealand, as those of Otaheite. In searching for an anchoring place, the Captain saw a fortified village upon a high point, and having fixed upon a proper spot, he returned; upon which we weighed, run in nearer to the shore, and cast anchor upon a sandy bottom, in four fathom and a half water. The south point of the bay bore due east, distant one mile, and a river which the boats can enter at low water south south-east, distant a mile and a half.

On the 5th, in the morning, the Indians came off to the ship again, who behaved much better than they had done the preceding day. An old man in particular named Tojava, testified his prudence and honesty to whom and a friend with him, the Captain presented some nails, and two pieces of English cloth. Tojava informed us, that they were often visited by free-booters from the north, who stripped them of all they could lay their hands on, and at times made captives of their wives and children; and that being ignorant who the English were upon their first arrival, the natives had been much alarmed, but were now satisfied of their good intentions. He added, that for their security against those plunderers, their houses were built contiguous to the tops of

the rocks, where they could better defend themselves. Probably their poverty and misery may be ascribed to the ravages of those who frequently stript them of every necessary of life. Having dispatched the long-boat and pinnace into the bay to haul and dredge for fish, but with little success, the Indians on the banks testified their friendship by every possible means. They brought us great quantities of fish dressed and dried, which though indifferent, we purchased, that trade might not be discouraged. They also supplied us with wood and good water. While we were out with our guns, the people who staid by the boats saw two of the natives fight. The battle was begun with their lances; but some old men taking these away, they were obliged to decide the quarrel, like Englishmen, with their fists. For some time they boxed with great vigour and perseverance, but at length they all retired behind a little hill, so that our people were prevented from seeing the issue of the combat. At this time the Endeavour being very foul, she was heeled, and her bottom scrubbed in the bay.

On the 8th, we were visited by several canoes, in one of which was Tojava, who descriing two canoes, hastened back again to the shore, apprehending they were free-booters; but finding his mistake, he soon returned; and the Indians supplied us with as much excellent fish as served the whole ship's company. This day a variety of plants were collected by Mr. Banks and Doctor Solander, who had never observed any of the kind before. They staid on shore till near dark, when they observed how the natives disposed of themselves during the night. They had no shelter but a few shrubs. The men lay nearest the sea in a semicircular form; and the women and children most distant from it. They had no king whose sovereignty they acknowledged, a circumstance not to be paralleled on any other parts of the coast.

Early in the morning of the 9th, the Indians brought in their canoes a prodigious quantity of mackarel, of which one sort were exactly the same with those caught in England. They sold them at a low rate and



they were not less welcome to us on that account. These canoes were succeeded by others equally loaded with the same sort of fish; and the cargoes purchased were so great, that every one of the ship's company who could get salt, cured as many as would serve him for a month's provision. The Indians frequently resort to the bay in parties to gather shell-fish, of which it affords an incredible plenty. Indeed wherever we went, whether on the hills, or through the vales, in the woods or on the plains, we saw many waggon loads of shells in heaps, some of which appeared fresh, others very old.

This being a very clear day, Mr. Green, the astronomer, landed with other gentlemen to observe the transit of Mercury. The observation of the ingress was made by Mr. Green alone, and Capt. Cook took the sun's altitude to ascertain the time. While the observation was making, a canoe, with various commodities on board, came along-side the ship; and Mr. Gore, the officer who had then the command, being desirous of encouraging them to traffic, produced a piece of Otaheitean cloth, of more value than any they had yet seen, which was immediately seized by one of the Indians, who obstinately refused either to return it, or give any thing in exchange; he paid dearly however for his temerity, being shot dead on the spot. The death of this young Indian alarmed all the rest; they fled with great precipitancy, and for the present, could not be induced to renew their traffic with the English. But when the Indians on shore had heard the particulars related by Tojava, who greatly condemned the conduct of the deceased, they seemed to think that he had merited his fate. His name was Otirreeonooe. This transaction happened, as has been mentioned, whilst the observation was making of the transit of Mercury, when the weather was so favourable, that the whole transit was viewed, without a cloud intervening. The transit commenced 7 hours, 20 min. 58 sec. By Mr. Green's observation the internal contact was at 12 hours, 8 min. 57 sec. the external at 12 hours 9 min. 55 sec. the latitude 30 deg. 48 min. 5 sec. In consequence

of this observation having been made here this bay was called Mercury Bay.

On the 10th, Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and the Captain went in boats to inspect a large river that runs into the bay. They found it broader some miles within, than at the mouth and intersected into a number of streams, by several small islands, which were covered with trees. On the east side of the river, the gentlemen shot some shags, which proved very good eating. The shore abounded with fish of various kinds, such as cockles, clams, and oysters; and here were also ducks, shags, and curlews, with other wild fowl in great plenty. At the mouth of the river there was good anchorage in five fathoms water. The gentlemen were received with great hospitality by the inhabitants of a little village on the east side of the river. There are there the remains of a fort called Eppah, on a peninsula that projects into the river, and it was calculated for defending a small number against a greater force. From the remains, it nevertheless seemed to have been taken and partly destroyed. The Indians sup before sun-set, when they eat fish and birds baked or roasted; they roast them upon a stick, stuck in the ground near the fire, and bake them in the manner the dog was baked, which the gentlemen eat at George's Island. A female mourner was present at one of their suppers; she was seated upon the ground and wept incessantly, at the same time repeating some sentences in a doleful manner, but which Tupia could not explain; at the termination of each period she cut herself with a shell upon her breast, her hands, or her face; notwithstanding this bloody spectacle greatly affected the gentlemen present, yet all the Indians who sat by her, except one, were quite unmoved. The gentlemen saw some, who from the depth of their scars must upon these occasions, have wounded themselves more violently.

Great plenty of oysters were procured from a bed which had been discovered, and they proved exceedingly good. Next day the ship was visited by two canoes, with unknown Indians; after some invitation they came on board, and they all trafficked



without any fraud. Two fortified villages being deserted, the Captain, with Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander, went to examine them. The smallest was romantically situated upon a rock, which was arched; this village did not consist of above five or six houses, fenced round. There was but one path, which was very narrow, that conducted to it. The gentlemen were invited by the inhabitants to pay them a visit, but not having time to spare, took another route, after having made presents to the females. A body of men, women, and children now approached the gentlemen; these proved to be the inhabitants of another town, which they proposed visiting. They gave many testimonies of their friendly dispositions; among others they uttered the word *Heromai*, which according to *Tupia's* interpretation, implied peace, and appeared much satisfied, when informed the gentlemen intended visiting their habitations. Their town was called *Wharretouwa*. It is seated on a point of land over the sea, on the north side of the bay, and was pale round, and defended by a double ditch. Within the ditch a stage is erected for defending the place in case of an attack; near this stage, quantities of darts and stones are deposited, that they may always be in readiness to repel the assailants. There is another stage to command the path that leads to the town; and there were some out-works. The place seemed calculated to hold out a considerable time against an enemy armed with no other weapons than those of the Indians. It appeared however deficient in water for holding out a siege. Instead of bread, they had fern root which was here in great plenty with dried fish. Very little of the land was cultivated, and sweet potatoes and yams were the only vegetables to be found. There are two rocks near the fort of this fortification, both separated from the main land; they are very small, nevertheless they are not without dwelling-houses and little fortifications. In their engagements, these Indians throw stones with their hands, being destitute of a sling, and those and lances are their only missible weapons; they have besides the *pateo-patoo* already described, a

staff about five feet in length and another shorter. We sailed from this bay, after having taken possession of it in the name of the king of Great Britain, on the 15th, of November. *Tojava*, who visited us in his canoe just before our departure, said he should prepare to retire to his fort as soon as the English were gone, as the relations of *Otirreeonooe* had threatened to take his life, as a forfeit for that of the deceased. *Tojava* being judged partial in this affair to the English.

Towards the north-west, a number of islands of different sizes appeared, which were named *Mercury Islands*; *Mercury Bay* lies in latitude 36 deg. 47 min. south; longitude 184 deg. 4 min. west, and has a small entrance at its mouth. On account of the number of oysters found in the river, the Captain gave it the name of *Oyster River*: *Mangrove River* (which the Captain so called from the great number of those trees that grew near it) is the most secure place for shipping, being at the head of the bay. The north-west side of this bay and river appeared much more fertile than the east side. The inhabitants, though numerous, have no plantations. Their canoes are very indifferently constructed, and are not ornamented at all. They lie under continual apprehensions of *Terratu*, being considered by him as rebels. Shore iron sand is to be found in plenty on this coast, which proves that there are mines of metal up the country, it being brought down from thence by a rivulet.

On the 18th, in the morning, we steered between the main, and an island which seemed very fertile, and as extensive as *Ulietea*. Several canoes filled with Indians came along-side here, and the Indians sang their war song, but the *Endeavour's* people paying them no attention, they threw a volley of stones, and then paddled away; however they presently returned their insults. *Tupia* spoke to them, making use of his old arguments, that inevitable destruction would ensue if they persisted; they answered by brandishing their weapons, intimating, that if the English durst come on shore, they would destroy them all. *Tupia*



still continued in expostulating with them, but to no purpose; and they soon gave another volley of stones: but upon a musket being fired at one of their boats, they made a precipitate retreat. We cast anchor in 23 fathom water in the evening, and early the next morning sailed up an inlet. Soon after two canoes came off, and some of the Indians came on board: they knew Tojava very well, and called Tupia by his name. Having received from us some presents, they retired peaceably, and apparently highly gratified.

On Monday, the 20th, after having run five leagues from the place where we had anchored the night before, we came to anchor in a bay called by the natives Ooahouragee. Capt. Cook, Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and others set off in the pinnace to examine the bottom of the bay, and found the inlet end of a river, about nine miles above the ship. We entered into the same with the first of the flood, and before we had proceeded three miles the water was perfectly fresh. Here we saw an Indian town, built upon a small dry sand-bank, and entirely surrounded by a deep mud; the inhabitants of which with much cordiality invited us to land, and gave us a most friendly reception. We were now fourteen miles up the river, and finding little alteration in the face of the country, we landed on the west side to examine the lofty trees which adorned its banks, and were of a kind that we had not seen before. At the entrance of a wood we met with one ninety-eight feet high from the ground, quite strait, and nineteen feet in circumference; and as we advanced we found others still larger. The wood of these trees is very heavy, not fit for masts, but would make exceeding fine planks. Our carpenter, who was with us, observed, that the timber resembled that of the pitch pine which is lightened by tapping. There were also trees of other kinds, all unknown to us, specimens of which we brought away. We reembarked about three o'clock with the first of the ebb, and Capt. Cook gave to the river the name of Thames, it having a resemblance to the river of that name in England. It is not so deep, but it

is as broad as the Thames is at Greenwich, and the tide of flood is as strong. On the evening of the 21st, we reached the ship, all extremely tired, but happy at being on board.

On the 22nd, early in the morning, we made sail, and kept plying till the flood obliged us once more to come to an anchor. The Captain and Dr. Solander went on shore to the west, but made no observations worth relating. After these gentlemen departed, the ship was surrounded with canoes, which kept Mr. Banks on board, that he might trade with the Indians, who bartered their arms and clothes for paper, taking no unfair advantages. But though they were in general honest in their dealings, one of them took a fancy to a half minute glass, and being detected in secreting the same, it was resolved to give him a smatch of the cat-o-nine-tails. The Indians interfered to stop the current of justice; but being opposed they got their arms from their canoes, and some of the people in them attempted to get on board. Mr. Banks and Tupia now coming upon deck, the Indians applied to Tupia, who informed them of the nature of the offender's intended punishment, and that he had not influence over Mr. Hicks, the commanding officer. They appeared satisfied, and the criminal received not only a dozen, but afterwards a good drubbing from an old man, who was thought to be his father. The canoes immediately went off, the Indians saying, they should be afraid to return again on board. Tupia, however, brought them back, but they seemed to have lost that confidence which they before reposed in us. Their stay was short, and after their departure we saw them not again, though they had promised to return with some fish.

On the 23rd, the weather still continuing unfavourable, and the wind contrary, we kept plying down the river, anchoring between the tides; and at the north-west extremity of the Thames, we passed a point or land which the captain called Point Rodney; and another, at the north-east extremity, when we entered the bay, he named Cape Colville, in honour of Lord Colville.



Not being able to approach land, we had but a distant view of the main for a course of near thirty miles. Under the name of the river Thames, the Captain comprehended the whole bay. Cape Colville is to be distinguished by a high rock, and lies in 36 deg. 26 min. of south latitude, 194 deg. 27 min. west longitude. The Thames runs south by east from the southern point of the cape. In some parts it is three leagues over, for about fourteen leagues, after which it becomes narrower. In some parts of the bay the water is 26 fathoms deep; the depth diminishes gradually, and in general the anchorage is good. To some islands that shelter it from the sea, Capt. Cook gave the name of Barrier Islands; they stretch north-west and south-east ten leagues. The country seemed to be thinly inhabited; the natives are well made, strong, and active; their bodies are painted with red ochre, and their canoes, which are well constructed, were ornamented with carved work.

On the 24th, we continued steering along the shore between the islands and the main; and in the evening anchored in an open bay, in about fourteen fathom water. Here we caught a large number of fish of the sciennie, or bream kind, enough to supply the whole ship's company with provision for two days. From our success Capt. Cook named this place Bream Bay, and the extreme points at the north end of the bay he called Bream Head. Several pointed rocks stand in a range upon the top of it, and some small islands which lie before it were called the Hen and Chickens. It is situated in latitude 35 deg. 46 min. seventeen leagues north-west of Cape Colville. There is an extent of land, of about thirty miles, between Point Rodney and Bream Head, woody and low. No inhabitants were visible; but from the fires perceived at night, we concluded it was inhabited.

On the 25th, early in the morning, we left the bay, and continued our course slowly to the northward; at noon our latitude was 36 deg. 36 min. south, and we saw some islands which we named the Poor Knights, at north-east by north, distant three leagues; the northern-most land in sight bore N. N.

W. we were now at the distance of two miles from the shore, and had twenty-six fathom water. Upon the islands were a few towns that appeared fortified, and the land round them seemed well inhabited.

On the 26th, towards night, seven large canoes came off to us, with about two hundred men. Some of the Indians came on board, and let us know, that they had an account of our arrival. These were followed by two larger canoes, adorned with carving. The Indians, after having held a conference, came a-long side of the vessel. They were armed with various weapons, and seemed to be of the higher order. Their patoo-patoos were made of stone and whale-bone, ornamented with dog's hair, and were held in high estimation. Their complexion was darker than that of those to the south, and their faces were stained with amoco. They were given to pilfering, of which one of them gave an instance, pretending to barter a piece of talc, wrought into the shape of an ax, for a piece of cloth; nor was he disposed to fulfil his agreement, till we compelled him to do it, by firing a musket over his head, which brought him back to the ship, and he returned the cloth. At three in the afternoon we passed a remarkable high point of land, bearing west, and it was called Cape Brett, in honour of Sir Piercy Brett. At the point of this cape is a round high hillock, and north-east by north, distant about a mile, is a curious arched rock like that which has been already described. This cape, or at least part of it, is called by the natives Motugogo, and lies in 35 deg. 10 min. 30 sec. south latitude, and in 185 deg. 23 min. west longitude. To the south-west by west is a bay, in which is many small islands, and the point at the north-west entrance the Captain named Point Pococke. There are many villages on the main as well as on the islands, which appeared well inhabited, and several canoes filled with Indians made to the ship, and in the course of bartering, shewed the same inclination to defraud as their neighbours. These Indians were strong and well proportioned; their hair black, and tied up in a bunch stuck with feathers: their



chiefs had garments made of fine cloth, decorated with dog's-skin; and they were tattooed like those who had last appeared.

On the 27th, at eight in the morning, we found ourselves within a mile of many small islands, laying close under the main, at the distance of twenty-two miles from Cape Brett. Here we lay about two hours, during which time several canoes came off from the islands, which we called *Cavalles*, the name of some fish which we purchased of the Indians. These people were very insolent, using many frantic gestures, and pelting us with stones. Nor did they give over their insults, till some small shot hit one who had a stone in his hand. A general terror was now spread among them, and they all made a very precipitate retreat. For several days the wind was so very unfavourable, that the vessel rather lost than gained ground.

On the 29th, having weathered Cape Brett, we bore away to leeward, and got into a large bay, where we anchored on the south-west side of several islands, and suddenly came into four fathoms and a half water. Upon sounding, we found we had got upon a bank, and accordingly weighed and dropped over it, and anchored again in ten fathoms and a half, after which we were surrounded by thirty-three large canoes, containing near three hundred Indians, all armed. Some of them were admitted on board, and Captain Cook gave a piece of broad cloth to one of the chiefs, and some small presents to the other. They traded peaceably for some time, being terrified at the fire-arms, with the effects of which they were not unacquainted; but whilst the Captain was at dinner, on a signal given by one of the chiefs, all the Indians quitted the ship, and attempted to tow away the buoy; a musket was now fired over them, but it produced no effect; small shot was then fired at them, but it did not reach them. A musket loaded with ball, was therefore ordered to be fired, and Otegoowgoow (son of one of the chiefs) was wounded in the thigh by it, which induced them immediately to throw the buoy overboard. To complete their confusion, a round shot was

fired, which reached the shore, and as soon as they landed, they ran in search of it. If these Indians had been under any kind of military discipline, they might have proved a much more formidable enemy; but acting thus, without any plan or regulation, they only exposed themselves to the annoyance of the fire-arms, whilst they could not possibly succeed in any of their designs. The Captain, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander, landed upon the island, and the Indians in the canoes soon after came on shore. The gentlemen were in a small cove, and were presently surrounded by near 400 armed Indians; but the Captain not suspecting any hostile design on the part of the natives, remained peaceably disposed. The gentlemen, marching towards them, drew a line, intimating that they were not to pass it: they did not infringe upon this boundary for some time; but at length, they sang the song of defiance, and began to dance, whilst a party attempted to draw the Endeavour's boat on shore; these signals for an attack being immediately followed by the Indians breaking in upon the line, the gentlemen judged it time to defend themselves, and accordingly the Captain fired his musket, loaded with small shot, which was seconded by Mr. Banks's discharging his piece, and two of the men followed his example. This threw the Indians into confusion, and they retreated, but were rallied again by one of the chiefs, who shouted and waved his *patoo-patoo*. The Doctor now pointed his musket at this hero, and hit him: this stopped his career, and he took to flight with the other Indians. They retired to an eminence in a collected body, and seemed dubious whether they should return to the charge. They were now at too great a distance for a ball to reach them, but these operations being observed from the ship, she brought her broad-side to bear, and by firing over them, soon dispersed them. The Indians had in their skirmish two of their people wounded, but none killed: peace being thus restored, the gentlemen began to gather celery and other herbs, but suspecting that some of the natives were lurking about with evil



designs, they repaired to a cave, which was at a small distance. Here they found the chief, who had that day received a present from the Captain; he came forth with his wife and brother, and solicited their clemency. It appeared, that one of the wounded Indians was a brother of this chief, who was under great anxiety lest the wound should prove mortal; but his grief was in a great degree alleviated, when he was made acquainted with the different effects of small shot and ball; he was at the same time assured, that upon any farther hostilities being committed, ball would be used. This interview terminated very cordially, after some trifling presents were made to the chief and his companions. The prudence of the gentlemen cannot be too much commended: for had these 400 Indians boldly rushed in upon them at once with their weapons, the musketry could have done very little execution; but supposing twenty or thirty of the Indians had been wounded, as it does not appear their pieces were loaded with ball, but only small shot, there would have remained a sufficient number to have massacred them, as it appears they do not give any quarter, and none could have been expected upon this occasion. It is true, when the ship brought her broadside to bear, she might have made great havoc amongst the Indians; but this would have been too late to save the party on shore. Being in their boats, the English rowed to another part of the same island, when landing, and gaining an eminence, they had a very agreeable and romantic view of a great number of small islands, well inhabited and cultivated. The inhabitants of an adjacent town approached unarmed, and testified great humility and submission. Some of the party on shore who had been very violent for having the Indians punished for their fraudulent conduct, were now guilty of trespasses equally reprehensible, having forced into some of the plantations, and dug up potatoes. The Captain, upon this occasion, shewed strict justice in punishing each of the offenders with twelve lashes: one of them being very refractory upon this occasion, and complain-

ing of the hardship, thinking an Englishman had a right to plunder an Indian with impunity, received six additional lashes for his reward.

On the 30th, it being a dead calm, two boats were sent to sound the harbour; when many canoes came up and traded with great probity; the gentlemen went again on shore, and met with a very civil reception from the natives: and this friendly intercourse continued all the time they remained in the bay, which was several days. Being upon a visit to the old chief, he shewed them the instruments used in *tattaowing*, which were very like those employed at *Oteheite* upon the like occasion. They saw the man who had been wounded by the ball, when the attempt was made to carry off the ship's buoy; and though it had gone through the fleshy part of his arm, it did not seem to give him the least pain or uneasiness.

On Tuesday, the 5th of December, in the morning, we weighed anchor, but were soon becalmed, and a strong current setting towards the shore, we were driven in with such rapidity, that we expected every moment to be run upon the breakers, which appeared above water not more than a cable's length distance, and we were so near the land, that *Tupia*, who was totally ignorant of the danger, held a conversation with the Indians, who were standing on the beach. We were happily relieved, however, from this alarming situation by a fresh breeze suddenly springing up from the shore. The bay which we had left was called the Bay of Islands, on account of the numerous islands it contains; we caught but few fish while we lay there, but procured great plenty from the natives, who were extremely expert in fishing, and displayed great ingenuity in the form of their nets, which were made of a kind of grass; they were two or three hundred fathoms in length, and remarkably strong, and they have them in such plenty that it is scarcely possible to go a hundred yards without meeting with numbers lying in heaps. These people did not appear to be under the government of any particular chief or



sovereign, and they seemed to live in a perfect state of friendship, notwithstanding their villages were fortified. According to their observations upon the tides, the flood comes from the south, and there is a current from the west.

On the 7th, of December, being Thursday, several observations of the sun and moon were made, whereby we found our latitude to be 185 deg. 36 min. west. In the afternoon we were close under the Cavalles. Several canoes put off and followed the Endeavour, but a light breeze springing up, we did not wait for them. The next morning, being the 8th, at ten o'clock we tacked and stood in for the shore, from which we were distant nearly six leagues. By day-light on the 9th, we were in with the land, about seven leagues to the westward of the Cavalles; and soon after came to a deep bay, which was named Doubtless Bay. The entrance thereto is formed by two points, distant from each other five miles, and which lie west north-west and east south-east. The wind preventing us putting in here, we steered for the westernmost land in sight, and before we got the length of it, we were becalmed. During the calm we were visited by several canoes; but the Indians having heard of our guns, were afraid to come on board; however we bought some of their fish, and learned from them, by the assistance of Tupia, that we were about two days sail from a place called Moore Whennua, where the land changed its shape, and turning to the south extended no more westward. This place was concluded to be the land discovered by Tasman, which he called Cape Maria Van Diemen. They also informed us, that to the north-north-west there was an extensive country discovered by their ancestors, which they named Ulinaroa, where the inhabitants lived upon hogs, called in their language Booh, the very name given them, by those who inhabited the South-Sea Islands.

On Sunday the 10th, a breeze springing up, we stood off to the north, and found by observation, our latitude to be 34 deg. 44 min. south. On the 11th, early in the morn-

ing the land, with which we stood in, appeared low and barren, but not destitute of inhabitants. It forms a peninsula, which the Captain called Knuckle Point, and the bay that lies contiguous thereto he named Sandy Bay. In the middle of this is a high mountain, which we called Mount Camel, on account of its resemblance to that animal. We saw one village on the west side of this mount, and another on the east side. Several canoes put off but could not reach the ship, which tacked, and stood to the northward, till the afternoon of the 12th, when we stood to the north-east. Towards night we were brought under double reefed topsails; and in the morning it was so tempestuous as to split the main topsail and the fore mizen-top sails. Early in the morning of the 14th, we saw land to the southward, at the distance of eight or nine leagues; and on the 15th, we tacked and stood to the westward. On the 16th we discovered land from the mast head, bearing south-south-west. On Sunday the 17th, we tacked in thirty-five fathom, and found we had not gained one inch to windward the last twenty-four hours. We saw a point of land, the northern extremity of New Zealand, which Capt. Cook named North Cape. It lies in latitude 34 deg. 22 min. south, and in 185 deg. 55 min. west longitude; we continued standing off and on till the 23rd, when about seven o'clock we discovered land bearing south half east.

On the 24th, we saw the same land south-east by south four leagues distant, which we judged to be the Islands of the Three Kings. The chief of these is in latitude 34 deg. 12 min. south, and 187 deg. 48 min. west longitude, and distant about 14 and 15 leagues from North Cape. Mr. Banks went out in the long-boat and shot some birds that nearly resembled geese, and they were very good eating. On Christmas-day, December the 25th, we tacked, and stood to the southward. On the 26th, we had no land in sight, and were twenty leagues to the westward of North Cape. At mid-night we tacked and stood to the northward. On the 27th, it blew a storm from the east, accompanied with heavy



showers of rain, which compelled us to bring the ship to, under her mainsail. The gale continued till Thursday the 28th, when it fell about two o'clock in the morning: but at eight increased to a hurricane, with a prodigious sea. At noon the gale somewhat abated, but we had still heavy squalls. On the 29th, in the evening, we wore and stood to the north-west. On Saturday, the 30th, we saw land bearing north-east, which

we concluded to be Maria Van Diemen; and it corresponded with the account we had received of it from the Indians. We wore at mid-night, and stood to the south-east. On the 31st, we tacked at seven in the evening, and stood to the westward. We were now distant from the nearest land about three leagues, and had somewhat more than forty fathom water.

## CHAP VII

*The Endeavour continues her voyage, January the 1st 1770, round North Cape to Queen Charlotte's Sound; That part of the coast described; Transactions in the sound; She sails between two islands, and returns to Cape Turnagain; A shocking custom of the inhabitants; A visit to a Hippah, and other remarkable particulars; The circum-navigation of this country completed; The coast and Admiralty Bay described; The departure of the Endeavour from New Zealand, and other remarkable particulars; A descriptive account of New Zealand; Its first discovery by Tasman; Situation and productions; An account of the inhabitants; Their dress, ornaments, and manner of life; Their canoes, navigation, tillage, weapons, music, government, religion and language; The arguments in favour of a Southern Continent controverted.*

**J**ANUARY the 1st, on Monday at six in the morning, being New Year's Day, we tacked, and stood to the eastward. At noon we stood to the westward; found our latitude to be 34 deg. 37 min. south; our distance from the Three Kings ten or eleven leagues; and from Cape Maria Van Diemen about four leagues and an half, in fifty-four fathom water. On the 3d, we saw land; it was high and flat, trending away to the south-east, beyond the reach of the naked eye. It is remarkable, that at midsummer we met with a violent gale of wind, in latitude 350 south; and that we were three weeks in getting ten leagues to the westward, and five weeks in getting fifty leagues, for at this time it was so long since we passed Cape Brett.

On the morning, of the 4th, we stood along shore. The coast appeared sandy, barren, dreary, and inhospitable. Steering northward on the 6th, we saw land again, which we supposed to be Cape Maria. On

the 7th, we had light breezes, and were at times becalmed, when we saw a sun-fish, short and thick, with two large fins, but scarcely any tail, resembling a shark in colour and size. We continued steering east till the 9th, when we were off a point of land, which Capt. Cook name Woody Head. From the south-west we also saw a small island, and called it Gannet Island. Another point, remarkably high to the east-north-east, the captain named Albatross Point; on the north-side whereof a bay is formed, promising good anchorage. At about two or three leagues distance from Albatross Point, to the north-east we discovered a remarkable high mountain, the peak of which is equal in height to that of Teneriffe. Its summit was covered with snow, and we gave it the name of Mount Egmont, in honour of the earl of that name. It lies in latitude 39 deg. 16 min. south, and 185 deg. 15 min. west longitude. The country round it is exceeding pleasant,



having an agreeable verdure intersected with woods, and the coast forms an extensive cape which Capt. Cook named Cape Egmont. To the north of this are two small islands, in the form of a sugar-loaf. This day being the 13th, we had heavy showers of rain, accompanied with thunder and lightning. We continued to steer along the shore at the distance of between two and three leagues, and between seven and eight had a transient view of Mount Edgcombe, which bore north-west distant about ten leagues.

On the 14th, when sailing south-east by south, the coast ran more southerly, and soon after five in the morning we saw land, for which we hauled up. At noon the north-west extremity bore south 63 west; and some high land, in appearance an island, bore south south-east, distant five leagues. We were now in a bay, and by observation in latitude 40 deg. 27 min. south, longitude 184 deg. 39 min. west. In the evening, at eight o'clock, the land that bore south 63 west, now bore north 59 west, distant seven leagues, and appeared like an island. Between this land and Cape Egmont lies the bay, on the west side of which we were at this time. The land here is high and beautifully variagated with hills and vales. At this place Capt. Cook proposed to careen the ship, and to take in a fresh supply of wood and water. Accordingly,

On the 15th, at day-break, we steered for an inlet, when, it being almost a calm, the ship was carried by a current, or the tide, within a cable's length of the shore; but by the assistance of the boats she got clear. While effecting this, we saw a sea-lion, answering the description given of a male one in Commodore Anson's voyages. About one o'clock in the afternoon we hauled round the south-west point of the island, and the inhabitants of a village were immediately upon seeing us up in arms. At two we anchored in a very safe cove on the north-west side of the bay, and moored in eleven fathom water, with a soft ground. In passing the point of the bay we had observed an armed centinel on duty, who was

twice relieved: and now four canoes came off, for the purpose, as we imagined, of reconnoitring; for none of the Indians would venture on board, except an old man who seemed of elevated rank. His countrymen expostulated with him, laid hold of him, and took great pains to prevent his coming aboard, but they could not divert him from his purpose. We received him with the utmost civility and hospitality. Tupia and the old man joined noses, according to the custom of the country, and having received several presents, he retired to his associates, who began to dance and laugh, and then retired to their fortified village. Whether their expressions of joy were tokens of enmity or friendship we could not determine, having seen them dance when inclined both to war and peace. Capt. Cook and other gentlemen now went on shore, at the bottom of the cove, where they met with plenty of wood, and a fine stream of excellent water, and on hauling the seine were very successful, having caught three hundred weight of fish in a short time, which was equally distributed among the ship's company.

On the 16th, at day-break we were employed in careening the bark, when three canoes came off with a great number of Indians, who brought several of their women with them, which circumstance was thought to be a favourable presage of their peaceable disposition; but they soon convinced us of our mistake, by attempting to stop the long boat; upon which Captain Cook had recourse to the old expedient of firing shot over their heads, which intimidated them for the present; they soon gave fresh proofs of treacherous designs; for one of them snatched at some paper from our market-man, and missing it, put himself in a threatening attitude; whereupon some shot was fired, which wounded him in the knee; but Tupia still continued conversing with his companions, making inquiries concerning their traditions respecting the antiquities of their country. He also asked them, if they had ever before seen a ship as large as the Endeavour? to which they replied, that they had not, nor ever heard, that such a vessel had been on their coast,



though Tasman certainly touched here, it being only four miles south of Murderer's Bay. In all the coves of this bay we found plenty of cuttle-fish, breams, baracootas, gurnard, mackarel, dog-fish, soles, dabs, mullets, drums, scorpenas, or rock-fish, eole-fish, shags, chimeras, &c. The inhabitants catch their fish in the following manner. Their net is cylindrical, extended by several hoops at the bottom, and contracted at the top. The fish going in to feed upon the bait are caught in great abundance. In this island are birds of various kinds, and in great numbers, particularly parrots, wood pigeons, water hens, hawks, and many different singing birds. An herb, a species of *Philadelphus*, was used here instead of tea, and a plant called *Teegoomme*, resembling rug-cloaks, served the natives for garments. The environs of the cove where the *Endeavour* lay is covered entirely with wood, and the supple-jacks are so numerous, that it is with difficulty that passengers can pursue their way; here is a numerous sand-fly, that is very disagreeable. The tops of many hills were covered with fern. The air of the country is very moist, and has some qualities that promote putrefaction, as birds that have been shot but a few hours were found with maggots in them. The women who accompanied the men in their canoes, wore a head dress, which we had no where met with before; it was composed of black feathers, tied in a bunch on the top of the head, which greatly increased its height. The manner of their disposing of their dead is very different to what is practised in their southern islands, they tie a large stone to the body, and throw it into the sea. We saw the body of a woman who had been disposed of this way, but which, by some accident, had disengaged itself from the stone, and was floating upon the water. The Captain, Mr. Banks, and the doctor visited another cove, about two miles from the ship. There was a family of Indians who were greatly alarmed at the approach of these gentlemen, all running away except one; but upon Tupia's conversing with him, the others returned. They found, by

the provisions of this family that they were cannabals, here being several human bones that had been lately dressed and picked, and it appeared that a short time before, six of their enemies having fallen into their hands, they had killed four and eaten them, and that the other two were drowned in endeavouring to make their escape. They made no secret of this abominable custom, but answered Tupia, who was desired to ascertain the fact, with great composure, that his conjectures were just, that they were the bones of a man, and testified by signs, that they thought human flesh delicious food. Upon being asked, Why they had not eaten the body of the woman that had been floating upon the water? they answered, She died of a disorder, and that moreover she was related to them, and they never ate any but their enemies. Upon Mr. Banks still testifying some doubts concerning the fact, one of the Indians drew the bone of a man's arm through his mouth, and this gentlemen had the curiosity to bring it away with him. There was a woman in this family whose arms and legs were cut in a shocking manner, and it appeared she had thus wounded herself because her husband had lately been killed and eaten by the enemy. Some of the Indians brought four skulls one day to sell, which they rated at a very high price. The brains had been taken out, and probably eaten, but the skull and hair remained. They seemed to have been dried by fire, in order to preserve them from putrefaction. The gentlemen likewise saw the bail of a canoe, which was made of a human skull. On the whole, their ideas were so horrid and brutish, that they seemed to pride themselves upon their cruelty and barbarity, and took a particular pleasure in shewing the manner in which they killed their enemies; it being considered as very meritorious to be expert at this destruction. The method used was to knock them down with their patoo-patoos, and then rip up their bellies.

Great numbers of birds usually begun their melody about two o'clock in the morning, and serenaded us till the time of our



rising. This harmony was very agreeable, as the ship lay at a convenient distance from the shore to hear it. These feathered chorists, like the English nightingales, never sing in the day-time.

On the 17th, the ship was visited by a canoe from the hippah, or village; it contained, among others, the aged Indian, of superior distinction, who had first visited the English upon their arrival. In a conference which Tupia had with him, he testified his apprehensions, that their enemies would very soon visit them, and repay the compliment, for killing and eating the four men. On the 18th, we received no visit from the Indians; but going out in the pinnace to inspect the bay, we saw a single man in a canoe fishing, in the manner already described. It was remarkable, that this man did not pay the least attention to the people in the pinnace, but continued to pursue his employment, even when we came along-side of him, without once looking at us. Some of the Endeavour's people being on shore, found three human hip-bones, close to an oven; these were brought on board, as well as the hair of a man's head, which was found in a tree. The next day a forge was set up to repair the iron-work; and some Indians visited the ship with plenty of fish, which they bartered very fairly for nails.

On the 20th, in the morning, Mr Banks purchased of the old Indian a man's head, which he, seemed very unwilling to part with; the skull had been fractured by a blow, and the brains were extracted, and, like the others, it was preserved from putrefaction. From the care with which they kept these skulls, and the reluctance with which they bartered any, it was imagined they were considered as trophies of war, and testimonials of their valour. In this day's excursion, we did not meet with a single native; the ground on every side was quite uncultivated; but we discovered a very good harbour. The succeeding day, the ship's company were allowed to go on shore for their amusement, and the gentlemen employed themselves in fishing, in which they were very successful. Some of

the company in their excursion met with fortifications that had not the advantage of an elevated situation, but were surrounded by two or three wide ditches, with a draw-bridge, such as, though simple in its structure, was capable of answering every purpose against the arms of the natives. Within these ditches is a fence, made with stakes, fixed in the earth. A decisive conquest or victory over the besieged, occasions an entire depopulation of that district, as the vanquished, not only those who are killed, but the prisoners likewise, are devoured by the victors.

The 22nd. was employed by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, in collecting of plants, whilst Capt. Cook made some observations on the main land on the south-east side of the inlet, which consisted of a chain of high hills, and formed part of the south-west side of the strait; the opposite side extended far to the east. He also discovered a village, and many houses that had been deserted, and another village that appeared to be inhabited. There were many small islands round the coast that seemed entirely barren, and what few inhabitants were upon them lived principally upon fish. On the 24th, we visited a hippah, which was situated on a very high rock, hollow underneath, forming a fine natural arch, one side of which joined to the land, and the other rose out of the sea. The inhabitants received us with great civility, and very readily shewed us every thing that was curious. This hippah was partly surrounded with pallsadoes, and it had a fighting stage, like that already described. Here we met with a cross, resembling a crucifix, which was erected as a monument for a deceased person; but could not learn how his body was disposed of. From a conversation that Tupia had with these people, a discovery was made, that an officer being in a boat near this village, and some canoes coming off, made him imagine they had hostile designs, and he fired upon them with ball, which made them retire with much precipitation, but they could not effect their retreat, before one of them was wounded. What made this rash action the more to be lamented



was, that the Indians gave afterwards every possible assurance that their intentions upon this occasion were entirely friendly.

On the 25th, the Captain, Mr Banks, and Dr. Solander, went on shore to shoot, when they met with a numerous family, who were among the creeks catching fish: they behaved very civilly, and received some trifling presents from the gentlemen, who were loaded by way of return with the kisses and embraces of both sexes, young and old. The next day, being the 26th, they made another excursion in the boat, in order to take a view of the strait, that passes between the eastern and western seas. To this end they attained the summit of a hill, but it being hazy in the horizon, they could see but to a small distance to the east; however, it was resolved to explore the passage in the ship when they should put to sea. Before their departure from this hill, they erected a pyramid with stones, and left some musket-balls, small shot and beads, that were likely to stand the test of time, and would be memorials, that this place had been visited by Europeans. On our return, having descended the hill, we made a hearty meal of the shags and fish, procured by our guns and lines; and which were dressed by the boat's crew, in the place we had appointed. Here we were respectfully received by another Indian family, who added to their civilities strong expressions of kindness and pleasure. They shewed us where to get water, with every other office as was in their power. From thence we visited another hippah, seated on a rock almost inaccessible: it consisted of about 100 houses, and a fighting stage. We made the friendly inhabitants some small presents of paper, beads, and nails, and they in return furnished us with dried fish. On the 27th, and 28th, our company were engaged in making necessary repairs, catching fish, and getting the Endeavour ready to continue her voyage.

On Monday, the 29th, we were visited by our old friend Topoa, in company with other Indians, from whom we heard, that the man who had received a wound near the hippah, was dead; but this report proved

afterwards groundless; and we found that Topoa's discourses were not always to be taken literally. During the time the bark was preparing for sea, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander often went on shore; but their walks were circumscribed by the luxuriant climbers which filled up the space between the trees, and rendered the woods impassable. Capt. Cook also made several observations on the coast to the north-west, and perceived many islands, forming bays, in which there appeared to be good anchorage for shipping. He also erected another pyramid of stones, in which he put some bullets, &c. as before, with the addition of a piece of our silver coin, and placed part of an old pendant on the top, to distinguish it. Returning to the ship he met with many of the natives, of whom he purchased a small quantity of fish.

On Tuesday, the 30th, some of our people, who were sent out early in the morning to gather celery, met with about twenty Indians, among whom were five or six women, whose husbands had lately been made captives. They sat down upon the ground together, and cut many parts of their bodies in a most shocking manner, with shells, and sharp pieces of talc or jasper, in testimony of their excessive grief. But what made the horrid spectacle more terrible, was, that the male Indians who were with them, paid not the least attention to it, but with the greatest unconcern imaginable, employed themselves in repairing their huts. This day the carpenter having prepared two posts, they were set up as memorials, being inscribed with the date of the year, the month, and the ship's name. One of them we erected at the watering-place, with the union-flag hoisted upon the top; and the other in the island that lies nearest the sea, called by the natives Motuara; and the inhabitants, being informed that those posts were set up to acquaint other adventurers that the Endeavour had touched at this place, they promised never to destroy them. Capt. Cook then gave something to every one present, and to Topoa our old friend, he presented a silver three-pence, dated 1736, and some spike-nails which had the



kings broad arrow cut deep upon them. After which he honoured this inlet with the name of Queen Charlotte's Sound; and at the same time took possession of it, in the name and for the use of his present Majesty. The whole of this day's business concluded with drinking a bottle of wine to the Queen's health. The bottle was given to the old man, who received the present with strong signs of joy. We must not omit here to observe, that Topoa being questioned concerning a passage into the eastern sea, answered, that there was certainly such a passage. He also said, that the land to the south-west of the strait, where we then were, consisted of two whennuas, or islands, named Tovy Poenamoo, which signifies "the water of green talc;" which might probably be the name of a place where the Indians got their green talc, or stone, of which they make their ornaments and cutting tools. He also told us, there was a third whennuu, eastward of the strait, called Eaheinomauwee, of considerable extent; the circumnavigation of which would take up many moons: he added, that the land on the borders of the strait, contiguous to this inlet, was called Tiera Witte. Having procured this intelligence, and concluded the ceremonies at fixing up the monumental memorial, we returned to the ship. The old man attended us in his canoe, and returned home after dinner.

Wednesday, the 31st, having taken in our wood and water, we dispatched one party to make brooms, and another to catch fish. Toward the close of the evening we had a strong gale from the north-west, with such heavy showers, that our sweet little warblers on shore suspended their wild notes, with which till now they had constantly serenaded us during the night, affording us a pleasure not to be expressed, and the loss of which we could not at this time refrain from regretting.

On the 1st, of February, the gale increased to a storm, with heavy gusts from the main land, which obliged us to let go another anchor. Towards night they became more moderate, but the rain poured down with impetuosity, that the brook at our

watering-place overflowed its banks, and carried away to our loss ten casks full of water.

On Saturday, the 3rd, we went over to the hippah on the east side of Charlotte's Sound, and procured a considerable quantity of fish. The people here confirmed all that Topoa had told us respecting the strait and the unknown country. At noon, when we took leave of them, some shewed signs of sorrow, others of joy, that we were going. When returning to the ship, some of our company made an excursion along the shore northward, to traffic for a further supply of fish, but without success. Sunday, the 4th, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander were engaged in collecting shells, and different kinds of seeds.

On the 5th, we got under sail, but the wind soon falling, we came again to anchor a little above Motuara. Topoa here paid us a visit to bid us farewell. Being questioned whether he had ever heard, that such a vessel as ours had ever visited the country, he replied in the negative; but said, there was a tradition of a small vessel having come from Ulimora, a distant country in the north, in which were only four men, who on their landing, were all put to death. The people of the Bay of Islands, and Tupia, had some confused traditionary notions about Ulimora, but from their accounts we could draw no certain conclusion. This day Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went again on shore in search of natural curiosities, and by accident met with a very amiable Indian family, among whom was a widow, and a pretty youth about ten years of age. The woman mourned for her husband, according to the custom of the country, with tears of blood; and the child, by the death of his father, was the proprietor of the land where we had cut our wood. The mother and son were sitting upon mats; the rest of the family of both sexes, about seventeen in number, sat round them. They behaved with the utmost hospitality and courtesy, and endeavoured to prevail with us to stay all night; but expecting the ship to sail, we could not accept of their pressing invitation. This family seemed



the most intelligent of any Indians we had hitherto conversed with, which made us regret our late acquaintance with them; for had we fallen into their company before, we should probably have gained more information from them in one day, than we had been able to acquire during our whole stay upon the coast.

Monday, the 6th, in the morning, the Endeavour sailed out of the bay, which, from the savage custom of eating human flesh, we called Cannibal Bay. We bent our course to an opening in the east; and when in the mouth of the strait, were becalmed in latitude 310 south, and 184 deg. 45 min. west longitude. The two points that form the entrance, we called Cape Koamaroo, and point Jackson. The land forming the harbour or cove in which we lay, is called by the Indians Totarranue; the harbour itself, named by the Captain, Ship Cove, is very convenient and safe. It is situated on the west side of the cove, and is the southernmost of the three coves within the island of Motuara, between which and the island of Hamote, or between Motuara, or western shore, is the entrance. In the last of these inlets are two ledges of rocks, three fathoms under water, which may easily be known by the sea-weed that grows upon them. Attention must also be paid to the tides, which, when there is little wind, flow about nine or ten o'clock, at the full and change of the moon, and rise and fall about seven feet and a half, passing through the strait from the south-east. The land about this sound, which we saw at the distance of twenty leagues, consists entirely of high hills, and deep valleys, well stored with a variety of excellent timber, fit for all purposes except masts, for which it is too hard and heavy. On the shore we found plenty of shags, and a few other species of wild fowl, that are very acceptable food to those who have lived long upon salt provisions. The number of inhabitants is not greater than four hundred, who are scattered along the coast, and upon any appearance of danger retire to their hippahs, or forts, in which situation we found them. They are poor, and their canoes without ornaments. The

traffic we had with them was wholly for fish; but they had some knowledge of iron, which the natives of other parts had not. On our arrival they were much pleased with our paper; but when they knew it would be spoiled by the wet, they would not have it. English broad-cloth, and red kersey they highly esteemed.

Leaving the sound we stood over to the eastward, and were carried by the rapidity of the current very close to one of the two islands that lie off Cape Koamaroo, at the entrance of Queen Charlotte's Sound. At this time we were every moment in danger of being dashed to pieces against the rocks, but after having veered out 150 fathoms of cable, the ship was brought up, when the rocks were not more than two cables length from us. Thus we remained, being obliged to wait for the tide's ebbing, which did not take place till after midnight.

On the 7th, at eight o'clock in the morning, we weighed anchor, and a fresh breeze with a tide of ebb hurried us through the strait with great swiftness. The narrowest part of this strait lies between Cape Tierrawitte and Cape Koamaroo, the distance between which we judged to be five leagues. The length of the strait we could not determine. In passing it, we think it safest to keep to the north-east shore, for on this side we saw nothing to fear. Cape Tierrawitte lies in 41 deg. 44 min. of south latitude, and 183 deg. 45 min. of west longitude. And Cape Koamaroo is 41 deg. 34 min. south, and in 113 deg. 30 min. west longitude. About nine leagues from the former cape, and under the same shore north, is a high island, which the captain called Entry Isle. We were now facing a deep bay which we called Cloudy bay. Some of our gentlemen doubting whether Eahienomauwee was an island, we steered south-east, in order to clear up this doubt; but the wind shifting we stood eastward, and steered north-east by east all night. The next morning we were off Cape Palliser, and found that the land stretched away to the north-eastward of Cape Turnagain. In the afternoon, three canoes came off, having several Indians on board. These made a



good appearance, and were ornamented like those on the northern coast. There was no difficulty in persuading them to come on board, where they demeaned themselves very civilly, and a mutual exchange of presents took place. As they asked for nails it was concluded that they heard of the English, by means of the inhabitants of some of the other places at which we had touched. Their dress resembled that of the natives of Hudson's Bay. One old man was tataowed in a very particular manner, he had likewise a red streak across his nose; and his hair and beard were remarkable for their whiteness. The upper garment that he wore was made of flax, and had a wrought border: under this was a sort of petticoat of a cloth called Aoree Waow. Teeth and green stones decorated his ears: he spoke in a soft and low key, and it was concluded, from his deportment, that he was a person of distinguished rank among his countrymen, and these people withdrew greatly satisfied with the presents that they had received.

On the 9th, in the morning, we discovered that Eahienomauwee was really an island. About sixty Indians in four double canoes came within a stone's throw of the ship, on the 14th, of February. As they surveyed her with surprize, Tupia endeavoured to persuade them to come nearer, but this they could not be prevailed on to do. On this account the island was denominated the Island of Lookers-on. Five leagues distant from the coast of Tovy Poenamoo, we saw an island which was called after Mr. Banks's name; a few Indians appeared on it, and in one place they discovered a smoke, so that it was plain the place was inhabited. Mr. Banks going out in his boat for the purpose of shooting, killed some of the Port Egmont hens, which were like those found on the isle of Farc, and the first that they had seen upon this coast. A point of land was observed on Sunday the 25th, in latitude 45 deg. 35 min. south, to which Capt Cook gave the name of Cape Saunders, in honour of Admiral Saunders. We kept off from the shore, which appeared to be interspersed with trees, and covered

with green hills, but no inhabitants were discovered.

On the 4th, of March, several whales and seals were seen; and on the 9th, we saw a ledge of rocks, and soon after another ledge at three leagues distance from the shore, which we passed in the night to the northward, and at day-break observed the others under our bows, which was a fortunate escape; and in consideration of their having been so nearly caught among these, they were denominated the Traps. We called the southernmost point of land, the South Cape, and found it to be the southern extremity of the whole coast. Proceeding northward, the next day we fell in with a barren rock about fifteen miles from the main land, which was very high, and appeared to be about a mile in circumference; and this was named Solander's Island.

On the 13th, we discovered a bay containing several islands, where we concluded if there was depth of water, shipping might find shelter from the winds. Dusky Bay was the appellation given to it by the Captain, and five high peaked rocks, for which it was remarkable, caused the point to be called Five Fingers. The westernmost point of land upon the whole coast, to the southward of Dusky Bay, we called West Cape. The next day we passed a small narrow opening, where there seemed to be a good harbour formed by an island, the land behind which exhibited a prospect of mountains covered with snow.

On the 16th, we passed a point which consisted of high red cliffs, and received the name of Cascade Point, on account of several small streams which fell down it. In the morning of the 18th, the valleys were observed covered with snow as well as the mountains, which seemed to have fallen the night before, when we had rain at sea. Thus we passed the whole north-west coast of Tovy Poenamoo, which had nothing worth our observation but a ridge of naked and barren rocks covered with snow, some of which we conjectured might probably have remained there ever since the creation. As far as the eye could reach, the



prospects were in general wild, craggy, and desolate; scarcely any thing but rocks to be seen, the most of which Dr. Hawkesworth describes as having nothing but a kind of hollows, and dreadful fissures instead of valleys between them. From this uncomfortable country we determined to depart, having sailed round the whole country by the 27th of this month. Capt. Cook therefore went on shore in the long-boat, and having found a place proper for mooring the ship, and a good watering place, the crew began to fill their casks, while the carpenter was employed in cutting wood. The Captain, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander, went in the pinnace to examine the bay, and the neighbouring country. Landing there they found several plants of a species which was before unknown to them; no inhabitants appeared; but they saw several huts which seemed to have been deserted a long time before; all the wood and water being taken on board, the vessel was ready to sail by the time that they returned in the evening, and it was now resolved at a council of war to steer for the coast of New Holland, in the course of their return by the way of the East-Indies.

On the 31st, we took our departure from an eastern point of land, to which we gave the name of Cape Farewell, called the bay out of which we sailed, Admiralty Bay; and two capes, Cape Stephens, and Cape Jackson, (the names of the two secretaries of the Admiralty board.) We called a bay between the island and Cape Farewell, Blind Bay, which was supposed to have been the same that was called Murderers Bay, by Tasman, the first discoverer of New Zealand; but though he named it Staten Island, wishing to take possession of it for the States General, yet being attacked here by the Indians he never went on shore to effect his purpose. This coast, now more accurately examined, is discovered to consist of two islands, which were before thought to be a part of the southern continent so much sought after.

They are situated between the 34th and 48th, deg. of south latitude, and between 181, deg. and 194 deg. west longitude. The

northern island is called Eahienomauwee, and the southern is named Tovy Poenamoo by the natives. The former, though mountainous in some places, is stored with wood, and in every valley, there is a rivulet. The soil in those valleys is light, but fertile and well adapted for the plentiful production of all the fruits, plants and corn of Europe. The summer, though not hotter, is in general of a more equal temperature than in England; and from the vegetables that were found here it was concluded, that the winters were not so severe. The only quadrupeds that were discovered were dogs and rats, and of the latter very few, but the former the inhabitants (like those of Otaheite) breed for food. There are seals and whales on the coasts, and we once saw a sea-lion. The birds are hawks, owls, quails, and some melodious song birds. There are ducks, and shags of several sorts, like those of Europe, and the gannet, which is of the same sort. Albatrosses, sheerwaters, penguins, and pintados, also visit the coast. The insects found here are, butterflies, flesh-flies, beetles, sand-flies, and musquitoes.

Tovy Poenamoo is barren and mountainous, and appeared to be almost destitute of inhabitants.

The sea that washes these islands abounds with delicate and wholesome fish. Whenever the vessel came to an anchor, enough were caught with hook and line only, to supply the whole ship's company; and when we finished with nets, every mess in the ship, where the people were industrious, salted as much as supplied them for several weeks. There were many sorts of fish here which we had never before seen, and which the sailors named according to their fancies. They were sold on moderate terms to the crew: among the rest, fish like the skate, eels, congers, oysters, flat-fish resembling soles and flounders, cockles and various sorts of mackarel were found in abundance upon the coast.

Here are forests abounding with trees, producing large, straight and clean timber. One tree about the size of our oak, was distinguished by a scarlet flower, composed of



several fibres, and another which grows in swampy ground, very straight and tall, bearing small bunches of berries, and a leaf resembling that of the yew-tree. About 400 species of plants were found, all of which are unknown in England, except garden night-shade, sow-thistle, two or three kinds of fern, and one or two sorts of grass. We found wild celery, and a kind of cresses, in great abundance, on the sea-shore; and of eatable plants raised by cultivation, only cocoas, yams, and sweet potatoes. There are plantations of many acres of these yams and potatoes. The inhabitants likewise cultivate the gourd; and the Chinese paper mulberry tree is to be found, but in no abundance.

In New Zealand is only one shrub or tree, which produces fruit, which is a kind of berry almost tasteless; but they have a plant which answers all the uses of hemp and flax. There are two kinds of this plant, the leaves of one of which are yellow, and the other a deep red, and both of them resemble the leaves of flags. Of these leaves they make lines and cordage, and much stronger than any thing of the kind in Europe. These leaves they likewise split into breadths, and tying the slips together, form their fishing nets. Their common apparel, by a simple process, is made from the leaves, and their finer, by another preparation, is made from the fibres. This plant is found both in high and low ground, in dry mould and in deep bogs; but as it grows largest in the latter, that seems to be its proper soil.

The natives are as large as the largest Europeans. Their complexion is brown, but little more so than that of a Spaniard. They are full of flesh, but not lazy and luxurious; and are stout and well shaped. The women possess not that delicacy, which distinguishes the European ladies; but their voice chiefly distinguishes them from the men. The men are active in a high degree; their hair is black, and their teeth are white and even. The features of both sexes are regular; they enjoy perfect health, and live to an advanced age. They appeared to be of a gentle disposition, and treat each other

with the utmost kindness; but they are perpetually at war, every little district being at enmity with all the rest. This is owing, most probably, to the want of food in sufficient quantities at certain times. As they have neither black cattle, sheep, hogs, nor goats; so their chief food was fish, which being not always to be had, they are in danger of dying through hunger. They have a few dogs; and when no fish is to be gotten, they have only vegetables, such as yams and potatoes, to feed on; and if by any accident these fail them, their situation must be deplorable. Notwithstanding the custom of eating their enemies, the circumstances and temper of these people is in favour of those who might settle among them as a colony.

The inhabitants of New Zealand are as modest and reserved in their behaviour and conversation as the most polite nations of Europe. The women, indeed, were not dead to the softer impressions; but their mode of consent was in their idea as harmless as the consent to marriage with us, and equally binding for the stipulated time. If any of the English addressed one of their women, he was informed, that the consent of her friends must be obtained, which usually followed, on his making a present. This done he was obliged to treat his temporary wife as delicately as we do in England. A gentleman who sailed in the *Endeavour*, having addressed a family of some rank, received an answer, of which the following is an exact translation. "Any of these young ladies will think themselves honoured by your addresses, but you must first make me a present, and you must then come and sleep with us on shore, for day-light must by no means be a witness of what passes between you."

These Indians anoint their hair with oil melted from the fat of fish or birds. The poorer people use that which is rancid, so that they smell very disagreeable; but those of superior rank make use of that which is fresh. They wear combs both of bone and wood, which is considered as an ornament when stuck upright in the hair. The men tie their hair in a bunch on the crown of



the head, and adorn it with feathers of birds, which they likewise sometimes place on each side of the temples. They commonly wear short beards. The hair of the women sometimes flows over their shoulders, and sometimes is cut short. Both sexes, but the men more than the women, mark their bodies with black stains, called amoco. In general the women stain only the lips, but sometimes mark other parts with black patches; the men on the contrary put on additional marks from year to year, so that those who are very ancient are almost covered. Exclusive of the amoco, they mark themselves with furrows. Those furrows made a hideous appearance, the edges being indented, and the whole quite black. The ornaments of the face are drawn in the spiral form with equal elegance and correctness, both cheeks being marked exactly alike; while paintings on their bodies resemble filigree work, and the foliage in old chased ornaments; but no two faces or bodies are painted exactly after the same model. The people of New Zealand, frequently left the breech free from these marks, which the inhabitants of Otaheite adorned beyond any other. These Indians likewise paint their bodies by rubbing them with red ochre, either dry or mixed with oil.

Their dress is formed of the leaves of the flag split into slips, which are interwoven and made into a kind of matting, the ends, which are seven or eight inches in length, hanging out on the upper side. One piece of this matting being tied over the shoulders, reaches to the knees: the other piece being wrapped round the waist falls almost to the ground. These two pieces are fastened to a string, which by means of a bodkin of bone is passed through, and tacks them together. The men wear the lower garment only at particular times.

They have two kinds of cloth besides the coarse matting or shag above-mentioned; one of which is as coarse, but beyond all proportion stronger than the English canvas; the other which is formed of the fibres of a plant, drawn into threads which cross and bind each other, resembles the matting on which we place our dishes at table.

They make borders of different colours to both these sorts of cloth, resembling girls samplers, and finished with neatness and elegance. What they consider as the most ornamental part of their dress is the fur of dogs, which they cut into strips, and sew on different parts of their apparel. As dogs are not plentiful, they dispose their strips with economy. They have a few dresses ornamented with feathers; and one man was seen covered wholly with those of the red parrot.

The women never tie their hair on the top of their head, nor adorn it with feathers; and are less anxious about dress than the men. Their lower garment is bound tight round them, except when they go out fishing, and then they are careful that the men shall not see them. It once happened that some of the ship's crew surprised them in this situation, when some of them hid themselves among the rocks, and the rest kept their bodies under water till they had formed a girdle and apron of weeds; and their whole behaviour manifested the most refined ideas of female modesty.

The ears of both sexes were bored, and the holes stretched so as to admit a man's finger. The ornaments of their ears are feathers, cloth, bones, and sometimes bits of wood; a great many of them made use of the nails which were given them by the English, for this purpose, and the women sometimes adorned their ears with white down of the albetross, which they spread before and behind the whole in a large bunch. They likewise hung to their ears by strings, chisels, bodkins, the teeth of dogs, and the teeth and nails of their deceased friends. The arms and ancles of the women are adorned with shells and bones, or any thing else through which they can pass a string. The men wear a piece of green talc or whalebone, with the resemblance of a man carved on it, hanging to a string round the neck. We saw one man who had the gristle of his nose perforated, and a feather passed through it, projected over each cheek.

These people shew less ingenuity in the structure of their houses, than in any thing else belonging to them; they are from



sixteen to twenty-four feet long, ten or twelve wide, and six or eight in height. The frame is of slight sticks of wood, and the walls and roof are made of dry grass pretty firmly compacted. Some of them are lined with bark of trees, and the ridge of the house is formed by a pole which runs from one end to the other. The door is only high enough to admit a person crawling on hands and knees, and the roof is sloping. There is a square hole near the door, serving both for window and chimney, near which is the fire place. A plank is placed over the door, adorned with a sort of carving, and this they consider as an ornamental piece of furniture. The side-walls and roof projecting two or three feet beyond the walls at each end form a sort of portico where benches are placed to sit on. The fire is made in the middle of a hollow square in the floor, which is inclosed with wood or stone. They sleep near the walls, where the ground is covered with straw for their beds. Some who can afford it, whose families are large, have three or four houses, inclosed in their court-yard. Their clothes, arms, feathers, some ill made tools, and a chest, in which all these are deposited, form all the furniture of the inside of the house. Their hammers to beat fern-root, gourds to hold water, and baskets to contain provisions, are placed without the house. One house was found near 40 feet long, 20 wide, and 14 high. Its sides were adorned with carved planks of workmanship superior to the rest; but the building appeared to have been left unfinished. Though the people sleep warm enough at home, they seem to despise the inclemency of the weather, when they go in search of fish or fern-roots. Sometimes, indeed, they place a small defence to wind-ward, but frequently sleep undressed with their arms placed round them, without the least shelter whatever.

Besides the fern-root, which serves them for bread, they feed on albetrosses, pen-guins, and some other birds. Whatever they eat is either roasted or baked, as they have no vessel in which water can be boiled. We saw no plantations of cocoas, potatoes, and yams, to the southward, though

there were many in the northern parts. The natives drink no other liquor than water, and enjoy perfect and uninterrupted health. When wounded in battle, the wound heals in a very short time without the application of medicine; and the very old people carry no other marks of decay about them than the loss of their hair, and teeth, and a failure of their muscular strength: but enjoy an equal share of health and cheerfulness with the youngest.

The canoes of this country are not unlike the whale-boats of New England, being long and narrow. The larger sort seem to be built for war, and will hold from 30 to 100 men. One of these of Tolaga measured near 70 feet in length, six in width, and four in depth. It was sharp at the bottom, and consisted of three lengths, about two or three inches thick, and tied firmly together with strong plaiting; each side was found of one entire plank, about twelve inches broad, and about an inch and a half thick, which was fitted to the bottom part with equal strength and ingenuity. Several thwarts were laid from one side to the other, to which, they were securely fastened, in order to strengthen the canoes. Some few of their canoes at Mercury Bay and Opoorage, are all made entirely of one trunk of wood, which is made hollow by fire; but by far the greater part are built after the plan above described. The smaller boats which are used chiefly in fishing, are adorned at head and stern with the figure of a man, the eyes of which are composed of white shells: a tongue of enormous size, is thrust out of the mouth, and the whole face a picture of the most absolute deformity. The grander canoes, which are intended for war, are ornamented with open work, and covered with fringes of black feathers, which gives the whole an air of perfect elegance; the side-boards, which are carved in a rude manner, are embellished with tufts of white feathers. These vessels are rowed with a kind of paddles, between five and six feet in length, the blade of which is a long oval, gradually decreasing till it reaches the handle; and the velocity with which they row with these paddles is very



surprising. Their sails are composed of a kind of mat or netting, which is extended between two upright poles, one of which is fixed on each side. Two ropes, fastened to the top of each pole, serve instead of sheets. The vessels are steered by two men having each a paddle, and sitting in the stern; but they can only sail before the wind, in which direction they move with considerable swiftness.

These Indians use axes, adzes, and chisels, with which last they likewise bore holes. The chisels are made of jasper, or of the bone of a man's arm: their axes and adzes of a hard black stone. They use their small jasper tools till they are blunted, and then throw them away, having no instrument to sharpen them with. The Indians at Tolaga having been presented with a piece of glass, drilled a hole through it, and hung it round the neck. A small bit of jasper was thought to have been the tool they used in drilling it.

Their tillage is excellent, owing to the necessity they are under of cultivating or running the risque of starving. At Tegadoo their crops were just put into the ground, and the surface of the field was as smooth as a garden, the roots were ranged in regular lines, and to every root there remained a hillock. A long narrow stake, sharpened to an edge at bottom, with a piece fixed across a little above it, for the convenience of driving it into the ground with the foot, supplies the place both of plough and spade. The soil being light, their work is not very laborious, and with this instrument alone they will turn up ground of six or seven acres in extent.

The seine, the large net which has been already noticed, is produced by the united labour and is probably the joint property of a whole town. Their fish-hooks are of shell or bone; and they have baskets of wicker-work to hold the fish. Their warlike weapons are spears, darts, battle-axes, and the patoo-patoo. The spear, which is pointed at each end, is about sixteen feet in length, and they hold it in the middle, so that it is difficult to parry a push from it. Whether they fight in boats or on shore the battle is

hand to hand, so that they must make bloody work of it. They trust chiefly in the patoo-patoo, which is fastened to their wrists, by means of a strong strap, that it may not be wrested out of their hands. These are worn in the girdles of people of a superior rank, as a military ornament. They have a kind of staff of distinction, which is carried by the principal warriors. It is formed of a whale's rib, is quite white, and adorned with carving, feathers, and the hair of their dogs. Sometimes they had a stick six feet long, inlaid with shells, and otherwise ornamented like a military staff. This honourable mark of distinction was commonly in the hands of the aged, who were also more daubed with the amoco.

When they came to attack us, one or more of these old men thus distinguished, were usually in each canoe. It is their custom to stop about 50 or 60 yards from a ship, when the chiefs rising from their seat, put on a dog's skin garment, and holding out their decorated staff, direct them how to proceed. When they were too far from the ship to reach it with their missile weapons, then the defiance was given, and the words usually were Karoinai, haromai, harre uta a patoo-patoo. "Come on shore, come on shore, and we will kill you all with our patoo-patoos." While they thus threatened us, they approached gradually the bark, till close along side; yet talking at intervals, in a peaceable manner, and answering whatever questions we asked them. Then again their menaces were renewed, till encouraged by our supposed timidity, they began the war-song and dance, the sure prelude of an attack, which always followed, and sometimes continued until the firing of small shot repulsed them; but at others, they vented their passion, by throwing a few stones at the ship, in the way of insulting us.

The contortions of these savage Indians are numerous; their limbs are distorted, and their faces are agitated with strange convulsive motions. Their tongues hang out of their mouths to an amazing length, and their eye-lids are drawn so as to form a circle round the eye. At the same time they shake their darts, brandish their spears,



and wave their patoo-patoos to and fro in the air. There is an admirable vigour and activity in their dancing; and in their song, they keep time with such exactness, that 60 or 100 paddles when struck against the sides of their boats at once, make only a single report. In times of peace they sometimes sing in a manner resembling the war-song, but the dance is omitted. The women whose voices are exceedingly melodious and soft, sing likewise in a musical, but mournful manner. One of their instruments of music is a shell, from which they produce a sound not unlike that made with a common horn; the other is a small wooden pipe, resembling a child's nine-pin, not superior in sound to a child's whistle. We never heard them attempt to sing to them, or to produce any measured notes like what we call a tune.

As to the horrid custom of eating human flesh, prevalent among them, to what has been already said on this head, we shall only add, that in most of the coves, upon landing, we found near the places where fires had been made, flesh and bones of men; and among the heads that were brought on board, some of them had a kind of false eyes, and ornaments in their ears, as if alive. The head purchased by Mr. Banks, and sold with great reluctance, was that of a young person, and, by the contusions on one side, appeared to have received many violent blows. There had been lately a skirmish, and we supposed the young man had been killed with the rest.

The hippahs or villages of these people, of which there are several between the bay of Plenty and Queen Charlotte's sound, are all fortified. In these they constantly reside; but near Tolaga, Hawk's Bay, and Poverty Bay, only single houses are to be seen, at a considerable distance from each other. On the sides of the hills were erected long stages, supplied with darts and stones, thought by us to be retreats in time of action; as it appeared that from such places they could combat with their enemies to great advantage. A magazine of provisions, consisting of dried fish, and fern roots, was also discovered in these fortifications.

No. 6. M

The inhabitants of this part of the country were all subjects of Teratu, who resided near the bay of Plenty; and to their being thus united under one chief, they owed a security unknown to those of other parts. Several inferior governors are in the dominions of Teratu, to whom the most implicit obedience is paid. One of the inhabitants having robbed a sailor belonging to the Endeavour, complaint was made to a chief, who chastised the thief by kicking and striking him, which correction he bore with unresisting humility. The inhabitants of the southern parts formed little societies, who had all things in common, particularly fishing nets and fine apparel. The latter, probably obtained in war, were kept in a little hut, destined for that use, in the centre of the town, and the several parts of the nets, being made by different families, were afterwards joined together for public use. Less account, in the opinion of Tupia, is made of the women here than in the South Sea islands. Both sexes eat together; but how they divide their labour, we cannot determine with certainty, though we are inclined to believe that the men cultivate the ground, make nets, catch birds, and go out in their canoes to fish; while the women are employed in weaving cloth, collecting shell-fish, and in dressing food.

As to the religion of these people, they acknowledge one Supreme Being, and several subordinate deities. Their mode of worship we could not learn, nor was any place proper for that purpose seen. There was indeed a small square area, encompassed with stones, in the middle of which hung a basket of fern-roots on one of their spades. This they said was an offering to their gods, to obtain from them a plentiful crop of provisions. They gave the same account of the origin of the world, and the production of mankind, as our friends in Otaheite. Tupia, however, seemed to have much more deep and extensive knowledge of these subjects than any of the people of this island, and when he sometimes delivered a long discourse, he was sure of a numerous audience, who heard with remarkable reverence and attention.



With regard to the manner of disposing of their dead, we could form no certain opinion. The southern district said, they disposed of their dead by throwing them into the sea; but those of the north buried them in the ground. We saw, however, not the least sign of any grave or monument; but the body of many among the living, bore the marks of wounds, in token of grief for the loss of their friends and relations. Some of their scars were newly made, a proof that their friends had died while we were there; yet no one saw any thing like a funeral ceremony or procession, the reason is, because they affected to conceal every thing respecting the dead with the utmost secrecy.

We observed a great similitude between the dress, furniture, boats, and nets of the New Zealanders, and the natives of the South Sea Islands, which evidently demonstrates that the common ancestors of both were *ab origine* natives of the same country. Indeed the inhabitants of these different places have a tradition, that their ancestors sprang from another country many years since, and they both agree that this country was called Heawige. This is also certain, that Tupia when he accosted the people here in the language of his own country, was perfectly understood; but perhaps a yet stronger proof that their origin was the same, will arise from a specimen of their language, which we shall evince by a list of words in both languages, according to the dialect of the northern and southern islands of which New Zealand consists; whence it will appear, that the language of Otaheite does not differ more from that of New Zealand, than the language of the two islands from each other.

### THE LANGUAGE OF

NEW ZEALAND.		OTAHEITE.	ENGLISH.
<i>Northern.</i>	<i>Southern.</i>		
Eareete	Eareete	Earee	<i>A chief.</i>
Taata	Taata	Taata	<i>A man.</i>
Whahine	Whahine	Ivahine	<i>A woman.</i>
Eupo	Heaowpo-	Eupo	<i>The head.</i>
	ho		
Macauwe	Heoo-oo	Roourou	<i>The hair.</i>

NEW ZEALAND.		OTAHEITE.	ENGLISH.
<i>Northern.</i>	<i>Southern.</i>		
Terringa	Hetaheyai	Terrea	<i>The ear.</i>
Erai	Heai	Erai	<i>The forehead.</i>
Mata	Hemata	Mata	<i>The eyes.</i>
Paparinga	Hepapaeh	Paparea	<i>The cheeks.</i>
Ahewh	Heeh	Ahew	<i>The nose.</i>
Hangou-	Hegaowai	Outou	<i>The mouth.</i>
tou			
Ecouwai	Hakaoewai	----	<i>The chin.</i>
Haringaringu	----	Rema	<i>The arm.</i>
Maticara	Hermai-	Maneow	<i>The finger.</i>
	gawh		
Ateraboo	----	Oboo	<i>The belly.</i>
Apeto	Heeapeto	Peto	<i>The navel.</i>
Haromai	Heromai	Harromai	<i>Comehither.</i>
Heica	Heica	Eyca	<i>Fish.</i>
Kooura	Kooura	Tooura	<i>A lobster.</i>
Taro	Taro	Taro	<i>Cocoas.</i>
Cumala	Cumala	Cumala	<i>Potatoes.</i>
Tuphwhe	Tuphwhe	Tuphwhe	<i>Yams.</i>
Mannu	Mannu	Mannu	<i>Birds.</i>
Kaoura	Kaoura	Oure	<i>No.</i>
Tahai	----	Tahai	<i>One.</i>
Rua	----	Rua	<i>Two.</i>
Torou	----	Torou	<i>Three.</i>
Ha	----	Hea	<i>Four.</i>
Rema	----	Rema	<i>Five.</i>
Ono	----	Ono	<i>Six.</i>
Etu	----	Hetu	<i>Seven.</i>
Warou	----	Warou	<i>Eight.</i>
Iva	----	Heva	<i>Nine.</i>
Angahourou	----	Ahourou	<i>Ten.</i>
Hennihew	Heneaho	Nihio	<i>The teeth.</i>
Mehow	----	Mattai	<i>The wind.</i>
Amootoo	----	Teto	<i>A thief.</i>
Mataketake	----	Mataitai	<i>To examine.</i>
Eheara	----	Heiva	<i>To sing.</i>
Keno	Keno	Eno	<i>Bad.</i>
Eratou	Eratou	Eraou'	<i>Trees.</i>
Toubouna	Toubouna	Toubouna	<i>Grandfather.</i>

Owy Terra ---- Owy Terra } *What do you call this or that.*

Hence it appears evidently that the language of New Zealand and Otaheite, is radically one and the same. The dialect indeed is different as in England, where the



word is pronounced *gate* in Middlesex, and *geate* in Yorkshire; and as the northern and southern words were taken down by two different persons, one might possibly use more words than the other to express the same sound. Besides, in the southern parts they put the articles *ke* or *ko* before a noun, as we do those of *the* or *a*: it is also common to add the word *oeia* after another word, as we say *certainly*, or *yes indeed*; and by not attending sufficiently to this, our gentlemen sometimes, judging by the ear only, formed words of an enormous length: for example, one of them asking a native the name of the island, called Matuaro, he replied, with the particle *ke* prefixed *Ke-matuaro*; and upon the question being repeated, the Indian added *oeia*, which made the word *Ke-matuaro oeia*; and upon inspecting the log-book, Capt. Cook found Matuaro transformed into *Cumettiwarroweia*. Now a similar orthographical difference might happen, or a like mistake might be made by a foreigner in writing an English word. Suppose a New Zealander to inquire, when near to ask, *What village is this?* The answer might be, *It is hackney indeed*. The Indian then for the information of his countrymen, had he the use of letters, might record, that he had passed through, or been at a place called by the English *Itishackneyindeed*. We were ourselves at first led into many ridiculous mistakes, from not knowing that the article used in the South-Sea Islands, is *to* or *ta*, instead of *ke* or *ko*.

We have supposed, that the original inhabitants of these islands, and those in the

South-Seas, came from the same country; but what country that is, or where situated, remains still a subject of inquiry. In this we all agreed, that the original natives were not of America, which lies to the eastward; and unless there should be a continent to the southward, in a temperate latitude, we cannot but conclude that they emigrated from the westward.

Before we close this account of New Zealand, we beg leave further to observe, that hitherto our navigation has been very unfavourable to the supposition of a Southern Continent. The navigators who have supported the positions upon which this is founded, are Tasman, Juan Fernandes, Hermite, Quiros, and Roggewein; but the track of the Endeavour has totally subverted all their theoretical arguments. Upon a view of the chart it will appear, that a large space extends quite to the tropics, which has not been explored by us nor any other navigators; yet we believe there is no cape of any Southern Continent, and no Southern Continent to the northward of 40 deg. south. Of what may lie farther to the southward of 40 deg. we can give no opinion; yet are far from discouraging any future attempts after new discoveries: for a voyage like this may be of public utility. Should no continent be found, new islands within the tropics may be discovered. Tupia in a rough chart of his own drawing laid down no less than seventy-four; and he gave us an account of above one hundred and thirty, which no European vessel has ever yet visited.



## CHAP. VIII.

*Passage from New Zealand to Botany Bay, in New Holland; Various incidents related; A description of the country and its inhabitants; The Endeavour sails from Botany Bay to Trinity Bay; With a further account of the country; Her dangerous situation in her passage from Trinity Bay to Endeavour River.*

ON Saturday, the 31st of March, 1770, we sailed from Cape Farewell, having fine weather and a fair wind. This cape lies in latitude 40 deg. 33. min. S. and in 186 deg. W. longitude. The same day we steered westward, with a fresh gale till the 2nd of April, when by observation we found our latitude to be 40 deg. and our longitude from Cape Farewell, 2 deg. 31 min. W. On the ninth in the morning, when in latitude 38 deg. 29 min. S. we saw a tropic bird, a sight very unusual in so high a latitude. On the 15th, we saw an egg bird, and a gannet. As these birds never go far from land, we sounded all night, but had no ground at 130 fathom water. The day following a small land bird perched on the rigging, but we had no ground at 120 fathom. Tuesday, the 17th, we had fresh gales with squalls and dark weather in the morning; and in the afternoon a hard gale and a great sea from the southward, which obliged us to run under our fore-sail and mizen all night. On the 18th, in the morning, we were visited by a pintado bird, and some Port-Egmont hens, an infallible sign that land was near, which we discovered at six o'clock in the morning of the 19th, four or five leagues distant. To the southernmost point in sight, we gave the name of Point Hicks, the name of our first lieutenant who discovered it. At noon, in latitude 37 deg. 5 min. and 210 deg. 29 min. W. longitude, another remarkable point of the same land bore N. 20 E. distant about four leagues. This point rising in a high hillock, extremely like the Ram Head at the entrance of Plymouth Sound, Capt. Cook therefore gave it the same name. What we had yet seen of the land was low and level; the shore white and sandy; and the inland parts covered with wood and verdure. At this time we

saw three water-spouts at once; two between us and the shore, and the third at some distance upon our larboard quarter. In the evening, at six o'clock, the northernmost point of land was distant about two leagues, which we named Cape Howe. On the following day we had a distant view of the country, which was in general covered with wood, and interspersed with several small lawns. It appeared to be inhabited, as smoke was seen in several places. At four o'clock the next morning, we saw a high mountain, which from its shape, was called Mount Dromedary, under which there is a point which received the name of Point Dromedary. In the evening we were opposite a point of land which rose perpendicular, and was called Point Upright. On Sunday, the 22nd, we were so near the shore, as to see several of the inhabitants on the coast, who were of a very dark complexion, if not perfect negroes. At noon we saw a remarkable peaked hill, to which the captain gave the name of the Pigeon House, from its resemblance of such a building. The trees on this island were both tall and large, but we saw no place fit to give shelter even to a boat.

The Captain gave the name of Cape George to a point of land discovered on St. George's-day, two leagues to the north of which the sea formed a bay, which, from its shape, was called Long Nose; eight leagues from which lies Red Point, so called from the colour of the soil in its neighbourhood. On the 27th, we saw several inhabitants walking along the shore, four of them carrying a canoe on their shoulders, but as they did not attempt to come off to the ship, the Captain took Messrs. Banks and Solander, and Tupia in the yawl, and employed four men to row them to that part of the



shore where they saw the natives, near which four small canoes laid close in land. The Indians sat on the rocks till the yawl was a quarter of a mile from the shore and then they ran away into the woods. The surf beating violently on the beach, prevented the boat from landing; the gentlemen were therefore obliged to make what observations they could at a distance. The canoes resembled generally the smaller sort of those of New Zealand. They saw a great number of cabbage trees on shore; the other trees were of the palm kind, and there was no underwood among them. At five in the evening they returned to the ship, and a light breeze springing up, we sailed to the northward, where we discovered several people on shore, who, on our approach, retired to an eminence, soon after which two canoes arrived on the shore, and four men, who came in them, joined the others. The pinnace having been sent a head to sound, arrived near the spot where the Indians had stationed themselves, on which one of them hid himself among the rocks near the landing place, and the others retreated farther up the hill. The pinnace keeping along shore, the Indians walked near in a line with her; they were armed with long pikes, and a weapon resembling a scymitar, and, by various signs and words invited the boat's crew to land: those who did not follow the boat, having observed the approach of the ship, brandished their weapons, and threw themselves into threatening attitudes. The bodies, thighs, and legs of two of these, were painted with white streaks, and their faces were almost covered with a white powder. They talked together with great emotion, and each of them held one of the above mentioned weapons. The ship having come to an anchor, we observed a few huts, in which were some of the natives; and saw some canoes, in each of which was a man employed in striking fish with a kind of spear. We had anchored opposite a village of about eight houses, and observed an old woman and three children come out of a wood, laden with fuel for a fire: they were met by three children, all of whom, as well as the woman, were quite

naked. The old woman frequently looked at the ship with the utmost indifference, and, as soon as she had made a fire, the fishermen brought their canoes on shore, and they set about dressing their dinner with as much composure, as if a ship had been no extraordinary sight. Having formed a design of landing, we manned the boats, and took Tupia with us, and we had no sooner come near the shore, than two men advanced, as if to dispute our setting foot on land. They were each of them armed with different kinds of weapons. They called out aloud in a harsh tone, warra warra wai! the meaning of which Tupia did not understand. The Captain threw them beads, nails, and other trifles, which they took up, and seemed very well pleased with. He then made signals that he wanted water, and used every possible means to convince them that no injury was intended. They made signs to the boat's crew to land, on which we put the boat in, but we had no sooner done so, than the two Indians came again to oppose us. A musket was now fired between them, on the report of which, one of them dropped a bundle of lances, which he immediately snatched up again in great haste. One of them then threw a stone at the boat, on which the captain ordered a musket loaded with small shot to be fired, which wounding the eldest of them on the legs, he retired hastily to one of the houses, that stood at some little distance. The people in the boats now landed, imagining that the wound which this man had received would put an end to the contest. In this, however, we were mistaken, for he immediately returned with a kind of shield, of an oval figure, painted white in the middle, with two holes in it to see through. They now advanced with great intrepidity, and both discharged their lances at the boat's crew, but did not wound any of them. Another musket was fired at them, on which they threw another lance, and then took to their heels. We now went up to the huts, in one of which we found the children, who had secreted themselves behind some bark. We looked at them, but left them without its being known we



had seen them, and having thrown several pieces of cloth, ribbands, beads, and other things into the hut, we took several of their lances, and then re-embarked in the boat. The canoes on this coast were about 13 feet in length, each made of the bark of a single tree, tied up at the ends, and kept open in the middle by the means of sticks placed across them; their paddles were very small, and two were used at a time.

We now sailed to the north point of the bay, and found plenty of fresh water. On taking a view of the hut where we had seen the children, we had the mortification to find that every Indian was fled, and that they had left all the presents behind them. The Captain now went in the pinnace to inspect the bay, and saw several of the natives, who all fled as he approached them. Some of the men having been sent to get wood and water, they no sooner went on board to dinner, than the natives came down to the place, and examined the casks with great attention, but did not offer to remove them. When the people were on shore in the afternoon, about 20 of the natives, all armed, advanced within a trifling distance off them, and then stopped, while two of their number approached still nearer. Mr. Hicks, the commanding officer on shore, went towards them, with presents in his hands, and endeavoured, by every possible means to assure them of his friendly intentions, but to no purpose, for they retired before he came up to them. In the evening, Messrs. Banks and Solander, went with the Captain to a cove, north of the bay, where they caught between three and four hundred weight of fish, at four hauls.

On Monday, the 30th, the natives came down to the huts before it was light, and were repeatedly heard to shout very loud, and soon after day-break they were seen on the beach, but quickly retired about a mile, and kindled several fires in the woods. This day some of the ship's crew being employed in cutting grass at a distance from the main body, the natives pursued them, but stopping within fifty or sixty yards of them, they shouted several times, and retreated to the woods. In the evening

they behaved exactly in the same manner, when the Captain followed them alone and unarmed for some time, but they still retired as he approached.

On Tuesday, May the first, the south point of the bay was named Sutherland Point, one of the seamen of the name of Sutherland, having died that day, was buried on shore; and more presents were left in the huts, such as looking-glasses, combs, &c. but the former ones had not been taken away. Making an excursion about the country, we found it agreeably variegated with wood and lawn, the trees being straight and tall, and without underwood. The country might be cultivated without cutting down one of them. The grass grows in large tufts, almost close to each other, and there is a great plenty of it. In this excursion, we met with many places where the inhabitants had slept without shelter, and one man, who ran away the moment he beheld us. More presents were left in their huts, and at their sleeping-places, in hopes of producing a friendly intercourse. We saw the dung of an animal which fed on grass, and traced the foot-steps of another, which had claws like a dog, and was about the size of a wolf: also the track of a small animal, whose foot was like that of a pole-cat; and saw one animal alive, about the size of a rabbit. We found some wood that had been felled, and the bark stript off by the natives, and several growing trees, in which steps had been cut, for the convenience of ascending them. The woods abound with a vast variety of beautiful birds, among which were cockatooes, and parroquets, which flew in large flocks. The second lieutenant, Mr. Gore, having been with a boat in order to drudge for oysters, saw some Indians, who made signs for him to come on shore, which he declined: having finished his business, he sent the boat away, and went by land with a midshipman, to join the party that was getting water. In their way they met with more than 20 of the natives, who followed them so close as to come within a few yards of them; Mr. Gore stopped and faced them, on which the Indians stopped also, and when he proceeded



again, they followed him ; but they did not attack him though they had each man a lance. The Indians coming in sight of the water-casks, stood at the distance of a quarter of a mile, while Mr. Gore and his companions reached their ship-mates in safety. Two or three of the waterers now advanced towards the Indians, but observing they did not retire, they very imprudently turned about, and retreated hastily : this apparent sign of cowardice inspired the savages, who discharged four of their lances at the fugitives, which flying beyond them, they escaped unhurt. They now stopped to pick up the lances ; on which the Indians retired in their turn. At this instant the Captain came up with Messrs. Banks and Solander, and Tupia advancing made signs of friendship ; but the poor natives would not stay their coming up to them. On the following day they went again on shore, where many plants were collected by Dr. Solander, and Mr. Banks. They saw several parties of the Indians, who all ran away on their approach. Tupia having learnt to shoot, frequently strayed alone to shoot parrots, and the Indians constantly fled away from him with as much precipitation as from the English. On the 2d of May, fourteen or fifteen Indians, in the same number of canoes, were engaged in striking fish within half a mile of the watering-place. At this time a party of the ship's crew were shooting near the fishermen, one of whom Mr. Banks observed to haul up his canoe on the beach, and approach the people who were shooting. He watched their motions unobserved by them, for more than a quarter of an hour, then put off his boat and returned to his fishing. At this time the Captain, with Dr. Solander and another gentleman, went to the head of the bay to try to form some connection with the Indians. On their first landing they found several of the Indians on shore, who immediately retreated to their canoes, and rowed off. They went up the country, where they found the soil to be a deep black mould, which appeared to be calculated for the production of any kind of grain. They saw some of the finest meadows that were ever beheld, and met with a

few rocky places, the stone of which is sandy, and seemed to be admirably adapted for building. In the woods they found a tree bearing cherries, if shape and colour may intitle them to that name, the juice of which was agreeably tart. They now returned to their boat, and seeing a fire at a distance, rowed towards it ; but the Indians fled at their coming near them. Near the beach they found seven canoes, and as many fires, from which they judged that each fisherman had dressed his own dinner. There were oysters lying on the spot, and some muscles roasting on the fire. They ate of these fish, and left them some beads and other trifles in return. They now returned to the ship, and in the evening Mr. Banks went out with his gun, and saw a great number of quails, some of which he shot, and they proved to be the same kind as those of England. On the following day a midshipman having strayed from his companions, came suddenly to an old man and woman, and some children, who were sitting naked under a tree together : they seemed afraid of him, but did not run away. The man wore a long beard, and both he and the woman were grey-headed ; but the woman's hair was cut short. This day likewise, two of another party met with six Indians on the border of a wood, one of whom calling out very loud, a lance was thrown from a wood, which narrowly missed them. The Indians now ran off, and, in looking round they saw a youth descend from a tree, who had doubtless been placed there for the purpose of throwing the lance at them. This day the Captain went up the country on the north side of the bay, which he found to resemble the moory grounds of England ; but the land was thinly covered with plants about 16 inches high. The hills rise gradually behind each other, for a considerable distance, and between them is marshy ground. Those who had been sent out to fish this day, met with great success, and the second lieutenant struck a fish called the Stingray, which weighed near two hundred and fifty pounds. The next morning a fish of the same kind was taken, which weighed three hundred and fifty pounds.



The name of Botany Bay was given to this place from the large number of plants collected by Messrs. Banks and Solander. This country produces two kinds of wood which may be deemed timber, one of which is tall and strait like the pine, and the other is hard, heavy, and dark coloured, like *lignum vitæ*; it yields a red gum, like dragon's blood, and bears some resemblance to the English oak. There are man-groves in abundance, several kinds of palm, and a few shrubs. Among other kinds of birds, crows were found here, exactly like those of England. There is great plenty of water-fowls, among the flats of sand and mud; one of which is shaped like a pelican, is larger than a swan, and has black and white feathers. These banks of mud abound with cockles, muscles, oysters, and other shell-fish, which greatly contribute towards the support of the natives, who sometimes dress them on shore, and at other times in their canoes. They likewise caught many other kinds of fish with hooks and line.

While the Captain remained in the harbour, the English colours were displayed on shore daily, and the name of the ship, with the date of the year, was carved on a tree near the place where we took in our water.

On Sunday, the 6th of May, at noon, we sailed from Botany Bay, and at noon, were off a harbour, which was called Port Jackson, and in the evening, near a bay, to which we gave the name of Broken Bay. The next day at noon, the northernmost land in sight projected so as to justify the calling it Cape Three Points. On Wednesday, the 9th, we saw two exceeding beautiful rainbows, the colours of which were strong and lively, and those of the inner one so bright, as to reflect its shadow on the water. They formed a complete semicircle, and the space between them was much darker than the rest of the sky. On Thursday we passed a rocky point, which was named Point Stephens. Next day saw smoke in several places on shore, and in the evening discovered three remarkable high hills near each other, which the Captain

named the Three Brothers. They lie in latitude 31 deg. 40 min. and may be seen thirteen or fourteen leagues from the shore.

Sunday, the 13th, we saw the smoke of fires, on a point of land, which was therefore called Cape Smokey. As we proceeded from Botany Bay, northward, the land appeared high and well covered with wood. In the afternoon, we discovered some rocky islands between us and the land, the southernmost of which is in latitude 30 deg. 10 min. and the northernmost in 29 deg. 58 min. On Tuesday morning, by the assistance of our glasses, we discerned about a score of Indians, each loaded with a bundle, which we imagined to be palm leaves for covering their houses. We traced them for more than an hour, during which time they took not the least notice of the ship; at length they left the beach, and were lost behind a hill, which they gained by a gentle ascent. At noon, in latitude 28 deg. 37 min. 30 sec. south, and in 206 deg. 30 min. west longitude, the Captain discovered a high point of land, and named it Cape Byron. We continued to steer along the shore with a fresh gale, and in the evening we discovered breakers at a considerable distance from the shore, so that we were obliged to tack, and get into deeper water; which having done, we lay with the head of the vessel to the land till the next morning, when we were surprised to find ourselves farther to the southward than we had been the preceding evening, notwithstanding we had southerly wind all night. The breakers lie in latitude 28 deg. 22 min. south. In the morning we passed the breakers, near a peaked mountain, which we named Mount Warning, situated in 28 deg. 22 min. south latitude. The point off which these shoals lie, Capt. Cook named Point Danger. We pursued our course, and the next day saw more breakers, near a point, which we distinguished by the name of Point Look-out; to the north of which the shore forms a wide open bay, which we called Moreton's Bay, and the north point thereof Cape Moreton. Near this are three hills, which we called the Glass Houses, from the very strong resemblance they bore to such buildings.



On Friday, the 18th, at two in the morning, we descried a point so unequal, that it looked like two small islands under the land, and it was therefore called Double Island Point. At noon, by the help of glasses, we discovered some sands, which lay in patches of several acres. We observed they were moveable, and that they had not been long in their present situation; for we saw trees half buried, and the tops of others still green. At this time two beautiful water-snakes swam by the ship, in every respect resembling land snakes, except that their tails were flat and broad, probably to serve them instead of fins in swimming.

Saturday, the 19th, at noon, we sailed about four leagues from the land, and at one o'clock saw a point, whereon a number of Indians were assembled, from whence it was called Indian Head. Soon afterwards we saw many more of the natives; also smoke in the day time, and fires by night. The next day we saw a point, which was named Sandy Point, from two large tracts of white sand that were on it. Soon after we passed a shoal, which we called Break Sea Spit, because we had now smooth water, after having long encountered a high sea. For some days past we had seen the sea birds, called boobies, none of which we had met with before; and which, from half an hour after, were continually passing the ship in large flights: from which it was conjectured, that there was an inlet or river of shallow water to the southward, where they went to feed in the day time, returning in the evening to some islands to the northward. In honour of Capt. Hervey we named this bay, Hervey's Bay.

On Tuesday, the 22nd, at six in the morning, by the help of our glasses, when a breast of the south point of a large bay, in which the Captain intended to anchor, we discovered, that the land was covered with palm-nut-trees, none of which we had seen since we had quitted the islands within the tropic. On the 23rd, early in the morning, Capt. Cook attended by several gentlemen, and Tupia, went on shore to examine the country. The wind blew so fresh, and we found it so cold, that being at some distance from

the shore, we took with us our cloaks. We landed a little within the point of a bay, which led into a large lagoon, by the sides of which grows the true man-grove, such as is found in the West-Indies, as it does also on some bogs, and swamps of salt-water which we discovered. In these man-groves were many nests of ants of a singular kind, being as green as grass. When the branches were moved, they came forth in great numbers, and bit the disturber most severely. These trees likewise afforded shelter for immense numbers of green caterpillars, whose bodies were covered with hairs, which, on the touch, occasioned a pain similar to the sting of a nettle, but much more acute. These insects were ranged side by side on the leaves, thirty or forty together, in a regular manner. Among the sand banks we saw birds larger than swans, which we imagined were pelicans; and shot a kind of bustard, which weighed seventeen pounds. This bird proved very delicate food, on which account we named this bay Bustard Bay. We likewise shot a duck of a most beautiful plumage, with a white beak. We found an abundance of oysters, of various sorts, and among the rest some hammer oysters of a curious kind. The country here is much worse than that about Botany Bay, the soil being dry and sandy, but the sides of the hills are covered with trees, which grow separately without underwood. We saw the tree that yields a gum like the *sanguis draconis*, but the leaves are longer than the same kind of trees in other parts, and hang down like those of a weeping willow. While we were in the woods, several of the natives took a survey of the ship and then departed. We saw on shore fires in many places, and repairing to one of them, found a dozen burning near them. The people were gone, but had left some shells and bones of fish they had just eaten. We perceived likewise several pieces of soft bark about the length and breadth of a man, which we judged had been used as beds. The whole was in a thicket of close trees, which afforded good shelter from the wind. This kind of encampment was in a thicket well defended from the wind. The place seemed to be



much trodden, and as there was no appearance of a house, it was imagined that they spent their nights, as well as their days in the open air: even Tupia shook his head, and exclaimed, Taata Enos! "Poor Wretches!"

On Thursday, the 24th, we made sail out of the bay, and on the day following were abreast of a point, which being immediately under the tropic, the Captain named Cape Capricorn, on the west side whereof we saw an amazing number of large birds resembling the pelican, some of which were near five feet high. We now anchored in twelve fathoms water, having the main land and barren islands in a manner all around us.

Sunday, the 27th, we stood between the range of almost barren islands, and the main land, which appeared mountainous. We had here very shallow water, and anchored in sixteen feet, which was not more than the ship drew. Mr. Banks tried to fish from the cabin windows, but the water was too shallow. The ground indeed was covered with crabs, which greedily seized the bait, and held it till they were above water. These crabs were of two kinds, one of a very fine blue, with a white belly; and the other marked with blue on the joints, and having three brown spots on the back.

On Monday, the 28th, in the morning, we sailed to the northward, and to the northernmost point of land we gave the name of Cape Manifold, from the number of high hills appearing above it. Between this cape and the shore is a bay which we called Keppel's, and to several islands, we gave the name of the same admiral. This day being determined to keep the main land close aboard, which continued to tend away to the west, we got among another cluster of islands. Here we were greatly alarmed, having on a sudden but three fathoms water, in a rippling tide; we immediately put the ship about, and hoisted out the boat in search of deeper water; after which we stood to the west with an easy sail, and in the evening came to the entrance of a bay. In the afternoon having sounded round the ship, and found that there was water sufficient to carry her over the shoal, we

weighed, and stood to the westward, having sent a boat a head to sound, and at six in the evening we anchored in ten fathoms, with a sandy bottom, at about two miles distant from the main.

On Tuesday, the 29th, we had thoughts of laying the ship ashore, and cleaning her bottom, and therefore landed with the master in search of a convenient place for that purpose. In this excursion Dr. Solander and Mr. Banks accompanied us; we found walking extremely inconvenient, the ground being covered with grass, the seeds of which were sharp and bearded, so that they were continually sticking in our clothes, whence they worked forwards to the flesh by means of the beard. We were also perpetually tormented with the stings of moschettos. Several places were found convenient to lay down the ship ashore, but to our great disappointment, we could meet with no fresh water. We proceeded, however, up the country, and in the interior parts, we found gum-trees, on the branches whereof were white ants nests formed of clay, as big as a bushel. On another tree we saw black ants, which perforated all the twigs, and after they had eaten out the pith, formed their lodging in the hollows which contained it; yet the trees were in a flourishing condition. We also saw in the air many thousands of butterflies, which ever way we looked; and every bough was covered with incredible numbers. On the dry ground we discovered, supposed to have been left by the tide, a fish about the size of a minnow, having two strong breast fins, with which it leaped away as nimbly as a frog: it did not appear to be weakened by being out of the water, nor even to prefer that element to the land, for when seen in the water it leaped on shore, and pursued its way. It was likewise remarked, that where there were small stones projecting above the water, it chose rather to leap from one stone to another, than to pass through the water.

On Wednesday, the 30th, Capt. Cook, and other gentlemen, went ashore, and having gained the summit of a hill, took a survey of the coast, and the adjacent islands,



which being done, the Captain proceeded with Dr. Solander up an inlet, that had been discovered the preceding day; but the weather proving unfavourable, and from a fear of being bewildered among the shoals in the night, they returned to the ship, having seen the whole day, only two Indians, who followed the boat a considerable way along shore; but the tide running strong, the Captain thought it not prudent to wait for them. While these gentlemen were tracing the inlet, Mr. Banks, with a party, endeavoured to penetrate into the country, and having met with a piece of swampy ground, we resolved to pass it; but before we got half way, we found the mud almost knee deep. The bottom was covered with branches of trees, interwoven on the surface of the swamp, on which we sometimes kept our footing; sometimes our feet slipped through; and sometimes we were so entangled among them, as not to be able to free ourselves but by groping in the mud and slime with our hands. However, we crossed it in about an hour, and judged it might be about a quarter of a mile over. Having performed this disagreeable task, we came to a spot where had been four small fires, near which were some bones of fish that had been roasted; also grass laid in heaps, whereon four or five persons probably had slept. Our second lieutenant, Mr. Gore, at another place, saw the track of a large animal, near a gully of water; he also heard the sounds of human voices, but did not see the people. At this place two turtles, some water fowl, and a few small birds, were seen. As no water was to be found in our different excursions, for several of our crew were also rambling about, the Captain called the inlet where the ship lay, Thirsty Sound. It lies in latitude 22 deg. 10 min. south, and in 210 deg. 18 min. west longitude, and may be known by a group of islands that lie right before it, between three and four leagues out at sea. We had not a single inducement to stay longer in a place, where we could not be supplied with fresh water, nor with provision of any kind. We caught neither fish nor wild fowl; nor could we get a shot at the same kind of

water-fowl, which we had seen in Botany Bay. Therefore on the 31st, at six o'clock A. M. we weighed anchor, and put to sea. We kept without the islands that lie in shore, and to the N. W. of Thirsty Sound, as there appeared to be no safe passage between them and the main, at the same time we had a number of islands without us, extending as far as we could see. Pier head, the N. W. point of Thirsty Sound, bore S. E. distant six leagues, being half way between the islands which are off the east point of the western inlet, and three small islands that lie directly without them. Having sailed round these last, we came to an anchor in fifteen fathoms water, and the weather being dark, hazy, and rainy, we remained under the lee of them till seven o'clock of the next morning.

On the 1st, of June, we got under sail, and our latitude by observation was 21 deg. 29 min. south. We had now quite open the western inlet, which we have distinguished by the name of Broad Sound. A point of land which forms its N. W. entrance, we named Cape Palmerston, lying in 21 deg. 30 min. S. latitude, and in 210 deg. 54 min. W. longitude. Between this cape and Cape Townshend is the bay, which we have called the Bay of Inlets. At eight in the evening, we anchored in eleven fathoms, with a sandy bottom, about two leagues from the main land.

Saturday, the 2nd, we got under sail, and at noon, in latitude 20 deg. 56 min. we saw a high promontory, which we named Cape Hillsborough. It bore W. half N. distant seven miles. The land appeared to abound in wood and herbage, and is diversified with hills, plains, and valleys. A chain of islands large and small are situated at a distance from the coast and under the land, from some of which we saw smoke ascending in different places.

On Sunday, the 3rd, we discovered a point of land, which we called Cape Conway, and between that and Cape Hillsborough, a bay to which we gave the name of Repulse Bay. The land about Cape Conway, forms a most beautiful landscape, being diversified with hills, dales, woods, and verdant



lawns. By the help of our glasses we discovered two men and a woman on one of the islands, and a canoe with an outrigger like those of Otaheite. This day we named the islands Cumberland Islands, in honour of the duke; and a passage which we had discovered, was called Whitsunday passage, from the day on which it was seen. At day-break, on Monday, the 4th, we were abreast of a point, which we called Cape Gloucester. Names were also given this day to three other places, namely, Holbourne Isle, Edgcumbe Bay, and Cape Upstart, which last was so called because it rises abruptly from the low lands that surround it. Inland are some hills or mountains, which like the cape afford but a barren prospect.

On Tuesday, the 5th, we were about four leagues from land, and our latitude by observation was 19 deg. 12 min. S. We saw very large columns of smoke rising from the low lands. We continued to steer W. N. W. as the land lay, till noon on the 6th, when our latitude by observation was 19 deg. 1 min. S. at which time we had the mouth of a bay all open, distant two leagues. This we named Cleveland Bay, and the east point Cape Cleveland. The west, which had the appearance of an island, we called Magnetical island, because the compass did not traverse well when we were near it: they are both high, as is the main land between them, the whole forming a surface the most rugged, rocky, and barren of any we had seen upon the coast: yet it was not without inhabitants, for we saw smoke in several parts of the bottom of the bay.

Thursday, the 7th, at day-break we were abreast of the eastern part of this land, and in the afternoon saw several large columns of smoke upon the main; also canoes, and some trees, which we thought were those of the cocoa-nut: in search of which, as they would have been at this time very acceptable; Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went ashore with lieutenant Hicks; but in the evening they returned with only a few plants, gathered from the cabbage palm, and which had been mistaken for the cocoa tree.

On Friday, the 8th, we stood away for the northernmost point in sight, to which we gave the name of Point Hillock. Between this and Magnetical isle the shore forms Halifax Bay, which affords shelter from all winds. At six in the evening we were abreast of a point of land, which we named Cape Sandwich. From hence the land tends W. and afterwards N. forming a fine large bay, which was named Rockingham Bay. We now ranged northward along the shore, towards a cluster of islands, on one of which about forty or fifty men, women, and children were standing together, all stark naked, and looking at the ship with a curiosity never observed among these people before. At noon our latitude, by observation, was 17 deg. 59 min. and we were abreast of the north point of Rockingham Bay, which bore from us W. distant about two miles. This boundary of the bay is formed by an island of considerable height, which we distinguished by the name of Dunk Isle.

On Saturday, the 9th, in the morning, we were abreast of some small islands, which were named Frankland's Isles. At noon we were in the middle of the channel, and by observation in latitude 16 deg. 57 min. S. and in longitude 214 deg. 6 min. W. with twenty fathoms water. The point on the main of which we were now abreast Capt. Cook named Cape Grafton. Having hauled round this, we found a bay three miles to the westward, in which we anchored; and called the island Green Island. Here Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went ashore with the Captain, with a view of procuring water, which not being to be had easily, they soon returned aboard, and the next day we arrived near Trinity Bay, so called because discovered on Trinity Sunday.

Sunday, the 10th, was remarkable for the dangerous situation of the Endeavour, as was Tuesday, the 12th; for her preservation and deliverance, as Christians, or only moral philosophers, we ought to add, agreeable to the will of an overruling providence, who shut up the sea with doors, who appointed for it a decreed place, and said, Thus far thou shalt come, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed. As no accident remarkably



unfortunate had befallen us, during a navigation of more than thirteen hundred miles, upon a coast every where abounding with the most dangerous rocks and shoals, no name of distress had hitherto been given to any cape or point of land which we had seen. But we now gave the name of Cape Tribulation, to a point we had just seen farthest to the northward, because here we became acquainted with misfortune. The cape lies in latitude 16 deg. 6 min. S. and 214 deg. 39 min. W. longitude.

This day, Sunday, the 10th, at six in the evening we shortened sail, and hauled off shore close upon a wind, to avoid the danger of some rocks which were seen ahead, and to observe whether any islands lay in the offing, as we were near the latitude of those islands, said to have been discovered by Quiros. We kept standing off from six o'clock till near nine, with a fine breeze and bright moon. We had got into twenty-one fathoms water, when suddenly we fell into twelve, ten, and eight fathoms, in a few minutes. Every man was instantly ordered to his station, and we were on point of anchoring, when, on a sudden, we had again deep water, so that we thought all danger at an end, concluding we had sailed over the tail of some shoals, which we had seen in the evening. We had twenty fathoms and upwards before ten o'clock, and this depth continuing some time, the gentlemen, who had hitherto been upon duty, retired to rest; but in less than an hour the water shallowed at once from twenty to seventeen fathoms, and before soundings could be taken, the ship struck upon a rock, and remained immoveable. Every one was instantly on deck, with countenances fully expressive of the horrors of our situation. Knowing we were not near the shore, we concluded that we were upon a rock of coral, the points of which are sharp, and the surface so rough, as to grind away whatever it rubbed against, even with the gentlest motion. All the sails being immediately taken in, and our boats hoisted out, we found, that the ship had been lifted over a ledge of the rock, and lay in a hollow within it. Finding the water was deepest astern, we carried out the

anchor from the starboard quarter, and applied our whole force to the capstan, in hopes to get the vessel off, but in vain. She now beat so violently against the rock, that the crew could scarcely keep on their legs. The moon shone bright, by the light of which we could see the sheathing-boards float from the bottom of the vessel, till at length the false keel followed, so that we expected instant destruction. Our best chance of escaping seemed now to be by lightening her; but having struck at high water, we should have been in our present situation after the vessel should draw as much less water as the water had sunk; our anxiety abated a little, on finding that the ship settled on the rocks as the tide ebbed, and we flattered ourselves, that, if the ship should keep together till next tide, we might have some chance of floating her. We therefore instantly started the water in the hold, and pumped it up. The decayed stores, oil-jars, casks, ballast, six guns, and other things, were thrown overboard, in order to get at the heavier articles; and in this business we were employed till day-break, during all which time not an oath was sworn, so much were the minds of the sailors impressed with a sense of their danger.

On Monday, the 11th, at day-light we saw land at eight leagues distance, but not a single island between us and the main, on which part of the crew might have been landed, while the boat went on shore with the rest: so that the destruction of the greater part of us would have been inevitable, had the ship gone to pieces. It happened that the wind died away to a dead calm before noon. As we expected high-water about eleven o'clock, every thing was prepared to make another effort to free the ship, but the tide fell so much short of that in the night, that she did not float by 18 inches, though we had thrown over-board near fifty tons weight: we therefore renewed our toil, and threw over-board every thing that could possibly be spared; as the tide fell, the water poured in so rapidly, that we could scarce keep her free by the constant working of two pumps. Our only hope now depended on the midnight tide, and



preparations were accordingly made for another effort to get the ship off. The tide began to rise at five o'clock, when the leak likewise increased 'to such a degree, that two pumps more were manned, but only one of them would work; three, therefore, were kept going, till nine o'clock, at which time the ship righted; but so much water had been admitted by the leak, that we expected she would sink as soon as the water should bear her off the rock. Our situation was now deplorable, beyond description, almost all hope being at an end. We knew that when the fatal moment should arrive, all authority would be at an end. The boats were incapable of conveying all on shore, and we dreaded a contest for the preference, as more shocking than the shipwreck itself: yet it was considered, that those who might be left on board, would eventually meet with a milder fate than those who, by gaining the shore, would have no chance but to linger out the remains of life among the rudest savages in the universe, and in a country, where fire-arms would barely enable them to support themselves in a most wretched situation. At twenty minutes after ten the ship floated, and was heaved into deep water, when we were happy to find that she did not admit more water than she had done before: yet as the leak had for a considerable time gained on the pumps, there was now three feet nine inches water in the hold. By this time the men were so worn by fatigue of mind and body, that none of them could pump more than five or six minutes at a time, and then threw themselves, quite spent, on the deck, amidst a stream of water which came from the pumps. The succeeding man being fatigued in his turn, threw himself down in the same manner, while the former jumped up and renewed his labour, thus mutually struggling for life, till the following accident had like to have given them up a prey to absolute despair, and thereby insured our destruction. Between the inside lining of the ship's bottom, which is called the cieling, and the outside planking, there is a space of about seventeen or eighteen inches. The man who had hitherto taken the depth

of water at the well, had taken it no farther than the cieling, but being now relieved by another person, who took the depth of the outside plank, it appeared by this mistake, that the leak had suddenly gained upon the pumps, the whole difference between the two planks. This circumstance deprived us of all hopes, and scarce any one thought it worth while to labour for the longer preservation of a life which must so soon have a period: but the mistake was soon discovered; and the joy arising from such unexpected good news inspired the men with so much vigour, that before eight o'clock in the morning, they had pumped out considerably more water than they had shipped. We now talked of nothing but getting the ship into some harbour, and set heartily to work to get in the anchors; one of which, and the cable of another, we lost; but these were now considered as trifles. Having a good breeze from sea, we got under sail at eleven o'clock, and steered for land. As we could not discover the exact situation of the leak, we had no prospect of stopping it within side of the vessel, but on Tuesday the 12th, the following expedient, which one of the midshipmen had formerly seen tried with success, was adopted. We took an old studding-sail, and having mixed a large quantity of oakham and wool, chopped small, it was stitched down in handfuls on the sail, as lightly as possible, the dung of sheep and other filth being spread over it. Thus prepared, the sail was hauled under the ship, by ropes, which kept it extended till it came under the leak, when the suction carried in the oakham and wool from the surface of the sail. This experiment succeeded so well, that instead of three pumps, the water was easily kept under with one.

We had hitherto no farther view than to run the ship into some harbour, and build a vessel from her materials, in which we might reach the East-Indies; but we now began to think of finding a proper place to repair her damage, and then to pursue her voyage on its original plan. At six in the evening we anchored seven leagues from the shore; and found that the ship made



15 inches water an hour during the night: but as the pumps could clear this quantity, we were not uneasy. At nine in the morning we passed two islands, which were called Hope Islands, because the reaching of them had been the object of our wishes, at the time of the shipwreck. In the afternoon, the master was sent out with two boats to sound and search for a harbour where the ship might be repaired, and we anchored at sun-set, in four fathoms water, two miles from the shore. One of the mates being sent out in the pinnace, returned at nine o'clock, reporting, that he had found such a harbour as was wanted, at the distance of two leagues.

Wednesday, the 13th, at six o'clock, we sailed, having previously sent two boats ahead, to point out the shoals that we saw in our way. We soon anchored about a mile from the shore, when the Captain went out, and found the channel very narrow, but the harbour was better adapted to our present purpose, than any place we had seen in the whole course of the voyage. As

it blew very fresh this day and the following night, we could not venture to run into the harbour, but remained at anchor during the two succeeding days, in the course of which we observed four Indians on the hills who stopped and made two fires.

Our men, by this time, began to be afflicted with the scurvy; and our Indian friend Tupia was so ill with it, that he had livid spots on both his legs. Mr. Green, the astronomer, was likewise ill of the same disorder; so that our being detained from landing was every way disagreeable. The wind continued fresh till the 17th, and then we resolved to push in for the harbour, and twice ran the ship aground; the second time she stuck fast, on which we took down the bombs, fore-yard, and fore-top-masts, and made a raft on the side of the ship; and, as the tide happened to be rising, she floated at one o'clock. We soon got her into the harbour, where she was moored along the side of a beach, and the anchors, cables, &c. immediately taken out of her.

## CHAP. IX.

*The ship is refitted, in Endeavour River; Transactions during that time; The country, its inhabitants and productions described; A description of the harbour, the adjacent country, and several islands near the coast; The range from Endeavour River to the northern extremity of the country; And the dangers of that navigation; The Endeavour departs from South Wales; That country, its product and people described, with a specimen of the language.*

ON Monday, the 18th, in the morning, we erected a tent for the sick, who were brought on shore as soon as it was ready for their reception. We likewise built a stage from the ship to the shore, and set up a tent to hold the provisions and stores, that were landed the same day. The boat was now dispatched in search of fish for the refreshment of the sick, but she returned without getting any; but Tupia employed himself in angling, and living entirely upon what he caught, recovered his health very

fast. In an excursion Mr. Banks made up the country, he saw the frames of several huts, and Capt. Cook having ascended one of the highest hills, observed the land to be stony and barren, and the low land, near the river, over-run with mangroves, among which the salt water flowed every tide.

Tuesday, the 19th, the smith's forge was set up, and the armourer prepared the necessary iron-work for the repair of the vessel. The officers, stores, ballast, water, &c. were likewise ordered out, in order to lighten



the ship. This day Mr. Banks crossed the river, to view the country, which he observed to be little else than sand-hills. He saw vast flocks of pigeons, most beautiful birds, of which he shot several. On Wednesday, the 20th, as we were removing the coals, the water rushed in, near the foremast, about three feet from the keel; so that it was resolved to clear the hold entirely: which being done on Friday, the 22nd, we warped the ship higher up the harbour, to a station more proper for laying her ashore, in order to stop the leak. Early in the morning, the tide having left her, we proceeded to examine the leak, when it appeared that the rocks had cut through four-planks into the timbers, and that three other planks were damaged. In these breaches not a splinter was to be seen, the whole being smooth, as if cut away by an instrument: but it was the will of an omnipotent being, that the vessel should be preserved by a very singular circumstance: for though one of the holes was large enough to have sunk her, even with eight pumps constantly at work, yet this inlet to our destruction was partly stopped up, by a fragment of the rock being left sticking therein. We likewise found some pieces of the oakham, wool, &c. which had got between the timbers, and stopped those parts of the leak that the stone had left open. Exclusive of the leak, great damage was done to various parts of the ship's bottom. While the smiths were employed in making nails and bolts, the carpenters began to work on the vessel; and some of the people were sent on the other side of the river to shoot pigeons for the sick. They found a stream of fresh water, several inhabitants of the Indians, and saw a mouse-coloured animal, exceeding swift, and about the size of a greyhound.

On Saturday, the 23rd, a boat was dispatched to haul the seine, and returned at noon with only three fish, and yet we saw them in plenty leaping about the harbour. This day many of the crew saw the animal above-mentioned; and one of the seamen declared he had seen the devil, which John thus described, "He was," says he, "as large as a one gallon keg, and very like it:

he had horns and wings, yet he crept so slowly through the grass, that, if I had not been afeard, I might have touched him." This formidable apparition we afterwards discovered to have been a batt, which we must acknowledge has a frightful appearance, it being black, and full as large as a partridge; but the man's own apprehensions had furnished his devil with horns.

Sunday, Mr. Gore, and a party of men sent out with him, procured a bunch or two of wild plantains, and a few palm cabbages, for the refreshment of the sick: and this day the Captain and Mr. Banks saw the animal already mentioned. It had a long tail that it carried like a greyhound, leaped like a deer, and the point of its foot resembled that of a goat. The repairs of the ship on the starboard-side having been finished the preceding day, the carpenters now began to work under her larboard bow; and being examined abaft, it appeared she had received very little injury in that quarter. Mr. Banks having removed his whole collection of plants into the bread room, they were this day under water, by which some of them were totally destroyed; however by great care most of them were restored to a state of preservation. A plant was found this day, the 25th, the leaves of which were almost as good as spinnage; also a fruit of a deep purple colour, and the size of a golden pippin, which after having been kept a few days tasted like a damson. On Tuesday, the 26th, the carpenter was engaged in calking the ship, and the men in other necessary business; and on the 27th, the armourer continued to work at the forge, and the carpenter on the ship; while the Captain made several hauls with the large net, but caught only between twenty and thirty fish, which were distributed among the sick, and those who were not yet quite recovered. We began this day to move some of the weight from the after-part of the ship forward, to ease her. On the 28th, Mr. Banks with some seamen went up into the country, to whom he shewed a plant which served them for greens, and which the inhabitants of the West-Indies call Indian Kale. Here we saw a tree



notched for climbing: also nests of white ants from a few inches to five feet in height, prints of men's feet, and the tracks of three or four animals were likewise discovered.

On Friday, the 29th, at two o'clock in the morning, Capt. Cook with Mr. Green, observed an emersion of Jupiter's first satellite: the time here was 2 hours 18 min. 53 sec. which makes the longitude of this place 214 deg. 42 min. 30 sec. W. and the latitude 15 deg. 26 min. S. At dawn of day the boat was sent out to haul for fish, and took what made an allowance of one pound and a half to each man. One of our midshipmen, this day abroad with his gun, reported, that he had seen a wolf, resembling exactly the same species in America, at which he shot, but could not kill it. The next morning, being the 30th, the Captain ascended a hill to take a view of the sea, when he observed innumerable sand banks and shoals, in every direction; but to the northward there was an appearance of a passage, which seemed the only way to steer clear of the surrounding dangers, especially as the wind blows constantly from the S. E. Mr. Gore saw this day two straw coloured animals of the size of a hare, shaped like a dog. In the afternoon the people returned with such a quantity of fish, that two pounds and a half were distributed to each man; and plenty of greens had been gathered, which when boiled with peas made an excellent mess, and we all thought this day's fare an unspeakable refreshment.

On Sunday, the 1st of July, all the crew had permission to go on shore, except one from each mess, part of whom were again sent out with the seine, and were again equally successful. Some of our people who went up in the country, gave an account of their having seen several animals, and a fire about a mile up the river. On Tuesday, the 3rd, the master, who had been sent in the pinnace, returned, and reported, that he had found a passage out to sea, between shoals which consisted of coral rocks, many whereof were dry at low water. He found some cockles so large, that one of them was more than sufficient for two men: likewise

plenty of other shell-fish, of which he brought a supply to the ship, in his return to which he had landed in a bay where some Indians were at supper; but they instantly retired, leaving some sea eggs by a fire for dressing them. This day we made another attempt to float the ship, and happily succeeded at high water; when we found, that by the position she had laid in, one of her planks was sprung, so that it was again necessary to lay her ashore. An alligator swam by her several times at high water.

Wednesday, the 4th, was employed in trimming her upon an even keel, warping her over, and laying her down on a sand-bank, on the south side of the river; and on the next day, the 5th, she was again floated, and moored off the beach, in order to receive the stores on board. This day we crossed the harbour, and found on a sandy beach a great number of fruits, not discovered before; among others a cocoa-nut, which Tupia said had been opened by a crab, and was judged to be what the Dutch call Beurs Krabbe. The vegetable substances which Mr. Banks picked up were incrustated with marine productions, and covered with barnacles, a proof of their having been transplanted, probably from Terra del Esperito Santo. This gentleman with a party having sailed up the river on the 6th, to make an excursion up the country, returned on the 8th. Having followed the course of the river, they found it at length contracted into a narrow channel, bounded by steep banks, adorned with trees of a most beautiful appearance, among which was the bark tree. The land was low and covered with grass, and seemed capable of being cultivated to great advantage. The night, though we had made a fire on the banks of the river, was rendered extremely disagreeable by the stings of the moschettos, that cause an almost intolerable torment. Going in pursuit of game, we saw four animals, two of which were chased by Mr. Banks's greyhound, but they greatly outstripped him in speed, by leaping over the long thick grass, which incommoded the dog in running. It was observed of the animals, that



they bounded forward on two legs instead of running on four. Having returned to the boat we proceeded up the river, till it contracted to a brook of fresh water, but in which the tide rose considerably. Having stopped to pass the night, with hope of some rest, we saw a smoke at a distance, on which three of us approached it, but the Indians were gone. We saw the impressions of feet on the sand, below high-water mark, and found a fire still burning in the hollow of an old tree. At a small distance were several huts, and we observed ovens dug in the ground: the remains of a recent meal were likewise apparent. We now retired to our resting-place, and slept on plantain leaves, with a bunch of grass for our pillows, on the side of a sand-bank, under the shelter of a bush. The tide favouring our return in the morning, we lost no time in getting back to the ship. The master, who had been seven leagues at sea, returned soon after Mr. Banks, bringing with him three turtles, which he took with a boat-hook, and which together weighed near eight hundred pounds. He was sent out next morning, and Mr. Banks accompanied him with proper instruments for catching turtle: but not being successful, he would not go back that night, so that Mr. Banks, after collecting some shells and marine productions, returned in his own small boat. In the morning the second lieutenant was sent to bring the master back, soon after which four Indians, in a small canoe, were within sight. The Captain now determined to take no notice of these people, as the most likely way to be noticed by them. This project answered; two of them came within musket shot of the vessel, where they conversed very loud: in return, the people on board shouted, and made signs of invitation. The Indians gradually approached, with their lances held up; not in a menacing manner, but as if they meant to intimate that they were capable of defending themselves. They came almost along-side, when the Captain threw them cloth, nails, paper, &c. which did not seem to attract their notice; at length one of the sailors threw a small fish, which so pleased them, that they

hinted their designs of bringing their companions, and immediately rowed for the shore. In the interim, Tupia and some of the crew landed on the opposite shore. The four Indians now came quite along-side the ship, and having received farther presents, landed where Tupia and the sailors had gone. They had each two lances, and a stick with which they threw them. Advancing towards the English, Tupia persuaded them to lay down their arms, and sit by him, which they readily did. Others of the crew now going on shore, the Indians seemed jealous, lest they should get between them and their arms, but care was taken to convince them that no such thing was intended, and more trifles were presented to them. The crew staid with them till dinner-time, and then made signs of invitation for them to go to the ship and eat; but this they declined, and retired in their canoe. These men were of the common stature, with very small limbs; their complexion was of a deep chocolate; their hair black, either lank or curled, but not of the woolly kind; the breasts and upper lip of one of them were painted with streaks of white, which he called *carbanda*, and some part of their bodies had been painted red. Their teeth were white and even, their eyes bright, and their features rather pleasing; their voices musical, and they repeated several English words with great readiness.

The next morning, the visit of three of these Indians was renewed, and they brought with them a fourth, whom they called *Yaparico*, who appeared to be a person of some consequence. The bone of a bird, about six inches long, was thrust through the gristle of his nose; and indeed all the inhabitants of this place had their noses bored, for the reception of such an ornament. These people being all naked, the Captain gave one of them an old shirt, which he bound round his head like a turban, instead of using it to cover any part of his body. They brought a fish to the ship, which was supposed to be in payment for that given them the day before: after staying some time with apparent satisfaction, they suddenly leaped into their canoe, and



rowed off from a jealousy of some of the gentlemen who were examining it.

On the 12th. of July, three Indians visited Tupia's tent, and after remaining some time, went for two others, whom they introduced by name. Some fish was offered them, but they seemed not much to regard it; after eating a little, they gave the remainder to Mr. Banks's dog. Some ribbands which had been given them, to which medals were suspended round their necks, were so changed by smoke, that it was difficult to judge what colour they had been, and the smoke had made their skins look darker than their natural colour, from whence it was thought that they had slept close to their fires, as a preventative against the sting of the mosquitoes. Both the strangers had bones through their noses, and a piece of bark tied over their foreheads; and one of them had an ornament of strings round his arm; and an elegant necklace made of shells. Their canoe was about ten feet long, and calculated to hold four persons, and when it was in shallow water they moved it by the help of poles. Their lances had only a single point, and some of them were barbed with fish-bones. On the 14th, Mr. Gore shot one of the mouse-coloured animals above-mentioned. It chanced to be a young one, weighing more than 38 pounds; but when they are full grown, they are as large as a sheep. The skin of this beast which is called Kangaroo, is covered with short fur, and is of a dark mouse colour; the head and ears are somewhat like those of a hare; this animal was dressed for dinner, and proved fine eating. The ship's crew fed on turtle almost every day, which were finer than those eaten in England, owing to their being killed before their natural fat was wasted, and their juices changed.

On the 17th, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went with the Captain into the woods, and saw four Indians in a canoe, who went on shore, and walked up without sign of fear. They accepted some beads, and departed, intimating that they did not chose to be followed. The natives being now become familiar with the ship's crew, one of them was desired to throw his lance, which he did

with such dexterity and force, that though it was not above four feet from the ground at the highest, it penetrated deeply into a tree at the distance of fifty yards. The natives now came on board the ship, and were well pleased with their entertainment.

On the 19th, we saw several of the women, who, as well as the men, were quite naked. We were this day visited by ten Indians, who seemed resolved to have one of the turtles that was on board, which they repeatedly made signs for, and being as repeatedly refused, they expressed the utmost rage and resentment, one of them in particular, having received a denial from Mr. Banks, he stamped, and pushed him away in a most violent manner. At length they laid hands on two of the turtles, and drew them to the side of the ship where the canoe lay, but the sailors took them away. They made several similar attempts, but being equally unsuccessful, they leaped suddenly into their canoe, and rowed off. At this instant the Captain, with Mr. Banks, and five or six of the seamen, went on shore, where they arrived before the Indians, and where many of the crew were already employed. As soon as the Indians landed, one of them snatched a fire brand from under a pitch-kettle, and running to the windward of what effects were left on shore, set fire to the dry grass, which burned rapidly, scorched a pig to death, burned part of the smith's forge, and would have destroyed a tent of Mr. Banks, but that some people came from the ship just in time to get it out of the way of the flames. In the mean while the Indians went to a place where the fishing-nets lay, and a quantity of linen was laid out to dry, and there again set fire to the grass, in spite of all persuasion, and even of threats. A musket loaded with small shot was fired, and one of them being wounded, they ran away, and this second fire was extinguished; but the other burned far into the woods.

The Indians still continuing in sight, a musket charged with ball was fired, the report only of which sent them out of sight; but their voices being heard in the woods, the Captain with a few people went to meet



them. Both parties stopped when in sight of each other; at which time an old Indian advanced before the rest a little way, but soon halted, and after having spoke some words, which we could not understand, he retreated to his companions, and they all retired slowly in a body. Having found means to seize some of their darts, we continued following them about a mile, and then sat down upon some rocks, the Indians sitting down also about an hundred yards from us. The old man again came forward, having a lance without a point in his hand; he stopped several times at different distances, and spoke, whereupon the Captain made signs of friendship, which they answered. The old man now turned, and spoke aloud to his companions, who placed their lances against a tree, and came forward in a friendly manner. When they came up to us, we returned the darts we had taken, and we perceived with great satisfaction, that this rendered the reconciliation complete. In this party were four persons whom we had not seen before, who, as usual, were introduced to us by name, but the man who had been wounded in the attempt to burn our nets, was not among them. Having received from us some trinkets, they walked amicably toward the coast, intimating by signs, that they would not fire the grass again. When we came opposite the ship they sat down, but we could not prevail with them to go on board. They accepted a few musket balls, the use and effect of which the Captain endeavoured to explain. We then left them, and when arrived at the ship, we saw the woods burning at the distance of two miles. We had no conception of the fury with which grass will burn in this hot climate, nor of the difficulty of extinguishing it; but we determined, that if it should ever again be necessary for us to pitch our tents in such a situation, our first work should be to clear the ground round us.

Friday, the 20th, our ship being ready for sea, the master was sent in search of a passage to the northward, but could not find any; while the Captain sounded and buoyed the bar. This day we saw not any In-

dians; but the hills for many miles were on fire, which at night made an appearance truly sublime. On the 22nd, we killed a turtle, through both shoulders of which stuck a wooden harpoon, near fifteen inches long, bearded at the end, and about the thickness of a man's finger, resembling such as we had seen among the natives. The turtle appeared to have been struck a considerable time, for the wound was perfectly healed. On the 24th, one of the sailors, who with others had been sent to gather kake, having strayed from the rest, fell in with four Indians at dinner. He was at first much alarmed, but had prudence enough to conceal his apprehensions; and sitting down by them gave them his knife, which having examined, they returned. He would then have left them; but they seemed disposed to detain him, till, by feeling his hands and face, they were convinced he was made of flesh and blood like themselves. They treated him with great civility, and having kept him about half an hour, they made signs that he might depart. When he left them, not taking the direct way to the ship, they came from the fire, and shewed him the nearest way; from whence we concluded, that they well knew from whence he came. We may here observe, that the language of these people seemed to us more harsh than that of the islanders in the South-Sea. They were continually repeating the word *chercau*, a term, as we imagined, of admiration. They also cried out, when they saw any thing new, *cher, tut, tut, tut, tut!* which probably was a similar expression. Mr. Banks having gone on shore in search of plants, found the cloth which had been distributed among the natives, lying in a heap, as useless lumber. Indeed they seemed to set very little value upon any thing we had, except our turtle, a commodity we were least inclined and able to spare.

Tuesday, the 24th, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander returning from the woods, through a deep valley, found lying on the ground, several marking nuts, the *Anacardium orientale*; but they sought in vain for the tree that bore them. On the 26th, as Mr. Banks was again searching the country to enrich



his natural history, he took an animal of the Opossum kind, with two young ones. On the 27th, Mr. Gore shot a Kangaroo, which weighed eighty-four pounds, though not at its full growth. When dressed, on the 28th, we found it had a much worse flavour than that we had eaten before.

Sunday, the 29th, we got the anchor up, and made all ready to put to sea. A boat was sent out to ascertain what water was upon the bar: when returned, the officer reported, that there was only thirteen feet, which was six inches less than the ship drew. We therefore this day gave up all hopes of sailing. Monday, the 30th, we had fresh gales with hazy weather and rain, till Tuesday, the 31st, at two in the morning, when the weather became more moderate. During all this time the pinnace and yawl continued to ply the net and hook with tolerable good success, bringing in at different times a turtle, and from two to three hundred weight of fish.

On Wednesday, the 1st of August, the pumps were examined by the carpenter, who found them all in a state of decay, and some quite rotten, owing, as he said, to the sap having been left in the wood: but as the ship admitted only an inch of water in an hour, we hoped she was stout enough, and trusted to her soundness.

On Saturday, the 4th, at seven o'clock in the morning, we once more got under sail, and put to sea. We stood off E. by N. with the pinnace ahead to keep sounding. About noon we came to an anchor, when the harbour from whence we had sailed bore S. 70 W. distant about five leagues. The Captain here named the northernmost point of land in sight, Cape Bedford, and the harbour we had quitted, Endeavour River. Our latitude by observation was now 15 deg. 32 min. S. Endeavour River is only a small bar harbour, or creek, which runs in a winding channel three or four leagues inland. The depth of water for shipping, is not more than a mile within the bar, and only on the north side. At the new and full of the moon, it is high-water between nine and ten o'clock. It must also be remembered, that this part of the coast is so

barricaded with shoals, as to make the harbour very difficult of access: the safest approach is from the southward, keeping the main land close upon the board all the way. Over the south point is some high land, but the north point is formed by a low sandy beach. The provisions we procured in this harbour, consisted of turtle, oysters of different sorts, cavallie or scumber, flat-fish, skate or ray fish, purslain, wild beans, and cabbage-palms. Of quadrupeds, there are goats, wolves, pole-cats, a spotted animal of the viverra kind, and several kinds of serpents, some of which only are venomous. Dogs are the only tame animals. The land fowls are kites, crows, hawks, loriquets, cockatoos, parrots, pigeons, and small birds of various sorts, the names of which we could not learn. The water fowls are wild geese, curliens, lieus, whistling ducks, that perch on trees, and some few others. The soil of the hills, though stony, produces coarse grass, besides wood; that of the valleys is in general well clothed, and has the appearance of fertility. The trees here are of various sorts, of which the gum-trees are the most common. On each side of the river are mangroves, which in some parts extend a mile within the coast. The country is well watered, and ant-hills are every where in great numbers.

On Saturday, the 4th, Capt. Cook went up to the mast-head to look at some dangerous shoals, several of which he saw above the water. This day such a quantity of fish was caught, as allowed a dividend of two pounds to each man. During the six following days, we attempted to sail between the shoals and breakers, by which we were every way surrounded. On the 10th, we were between a head-land and three islands, which had been discovered the preceding day. We now entertained hopes of being out of danger, but this not proving to be the case, we called the head-land Cape Flat-tery. Some land was now discovered, and was generally taken for the main; but in the Captain's opinion, a cluster of islands. Upon this diversity of sentiments, it was resolved to bring the ship to anchor. This done, the Captain landed, and from a high



point took a survey of the sea-coast, by which he was confirmed in his conjecture. On the point where he stood were seen the prints of human feet, in white sand of an exquisite fineness; and the place was named point Lookout. To the northward of this, the coast appeared to be shoal and flat, for a considerable distance, which did not encourage our hope, that the channel we had hitherto found in with the land would continue.

On Saturday, the 11th, early in the morning, Mr. Banks and Capt. Cook went to visit the largest of the three islands, and having gained the summit of the highest hill, they beheld a reef of rocks, whereon the sea broke in a frightful manner; but the hazy weather preventing a perfect view, they lodged under a bush during the night, and next day seeing what had the appearance of a channel between the reefs, one of the mates, on the 12th, was sent out in the pinnace to examine it; and at noon returned, having found between fifteen and twenty-eight fathoms of water; but it blew so hard, that the mate did not dare to venture into one of the channels, which he said appeared to be very narrow; but the Captain judged he had seen them to a disadvantage. While busy in his survey, Mr. Banks was attentive to his favourite pursuit, and collected many plants he had not before seen. This island, visible at twelve leagues distance, and in general barren, we found to be about eight leagues in circumference. There are some sandy bays and low land on the N. W. side, which is covered with long grass, and trees of the same kind with those on the main; lizards of a very large size also abounded, some of which we took. We found also fresh water in two places; one running stream, close to the sea, was a little brackish; the other was a standing pool, perfectly sweet. We were surprised to see, that, notwithstanding the distance of this island from the main, it was sometimes visited by the Indians from thence; as was plain from seven or eight frames of their huts which we found. All these were built on eminencies, and from their situation, we judged, that the weather here, at certain seasons, is inva-

riably calm and mild. On our return to the ship, the Captain named this place the Lizard Island, on account of our having seen no other animals but lizards. When returning, we landed on a low sandy island, upon which were birds of various kinds. We took a nest of young eagles, and therefore called the place Eagle Island. We found also a nest of some other bird, of a most enormous size: it was made with sticks upon the ground, and was not less than twenty-six feet in circumference, and two feet eight inches high. We perceived that this place had also been visited by the Indians. During our absence from the ship, the master had landed on several low islands, where he had seen great heaps of turtle-shells, and found the fins of them, which the Indians had left hanging on the trees, so fresh, that they were dressed and eaten by the boat's crew.

On Sunday, the 12th, the officers held a consultation, and we were unanimous in opinion, that it would be best to quit the coast altogether, till we could approach it with less danger; in consequence of which concurrent opinion, we sailed on Monday, the 13th, and got through one of the channels in the reef, happy at finding ourselves once more in the open sea, after having been surrounded by dreadful shoals and rocks for near three months. We had now sailed above 1000 miles, during which run we had been obliged to keep sounding, without the intermission of a single minute; a circumstance which, it is supposed, never happened to any ship but the Endeavour. The passage through which we passed into the open sea beyond the reef, is in latitude 14 deg. 32 min. S. and may always be known by the three high islands within it, which Capt. Cook called the Islands of Direction, because by these a stranger may find a safe channel through the reef quite to the main. The channel lies from Lizard Island N. E. half N. distant three leagues, and is about one third of a mile broad, and much the same in length. The islands abound in turtle and other fish, and on the beach we found bamboos, cocoa nuts, pumice-stone, and the seeds of plants, supposed to be wafted thither



by the trade winds, and the plants themselves are not natives of the country.

On Tuesday, the 14th, we anchored, and by observation, our latitude was 13 deg. 46 min. S. and at this time we had no land in sight. On the 15th, we steered a westerly course, in order to get sight of land, that we might not overshoot the passage, if a passage there was between this land and Ne. Guinea. Early in the afternoon we had sight of land, which had the appearance of hilly islands, but it was judged to be part of the main, and we saw breakers between the vessel and the land, in which there was an opening; to get clear, we set all our sails, and stood to the northward till midnight, and then went on a southward tack for about two miles, when the breeze died away to a dead calm. When day-light came on we saw a dreadful surf break at a vast height, within a mile of the ship, towards which the rolling waves carried her with great rapidity. Thus distressed, the boats were sent ahead to tow, and the head of the vessel was brought about, but not till she was within a hundred yards of the rock, between which and her there was nothing left but the chasin, and which had risen and broke to a wonderful height on the rock; but in the moment we expected instant destruction, a breeze, hardly discernable, aided the boats in getting the vessel in an oblique direction from the rock. The hopes, however, afforded by this providential circumstance, were destroyed by a perfect calm, which succeeded in a few minutes; yet the breeze once more returned, before we had lost the little ground which had been gained. At this time a small opening was seen in the reef, and a young officer being sent to examine it, found that its breadth did not much exceed the length of the ship, but that there was smooth water on the other side of the rocks. Animated by the desire of preserving life, we now attempted to pass the opening, but this was impossible; for it having become high-water in the interim, the ebb tide rushed through it with amazing impetuosity, carrying the ship about a quarter of a mile from the reef, and she soon reached the distance of near two miles by

the help of the boats. When the ebb tide was spent, the tide of flood again drove the vessel very near the rocks, so that our prospect of destruction was renewed, when we discovered another opening, and a light breeze springing up, we entered it, and were driven through it with a rapidity that prevented the ship from striking against either side of the channel. The ship now came to an anchor, and our crew were grateful for having regained a station, which they had been very lately most anxious to quit. The name of Providence Channel was given to the opening through which the ship had thus escaped the most imminent dangers. A high promontory on the main land in sight, was denominated Cape Weymouth, and a bay near it Weymouth Bay. This day the boats went out to fish, and met with great success, particularly in catching cockles, some of which were of such an amazing size, as to require the strength of two men to move them. Mr. Banks likewise succeeded in his search for rare shells, and different kinds of coral.

On the 18th, we discovered several small islands, which were called Forbes's Islands, and had a sight of a high point of land on the main, which was named the Bolt Head. On the 19th, we discovered several other small islands, the land of which was low, barren, and sandy. A point was seen, and called Cape Grenville, and a bay which took the name of Temple Bay. In the afternoon many other islands were seen, which were denominated Bird Isles, from their being frequented by numerous flocks of birds. On the 20th, many more small islands were seen, on one of which were a few trees, and several Indian huts, supposed to have been erected by the natives of the main land, as temporary habitations during their visit to these islands. On the 21st, we sailed through a channel, in which was a number of shoals; and gave the name of York Cape to a point of the main land which forms the side of the channel. A large bay is formed to the south of the cape, which was called Newcastle Bay, and in which are several little islands: on the north side of the cape the land is rather



mountainous, but the low parts of the country abound with trees: the islands discovered in the morning of this day, were called York Isles. In the afternoon we anchored between some islands, and observed, that the channel now began to grow wider: we perceived two distant points, between which no land could be seen, so that the hope of having at length explored a passage into the Indian Sea, began to animate every breast; but, to bring the matter to a certainty, the Captain took a party, and being accompanied by Messrs. Solander and Banks, they landed on an island, on which they had seen a number of Indians, ten of whom were on a hill, one of them carrying a bow and a bundle of arrows, the rest armed with lances; and round the necks of two of them hung strings of mother of pearl. Three of these Indians stood on shore, as if to oppose the landing of the boat, but they retired before it reached the beach. The Captain and his company now ascended a hill, from whence they had a view of near forty miles, in which space there was nothing that threatened to oppose their passage, so that the certainty of a channel seemed to be almost indubitable. Previous to their leaving the island, Capt. Cook displayed the English colours, and took possession of all the eastern coast of the country, from the 38th deg. of S. latitude to the present spot, by the name of New South Wales, for his sovereign the King of Great Britain: and three volleys of small arms being fired, and answered by an equal number from the Endeavour, the place received the name of Possession Island. The next morning we saw three naked women collecting shell-fish on the beach; and weighing anchor, gave the name of Cape Cornwall to the extreme point of the largest island on the the north-west side of the passage: some low islands near the middle of the channel receiving the name of Wallis's Isle; soon after which the ship came to an anchor, and the long-boat was sent out to sound. Towards evening we sailed again, and the Captain landed with Mr. Banks, on a small island which was frequented by immense numbers of birds, the majority of which being boobies, the place received the name of Booby Is-

land. We were now advanced to the northern extremity of New Holland, and had the satisfaction of viewing the open sea to the westward. The N. E. entrance of the passage is formed by the main land of New Holland, and by a number of islands, which took the name of the Prince of Wales's Islands, and which Capt. Cook imagines may reach to New Guinea; these islands abound with trees and grass, and were known to be inhabited, from the smoke that was seen ascending in many places.

To the passage we had sailed through, Capt. Cook gave the name of Endeavour Straits. New South Wales is a much larger country than any hitherto known, and not deemed a continent, being larger than all Europe, which is proved by the Endeavour having coasted more than 2000 miles, even if her tract were reduced to a straight line. Northward of the latitude of 33 deg. the country is hilly, yet not mountainous; but to the southward of that latitude, it is mostly low and even ground. The hills in general are diversified by lawns and woods, and many of the valleys abound with herbage, though, on the whole, it cannot be deemed a fertile country. To the northward the grass is not so rich, nor the trees so high as in the southern parts, and almost every where, even the largest trees grow at a distance of not less than thirteen yards asunder. In all these places where the land forms a bay, the shore is covered with mangroves, that grow about a mile in land, in a swampy ground, which the spring tides always overflow; in some parts there are bogs, covered with thick grass, and plenty of under-wood in the valleys; the soil in general seems unfit for cultivation, though there are many spots where the arts of tillage might be attended with success. There are several salt creeks, running in many directions through the country, where there are also brooks of fresh water, but there are no rivers of any considerable extent; yet it seemed to be well watered, as the time when the ship was on the coast, was reckoned the driest season of the year. The gum-tree which yields a resin like the dragons blood. Here are three kinds of palm-trees, two of



which are found only in the northern district. Nuts somewhat resembling chestnuts are produced by one of these, which were supposed to be eatable, yet some of the seamen having made free with them were taken very ill: two of whom died within a week, and it was not without difficulty that the third was recovered. The second sort of palm is much like the West Indian cabbage-tree, which yields a cabbage of an agreeable taste. The third sort abounds in the southern part, and produces a small cabbage of a very agreeable flavour, with many nuts, which furnish food for hogs. There is likewise a tree on which grows a purple apple that tastes like a damascene, as we have before observed. Besides these there is a fig-tree, producing figs, but not of the finest sort, and they have another which bears a sort of plumb that is flat on the sides like a cheese. A plant was found here, the leaves of which were like those of the bulrush; it yields a bright yellow resin, that resembles gumbouge, but does not stain: it had a very agreeable smell. We found two sorts of yams, the one round and covered with stringy fibres, the other in shape like a radish; both of which are of a pleasant taste. A fruit of a disagreeable flavour was found, in shape resembling a pine-apple; and another that was much like a cherry, but had a soft kernel. The country produces purslain and wild parsely. We saw here, besides the beast already mentioned, one that was called a quall, the belly of this animal was quite white, its back was brown with white spots, and it was like a pole-cat. Vast numbers of beautiful pigeons were observed, and the seamen shot many of them, also eagles, hawks, cranes, herons, bustards, crows, parrots, parroquets, cockatoos, and some other birds of fine plumage, besides quails and doves.

In this country there are but few insects, and the ants and moschettos are the chief among them. There are four kinds of the former which deserve particular notice. The first of these are entirely green, and live on trees, where they build their nests in a very curious manner, bending down the leaves, and glueing them together with an

animal juice, supposed to proceed from their own bodies. While several of these animals were busied in this employ, thousands were joined to keep the leaf in its proper situation, which, when they were disturbed in their work, flew back with a force that any one would have imagined to be superior to their united strength; at the same time they avenged themselves by severely stinging their disturbers. The second species of ants here are black, and live in the inside of the branches, after they have worked out the pith. The third sort lodged themselves in the root of a plant that twines round the trunks of other trees. This they made hollow, and cut into a great number of passages that ran across each other, yet there was no appearance of the plants having been injured. They are not above half the size of the red ants of this country. As to the fourth sort they are like the East-Indian white ants, and had one sort of nests as big as a half-peck loaf, which hung from the boughs of trees, and were composed of several minute parts of vegetables, which appeared to be stuck together by the glutinous juice before-mentioned. There was a communication between the cells, and passages to other nests upon the same tree; they had also a hollow covered passage to another nest on the ground, at the root of a different tree. The height of the ground-nests was found to be of about six feet, and the breadth nearly the same: and the outside was plastered with clay almost two inches thick. These had a subterraneous passage leading to the roots of the trees near which they were constructed, from whence these creatures ascended the trunk and branches by covered ways, calculated for the purpose. It was concluded, that the ants resorted to these ground-nests during the wet season, as they were water proof.

Variety of fish is supplied by the seas in these parts, among which are mullets, cray-fish and crabs. Upon the shoals are found the rock, pearl, and other oysters, as well as the most delicate green turtle, besides those enormous cockles which have been already mentioned. Alligators are found in the rivers and salt-creeks. The country does not



appear to be inhabited by numbers any way proportioned to its great extent; not above thirty being ever seen together but once, which was when those of both sexes and all ages got together on a rock off Botany Bay, to view the ship. None of their villages consisted of more huts than would afford shelter for fourteen or fifteen men, and these were the largest numbers that were assembled with a view to attack us. No part of the country appeared to be cultivated, whence there must necessarily be fewer inhabitants on the inland parts than on the sea coast. The men are well made, of the middle size, and active, in a high degree; but their voices are soft, even to effeminacy. Their colour is chocolate; but they were so covered with dirt, as to look almost as black as negroes. Their hair is naturally long and black, but they commonly cropped it short; in some few instances it is slightly curled, but in common quite straight; it is always matted with dirt, yet wholly free from lice; their beards are thick and bushy, but kept short by singeing. The women were seen only at a distance, as the men constantly left them behind when they crossed the river. The chief ornament of these people is the bone that is thrust through the nose, which the sailors whimsically called the sprit-sail yard; but besides this they wore necklaces formed of shells, a small cord tied twice or thrice round the arm between the elbow and shoulder, and a string of plaited human hair round the waist. Some few of them had an ornament of shells hanging across the breast. Besides these ornaments they painted their bodies and limbs white and red, in stripes of different dimensions; and they had a circle of white round each eye, and spots of it on the face. Their ears were bored, but they did not wear ear-rings. They accepted whatever was given them, but seemed to have no idea of making an adequate return; and they would not part with their ornaments for any thing that was offered in exchange. Their bodies were marked with scars, which they signified were in remembrance of the deceased. Their huts were built with small rods, the two ends of which were fixed into the ground, so as to form

the figure of an oven; they are covered with pieces of bark and palm-leaves. The door of this building, which is only high enough to sit upright in, is opposite to the fire-places. They sleep with their heels turned up towards their heads; and even in this posture the hut will not hold more than four people. In the northern parts, where the weather was warmer, one side of the houses was left open, and the other opposed to whatever wind might blow at the time there; huts were only built for temporary use, and left behind when they removed to other parts of the country; but if their stay was only for a night or two, they had no other protection from the weather than what the grass and bushes afforded. While the huts on the main land were turned from the wind, those on the islands were towards it: a kind of proof that they visit the islands in fine weather, and enjoy the refreshing breeze while they slept. These huts are furnished with a kind of bucket for fetching water, made of an oblong piece of bark tied up at each end with a twig of a tree; and this is the only furniture of the house. On their backs they have a kind of bag, of the size and form of a cabbage-net, in which they carry their fish-hooks and lines, of the shells of which they make these hooks; the ornaments which they wear consist of some points of darts, and two or three bits of paint; and in this narrow compass lie all their riches. They feed on the kangaroo, and several kinds of birds when they can catch them; they likewise eat yams, and various kinds of fruit; but the principal article of their existence is fish. They were frequently observed with the leaves of a tree in their mouths, but whether it had the qualities of either tobacco or beetle could not be known; but it was observed not to discolour the teeth or lips.

From the notches that were seen in a great number of trees, for the purpose of climbing them, it was imagined that their method of taking the kangaroo, was by striking it with their lances as it passed under the tree. In these likewise, it is probable, that they took birds, while they were roosting, as they seemed too shy to be



otherwise caught. Their method of producing fire, and extending the flames of it, is very singular: having wrought one end of a stick into an obtuse point, they place this point upon a piece of dry wood, and turning the upright stick very fast backward and forward between their hands, fire is soon produced, nor is it increased with less celerity. One of the natives was frequently observed to run along the sea coast, leaving fire in various places. The method taken to do this was as follows: before he set off, he wrapped up a little spark of fire in dry grass, and the quickness of his motion soon fanning it into a flame, he then placed it on the ground, and putting a spark of it in another bit of grass ran on again, and increased the number of his fires at pleasure. These fires were supposed to be intended for the taking of the kangaroo, as that animal was so very shy of fire, that when pursued by the dogs, it would not cross places which had been newly burnt, even when the fire was extinguished.

The natives of New South Wales make use of spears or lances, but these are very differently constructed: those that were seen in the southern parts of the country had four prongs, pointed with bone, and barbed, and the points were rubbed with a kind of wax, the smoothness of which made an easier passage into what was struck by them. On the contrary, the lances in the northern parts have only one point; the shafts of them are of different lengths, from eight to fourteen feet, are made of the stalk of a plant not unlike a bulrush, and consists of several joints let into each other, and tied together. The points of these lances are sometimes made of fish-bone, and sometimes of a hard heavy wood; they are barbed with other pieces of wood or stone, so that when they have entered any depth in the body, they cannot be drawn out without tearing the flesh in a shocking manner, or leaving splinters behind them. When the natives intend to wound at a considerable distance, they discharge this instrument with a throwing stick, but if the object be near them, it is thrown from the hand only. The throwing stick is a piece of smooth, hard, red

wood, half an inch thick, two inches broad, and about three feet in length, having a cross piece near four inches long at one end, and a small knob at the other. A small hollow is made in the shaft of the lance, near the point, and in this hollow the knob is received, but, on being forced forward, it will easily slip from it. The lance being placed on this throwing stick, the Indian holds it over his shoulder, shakes it, and then throws both lance and stick with his utmost power; but as the cross-piece strikes the shoulder the sudden jerk stops the stick, while the lance is driven forward with amazing rapidity, and is generally so well aimed, that a mark at the distance of fifty yards is more certainly struck with it than by a bullet from a gun. These people make use of shields made of the bark of trees, of about eighteen inches broad, and three feet long. Many trees were seen from whence the bark had been taken, and others on which the shields were cut out but not taken away. In the northern parts of this country, the canoes are formed by hollowing the trunk of a tree, and it was conjectured, that this operation must have been performed by fire, as the natives did not appear to have any instruments proper for the purpose. The canoes are in length about fourteen feet, and so narrow, that they would be frequently over-set, but that they are provided with an outrigger. The natives row them with paddles, using both hands in that employment. The canoes in the southern parts are formed only of a piece of bark four yards long, fastened together at each end, and the middle kept open by pieces of wood, passing from side to side. In deep water these are rowed by paddles, of about a foot and a half in length, the rower having one in each hand, but in shallow water they are pushed forward by means of a long stick. As these vessels are extremely light, and draw very little water, the Indians run them on the mud banks in search of shell-fish, some of which, it is probable, they broil and eat as soon as they are taken, as it was remarked that in the centre of these vessels there was usually a fire burning on a quantity of sea-weed. The natives have no tools but a wooden mallet,



## VOYAGE TO THE SOUTH SEAS,

a kind of wedge, and an adze, made of stone, with some pieces of coral and shells, which may possibly be applied to the purposes of cutting. They polish the points of their lances, and their throwing-sticks, with the leaves of a tree that appears to be the wild fig, which bites with a sharpness, almost equal to that of a rasp. Four people are the greatest number that a canoe will contain; and when more than this number were to pass a river, three were landed out of the first freight, and one man went back for the rest.

The following may serve as a specimen of their language.

### NEW HOLLAND.

Aco,  
Aibudje,  
Bamma,  
Bonjoo,  
Boota,  
Chucula,  
Cotta,  
Coyor,  
Doomboo,  
Dunjo,  
Eboorbalga,  
Edamal,  
Eiyamoae,  
Eya & ba,  
Galan,  
Garbar,  
Gippa,  
Kere,  
Kolke,  
Mailelel,  
Maananang,  
Marra,  
Mangal,  
Meul,

### ENGLISH.

*The Arms.*  
*To yawn.*  
*A man.*  
*The nose.*  
*To eat.*  
*To drink.*  
*A dog.*  
*The breast.*  
*The neck.*  
*A father.*  
*The thumbs.*  
*The feet.*  
*The crown of the head.*  
*That or this.*  
*The sun.*  
*The eye-brows.*  
*The belly.*  
*The sky.*  
*The nails.*  
*To swim.*  
*Fire.*  
*To go.*  
*The hands.*  
*The eyes.*

### NEW HOLLAND.

Melea,  
Mingoore,  
Mocoo,  
Morcol,  
Moree,  
Mootjel,  
Mulere,  
Nakil,  
Peegoorga,  
Peete,  
Poapoa,  
Pongo,  
Poona,  
Poorai,  
Poteea,  
Putai,  
Tabugga,  
Tacal,  
Te,  
Tennapuke,

Tocaya,  
Tumurre,  
Unjar,  
Wageege,  
Walloo,  
Waller,  
Walboolbool,  
Wonananio,  
Wulgar,  
Yembe,  
Zoocoo,

### ENGLISH.

*The ears.*  
*To dance.*  
*The back.*  
*The throat.*  
*The hair of the head.*  
*A woman.*  
*The teeth.*  
*The little finger.*  
*The legs.*  
*The forehead.*  
*Earth.*  
*The knees.*  
*To sleep.*  
*Water.*  
*Fish.*  
*A turtle.*  
*A fly.*  
*The chin.*  
*A, or the.*  
*The hole made in the nostrils for the bone ornament.*  
*Sit down.*  
*A son.*  
*The tongue.*  
*The head.*  
*The temples.*  
*The beard.*  
*A butterfly.*  
*Asleep.*  
*The clouds.*  
*The lips.*  
*Wood.*

Though it appeared evident, that the natives of these islands waged war with each other, by the weapons they possessed, yet not a wound received from their enemies appeared on any part of their bodies.



## CHAP. X

*The Endeavour continues her voyage from South Wales to New Guinea; An account of incidents upon landing there; She proceeds from New Guinea to the island of Savu; Transactions at this isle; Its produce and inhabitants, with a specimen of their language; Run from Savu to Batavia; Transactions while the Endeavour was refitting at this place.*

ON the 23rd, of August, 1770, in the afternoon, after leaving Booby Island, we had light airs till five o'clock, when it fell calm, and we came to an anchor in eight fathoms water, with a soft sandy bottom. On Friday, the 24th, soon after the anchor was weighed, we got under sail, steering N. W. and in a few hours one of the boats a-head made the signal for shoal-water. We instantly brought the ship to, with all her sails standing, and a survey being taken of the sea around her, it was found that she had met with another narrow escape, as she was almost encompassed with shoals, and was likewise so situated between them, that she must have struck before the boat's crew had made the signal, if she had been half the length of a cable on either side. In the afternoon we made sail with the ebb tide, and got out of danger before sun-set, when we brought to for the night.

On Sunday, the 26th, it was the Captain's intention to steer N. W. but having met with those shoals, we altered our course, and soon got into deep water. On the 27th, we pursued our voyage, shortening sail at night, and tacking till day-break of the 28th, when we steered due N. in search of New Guinea. At this time our latitude by observation was 8 deg. 52 min. S. We here observed many parts of the sea covered with a kind of brown scum, to which our sailors gave the name of spawn. It is formed of an incredible number of minute particles, each of which, when seen through a microscope, was found to consist of a considerable number of tubes, and these tubes were subdivided into little cells. The scum being burnt, and yielding no smell like what is produced by animal substances, we concluded it was of the vegetable kind. This has often been seen on the coast of Brazil, and generally makes its appearance near the

land. A bird called the Noddy was found this evening among the rigging of the ship. Land having been this day discovered from the mast head, we stood off and on all night, and at day-break we sailed towards it with a brisk gale. Between six and seven in the morning we had sight of a small low island, at about a league from the main, in latitude 80 deg. 13 min. S. and in longitude 224 deg. 25 min. W. and it has already been distinguished by the names of Bartholomew and Whermoyesen. It appeared a very level island, clothed with trees, among which is the cocoa-nut; and we judged it to be inhabited, by the smoke of the fires which were seen in different parts of it. The boats were now sent out to sound, as the water was shallow; but as the ship, in sailing two leagues, had found no increase in its depth, signals were made for the boats to return on board. We then stood out to sea till mid-night, tacked, and stood in for land till the morning.

On Thursday, the 30th, when about four leagues distant, we had sight of it, and its appearance was still flat and woody. Abundance of the brown scum was still seen on the surface of the sea, and the sailors, convinced that it was not spawn, gave it the whimsical name of sea-saw-dust. We now held a northward course, scarcely within sight of land, and as the water was but just deep enough to navigate the vessel, many unsuccessful attempts were made to bring her near enough to get on shore: it was therefore determined to land in one of the boats, while the ship kept plying off and on. In consequence of this resolution,

On Monday, Sept. the 3rd, Capt. Cook, Mr Banks, and Dr. Solander, attended by the boat's crew, and Mr. Banks's servant, set off from the ship in the pinnace, being in all twelve persons well armed. We rowed



directly to the shore, but when come within two hundred yards of it, we found the water so shallow, that we were obliged to leave the boat, in the care of two of the sailors, and wade to land. We had no sooner reached the shore, than we saw several prints of human feet on the sand, below high water mark, from whence it was evident, that the natives had been there. We concluded they could be at no great distance, and as a thick wood came down within a hundred yards of the water, we proceeded with caution, that our retreat to the boat might not be cut off. We walked by the side of the wood, and came to a grove of cocoa-nut trees, not far from which was a shed, or hut, which had been covered with leaves, and near it lay a number of fresh shells of the fruit. At a small distance from this place we found plantains; and having now advanced about a quarter of a mile from the boat, three Indians rushed out of the wood with a hedious shout, at about the distance of a hundred yards; and as they ran towards us, the foremost threw something out of his hand, which flew on one side of him, and burnt exactly like gun-powder, but made no report; and the other two threw their lances at us. No time was to be lost: we discharged our pieces, loaded with small shot only; which we imagine they did not feel; for, without retreating, they cast a third dart: we therefore now loaded with ball, and fired a second time. It is probable some of them were wounded, as they all took to their heels with great agility. We improved this interval, by which the destruction of the natives was no longer necessary to our own defence, and with all expedition returned to our boat. In the way we perceived signals on board, that more Indians were coming down in a body; and before we got into the water, we perceived several of them coming round a point at the distance of about five hundred yards. When they saw us they halted, and seemed to wait till their main body should join them. They continued in this station, without giving us any interruption, while we entered the water, and waded toward the boat. We now took a view of them at our leisure.

They made much the same appearance as the New Hollanders, being nearly of the same stature, and having their hair short cropped. They were also like them stark naked. During this time they were shouting at a distance, and letting off their fires, which seemed to be discharged by a short piece of stick, probably a hollow cane, this being swung sideways, produced fire and smoke like that occasioned by a musket. The crew on board the ship saw this strange appearance, and thought the natives had fire arms. Those who went out in the boat, and had rowed a breast of them, fired some muskets above their heads, the balls of which being heard by the natives rattling among the trees, they retired very deliberately, and our people in the boat returned to the ship. Upon examining the lances that had been thrown at us, we found they were made of a reed, or bamboo cane, the points of which were of hard wood, and barbed in many places. They were light, ill made, and about four feet long. Such was the force with which they were discharged, that they went beyond us, though we were at sixty yards distance, but in what manner they were discharged we could not determine; probably they might be thrown with a stick, in the manner practiced by the New Hollanders. This place is in latitude 6 deg. 15 min. S. The whole coast of this country is low land, but covered with a luxuriance of wood and herbage beyond description beautiful. The cocoa-nut, bread-fruit, and plantain-tree, all flourished here in the highest perfection, besides most of the trees, shrubs, and plants, that are common to the South Sea islands. This day, Monday, Sept. the 3rd, we made sail to the westward, being resolved to spend no more time upon this coast; but before we got under sail, some of the officers strongly urged the Captain to send a party of men on shore, to cut down the cocoa-nut trees, for the sake of the fruit. This Capt. Cook, with equal wisdom and humanity, peremptorily refused, as unjust and cruel; sensible that the poor Indians, who could not brook even the landing of a small party on their coast, would have made a vigorous effort to defend their



property had it been invaded ; consequently many must have fallen a sacrifice on their side, and perhaps some of our own people. “ I should (says Capt. Cook) have regretted the necessity of such a measure, if I had been in want of the necessaries of life ; and certainly it would have been highly criminal when nothing was to be obtained but two or three hundred green cocoa-nuts ; which would at most have procured us a mere transient gratification. I might indeed have proceeded farther along the coast to the northward, or westward in search of a place where the ship might have lain so near the shore, as to cover the people with her guns when they landed ; but this would have obviated only part of the mischief, and though it might have secured us, it would probably in the very act have been fatal to the natives. Besides, we had reason to think that before such a place could have been found, we should have been carried so far to the westward as to have been obliged to go to Batavia, on the north side of Java, through the straits of Sunday : the ship also was so very leaky, that I doubted whether it would not be necessary to heave her down at Batavia, which was another reason for making the best of our way to that place, especially as no discoveries could be expected in seas which had already been navigated, and where every coast had been laid down by the Dutch geographers.”

On Saturday, the 8th, we passed two small islands, on one of which Capt. Cook would have landed, but having only ten fathoms water, the ground being also rocky, and the wind blowing fresh, we might have endangered the safety of the ship. We now sailed at a moderate rate till next morning at three o'clock ; after which we had no ground with 120 fathoms. Before noon we had sight of land, which was conjectured to be either the Arrou Islands, or Timor Laoet. We were now in latitude 9 deg. 37 min. S. and in longitude 233 deg. 54 min. W. We stood off and on during the night, and on Wednesday, the 12th, we saw a number of fires and smoke in several places, from whence it was conjectured that the place was well peopled. The land near the shore

was covered with high trees, not unlike pines ; farther back were cocoa-trees and mangroves ; there were many salt-water creeks, and several spots of ground which appeared to have been cleared by art ; and the whole country rose, by gradual slopes, into hills of a very considerable height. The land and sea breezes being now very slight, we continued in sight of the island for two days, when it was observed that the hills reached in many places quite to the sea-coast, and where that was the case, there were large and noble groves of the coconut tree, which ran about a mile up the country, at which distance great numbers of houses and plantations were seen ; the plantations were surrounded with fences, and extended nearly to the summits of the most lofty hills, yet neither the natives nor cattle were seen on any of them, which was thought a very extraordinary circumstance. Fine groves of the fan-palm shaded the houses from the rays of the sun.

On the 16th, we had sight of the little island called Rotte ; and the same day saw the island Semau, at a distance to the southward of Timor. The island of Rotte is chiefly covered with bushy wood without leaves ; but there are a number of fan-palm trees on it, growing near the sandy beaches ; and the whole consists of alternate hills and valleys. The island of Semau is not so hilly as Timor, but resembles it greatly in other respects. At ten o'clock this night a dull reddish light was seen in the air, many parts of which emitted rays of a brighter colour, which soon vanished and were succeeded by others of the same kind. This phenomenon, which reached about ten degrees above the horizon, bore a considerable resemblance to the Aurora Borealis, only that the rays of light which it emitted had no tremulous motion : it was surveyed for two hours, during which time its brightness continued undiminished. As the ship was now clear of all the islands which had been laid down in such maps as were on board, we made sail during the night, and were surprised the next morning at the sight of an island to the W. S. W. which we flattered ourselves was a new discovery. Before noon



we had sight of houses, groves of cocoa-nut trees, and large flocks of sheep. This was a welcome sight to people whose health was declining for want of refreshment, and it was instantly resolved to attempt the purchase of what we stood so much in need of. The second lieutenant was immediately dispatched in the pinnace, in search of a landing-place; and he took with him such things as it was thought might be acceptable to the natives. During Mr. Gore's absence, the people on board saw two men on horseback upon the hills, who frequently stopped to take a view of the vessel. The lieutenant soon returned with an account that he had entered a little cove, near which stood a few houses; that several men advanced and invited him to land; and that they conversed together as well as they could by signs. He reported that these people were very like the Molays, both in person and dress; and said they had no other arms but a knife, which each of them wore in his girdle.

The lieutenant not being able to find any place in which the ship might come to anchor, he was dispatched again with money and goods to buy such necessaries as were immediately wanted for the sick. Dr. Solander attended the lieutenant, and during their absence, the ship stood on and off the shore. Soon after the boat had put off, two other horsemen were seen from the ship, one of whom had a laced hat on, and was dressed in a coat and waistcoat, of the fashion of Europe. These men rode about on shore taking little notice of the boat, but regarding the ship with the utmost attention. As soon as the boat reached the shore, some other persons on horseback, and many on foot hastened to the spot, and it was observed that some cocoa-nuts were put into the boat, from whence it was concluded, that a traffic had commenced with the natives. A signal being made from the boat that the ship might anchor in a bay at some distance, she immediately bore away for it. When the lieutenant came on board, he reported, that he could not purchase any cocoa-nuts, as the owner of them was absent, and that what he had brought were given

him, in return for which he had pressed the natives with some linen. The method by which he learned that there was a harbour in the neighbourhood, was by the natives drawing a kind of rude map on the sand, in which the harbour, and a town near it, was represented; it was likewise hinted to him, that fruit, fowls, hogs, and sheep might be there obtained in great abundance. He saw several of the principal inhabitants of the island, who had chains of gold about their necks, and wore fine linen. The word Portuguese being frequently repeated by the Indians, it was conjectured that some natives of Portugal were in the island, and one of the boat's crew being of that kingdom, he spoke to the islanders in his own language, but soon found that they had only learned a few words, of which they did not know the meaning. While the natives were endeavouring to represent the situation of the town near the harbour, one of them, in order to be more particular in directions, informed the English that they would see something which he endeavoured to describe by placing his fingers across each other; and the Portuguese sailor took it for granted, that he could mean nothing but a cross. When the boat's crew were on the point of returning to the ship, the gentleman, who had been seen on horseback in the dress of Europe, came down to the beach; but the lieutenant did not think it proper to hold a conference with him, because he had left his commission on board the ship.

When the ship had entered the bay, in the evening, according to the directions received, an Indian town was seen at a distance; upon which a jack was hoisted on the fore-top-mast head, presently afterwards three guns were fired, and Dutch colours were hoisted in the town; the ship, however, held on her way, and came to an anchor at seven in the evening. The colours being seen hoisted on the beach the next morning, the Captain concluded, that the Dutch had a settlement on the island, he therefore dispatched the second lieutenant to acquaint the governor, or other principal resident, who they were, and that the ship had put



in for necessary refreshments. The lieutenant having landed, he was received by a kind of guard of something more than twenty Indians, armed with muskets, who after they had taken down their colours from the beach, proceeded without the least military order: and thus escorted him to the town, where the colours had been hoisted the preceding evening. The lieutenant was now conducted to the Raja, or king of the island, to whom, by means of a Portuguese interpreter, he made known his business. The Raja said, he was ready to supply the ship with the necessary refreshments, but that he could not trade with any other people than the Dutch, with whom he was in alliance, without having first obtained their consent; he added, however, that he would make application to the Dutch agent, who was the only white man among them. To this agent, whose name was Lange, and who proved to be the person that was seen from the ship in the European dress, a letter was dispatched, and in a few hours he came to the town, behaved politely to the lieutenant, and told him he might buy what he thought proper of the inhabitants of the island. This offer being freely made, and readily accepted, the Raja and Mr. Lange intimated their wishes to go on board the ship, and that two of the boat's crew might be left as hostages for their safe return. The lieutenant gratified them in both these requests, and took them on board just before dinner was served. It was thought that they would have sat down without ceremony; but now the Raja intimated his doubts, whether being a black, they would permit him to sit down with them. The politeness of the officers soon removed his scruples, and the greatest good humour and festivity prevailed among them. As Dr. Solander and another gentleman on board, were tolerable proficient in Dutch, they acted as interpreters between Mr. Lange and the officers, while some of the sailors, who understood Portuguese, conversed with such of the Raja's attendants as spoke that language. Our dinner consisted chiefly of mutton, which when the Raja had tasted, he requested of us an English sheep, and the

only one we had left was presented to him. Our compliance in this particular, encouraged the king to ask for an English dog, and Mr. Banks politely gave him his greyhound. A spying glass was also put into his hand, Mr. Johan Christopher Lange having intimated, that such a present would be very acceptable. Our visitors now informed us, that the island abounded with buffaloes, sheep, hogs, and fowls, plenty of which should be driven down to the shore the next day. This put us all in high spirits, and the liquor circulated rather faster than either the Indians or the Saxon could bear; but they had, however, the resolution to express a desire to depart, before they were quite intoxicated. When they came upon deck, they were received in the same manner as when they came aboard, by the marines under arms; and the Raja expressing a desire to see them exercise, his curiosity was gratified. They fired three rounds. The king observed them with great attention, and appeared much surprized at the regularity and expedition of their manœuvres. When they cocked their firelocks, he struck the side of the ship with his stick, exclaiming at the same time violently, "that all the locks made but one click." They were dismissed with many presents, and on their departure were saluted with nine guns: Mr. Banks with Dr. Solander accompanied them, and when they put off returned our compliments with three cheers. Our gentlemen on their arrival at the town, tasted their palm-wine, which was the fresh juice of the trees, unfermented. It had a sweet, but not disagreeable taste, and hopes were entertained, that it might contribute to recover our sick from the scurvy. The houses of the natives consisted of only a thatched roof, supported over a boarded floor, by pillars about four feet high.

Wednesday, the 19th, in the morning; Capt. Cook, attended by several gentlemen, went on shore to return the Raja's visit; but their principal intention was to purchase the cattle and fowls, which they had been assured the preceding day should be driven down to the beach. We were greatly chagrined at finding no steps had been taken to



fulfil this promise : however, we proceeded to the house of assembly, which, with a few other houses, built by the Dutch East India Company, are distinguished from the rest, by having two pieces of wood, resembling a pair of cows' horns, fixed at each end of the roof; and these we concluded to be what the Portuguese sailor construed into crosses, from the Indian having crossed his fingers when he was describing the town. At the house of assembly we saw Mr. Lange and the Raja, whose name was A Madocho Lomi Djara, surrounded by many of the principal people; Capt. Cook having informed them, that he had loaded his boat with goods, which he wished to exchange for necessary refreshments, permission was given him to land them. We now endeavoured to make an agreement for the hogs, sheep, and buffaloes, which were to be paid for in cash; but this business was no sooner hinted than Mr. Lange took his leave, having first told the Captain, that he had received a letter from the governor of Concordia, in Timor, the contents of which should be disclosed at his return. As the morning was now far advanced, and we had no fresh provisions on board, we requested the Raja's permission to buy a small hog and some rice, and to order his people to dress the dinner for us. He very obligingly replied, that if we could eat victuals dressed by his subjects, which he could scarcely suppose, he would do himself the honour of entertaining us. A dinner being thus procured, the Captain sent off his boat to bring liquors from the ship. It was ready about five o'clock, and after we were seated on mats, which were spread on the floor, it was served in six and thirty baskets. We were then conducted by turns to a hole in the floor, near which stood a man with water in a vessel, made of the leaves of the fan-palm, who assisted us in washing our hands. This done we returned to our places and expected the king. Having waited some time, we inquired the reason of his absence, and were informed that the person who gave the entertainment never partook of it with his guests; but that the Raja was ready to come and taste of what was provided, if we enter-

tained a thought that the victuals were poisoned. We declared that we did not harbour any such suspicion, and desired that the custom of the country might not be violated on our account. When dinner was ended, the wine passed briskly, and we invited the Raja to drink with us, thinking if he would not eat with us, he might at least share in the jollity of the bottle; but he again excused himself, saying, the man who entertained his guests should never get drunk with them, and that the surest way to avoid this was to refrain from tasting the liquor. The prime minister and Mr. Lange were of our party, and we made a most luxurious meal. The pork and rice were excellent, and the broth not to be despised; but the spoons, made of leaves, were so small, that few of us had patience to use them. We did not drink our wine at the place where we had dined; and the remains of the dinner we left to the seamen and servants, who immediately took our places. They could not dispatch all we had left; but the Raja's female servants, who came to take away the utensils, obliged them to carry away what they had not eaten. When we thought the wine had so far operated as to open the heart, we took an opportunity to inquire after the buffaloes and sheep, of which we had not in all this time heard a syllable, though they were to have been at the beach early in the morning. Mr. Lange, the Saxon Dutchman, now began to communicate to us the contents of the letter, which he pretended to have received from the governor of Concordia, and wherein he said, instructions were given, that if the ship should touch at this island, and be in want of provisions, she should be supplied; but he was not to permit her to remain longer than was necessary: nor were any large presents to be made to the natives of low rank, nor to be even left with their superiors to be divided among them after the ship had sailed; but he added, any trifling civilities received from the Indians might be acknowledged by a present of beads, or other articles of very small value. It is probable that the whole of this story was a fiction; and that by precluding our liberality to the natives, the Saxon Dutchman



hoped more easily to draw all the presents of any value into his own pocket. In the evening we were informed, that only a few sheep had been brought to the beach, which had been driven away before our people could procure money from the ship to pay for them. Some fowls however were bought, and a large quantity of a kind of syrup made of the juice of the palm-tree. This, though infinitely superior to molasses or treacle, sold at a very low price. Vexed at being thus disappointed in purchasing the chief articles most wanted, we remonstrated with Mr. Lange, who now found another subterfuge. He said, had we gone down to the beach ourselves, we might have purchased what we pleased; but that the natives were afraid of being imposed on by our seamen with counterfeit money. We could not but feel some indignation against a man who had concealed this, being true; or alledged it, being false; and Capt. Cook repaired immediately to the beach, but no cattle were to be seen, nor were any at hand to be bought. During his absence, Lange told Mr. Banks, that the Indians were offended at our not having offered them gold for what we had to sell, and without which nothing could be bought. Mr. Banks did not think it worth his while to hold farther conversation with a man who had been guilty of such repeated falsities; but rose up suddenly, and we all returned on board much dissatisfied with our fruitless negotiations. The Raja had indeed given a more plausible reason for our disappointment: he said, the buffaloes being far up in the country, there had not been time to bring them down to the beach.

On Thursday, the 20th, Dr. Solander went again ashore with Capt. Cook, and while the former went up to the town to speak to Lange, the captain remained on the beach with a view of purchasing provisions. Here he met with the old Indian, who, as he appeared to have some authority, we had among ourselves distinguished by the name of the Prime Minister. In order to engage this man in our interest, the captain presented him with a spying-glass; but only a small buffalo was offered to be sold. The

price was five guineas, nearly twice its real value. Three, however, were offered, which the dealer thought a good price; but said, he must acquaint the king with what had been bid before he could strike the bargain. A messenger was immediately dispatched to the Raja, and on his return brought word, that not less than five guineas would be taken for the buffalo. The captain absolutely refused to give the sum demanded, which occasioned the sending away a second messenger, and during his absence, Dr. Solander was seen coming from the town, followed by above a hundred men, some of whom were armed with muskets, and others with lances. Upon inquiring into the meaning of this hostile appearance, the doctor informed us, the purport of a message from the king was, as according to Mr. Lange's interpretation, that the people would not trade with us because we had refused to give them more than half the value for their commodities; and that we were not to expect permission to trade upon any terms longer than this day.

A native of Timor, whose parents were Portuguese, came down with this party, and delivered to the captain what was pretended to be the order of the Raja, and which was in substance the same that Lange had told Dr. Solander; but it was afterwards discovered that this man was a confidant of Lange's in the scheme of extortion. The English gentlemen had at the same time no doubt but that the supposed order of the Raja was a contrivance of these men, and while they were debating how to act in this critical conjuncture, anxious to bring the affair to a speedy issue, the Portuguese began to drive away such of the natives as had brought palm-syrup and fowls to sell, and others who were now bringing sheep and buffaloes to the market. At this juncture Capt. Cook happening to look at the old man who had been distinguished by the name of prime minister, imagined that he saw in his features a disapprobation of the present proceedings; and, willing to improve the advantage, he grasped the Indian's hand, and gave him an old broadsword. This well-timed present produced all the good effects that could be wished; the



prime minister was enraptured at so honourable a mark of distinction, and brandishing his sword over the head of the impertinent Portuguese, he made both him and a man who commanded the party, sit down behind him on the ground. The whole business was now accomplished; the natives, eager to supply whatever was wanted, brought their cattle in for sale, and the market was soon stocked. For the first two buffaloes, Capt. Cook gave ten guineas; but he afterwards purchased them by way of exchange, giving a musket for each, and at this rate he might have bought any number he thought proper. There remained no doubt but that Lange had a profit out of the two that were sold; and that his reason for having said the natives would take nothing but gold for their cattle, was, that he might the more easily share in the produce. Capt. Cook purchased of the natives of this island some hundred gallons of palm-syrup, a small quantity of garlic, a large number of eggs, some limes and cocoa-nuts, thirty dozen of fowls, three hogs, six sheep, and nine buffaloes. We having obtained these necessary articles, now prepared for sailing from this place.

The island of Savu is situated in 10 deg. 35 min. S. latitude, and 237 deg. 30 min. W. longitude. Its length is between twenty and thirty miles. But its breadth Capt. Cook could not ascertain, as he only saw the north side of it. The harbour in which the ship lay, was called Seba, from a district of the country so denominated: and there are two other bays on different parts of the island. At the time the Endeavour lay there it was near the end of the dry season, when it had not rained for almost seven months, nor was there a running stream of fresh water to be seen, and the natives were supplied only by small springs, situated at a distance up the country, yet even in this dry season the appearance of the island was beautiful. Near the coast the land lies level, and well clothed with palm, called Arecao, and cocoa-nut trees. Farther off, the ground rises in the most gradual ascent, and is covered with fair palm trees even to the tops of the hills, so as to present a regular grove to the view. The rains in this country cease

in March or April, and fall again in October or November, and these rains produce abundance of indico, millet, and maize, which grow beneath the finest trees in the country. Besides these articles, the island produces tobacco, cotton, betel, tamarinds, limes, oranges, mangoes, guinea corn, rice, callevances, and water-melons. A small quantity of cinnamon was seen, and some European herbs, such as garlic, fennel, celery, and marjoram, besides which, there are fruits of various kinds, and particularly the blimbi, which has a sharp taste, and is a fine pickle, but it is not eaten raw; its length is from 3 to 4 inches; it is nearly as thick as a man's thumb, of an oval form, covered with a very thin skin, of a very light green, and contains a number of seeds ranged in the shape of a star. Several buffaloes were seen on this island which were almost as large as an ox; and from a pair of enormous horns of this animal, which Mr. Banks saw, it was supposed that some of them were much larger; yet they did not weigh more than half as much as an ox of the same size; having lost the greater part of their flesh through the late dry weather: the meat however was juicy, and of a delicate flavour. The horns of these animals bend backwards; they had no dew-laps, and scarce any hair on their skins, and their ears were remarkably large. The other tame animals on the island are dogs, cats, pigeons, fowls, hogs, goats, sheep, asses, and horses. Few of the horses are above twelve hands high, yet they are full of mettle, and pace naturally in an expeditious manner: the natives ride them with a halter only. The hogs of this country are fed on the husks of rice and palm-syrup mixed with water, and are remarkably fine and fat. The sheep is not unlike a goat, and are therefore called Cabaritos; their ears, which are long, hang down under their horns; their noses are arched, and their bodies covered with hair. The fowls are of the game kind, and though they are rather large, the hen lays a very small egg. The sea coast furnishes the inhabitants with turtle, but not in any great abundance.

The people of this island are rather below



the middle stature; their hair is black and straight, and persons of all ranks, as well those that are exposed to the weather, as those that are not, have one general complexion, which is the dark brown. The men are well formed and sprightly, and their features differ much from each other: the women, on the contrary, have all one set of features, are very short, and broad built. The men have silver pincers hanging by strings round their necks, with which they pluck out the hair of their beards; and both men and women root out the hair that grows under their arms; the hair of the women's heads is tied in a club behind, while the men wear a kind of turban on their heads, formed of muslin, cotton, or even with silk handkerchiefs, but the heads of the women have no covering. The dress of the men consists of two pieces of cotton cloth, one of which is bound round the middle, and the lower edge of it being drawn pretty tight between the legs, the upper edge is left loose, so as to form a kind of pocket, in which they carry knives and other things: the other piece being past under the former on the back of the wearer, the ends of it are carried over the shoulders, and tucked into the pocket before. The women drew the upper edge of the piece round the waist tight, while the lower edge dropping to the knees, make a kind of petticoat: the other piece of cloth is fastened across the breast, and under the arms. This cloth, which is manufactured by the natives, is dyed blue while in the yarn; and as it is of various shades, its look, when it comes to be worn, is very beautiful.

Their ornaments are very numerous, and consist of rings, beads worn round the neck and on the wrists, and chains of plaited gold wire, are likewise worn by both sexes; but the women had likewise girdles of beads round their waists, which served to keep up their petticoats. Both sexes had their ears bored without a single exception, that we saw, but we never observed an ornament in any of them. Nor did we perceive either man or woman in any thing but what appeared to be their ordinary dress, except the king and his minister, who in general wore a kind of night-gown of coarse chintz, and

the latter once received us in a black robe, which appeared to be made of prince's stuff. One person, in the way of finery, had a silver-headed cane, marked with a kind of cypher, consisting of the Roman letters V. O. C. which might have been a present from the Dutch East India Company, whose mark it is. We also saw boys about twelve or fourteen years old, having spiral circles of thick brass wire passed three or four times round their arms, above the elbow; and upon the same part of the arm, some of the men had rings of ivory, two inches broad, and about one in thickness; these we were informed were the sons of the Raja or chief, whose high births were distinguished by these cumbrous ornaments. Most of the men had their names marked on their arms, and the women had a square ornament of flourished lines imprinted just under the bend of the elbow. On inquiry it was found that this practice had been common among the Indians long before they were visited by any Europeans; and in the neighbouring islands, it was said, the inhabitants were marked with circles upon their necks and breasts. We were struck with the similitude between these marks, and those made by tattooing in the South Sea islands; and M. Bossu's account of some Indians who dwell on the banks of Akanza, a river in North America, which falls into the Mississippi, will afford a probable conjecture how the operation is performed. "The Alkanzas," says he, "have adopted me, and as a mark of my privilege, have imprinted the figure of a roe-buck upon my thigh, which was done in this manner: an Indian having burnt some straw, diluted the ashes with water, and with this mixture, drew the figure upon my skin; he then retraced it, by pricking the lines with needles, so as at every puncture just to draw the blood, and the blood mixing with the ashes of the straw, forms a figure which can never be effaced."

The houses of Savu are all built upon the same plan, but differ in size, according to the rank and wealth of the proprietors, being from twenty feet to four hundred, and they are fixed on posts of about four or



five feet from the ground. One end of these is driven into the ground, and upon the other is laid a floor of wood, which makes a vacant space of four feet between the floor of the house and the ground. On this floor are raised other pillars that support a roof of sloping sides, which meet in a ridge at the top, like those of our barns; the eaves of this roof, which is thatched with palm leaves, reach within two feet of the floor, and overhang it as much. The space within is generally divided lengthways into three equal parts; the middle part, or center, is inclosed by a partition of four sides, reaching about six feet above the floor, and one or two small rooms are also sometimes taken off from the sides; the rest of the space under the roof is open, so as freely to admit the air and the light. The particular uses of these apartments we could not, during our short stay, learn, except that the close room in the center was appropriated to the women.

As to the food of these people, they eat all the tame animals to be found in the island; but they prefer the hog to all others; next to this they admire horse-flesh; to which succeeds the buffalo, then poultry; and they prefer cats and dogs to goats and sheep. Fish, we believe, is not eaten but by the poor, nor by them, except when their duty or business requires them to be upon the beach, and then each man has a light casting net, which is girt round his body, and with this he takes any small fish which may come in his way.

The most remarkable and useful tree that grows on the island is the fan-palm. Its uses are so various, that it requires particular notice. At certain times it is a succedaneum for all other food both to man and beast. A kind of wine, called toddy, is extracted from this tree, by cutting the buds, and tying under them small baskets, made of the leaves. The juice which trickles into these vessels is collected morning and evening, and is the common drink of all the inhabitants. The natives call this liquor *dua* or *duac*, and both the syrup and sugar, *gula*. The syrup is not unlike treacle, but is somewhat thicker, and has a more agreeable taste.

The sugar is of a reddish brown, probably the same with the *Jugata* sugar upon the continent of India, and to our taste it was more agreeable than any cane sugar, unrefined. We at first apprehended that the syrup, of which some of our people eat great quantities, would have occasioned fluxes, but what effect it produced was rather salutary than hurtful. This syrup is used to fatten hogs, dogs, and fowls; and the inhabitants themselves have subsisted upon this alone for several months, when other crops have failed, and animal food has been scarce. With the leaves of this tree the natives thatch their houses, and make baskets, cups, umbrellas, and tobacco-pipes. They make least account of the fruit, and as the buds are wounded for the *tuac* or *toddy*, there is very little produced. It is nearly of the size of a full grown turnip; and the kernels must be eaten before it is ripe, otherwise they are so hard, that the teeth will not penetrate them.

As fire-wood is very scarce, the natives, by the following method, make a very little answer the ends of cookery and distillation. A hollow is dug under ground, like a rabbit burrow, in a horizontal direction, about two yards long, with a hole at each end, one of which is large, and the other small. The fire is put in at the large hole, and the small one serves for a draught. Circular holes are made through the earth which covers this cavity, on which are set earthen pots, large in the middle, and smaller towards the bottom, so that the fire acts upon a large part of the surface. They contain generally about eight or ten gallons each, and it is surprising to see with what a small quantity of fuel they are kept boiling. In this manner they boil all their victuals, and make all their syrup and sugar. The Peruvian Indians have a contrivance of the same kind; and perhaps by the poor in other countries it might be adopted with advantage.

In this island both sexes are enslaved by the pernicious custom of chewing beetle and areca, contracted even while they are children. With these they mix a sort of white lime, composed of coral stones and shells,



to which is added frequently a small quantity of tobacco, whereby their mouths are rendered disgusting both to the sight and the smell; for the tobacco infects their breath, and the beetle and lime make the teeth both black and rotten. We saw many of both sexes whose fore teeth were consumed, irregularly, almost down to the gums, and corroded like iron by rust. This loss of teeth has generally been attributed to the tough stringy coat of the areca nut; but our gentlemen imputed it wholly to the lime; for the teeth are not loosened or broken, as might be the case by chewing of hard and rough substances, but they are gradually wasted, as even metals are by powerful acids; and they may not be mistaken who suppose that sugar has a bad effect upon the teeth of Europeans, seeing refined sugar contains a considerable quantity of lime, and it is well known, that lime will destroy bone of any kind. When the natives are at any time not chewing beetle and areca, they then are smoking. The manner of doing this is by rolling up a small quantity of tobacco, and putting it into one end of a tube, about six inches long, as thick as a goose quill, and made of a palm-leaf. The women in particular were observed to swallow the smoke.

The island is divided into five districts or nigrées, each of which is governed by a Raja. These are called Laai, Seba, Regeena, Timo, and Massara. We went ashore at Seba, and found a Raja that governed with absolute authority. He was about five and thirty, and the most corpulent man we had seen upon the whole island. But though he governed with an unlimited authority, he took very little regal pomp upon him. He was directed almost implicitly by Mannu Djarne, the old man, his prime minister, already mentioned; yet notwithstanding the power with which he was invested, he was universally beloved, a sure proof that he did not abuse it. Mr. Lange informed Capt. Cook, that the chiefs who had successively presided over the five principalities of this island, had lived for time immemorial in the most cordial friendship with each other; yet, he said, the people were of a warlike

disposition, and had always courageously defended themselves against foreign invaders. We were told also, that the inhabitants of the island could raise, on a short notice, 7,300 fighting men armed with muskets; of which number Laai was said to furnish 2,600, Seba 2000, Regeena 1,500, Timo 800, and Massara 400. Besides the arms already mentioned, each man is furnished with a large massy pole-ax, which, in the hands of people who have courage, must be a formidable weapon. In the use of their lances these people are said to be so expert, that they can pierce a man through the heart at sixty or seventy yards distance: yet the Raja had always lived at peace with his neighbours. This account of the martial prowess of the inhabitants of Savu may be true; but during our stay we saw no appearance of it. Before the town house, indeed, we saw about one hundred spears and targets, which served to arm those who were sent down to intimidate us at the trading place, but they seemed to be the refuse of old armories, no two being of the same make or length, for some were six, others sixteen feet long. Not one lance was among them, and though the muskets were clean on the outside, within they were eaten by the rust into holes; and the people themselves appeared to be so little acquainted with military discipline, that they came down like a disorderly rabble, every one having a cock, some tobacco, or other merchandise, and few or none of their cartouch boxes were furnished with either powder or ball, but a piece of paper was thrust into the holes to save appearances. We likewise saw before the house of assembly a great gun, some swivels, and patararoes: but the great gun lay with the touch-hole to the ground, and the swivels and patararoes were not in their carriages.

The inhabitants of Savu are divided into five ranks, namely, the Rajas, the land owners, the manufacturers, the servants, and the slaves. The Rajas are chief; the land owners are respected in proportion to their estates, and the number of their slaves, which last are bought and sold with their estates; but a fat hog is the price of one if



purchased separately. Notwithstanding a man may thus sell his slave, or convey him with his lands, yet his power does not extend farther, as he may not even strike him without the Raja's permission. The estates of these land-holders are of very different extent: some of them not possessing above five slaves, whilst others have 500. When a man of rank goes abroad, one of his slaves follows him with a silver hilted sword or hanger, ornamented with horse-hair tassels, and another carries a little bag containing tobacco, beetle, areca, and lime. This is all the state that even the Rajas themselves take upon them.

These people have a great veneration for antiquity. Their principal boast is of a long line of venerable ancestors. Those houses that have been well tenanted for successive generations, are held in the highest esteem: even the stones which are worn smooth by having been sat upon for ages, derive a certain value from that circumstance. He whose progenitors have bequeathed him any of these stones, or whose wealth has enabled him to purchase them, causes them to be ranged round his habitation, for his servants and slaves to sit upon. The Raja causes a large stone to be set up in the chief town of each district as a monument of his reign. In the province of Seba, thirteen such stones were seen, as well as the remains of several others which were much worn. These stones were all placed on the top of a hill, and some of them were of such an enormous size, that it was amazing by what means they could have been brought thither; nor could any information on this head be obtained from the natives: these monuments, however, indicated that for a series of generations, the island had been regularly governed. When a Raja dies, proclamation is made, that all those who have been his subjects shall hold a solemn festival. On this they proceed to the hill where those stones are erected, and feast for several weeks, killing all the animals that suit their purpose, wherever they can be found, in order to furnish the treat, which is daily served up on the monumental stones. When they have thus exhausted their whole stock,

they are compelled to keep a fast; and when the feast happens to end in the dry season, when they cannot get vegetables to eat, they have no other subsistence than the palm syrup and water, till the few animals which have escaped the general massacre have bred a sufficient number for a fresh supply, except the adjacent district happens to be in a condition to relieve them.

The natives of Savu have an instrument with which they clear the cotton of its seeds; it is about seven inches in height, and fourteen in length. They have also a machine with which they spin by hand, as was the custom before the invention of spinning wheels in Europe.

The inhabitants of this island were in general robust and healthy, and had every mark of longevity. The small pox, however, is a distemper with which they are acquainted, and which they dread as much as a pestilence. When any person is attacked by it, he is carried to a spot at a distance from the houses, where his food is conveyed to him by means of a long stick, as no one dares to venture near him. Abandoned by all his friends, he is there left to live or die as it may happen, without being admitted to any comforts of the community.

The Portuguese very early visited this island, on which they established a settlement, but soon after they were succeeded by the Dutch, who without formally taking possession of the place, sent a number of trading vessels in order to establish a commerce with the natives. Most of the Dutch purchases, it is supposed, are confined to a supply of provisions for the Spice Islands, the inhabitants of which breed but a small number of cattle. The Dutch East India Company made an agreement with the several Rajas of the islands, that a quantity of rice, maize, and callavances should be annually furnished to their people, who, in return, were to supply the Rajas with silk, linen, cutlery wares, and arrack. Certain small vessels, each having on board ten Indians, are sent from Timor to bring away the maize and callavances, and a ship that brings the articles furnished by the Dutch,



receives the rice on board once a year; and as there are three bays, on this coast, this vessel anchors in each of them in turn. The Dutch articles of commerce are accepted by the Rajas as a present; and they and their chief attendants drink of the arrack without intermission till it is exhausted.

It was in the agreement above-mentioned that the Rajas stipulated, that a Dutch resident should be constantly on the island. Accordingly this Lange, whom we have mentioned, was sent thither in that capacity, and a sort of assistant with him, whose father was a Portuguese, and his mother a native of Timor, with one Frederic Craig, whose father was a Dutchman, and his mother an Indian. Mr. Lange visits the Raja in state, attended by fifty slaves on horseback, and if the crops are ripe, orders vessels to convey them immediately to Timor, so that they are not even housed upon the island. It is likewise part of his business to persuade the landholders to plant, if he perceive that they are backward in that particular. This resident had been ten years on the island, when the Endeavour touched there, during all which time he had not seen any white persons, except those who came annually in the Dutch vessel, to carry off the rice, as above mentioned. He was married to a native of Timor, and lived in the same manner as the natives of Savu, whose language he spoke better than any other. He sat on the ground like the Indians, and chewed beetle, and seemed in every thing to resemble them, except in his complexion and the dress of his country. As to Mr. Craig, his assistant, he was employed in teaching the natives to write and read, and instructing them in the principles of Christianity. Though there was neither clergyman nor church to be seen upon the island, yet this Mr. Craig averred, that in the township of Seba only, there were 600 Christians: as to the religion of those who have not embraced Christianity, it is a peculiar species of Paganism, every one having a god of his own, somewhat after the manner of the Cemies heretofore mentioned. Their morality, however, is much purer than could be expected from

such a people. Robberies are scarcely ever committed. Murder is unknown among them; and though no man is allowed more than one wife, they are strangers to adultery, and almost so to the crime of simple fornication. When any disputes arise between the natives, the determination of the Raja is decisive and satisfactory. Some observations were made upon the language of the natives, by the gentlemen, while the vessel lay here; and a kind of vocabulary formed, a sketch of which we have here inserted:

Momonne,	-	A man.
Mobunne,	-	A woman.
Catoo,	-	The head.
Row catoo,	-	The hair.
Matta,	-	The eyes.
Row na matta,	-	The eye-lashes.
Swanga,	-	The nose.
Cavaranga,	-	The cheeks.
Wodeele,	-	The ears.
Vaio,	-	The tongue.
Lacoco,	-	The neck.
Soosoo,	-	The breasts.
Caboo soosoo,	-	The nipples.
Dulloo,	-	The belly.
Assoo,	-	The navel.
Tooga,	-	The thighs.
Rootoo,	-	The knees.
Baibo,	-	The legs.
Dunceala,	-	The feet.
Kissovei yilla,	-	The toes.
Camacoo,	-	The arms.
Wulaba,	-	The hand.
Cabaou,	-	A buffalo.
Djara,	-	A horse.
Vavee,	-	A hog.
Doomba,	-	A sheep.
Kesavoo,	-	A goat.
Guaca,	-	A dog.
Maio,	-	A cat.
Mannu,	-	A fowl.
Carow,	-	The tail.
Pangoutoo,	-	The beak.
Ica,	-	A fish.
Unjoo,	-	A turtle.
Nieu,	-	A cocoa-nut.
Boaceree,	-	Fan-palm.
Calella,	-	Areca.



Canana,	-	Beetle.
Aon,	-	Lime.
Maanadoo,	-	A fish-hook.
Tata,	-	Tatou, or marks on the skin.
Lodo,	-	The sun.
Wurroo,	-	The moon.
Aidassee,	-	The sea.
Ailea,	-	Water.
Aoe,	-	Fire.
Maate,	-	To die.
Tabudge,	-	To sleep.
Tatee too,	-	To rise.
Usse,	-	One.
Lhna,	-	Two.
Tullu,	-	Three.
Uppah,	-	Four.
Lumme,	-	Five.
Unna,	-	Six.
Pedu,	-	Seven.
Arru,	-	Eight.
Saou,	-	Nine.
Singooroo,	-	Ten.
Singurungasse,	-	Eleven.
Lhuangooroo,	-	20.
Singassu,	-	100.
Setuppah,	-	1000.
Selacussa,	-	10,000.
Serata,	-	100,000.
Sereboo,	-	1,000,000.

It is here necessary to observe, that this island has not been laid down in any of the charts hitherto published, and as to our account of it, let it be remembered, that except the facts in which we were parties, and the account of the objects which we had an opportunity to examine, the whole is founded merely upon the report of Mr. Lange, upon whose authority it must therefore rest.

Of the islands in the neighbourhood of Sava, the principal is Timor, which is annually visited by the Dutch residents on the other islands, in order to make up their accounts. Some of the towns on the north side of Timor are in the hands of the Portuguese; but the Dutch possess a far greater proportion of the island, on which they have built a fort, and erected several store-houses. There are three small islands, called the

Solars, which produce great abundance of the various necessities of life, that are carried in small vessels to the Dutch settlements on the island of Timor. These islands are low and flat, and one of them has a commodious harbour. To the westward of the Solars lies the little island of Ende, in the possession of the Portuguese, who have built a considerable town on the N. E. point of it; and close to the town is an harbour where ships may ride in safety. The island of Rotte has a Dutch resident, whose business is similar to that of Mr. Lange on the island of Savu. Rotte produces, besides such things as are common to other islands, a considerable quantity of sugar, which is made to a great degree of perfection. There is likewise a small island lying to the west of Savu, the chief produce of which is the areca nut, of which the Dutch receive in exchange for European commodities, as large a quantity every year as load two vessels.

About two years before the Endeavour was in these seas, a French ship was wrecked on the coast of Timor: she had been lodged on the rocks several days, when the wind tore her to pieces in an instant, and the Captain, with the greater part of the seamen were drowned; but the lieutenant and about eighty men, having reached the shore, travelled across the country of Concordia, where their immediate wants were relieved, and they afterwards returned to the wreck, in company with some Dutchmen and Indians, who assisted them in recovering all their chests of bullion, and other effects. This done they returned to Concordia, where they remained several weeks; but in this interval death made such havoc among them, that not above half their number remained to return to their native country, which they did as soon as a vessel could be fitted out for them.

On Friday, the 21st, of September, in the morning, we got under sail, and bent our course westward, along the north side of the island of Savu, and of another lying to the westward of it, which at noon bore S. S. E. distant two leagues. At four in the afternoon, in latitude 10 deg. 38 min. S. and longitude 238 deg. 28 min. W. we discovered



a small low island. In the evening of the 23rd, we got clear of the islands, and on the 26th, our latitude by observation was 10 deg. 51 min. S. and our longitude 252 deg. 11 min. W. On the 28th, we steered all day N. W. with a view of making the land of Java, and on the 30th, Capt. Cook took into his possession the log-book and journals, at least all he could find of the officers, petty officers, and seamen, whom he strictly enjoined secrecy with respect to where they had been. At seven in the evening we had thunder and lightning, and about twelve by the light of the flashes we saw the west end of Java.

On Monday, October, the 1st, at six o'clock in the morning, Java Head bore S. E. by E. distant five leagues. Soon after we saw Prince's Island, and at ten Cracatoa, a remarkable high peaked island. At noon it bore N. 40 E. distant seven leagues. On the 2nd, we were close in with the coast of Java, in fifteen fathoms water, along which we stood. In the forenoon a boat was sent ashore, in order to procure some fruit for Tupia, who was at this time extremely ill. Our people returned with four cocoanuts, and a small bunch of plantains, for which they had paid a shilling; but some herbage for the cattle the Indians gave our seamen, and assisted them to cut it. The country had a delightful appearance, being every where covered with trees, which looked like one continued wood. About eleven o'clock we saw two Dutch East Indiamen, from whom we heard with great pleasure, that the Swallow had reached the English channel in safety, having been at Batavia about two years before. We also learnt, that there was stationed here a fly boat or packet, to carry letters, as was said, from the Dutch ships, that came hither from Batavia, but the Captain thought it was appointed to examine all ships, that should have passed the strait. We had now been some hours at anchor, but in the evening a light breeze springing up, we got under sail, yet having little wind, and a strong current against us, we reached no further by eight in the morning, of the 3rd, than Bantam Point. We now perceived the Dutch packet

standing after us, but the wind shifting to the N. E. she bore away. We were now obliged to anchor; which we did in twenty-two fathoms water, at about two miles from the shore. At six o'clock in the evening, the country boats came along side of us, on board of which was the master of the packet. They brought in them fowls, ducks, parrots, turtle, rice, birds, monkeys, and other articles, with an intention to sell them, but having fixed very high prices on their commodities, and our Savu stock being not yet expended, very few articles were purchased. The Captain indeed gave two dollars for twenty-five fowls, and a Spanish dollar for a turtle, which weighed about six and thirty pounds. We might also for a dollar have bought two monkeys, or a whole cage of rice-birds. The master of the packet brought with him two books, in one of which he desired of our officers, that one of them would write down the name of our ship and commander; the place from whence we came; to what port bound; with such other particulars relating to ourselves, as we might think proper, for the information of any of our countrymen who might come after us. In the other book the master himself entered the names of our ship and its Captain, in order to transmit them to the governor and council of the Indies. We perceived, that in the first book many ships, particularly Portuguese, had made entries of the same kind with that for which it was presented to us. Mr. Hicks, our lieutenant, however, having written the name of the ship, only added, "from Europe." The master of the packet took notice of this, but said, that he was satisfied with any thing we thought fit to write, it being intended solely for the information of our friends.

Friday, the 5th, we made several attempts to sail with a wind that would not stem the current, and as often came to an anchor. In the morning a proa, with a Dutch officer, came along-side of us, and sent to Capt. Cook a printed paper in exceeding bad English, duplicates of which he had in other languages, all regularly signed, in the name of the governor and council of the Indies.



by their secretary; the contents whereof were the following inquiries, contained in nine questions.

1. The ship's name, and to what nation she belonged?

2. If she came from Europe, or any other place?

3. From what place she had last departed?

4. Whereunto designed to go?

5. What and how many ships of the Dutch company by departure from the last shore there layed, and their names?

6. If one or more of these ships, in company with the Endeavour, is departed for this or any other place?

7. If during the voyage any particularities is happened, or seen?

8. If not any ships in sea, or the straits of Sunda, have seen, or hailed in, and which?

9. If any other news worthy of attention, at the place from whence the ship lastly departed, or during the voyage, is happened?

BATAVIA in the Castle.

By order of the Governor General, and the Counsellors of India,

J. BRANDER BUNGL. Sec.

The officer observing, that the Captain did not choose to answer any of the above questions except the first and fourth, he said that the rest were not material, though it was remarked that just afterwards he affirmed he must dispatch the paper to Batavia, at which place it would arrive by the next day. This examination was rather extraordinary, and the more so, as it does not seem to have been of any long standing.

As soon as the Dutch officer departed, the anchor was weighed, but in four hours the ship was forced to come to an anchor again, till a breeze sprang up; she then held on her course till the next morning, when on account of the rapidity of the current, the anchor was dropped again. At last we weighed on the 8th, and stood clear of a large ledge of rocks, which we had almost ran upon the preceding day. But in the forenoon we were once more obliged to an-

chor near a little island that was not laid down in any chart on board. It was found to be one of those called the Milles Isles. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander having landed upon it, collected a few plants, and shot a bat which was a yard long, being measured from the extreme points of the wings; they also killed a few plovers on this island, the breadth of which does not exceed one hundred yards, and the length five hundred; they found a house and a little spot of cultivated ground, and on it grew the Palma Christi, from which the West Indians make their castor oil.

In a little time after the gentlemen returned to the ship, some Malays came along side in a boat, bringing with them pompions, dried fish, and turtle, for sale; one of the turtles, which weighed near one hundred and fifty pounds, they sold for a dollar, and seemed to expect the same piece of money for their fruit; but it being hinted to them that a dollar was too much, they desired that one might be cut, and a piece of it given to them, but this not being complied with, they at length sold twenty-six pompions for a Portuguese petacka. When they departed, they intimated their wishes, that this transaction might not be mentionned at Batavia.

We now made but little way till night, when the land-breeze springing up, we sailed to the E. S. E. and on the following day, by the assistance of the sea-breeze, came to an anchor in the road of Batavia. At this place we found a number of large Dutch vessels, the Harcourt East Indiaman from England, which had lost her passage to China, and two ships belonging to the private trade of our India company. The Endeavour had no sooner anchored, than a ship was observed, with a broad pendant flying, from which a boat was dispatched to demand the name of the vessel, with that of the commander, &c. To these inquiries Capt. Cook gave such answers as he thought proper, and the officer who commanded the boat departed. This gentleman, and the crew that attended him, were so worn out with the unhealthiness of the climate, that it was apparent many deaths would follow:



get at present there was not one invalid on board of our ship, except the Indian Tupia. The Captain now dispatched an officer to the governor of the town, to apologize for the Endeavour's not saluting: for he had but three guns proper for the purpose, except swivels, and he was apprehensive that they would not be heard. The ship was so leaky, that she made about nine inches water in an hour, on the average; part of the false keel was gone; one of her pumps was totally useless, and the rest so much decayed, that they could not last long. The officers and seamen concurring in opinion that the ship could not be safely put to sea again in this condition, the Captain resolved to solicit permission to heave her down; but as he had learned that this must be done in writing, he drew up a petition, and had it translated into Dutch.

On Wednesday, October, the 10th, the Captain and the rest of the gentlemen went on shore, and applied to the only English resident at Batavia; this gentleman, whose name was Leith, received his countrymen in the politest manner, and entertained them at dinner with great hospitality. Mr. Leith informed us, that a public hotel was kept in town, by order of the Dutch governor, at which place merchants and other strangers were obliged to lodge, and that the landlord of the hotel was bound to find them warehouses for their goods, on the condition of receiving ten shillings on every hundred pounds of their value, but as the Endeavour was a king's ship, her officers and the other gentlemen, might reside where they thought proper, only asking leave of the governor, whose permission would be instantly obtained. Mr. Leith added, that they might live cheaper in this way than at the hotel, if they had any person who spoke the Batavian tongue, whom they could rely on to purchase their provisions, but as there was no such person among the whole ship's crew, the gentlemen immediately bespoke beds at the hotel. In the afternoon Capt. Cook attended the governor-general, who received him politely, and told him to wait on the council the next morning, when his petition should be laid before them, and every thing

that he solicited should be granted. Late in the evening of this day, there happened a most terrible storm of thunder and lightning, accompanied with very heavy rain. In this storm the main-mast of a Dutch East Indiaman was split and carried away by the deck; and the main-top-mast and main-top-gallant mast were torn to pieces; it is supposed, that the lightning was attracted by an iron spindle at the main-top-gallant-mast-head. The Endeavour, which was at a small distance from the Dutch ship, escaped without damage, owing, most probably, to the electrical chain which conducted the lightning over the vessel. A sentinel on board the Endeavour, who was charging his musket at the time of the storm, had it shaken out of his hand, and the ram-rod broken to pieces; the electrical chain looked like a stream of fire, and the ship sustained a very violent shock.

On Thursday, the 11th, Capt. Cook waited on the gentlemen of the council, who informed him that all his requests should be complied with. In the interim the other gentlemen made a contract with the master of the hotel, to furnish them and their friends with as much tea, coffee, punch and tobacco, as they might have occasion for, and to keep them a separate table, for nine shillings a day English money: but on the condition that every person who should visit them, should pay at the rate of four shillings and six-pence for his dinner, and the same sum for his supper and bed, if he chose to sleep at the hotel: they were likewise to pay for every servant that attended them fifteen-pence a day. It was soon discovered, that they had been much imposed on; for these charges were twice as much as could have been demanded at a private house. They appeared to live elegantly, but at the same time were but ill supplied. Their dinner consisted of fifteen dishes, all served up at once; and their supper of thirteen, but of these, nine or ten were of the most ordinary, because the cheapest, (poultry) that could be purchased, and even some of these dishes were observed to be served up four times successively: a duck, which was hot at dinner, was brought cold in the evening, the next



day served up as fricassee, and was converted into forced meat at night. We, however, only fared as others had done before us: it was the constant custom of the conscientious master of the hotel, to treat all his guests in the same manner: if we took no notice of it, all was well, for the landlord had the better customers of us: if we remonstrated against such treatment, the table was better supplied from time to time, till, in the end, we had no reason to complain. However, after a few days, Mr. Banks hired for himself and party, a small house, next door to the hotel, for which he paid forty-five shillings per month; but they were far from having the conveniencies and privacy they expected: for no person was permitted to sleep in it as an occasional guest, under a penalty: and Dutchmen were continually running in without the least ceremony, to ask what was to be sold, it being a custom for most private persons in Batavia to be furnished with some articles of traffic. Every one here hires a carriage, and Mr. Banks engaged two. These carriages are open chaises; they hold two persons, and are driven by a man sitting on a kind of coach-box: for each of these Mr. Banks paid two rix-dollars a day.

Our Indian friend Tupia had hitherto continued on board on account of his disorder, which was of the bilious kind, yet he persisted in refusing every medicine that was offered him. Mr. Banks sent for him to his house, in hopes that he might recover his health. While in the ship, and even in the boat, he was exceedingly listless and low spirited, but he no sooner entered the town than he seemed as if reanimated. The houses, the carriages, streets, people, and a multiplicity of other objects, wholly new to him, produced an effect like the supposed power of fascination. But if Tupia was astonished at the scene, his boy Tayeto was perfectly enraptured. He expressed his wonder and delight with less restraint. He danced along the street in a kind of extacy, and examined every object with a restless curiosity which was each moment excited and gratified. Tupia remarked particularly the variety of dresses worn by the passing

multitude, concerning which he made many inquiries. Being informed that here were people of different nations, each of whom wore the habit of his respective country, he desired that he might conform to the custom, and appear in that of Otaheite; and some South-Sea cloth being sent for from the ship, he dressed himself with great expedition and dexterity. The people of Batavia, who had seen an Indian brought thither in M. Bougainville's ship, named Otonrou, mistook Tupia for that person, and frequently asked if he was not the same. About this time we had procured an order to the superintendent of the island of Ourust, where the ship was to be repaired, to receive her there, and by one of the ships that sailed for Holland, an account was sent to Mr. Stephens, secretary to the admiralty, of our arrival at this place. Here the Captain found an unexpected difficulty in procuring money for the expences that would be incurred by refitting the Endeavour; private persons had neither the ability nor inclination to advance the sum required; he therefore sent a written application to the governor himself, who ordered the Shebander to supply the Captain with what money he might want out of the company's treasury.

Thursday, the 18th, early in the morning, after a delay of some days, we ran down to Ourust, and laid the ship along-side of the wharf, on Cooper's Island, in order to take out her stores. After little more than nine days, we began to experience the fatal effects of the climate and situation. Tupia sunk on a sudden, and grew every day worse and worse. Tayeto, his boy, was seized with an inflammation on his lungs. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were attacked by fevers, and the two servants of the former became very ill; in short, almost every person both on board and ashore fell sick in a few days, owing, as we imagined, to the low swampy situation of the place, and the numberless dirty canals, that intersect the town in all directions.

On the 26th, when few of the crew were able to do duty, we erected a tent for their reception. Tupia, of whose life we began



to despair, desired to be removed to the ship, in hopes of breathing a freer air; however this could not be done, as she was unrigged, and preparing to be laid down at the careening-place; but on the 28th, Mr. Banks conveyed him to Cooper's Island, or as it is called here, Kuypor, and, as he seemed pleased with the spot near which the ship lay, a tent was pitched for him. When the sea and land breezes blew over him, he expressed great satisfaction at his situation. On the 30th, Mr. Banks returned to town, having, from humanity alone, been two days with Tupia, whose fits of an intermitting fever, now became a regular tertian, and were so violent as to deprive him of his senses while they lasted, and left him so weak, that he could scarcely crawl from his bed. At the same time Dr. Solander's fever increased, and Mr. Monkhouse, the surgeon, was confined to his bed.

On Monday, the 5th, of November, after many unavoidable delays, the ship was laid down, and the same day Mr. Monkhouse, our surgeon, fell a sacrifice to this fatal country: whose loss was more severely felt, by his being a sensible, skilful man, and dying at a time when his abilities were most wanted. Dr. Solander was just able to attend his funeral, but Mr. Banks, in his turn, was confined to his bed. Great, inexpressibly great was our distress at this time; the prospect before us in the highest degree discouraging; our danger such as we could not surmount by any efforts of our own, for courage, diligence, and skill, were all equally ineffectual; and death was every day making advances towards us, when we could neither resist nor fly. The power of disease, from the pestiferous air of the country, daily gaining strength, several Malay servants were hired to attend the sick, but they had so little sense either of duty or humanity, that the patient was obliged frequently to get out of bed to seek them.

Friday, the 9th, our Indian boy Tayeto paid the debt of nature, and poor Tupia was so affected at the loss, that it was doubted whether he would survive it till the next day. In the mean time the ship's bottom

having been carefully examined, it was found to be in a worse condition than we apprehended. The false keel was considerably gone to within twenty feet of the stern post; the main keel was injured in many places; much of the sheathing was torn off; and several planks were greatly damaged: two of them, and half of a third, particularly, for the length of six feet, were so worn, that they were not above an eighth part of an inch thick, and the worms had made their way quite into the timbers: yet, in this condition, the Endeavour had sailed many hundred leagues, where navigation is as dangerous as in any part of the globe. How much misery did we escape, by being ignorant that so considerable a part of the bottom of the vessel was thinner than the sole of a shoe, and that every life on board depended on so slight a barrier between us and the unfathomable ocean!

Dr. Solander and Mr. Banks were now so worn down by their disorders, that the physician declared they had no chance for recovery but by removing into the country. In consequence of this advice a house was hired for them, at the distance of about two miles from the town, which belonged to the master of the hotel, who engaged to supply them with provisions, and the use of slaves. As they had already experienced the unfeeling inattention of these fellows to the sick, they bought each of them a Malay woman, who, from the tenderness of their sex made them good nurses. While these gentlemen were taking measures for the recovery of their health, we received an account of the death of our faithful Tupia, who sunk at once after the loss of his boy, Tayeto, whom he loved with the tenderness of a parent. When Tayeto was first seized with the fatal disorder, he seemed sensible of his approaching end, and frequently said to those that were about him Tyau mate see, "My friends I am dying;" he was very tractable, and took any medicines that were offered him: they were both buried in the island of Edam.

On the 14th, the bottom of the ship was thoroughly repaired, and much to Capt. Cook's satisfaction, who bestowed great



encomiums on the officers and the workmen at the Marine-yard; in his opinion there is not one in the world, where a ship can be laid down with more convenient speed and safety, nor repaired with more diligence and skill. At this place they heave down with two masts, a method we do not now practise; it is, however, unquestionably more safe and expeditious to heave down with two masts than one, and the man must want common sense, or be strangely attached to old customs, who will not allow this, after seeing with what facility the Dutch heave down and refit their largest vessels at Ournst. At this time Capt. Cook was taken ill. Mr. Sporing also, and a sailor who attended Mr. Banks, were seized with the deadly intermittents, and only ten of the ship's company were capable of doing duty. As to Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, they recovered slowly at their country house, which was open to the sea breeze, and situated upon a running stream; circumstances that contributed not a little to a free circulation of air. Yet notwithstanding these perplexing obstacles, though harrassed by a contagious disease, and alarmed by frequent deaths, we proceeded in rigging the ship, and getting water and necessary stores on board: the stores were easily obtained and shipped, but the water we were obliged to procure from Batavia, at the rate of six shillings and eight-pence a leager, or one hundred and fifty gallons.

On the 25th, in the night there fell such a shower of rain, for the space of four hours, as even all of us had cause ever to remember. The water poured through every part of Mr. Banks's house, and the lower apartments admitted a stream sufficient to turn a mill. As this gentleman was now greatly restored in health, he went to Batavia the following day, and was surprised to see that the inhabitants had hung their bedding to dry. About the 26th, of this month the westerly monsoon set in; it blows in the day-time from the N. or N. W. and from the S. W. during the night; previous to this, there had been violent showers of rain for several nights. The moschittos and gnats, whose company had been sufficiently disa-

greeable in dry weather, now begun to swarm in immense numbers, rising from the puddles of water like bees from a hive; they were extremely troublesome during the night, but the pain arising from the sting, though very severe, seldom lasted more than half an hour, and in the day-time they seldom made their attack. The frogs kept a perpetual croaking in the ditches, a certain sign that the wet season was commenced, and that daily rain might be expected.

The ship being repaired, the sick people received on board her, and the greater part of her water and stores taken in, she sailed from Ournst on the 8th, of December, and anchored in the road of Batavia: twelve days were employed in receiving the remainder of her provisions, water, and other necessaries, though the business would have been done in much less time, but that some of the crew died, and the majority of the survivors were so ill, as to be unable to give their assistance.

On the 24th, Capt. Cook took leave of the governor, and some other gentlemen, who had distinguished themselves by the civilities they shewed him; but at this juncture an incident occurred, that might have produced consequences by no means desirable. A sailor belonging to one of the Dutch ships in the road of Batavia, deserted from the vessel, and entered himself on board the Endeavour. The Captain of the Dutch ship having made application to the governor, claiming the delinquent as a subject of the States General, the governor issued his order for the restoration of the man; when this order was delivered to him, he said, that the man should be given up, if he appeared to be a Dutchman. As the Captain was at this time on shore, and did not intend going on board till the following day, he gave the Dutch officer a note to the lieutenant, who commanded on board the Endeavour, to deliver the deserter on the condition above-mentioned. On the following day the Dutchman waited on Capt. Cook, informing him, that the lieutenant had absolutely refused to give up the seaman, saying he was an Irishman, and of course a subject of his Britannic Majesty;



Capt. Cook applauded the conduct of his officer, and added, that it could not be expected that he should deliver up an English subject. The Dutch officer than said, he was authorised by the governor, to demand the fugitive as a Danish subject, adding that his name was entered in the ship's books as having been born at Elsinør; to this Capt. Cook very properly replied, that the governor must have been mistaken, when he gave this order for delivering the deserter, who had his option whether he would serve the Dutch or the English; but in compliment to the governor, the man should be given up, as a favour, if he appeared to be a Dane, but that in this case, he should by no means be demanded as a right, and that he would certainly keep him, if he appeared to be a subject of the crown of Great Britain. The Dutchman now took his leave, and he had not been long gone before the Captain received a letter from the commanding officer on board, containing full proof, that the man was an English subject. This letter the Captain carried to the shebander, desiring him to lay it before the governor, and to inform him, that the man should not be delivered

up on any terms whatever. This spirited conduct on the part of Capt. Cook, had the desired effect; and thus the matter ended.

This day the Captain, attended by Mr. Banks and the other gentlemen who had hitherto lived in the town, repaired on board the ship, which got under sail the next morning. The Endeavour was saluted by the fort, and by the Elgin East Indiaman, which then lay in the road; but soon after these compliments were returned, the sea-breeze setting in, they were obliged to come to anchor. Since the arrival of the ship in Batavia Road, every person belonging to her had been ill, except the sail-maker, who was more than seventy years old, yet this man got drunk every day while we remained there. The Endeavour buried seven of her people at Batavia, viz. Tupia and his boy, three of the sailors, the servant of Mr. Green the astronomer, and the surgeon; and at the time of the vessel's sailing, forty of the crew were sick, and the rest so enfeebled by their late illness, as to be scarcely able to do their duty.

## CHAP. XI.

*A descriptive account of the town of Batavia, and the circumjacent country; Its various productions particularized; The manners, customs, and way of living of the inhabitants fully described; The Endeavour sails from Batavia to the Cape of Good Hope; An account of the inhabitants of Prince's Island, with a comparative view of their language, with that of the Malay and Javanese; The arrival of the Endeavour at the Cape of Good Hope; Observations on the run from Java Head to that place; The Cape and St. Helena described; Remarks on the Hottentots; The Endeavour returns to England, and anchors in the Downs on Wednesday, June 12, 1771.*

**B**ATAVIA, situated in 6 deg. 10 min. S. latitude, and 106 deg. 50 min. E. longitude from the meridian of Greenwich, is built on the bank of a large bay, something more than twenty miles from the Strait of Sunda, on the north side of the island of Java, on a low boggy ground. Several small rivers, which rise forty miles up the

country, in the mountains of Blauenwen Berg, discharge themselves into the sea at this place, having first intersected the town in different directions. There are wide canals of nearly stagnated water in almost every street, and as the banks of the canals are planted with trees, they appear at first very agreeable; but these trees and canals



combine to render the air pestilential. Some of the rivers are navigable, more than thirty miles up the country: and, indeed, the Dutch appear to have chosen this spot to build the town on, for the sake of water carriage, in which convenience Batavia exceeds every place in the world, except the towns of Holland. A writer who published an account of this place near 50 years ago, makes the number of houses at that time 4,760, viz. 1,242 Dutch houses, and 1,200 Chinese houses, within the walls; and 1,066 Dutch houses, and 1,240 Chinese houses, without the walls, with 12 houses for the vending of arrack. The streets of Batavia being wide, and the houses large, it stands on more ground than any place that has only an equal number of houses. In dry weather a most horrid stench arises from the canals, and taints the air to a great degree; and when the rains have so swelled their canals that they overflow their banks, the ground-floors of the houses, in the lower part of the town, are filled with stinking water, that leaves behind it dirt and slime in amazing quantities. The running streams are sometimes as offensive as the stagnant canals; for the bodies of dead animals are frequently lodged on the shallow parts, where they are left to putrify and corrupt the air, except a flood happens to carry them away; this was the case of a dead buffalo, while the crew of the Endeavour were there, which lay stinking on the shoal of a river, in one of the chief streets for several days. They sometimes clean the canals; but this business is performed in such a manner, as scarcely to make them less a nuisance than before, for the bottom being cleared of its black mud, it is left on the side of the canal, till it is hard enough to be taken in boats; and as there are no houses for necessary retirement in the whole town, the filth is thrown into the canals regularly once a day; so that this mud is a compound of every thing that can be imagined disagreeable and offensive.

The new church in Batavia, is a fine piece of building, and the dome of it may be seen far off at sea. This church is illuminated by chandeliers of the most superb workmanship, and has a fine organ: most

of the other public buildings are ancient, constructed in an ill taste, and gave a very complete idea of Dutch clumsiness. Their method of building their houses seems to have been taught them by the climate. On the ground-floor there is no room but a large hall, a corner of which is parted off for the transaction of business; the hall has two doors, which are commonly left open, and are opposite each other, so that the air passes freely through the room, in the middle of which there is a court, which at once increases the draught of air, and affords light to the hall; the stairs, which are at one corner, lead to large and lofty apartments above. The female slaves are not permitted to sit in any place but the alcove formed by the court, and this is the usual dining place of the family.

Batavia is encompassed by a river of shallow water, the stream of which is very rapid; within this river, which is of different widths in various places, is an old stone wall, much decayed in many places, and within the wall is a canal, wider in some places than in others, so that there is no entering the gates of the town but by crossing two draw-bridges; there are but few on the ramparts, and no persons are admitted to walk there. There is a kind of citadel, or castle, in the N. E. corner of the town, the walls of which are both broader and higher than they are in other parts; it is furnished with a number of large guns, which command the landing-place.

Apartments are provided in this castle for the governor-general, and all the council; and in case of a siege, they have orders to retire thither. In the castle are likewise a number of store-houses, in which the effects belonging to the company are deposited. The company have in their possession large quantities of gun-powder, which is kept in different places, that the lightning may not destroy the whole stock at once: a great number of cannon are likewise laid up within the castle. There are a great many forts built in different parts of the country, several miles distant from Batavia, most probably erected to keep the natives in submission; and, besides these, there are a number of



fortified houses, each mounting eight guns, which are so stationed as to command the canals and the roads on the borders. There are houses of this kind in many parts of the island of Java, and the other islands in its neighbourhood, of which the Dutch have obtained possession. The Chinese having rebelled against them in the year 1740, all their principal houses were demolished by the cannon of one of these fortified houses, which is in the town of Batavia, where, likewise, there are a few more of them.

The roads of this country are only banks between the ditches and canals, and the fortified houses being erected among the morasses near these roads, nothing is easier than to destroy them, and consequently to prevent an enemy from bringing any heavy artillery near the town: if, indeed, an enemy be only hindered a short time in his approach, he is effectually ruined; for the climate will preclude the necessity of the use of weapons for his destruction. Before the *Endeavour* had been a week at Batavia, her crew began to feel the ill effects of the climate; half of them were rendered incapable of doing their duty before the expiration of a month. They were informed, that it was a very uncommon thing for 50 soldiers out of 100 brought from Europe, to be alive at the expiration of the first year, and that of the 50 who might happen to be living, not ten of those would be in sound health, and, probably, not less than half of them in the hospital.

In Batavia all the white inhabitants are soldiers, and at the expiration of five years service, they are bound to hold themselves in readiness to go to war, if they should be wanted, and the younger inhabitants are frequently mustered; but as they are neither trained nor exercised after the expiration of the five years before-mentioned, the little they have learned is soon forgotten. The Indians, of whatever nation, who reside here, and have either been made free, or were born so, are called *Mardykers*; but neither these nor the Chinese are acquainted with fire-arms; yet, as these people are said to possess great personal bravery, much might be expected

from their expert use of their daggers, swords, and lances. It would be a laborious task to attack Batavia by land, and it is not possible to make any attack at all by sea, for the water would hinder any vessels from advancing within cannon-shot of the walls; indeed there is barely depth of water for a ship's long-boat, except a narrow channel, called the river, which extends half a mile into the harbour, and is strongly bounded on each side with piers, the other end of it being directly under the fire of the castle, while its communication with the canals of the town is prevented by a boom of wood, which is every night shut precisely at six o'clock, and never opened till the following day.

In the harbour of Batavia, any number of ships may anchor, the ground is so excellent that the anchor will never quit its hold. This harbour is sometimes dangerous for boats, when the sea-breezes blow fresh; but, upon the whole, it is deemed the best and most commodious in all India. There is a considerable number of islands, which are situated round the outside of the harbour, and all these are in the possession of the Dutch, who destine them to different purposes. On one of them, which is called *Purmerent*, an hospital is erected, on account of the air being purer than it is at Batavia. In a second, the name of which is *Kuyper*, are erected numbers of warehouses, wherein are lodged the rice and some other commodities, which belong to the Dutch East-India Company; at this island those ships belonging to different nations, which are to be repaired at *Ourust*, unload their cargoes: and it was here that the stores of the *Falmouth* man of war were laid up, when she was condemned on her return from *Manilla*: her warrant officers, of whom mention has been made in the account of Captain *Wallis's* voyage, were sent to Europe in Dutch ships about half a year before the *Endeavour* anchored in the road of Batavia. A third of these islands, the name of which is *Edam*, is appropriated to the reception of certain offenders, whose crimes are not deemed worthy of death, and thither they are transported from Holland, and detained from five to



forty years, in proportion to the heinousness of the offence they have committed : making of ropes is the principal part of the employment of these criminals.

The environs of Batavia have a very pleasing appearance, and would, in almost any other country, be an enviable situation. Gardens and houses occupy the country for several miles, but the former are so covered with trees, that the advantage of the land having been cleared of the wood that originally covered it, is almost wholly lost ; while these gardens and the fields adjacent to them are surrounded by ditches which yield a disagreeable smell ; and the bogs and morasses in the adjacent fields are still more offensive. For the space of more than 30 miles beyond the town, the land is totally flat, except in two places, on one of which the governor's country seat is built, and on the other they hold a large market ; but neither of these places is higher than ten yards from the level of the plain. At near 40 miles from the town, the land rises into hills, and the air is purified in a great degree : to this distance the invalids are sent by their physicians, when every other prospect of their recovery has failed, and the experiment succeeds in almost every instance, for the sick are restored to health ; but they no sooner return to the town, than their former disorders revisit them. On these hills, the most opulent of the inhabitants have country seats, to which they pay an annual visit. Those who reside constantly on the hills, enjoy an almost perpetual flow of health ; and most of the vegetables of Europe grow as freely there as in their native ground : the strawberry in particular flourishes greatly, which is a sufficient proof of the coolness of the air.

In this country rice is very plentiful, and, in order to be brought to perfection, should lie under water more than half the time it is growing : but they have a sort which grows on the sides of the hills, which is unknown in the West-India islands ; this sort is planted when the wet season commences, and the crop is gathered in, soon after the rains are over. The maize, which grows near Batavia, is gathered while young, and

roasted in the ear. The land likewise produces, carrots, celery, parsley, asparagus, onions, radishes, cabbages, lettuces, cucumbers, lentiles, kidney-beans, hyssop, sage, rue, Chinese white radishes, which, when boiled, are not unlike a parsnip, common potatoes, wet and dry yams, millet, and the egg plant, the fruit of which, when broiled and eaten with salt and pepper, is most exquisite food. Amazing crops of sugar are produced here, and, while the quantity is beyond comparison greater, the care of cultivation is inconceivably less than in the West-India islands. White sugar is retailed at two-pence halfpenny the pound : and arrack is made of the molasses, with a small addition of rice, and the wine of the cocoanut. The inhabitants likewise raise a little indico for their own use, but do not export it.

The fruits of this country are near forty in number, and of some of these there are of several kinds. Pine-apples grow in such abundance, that they may be purchased, at the first hand, for the value of an English farthing ; and we bought some very large ones for a halfpenny a-piece at the fruit-shops, and their taste is very excellent. They grow so luxuriantly, that seven or eight suckers have been seen adhering to one stem. The sweet oranges of Batavia are good of their kind, but very dear at particular times. The shaddocks of the West-Indies, called here Pamplerooses, have an agreeable flavour. Lemons were very scarce when the Endeavour lay in the harbour, but limes were altogether as plentiful, and sold at little more than two-pence the score. There are many kinds of oranges and lemons, but none of them excellent. Of mangoes there are plenty, but their taste is far inferior to the melting peach of England, to which they have been compared. It is said that the heat, and extreme dampness of the climate does not agree with them, yet there are many different kinds of them. Of bananas, there are an amazing variety of sorts, some of which being boiled, are eaten as bread, while others are fried in batter, and are a nourishing food : but of the numerous sorts of fruit, three only are fit to be eaten :



one, indeed, is remarkable, because it is filled with seeds, which are not common to the rest. Grapes are sold from one shilling to eighteen-pence a pound, though they are far from being good. The tamarinds are cheap and plentiful; but as the method of preserving them, which is in salt, renders them a mere black lump, they are equally nauseating to the sight and to the palate. The water-melons are excellent of their kind, and are produced in great abundance. The pumpions are boiled as turnips, and eaten with salt and pepper. This fruit is admirably adapted to the use of voyagers, as it will keep many months, without care, and makes an excellent pie, when mixed with the juice of lemons and sugar. The papans of this country are superior to turnips, if the cores are extracted, after paring them when they are green. The guava has a strong smell, and a taste not less disagreeable: it is probable, that the guava of the West-Indies, which many writers have distinguished by their praises, has a very different flavour. The sweet sop is a fruit that has but little flavour: it abounds in large kernels, from which the pulp is sucked. The taste of the custard-apple very much resembles the dish from which its name is taken. The casheu apple produces a nut which is not unknown in England, but the fruit has such an astringent quality, that the Batavians seldom eat of it: the nut grows on the top of the apple. The cocoa-nut is plentiful in this country, and there are several kinds of this fruit, the best of which is very red between the shell and the skin. The jamboo is a fruit that has but little taste, but is of a cooling nature: it is considerably less than a common sized apple, and those that have grown to their full size, are always the best; its shape is oval, and its colour a deep red. Of the Jambu-eyer, there are two kinds, the white and the red: they are shaped like a bell, and are something bigger than a cherry: they have no kind of taste, but that of a watry acid. The Jambu-eyer mauwar, smells like a rose, and its taste is not unlike that of conserve of roses. The mangostan is of a dark red colour, and not larger than a small apple:

to the bottom of this fruit adhere several little leaves of the blossoms, while on its top are a number of triangles combined in a circle; it contains several kernels ranged in a circular form, within which is the pulp, a fruit of most exquisite taste; it is equally nutritious and agreeable, and is constantly given to persons who are troubled with inflammatory or putrid fevers. The sweet orange of this country is likewise given in the same disorders. The pomegranate of these parts differs in nothing from that generally known in England. The durion takes its name from the word *Dure*, which, in the language of that country, means prickles, and the name is well adapted to the fruit, the shell of which is covered with sharp points, shaped like a sugar-loaf: its contents are nuts not much smaller than chesnuts, which are surrounded with a kind of juice resembling cream; and of this the inhabitants eat with great avidity: the smell of this fruit is more like that of onions, than any other European vegetable, and its taste is like that of onions, sugar, and cream intermixed: the inside of the durion, when ripe, is parted, lengthways, into several divisions. The nanca is a fruit that smells like garlic and apples mixed together: its size in the gardens of Batavia, is not bigger than that of a middling sized pompion, and its shape is nearly the same: it is covered with prickles of an angular form. We were informed that, at a place called Madura, it has been known to grow to such an enormous size as to require the strength of two men to carry it. The champada is in all respects like the naucia, only that it is not so large. The rambutan contains a fruit within which is a stone, that is perhaps the finest acid in the world: this fruit is not unlike a chesnut with its husk on; and it is covered with small prickles of a dark red colour, and so soft as to yield to the slightest impression. The gambolan resembles a damascene both in colour and size, and is of a very astringent nature. The boa bidarra tastes like an apple, and is likewise extremely astringent: its size is that of a gooseberry, its form round, and its colour yellow. The nam nam makes an excellent fritter, if



fried in batter, but is not esteemed when raw: the rind of it is rough, its length is about three inches, and its shape not unlike that of a kidney. The catappa and the canara are two species of nuts, the kernels of which are like those of an almond, but so hard, that it is almost impossible to break them. The madja contains a pulp of a sharp taste, which is eaten with sugar: this fruit is covered with a hard shell. The suntal is a fruit scarcely fit to be eaten, being at once astringent, acid, and of a most unpleasant taste, yet it is publicly sold in the streets of Batavia: it contains a number of kernels, which are inclosed in a thick skin. The salack is nearly of the size of a small golden pippin, and contains a few kernels of a yellow colour, the taste of which is not unlike that of a strawberry; but the covering of this fruit is very remarkable, as it consists of a number of scales, resembling those of a fish. The chefrema and the blimbing, are two sour fruits, exceedingly well adapted to make sour sauce, and pickles. The blimbing besse is another fruit of the same kind, but considerably sweeter.

Of the fruits not in season when Capt. Cook was at Batavia, are the boa atap, and the kinship, which he saw preserved in sugar: and there are several other sorts which the Batavians are fond of, but they are never eaten by strangers: among those are the moringa, the guilindina, the killer, and the soccum; this last has the appearance of the bread-fruit which is produced in the islands of the South Seas, but it is not near so good, though the tree on which it grows is almost exactly like the bread-fruit tree. At Batavia vast quantities of fruit are eaten: There are two markets held weekly, at distant places, for the accommodation of those who reside in different parts of the country. Here the fruit-sellers meet the gardeners, and purchase the goods at low rates. We are told it is not uncommon to see fifty or sixty loads of pine-apples carelessly thrown together at those markets. Flowers are strewn by the inhabitants of Batavia and Java, about their houses, and they are constantly burning aromatic woods and guins, which is supposed to be done by way of

purifying the air from the stench that arises from the canals and ditches about the town.

In this country sweet-scented flowers are plentiful, many species of which being entirely unknown, are worth remarking. The combang tonquin, and combang carenassi, are particularly fragrant flowers, which bear scarcely any resemblance to any of those flowers with which we are acquainted. They are very small, and seem to be of the dog's-bane species. The camunga which is more like a bunch of leaves than a flower, is of a singular smell, but very grateful. The bon tanjong is of a pale yellow cast, and has a very agreeable smell: it is about an inch and a half in circumference, and consists of pointed leaves, which give it the appearance of a star. The champacka smells somewhat like a jonquil, but is rather of a deeper yellow. A large tree upon the island produces this flower. There is also an extraordinary kind of flower called fundal malam, which signifies the intriguer of the night. This flower has no smell in the day-time, but as night comes on, it has a very fragrant scent, and is very much like the English tuberose. These flowers being made into nosegays of different shapes, or strung upon thread, are carried through the street for sale on an evening. The gardens of the gentlemen produce several other sorts of flowers besides these which we have mentioned, but they are not offered to sale, because there is not a sufficient plenty of them. A plant, called the pandang, is produced here, the leaves of which being shred small, and mixed with other flowers, the natives of both sexes fill their clothes and hair with this mixture, which they likewise sprinkle on their beds, and sleep under this heap of sweets, a thin piece of chintz being their only covering.

Formerly the only spice that grew on the island of Java was pepper. A considerable quantity is brought from thence by the Dutch, but very little of it is made use of in the country. The inhabitants prefer cay-an pepper, and are fond of cloves and nutmegs, but these first are too dear to be commonly used. Near the island of Amboyna



are some little isles, on which the cloves grow, and the Dutch were not easy till they all became their property. Scarcely any other nutmegs are found but on the island of Banda, which however furnishes enough for all the nations that have a demand for that commodity. There are but few nutmeg-trees on the coast of New Guinea. The island of Java, of which we have already spoken, produces horses, buffaloes, sheep, goats, and hogs. The sort of horses said to have been met with here when the country was first discovered, appeared to be nimble animals though small, being generally seldom above thirteen hands high. The horned cattle of this country are different from those of Europe. They are quite lean, but of a very fine grain. The Chinese and the natives of Java eat the buffalo's flesh, which the Dutch constantly refuse, being impressed with a strange idea that it is feverish. The sheep are hairy like goats, and have long ears: they are mostly found to be tough and ill-tasted. There happening to be a few from the 'Cape of Good Hope at Batavia, some of them were purchased at the rate of one shilling a pound. The hogs, especially those of the Chinese stock, are very fine food, but so fat as that the lean is separately sold to the butchers, who are Chinese; the fat they melt and sell to their countrymen to be eaten with their rice. Yet though these hogs are so fine, the Dutch prefer their own breed, and the consequence is that these latter are sold at extravagant rates.

As the Portuguese shoot the wild hogs and deer, they are sold at a moderate price, and are good eating. As to the goats of this country they are as indifferent as the sheep. Dogs and cats are found here in abundance, and there are numbers of wild horses at a considerable distance from Batavia, on the mountains. There are a few monkeys seen near the town; but there are many on the mountains and desert places, where there are also tygers, and a few rhinoceroses.

Of fish an astonishing quantity is taken here, and all are fine food, except a few that are scarce; yet the inhabitants will not eat those found in abundance, but purchase

those which are worse and scarcer, a circumstance that contributes to keep up the price of the latter. A prejudice likewise prevails among the Dutch which prevents them from eating any of the turtle caught in these parts, which are very good food, though not equal to those that are found in the West-Indies. Very large lizards are common at Batavia; some of them are said to be as thick as a man's thigh; and Mr. Banks shot one five feet long, which being drest, proved very agreeable to the taste. We found snipes of two different sorts; and thrushes might have been purchased of the Portuguese, who were the only dealers in this sort of birds, and venders of wild fowl in the country. In the island are palm-wine, and arrack. Of the former are three sorts, the first of which is drank in a few hours after it is drawn from the tree, and is moderately sweet; the second and third sorts are made by fermentation, and by putting several sorts of herbs and roots into the liquor.

In Java, the religion of Mahomet is professed, for which reason the natives do not make use of wine publicly: but in private few of them will refuse it. They also chew opium, whose intoxicating qualities prove its recommendation to the natives of India.

If we exclude the Chinese, and the Indians of different nations, who inhabit Batavia and its environs, the inhabitants only amount to a small number, not a fifth part of whom are said to be Dutchmen, even by descent. The Portuguese out-number all the European settlers on the island. The troops in the service of the states of Holland, are composed of the natives of almost all the nations of Europe; but the greater part of them are Germans. When any person goes to reside at Batavia, he is obliged to enter first as a soldier, to serve their company for five years. Afterwards he applies for a leave of absence to the council, which being granted as a thing of course, he engages in any business that he thinks proper to choose. There is however a sort of policy in this matter, since the Dutch have thus always a force ready to arm and join their troops in this country upon



any emergency ; all places of power and profit are held by the Dutch, and no foreigner has any share in the management of public affairs.

Notwithstanding all the men of other countries are bound to observe the rules above-mentioned, yet women from all parts may remain here unmolested. It appeared that the whole place could not furnish fifty females who were natives of Europe ; yet the town abounded with white women, who were descended from Europeans, that had settled there at different times, all the men having paid the debt of nature ; for so it is, that the climate of Batavia destroys the men much faster than the women. These women follow the delicate custom of chewing beetle, after the example of the native Javanese, whose dress they imitate, and whose manners they copy, in all respects. Mercantile business is conducted at Batavia with the slightest trouble imaginable. When a merchant receives an order for goods of any kind, he communicates the contents of it to the Chinese, who are the universal manufacturers. The Chinese agent delivers the effects on board the ship for which they are bespoke, and taking a receipt for them from the master of the vessel, he delivers it to the merchant, who pays the Chinese for the goods, and reserves a considerable profit, without the least trouble, risque, or anxiety. But when a merchant imports goods of any kind, he receives them himself, and lodges them in his own warehouses. It may be wondered that the Chinese do not ship the goods on their account, but from this they are restricted, and compelled to sell them to the merchants only. The inhabitants of Java distinguish the Portuguese by the name of Oranseranc, that is, Nazarene-men ; but these use the general term of Caper, or Casir, respecting all who do not profess the religion of Mahomet, and in this they include the Portuguese. But the Portuguese of Batavia are so only in name ; for they have neither any connection with, or knowledge of the kingdom of Portugal, and they have changed the religion of the church of Rome, for that of Luther ; with the manners of the natives,

they are wholly familiarised, and they commonly speak their language, though they are able to converse in a corrupt kind of Portuguese. They dress in the habit of the country, with a difference only in the manner of wearing their hair ; their noses are more peaked and their skin of a deeper cast than that of the natives. Some of them are mechanics and artificers, other subsist by washing of linen, and the rest procure a maintenance by hunting.

The Indians of Batavia, and the country in its neighbourhood, are not native Javanese, but are either born on the several islands from whence the Dutch bring their slaves, or the offspring of such as have been born on those islands ; and these having been made free either in their own persons or in the persons of their ancestors, enjoy all the privileges of freemen. They receive the general appellation of believers of the true faith. The various other Indian inhabitants of this country attach themselves each to the original customs of that in which themselves or their ancestors were born ; keeping themselves apart from those of other nations, and practising both the virtues and vices peculiar to their own countries. The cultivation of gardens, and the consequent sale of flowers and fruit afford subsistence to great numbers of them : these are the people who raise the beetle and areca, which being mixed with lime, and a substance that is called Gambir, the produce of the Indian continent, is chewed by persons of all ranks, women as well as men : indeed some of the politer ladies make an addition of cardamum, and other aromatics, to take off the disagreeable smell with which the breath would be otherwise tainted. Some of the Indians are very rich, keep a great number of slaves, and live, in all respects, according to the custom of their respective countries, while others are employed to carry goods by water ; and others again subsist by fishing. The Oranslams, or believers of the faith, feed principally on boiled rice, mixed with a small quantity of dried shrimps and other fish, which are imported from China, and a little of the flesh of buffaloes and chickens ; they are fond of



fruit, of which they eat large quantities, and with the flour of the rice they make several sorts of pastry. They sometimes make very superb entertainments, after the fashion of their respective countries; but, in general, they are a very temperate people; of wine they drink very little, if any, as the religion of Mahomet, which they profess, forbids the use of it. When a marriage is to be solemnized among them, all the gold and silver ornaments that can be procured, are borrowed to deck out the young couple, who, on these occasions, never fail to make the most splendid appearance; sumptuous entertainments are given by those who can afford them, which continue twelve or fourteen days, and frequently more, during all which time the women take care that the bridegroom shall not visit his wife privately, though the wedding takes place previous to the festival. All these Indians, though they come from different countries, speak the Malay language, if it deserves that name. On the island of Java there are two or three different dialects, and there is a language peculiar to every small island; it is conjectured that the Malay tongue is a corruption of the language of Malacca. The hair of these people, which is black without a single exception, grows in great abundance; yet the women make use of oils, and other ingredients, to increase the quantity of it: they fasten it to the crown of the head with a bodkin, having first twisted it into a circle, round which they place an elegant wreath of flowers, so that the whole head-dress has a most beautiful appearance. It is the universal custom both with the men and women, to bathe in a river once every day, and sometimes oftner, which not only promotes health, but prevents that contraction of filth, that would be otherwise unavoidable in so hot a climate. The teeth of the Oranslams have some particulars in them well worthy of notice. With a kind of whetstone they rub the ends of them till they are quite flat and even: they then make a deep groove in the teeth of the upper jaw, in the centre between the bottom of each tooth and the gum, and horizontally with the latter; this groove is equal in

depth to a quarter of the thickness of the teeth; yet none of these people have a rotten tooth, though according to the dentists of England and France, such a thing must be unavoidable, as the tooth is placed much deeper than what we call the enamel. The teeth of these people become very black by the chewing of beetle, yet a slight washing will take off this blackness, and they will then become perfectly white; but they are very seldom washed, as the depth of the colour is very far from being thought disagreeable. Most of our readers must have heard of the Mohawks; and these are the people who are so denominated, from a corruption of the word amock, which will be explained by the following story and observations. To run amock is to get drunk with opium, and then seizing some offensive weapon, to sally forth from the house, kill the person or persons supposed to have injured the amock, and any other person that attempts to impede his passage, till he himself is taken prisoner or killed on the spot. While Capt. Cook was at Batavia, a person whose circumstances in life were independent, being jealous of his brother, intoxicated himself with opium, and then murdered his brother, and two other men who endeavoured to seize him. This man, contrary to the usual custom, did not leave his own house, but made his resistance from within it; yet he had taken such a quantity of the opium, that he was delirious, which appeared from his attempting to fire three muskets, neither of which had been loaded, nor even primed. Jealousy of the women is the usual reason of these poor creatures running amock (or a-muck) and the first object of their vengeance is the person whom they suppose to have injured them. The officer, whose business it is to apprehend these unhappy wretches, is furnished with a long pair of tongs, in order to take hold of them without coming within the reach of the point of their weapon. Those who may be taken alive, which is not often the case, are generally wounded: but they are always broken upon the wheel; and if the physician, who is appointed to examine their wounds, thinks them likely to be



mortal, the punishment is inflicted immediately, and the place of execution is generally the spot where the first murder was committed. A number of absurd customs prevailed among these people, and opinions no less ridiculous. They believe that the devil, whom they call Satan, is the author of sickness and adversity; therefore, when sick, or in distress, they offer meat, money, and other things, as propitiatory sacrifices. Should one among them be restless, or should he dream for two or three nights successively, he imagines the devil has laid his commands upon him, when, upon neglect to fulfil, he concludes his punishment will certainly be sickness or death, though such commands may not be revealed with sufficient perspicuity. To interpret his dream, therefore, he strains his wits to the uttermost, and if, by taking it literally or figuratively, directly, or by contraries, he can put no explanation that satisfies him, he applies to the Cavin or priest, who unravels the mysterious suggestions of the night, by a comment, in which it generally appears, that Satan wants victuals or money. These are placed on a little plate of cocoa-nut leaves, and hung upon the branch of a tree near the river, so that it seems not to be the opinion of these people, that in prowling the earth, the devil "walketh through dry places." Mr. Banks once asked, whether they thought Satan spent the money, or eat the victuals; they said, that as to the money it was considered rather as a mulct upon an offender, than a gift to him who had enjoined it; and that therefore if it was devoted by the dreamer, it did not signify into whose hands it came, and they supposed it was generally the prize of some stranger who wandered that way; but respecting the meat, they were clearly of opinion, that, although the devil did not eat the gross parts, yet by bringing his mouth near it, he sucked out all its savour without changing its position, so that afterwards it was as insipid as water.

Another superstitious notion of this people is still more unaccountable. They imagine that women, when delivered of children, are at the same time delivered of a

young crocodile; and that those animals being received carefully by the midwives, are immediately carried down to the river, and put into the water. The family in which such a birth is supposed to have happened, constantly puts victuals into the river for their amphibious relation, especially the twin, who as long as he lives, goes down to the river at stated times, to fulfil his fraternal duty; for an omission of which, according to the general opinion, he will be visited with sickness or death. We are at a loss to account for an opinion so extravagant and absurd, especially as it seems to be unconnected with any religious mystery, and how it should be pretended to happen by those who cannot be deceived into a belief of it by appearances, nor have any apparent interest in the fraud, is a problem still more difficult to solve. The strange belief of this absurdity, however, is certain, for which we had the concurrent testimony of every Indian who was questioned about it; and as to its origin, it seems to have taken its rise in the islands of Celebes and Bontou, at which places, many of the inhabitants keep crocodiles in their families; but however that may be, this opinion has spread over all the eastern islands, even to Timor and Cream, and westward as far as Java and Sumatra. The crocodile twins are called Sudaras, and we shall here relate one of the innumerable and incredible stories, in proof of their existence, as was confidently affirmed, from ocular demonstrations; yet for the credibility of this relation we will not vouch.

At Bencoolen was born and bred among the English a young female slave, who had learnt a little of the language. This girl told Mr. Banks that her father, when on his death bed, informed her that he had a crocodile for his Sudara, and in a solemn manner charged her to give him meat when he should be dead, telling her in what part of the river he was to be found, and by what name he was to be called up. That in consequence of her father's injunctions, she repaired to that part of the river he had described, and standing upon the bank, called out Radja Pouti, "white king;" whereupon



the crocodile came to her out of the water, and eat from her hand the provisions she had brought him. Being desired to describe this paternal uncle, she said, that he was not like other crocodiles, but much handsomer, that his body was spotted and his nose red; that he had bracelets of gold upon his feet, and ear-rings of the same metal in his ears. This ridiculous tale was heard by Mr. Banks patiently to the end, and he then dismissed the girl, without reminding her, that a crocodile with ears was as strange a monster as a dog with a cloven foot. Not long after this a servant whom Mr. Banks had hired at Batavia, a son of a Dutchman by a Javanese woman, told his master, that he had seen a crocodile of the same kind, and it had been seen by several others, both Dutchmen and Malays. This crocodile the servant said was very young, two feet long, and its feet were ornamented with bracelets of gold. I cannot credit these idle stories, said Mr. Banks. The other day a person asserted that crocodiles had ear-rings, and you know that cannot be true, because crocodiles have not ears. Ah, sir, replied the man, these Sudara Oran are unlike other crocodiles; for they have five toes upon each foot, a large tongue that fills their mouth, and ears likewise, though indeed they are very small. Who can set bounds to the ignorance of credulity and folly! However, in the girl's relation were some things in which she could not be deceived; and therefore must be guilty of wilful falsehood. Her father might command her to feed a crocodile, in consequence of his believing it to be his Sudara; but its coming out of the river at her call, and eating the food from her hand, must have been a fable of her own invention, and being such, it was impossible that she could believe it to be true. However, the girl's story, and that of the man's, evinces, that they both believed the existence of crocodiles that were Sudaras to men; and the fiction invented by the girl may be easily accounted for, if we do but consider, how earnestly every one desires to make others believe what he believes himself. The Bougis, Macassars, and Boetons, are so firmly persuaded that

they have relations of the crocodile species, that they perform a periodical ceremony in remembrance of them. Large parties go out in a boat, furnished with great plenty of provisions, and all kinds of music. They then row backwards and forwards, in places of the river where crocodiles and alligators are most common, singing and weeping by turns, each invoking his kindred, till a crocodile appears, when the music instantly stops, and provisions, beetle, and tobacco, are thrown into the water. This civility is intended to recommend themselves to their relations at home; not without hopes, perhaps, that it will be accepted instead of more expensive offerings which may not be in their power to pay.

The Chinese stand in the next rank to the Indians, and are very numerous, but possess very little property. Many of them live within the walls, and are shop-keepers. We have already mentioned the fruit-sellers of Passar Pissang; but others have a rich stock of European and Chinese goods. However, the far greater part of these people live without the walls, in a quarter by themselves, which is called Campang China. Most part of them are carpenters, joiners, smiths, taylor's, slipper-makers, dyers of cotton, and embroiderers. They maintain the character of industry, universally bestowed upon them; and many are scattered about the country, where they cultivate gardens, sow rice and sugar, or keep cattle and buffaloes, whose milk they bring every day to town. Yet notwithstanding their commendable spirit of industry, we must observe, there is nothing honest or dishonest, provided there is no danger of a halter, that the Chinese will not readily do for money; and though they work with much diligence; nor are sparing of their labour, yet no sooner have they laid down their tools, than they begin to game either at cards or dice, or at other diversions altogether unknown among Europeans. To these they apply with such eagerness, as scarcely to allow time for necessary refreshments of food and sleep. In manner they are always rather obsequious; and in dress they are remarkably neat and clean, in whatever rank of life



they are placed. A description of their persons or dress is unnecessary, seeing the better kind of China paper common in England, exhibits an exact representation of both, though perhaps with some slight exaggerations. With respect to their eating, they are easily satisfied ; but the few that are rich have many savoury dishes. The food of the poor is rice, with a small proportion of flesh or fish ; and they have the advantage of the Mahometan Indians, on account of their religion ; for the Chinese, being under no restraint, eat, besides pork, dogs, cats, frogs, lizards, serpents, and a great variety of sea animals, which the other inhabitants do not consider as food. They also eat many vegetables, which an European, except he was perishing with hunger, would not taste. They have a singular custom respecting the burying their dead ; for they cannot be prevailed upon to open the ground a second time, where the body has been deposited. On this account, in the neighbourhood of Batavia, their burying-grounds contain many hundred acres : and the Dutch, pretending this to be a waste of land, will not sell any for this purpose, unless at an exorbitant price. The Chinese, however, contrive to raise the purchase money, and afford another instance of the folly and weakness of human nature, in transferring a regard for the living to the dead, and making that an object of solicitude and expence, which cannot receive the least benefit from either. Under the influence of this universal prejudice, they take an uncommon method to preserve the body entire, and to prevent the remains of it from mixing with the earth that surrounds it. To this end they enclose it in a large thick wooden coffin, hollowed out of solid timber like a canoe. This when covered and let down into the grave, is surrounded with a coat of mortar, called Chinam, about eight or ten inches thick, which in a short time cements, and becomes as hard as stone. The relatives of the deceased attend the funeral ceremony, with a considerable number of female mourners, hired to weep. In Batavia, the law requires, that every man should be interred according to his rank, which is in no

case to be dispensed with ; so that if the deceased has not left sufficient to pay his debts, an officer takes an inventory of what was in his possession when he died, and out of the produce buries him in the manner prescribed, leaving only the overplus to his creditors.

The lowest class of people in this country are the slaves, by whom the Dutch, Portuguese, and Indians, whatever their rank or situation, are constantly attended. They are bought in Sumatra, Malacca, and almost all the Eastern Islands : but the natives of Java, very few of whom live in Batavia, are exempted from slavery, under the sanction of very severe penal laws, seldom we believe violated. These slaves are sold from ten to twenty pounds sterling each ; but girls, if handsome, will fetch sometimes a hundred. Being of an indolent disposition, they will not do much work, and are therefore content with a little victuals, subsisting altogether upon boiled rice, and a small quantity of the cheapest fish. They are natives of different countries, on which account they differ from each other extremely both in person and temper. The Papua, as they are here called, or the African negroes are the worst, most of them thieves, and all incorrigible ; consequently they may be purchased for the least money. The next class to these are the Bougis and Macassars, both from the island of Celebes ; who in the highest degree are lazy, though not so much addicted to theft as the negroes ; yet they are of a cruel and vindictive spirit, whereby they are rendered exceeding dangerous, especially as to gratify their resentment, they make no scruple of any means, nor of sacrificing life itself. Besides these there are Malays and slaves of other denominations : but the best, and of course the dearest, are those brought from the island of Bali ; and the most beautiful women from Nias, a small island on the coast of Sumatra ; but being of a tender and delicate constitution, they quickly fall a sacrifice to the unwholesome air of Batavia. All these slaves are wholly in the power of their masters, who may inflict upon them any punishment that does not take away



life; and should one die in consequence of punishment, though his death may be proved not to have been intended, yet the master is called to a severe account, and generally sentenced to suffer capitally. For this reason a master seldom corrects a slave with his own hands, but by an officer called a *Marinen*, one of whom is stationed in every district. The duty of this officer is to quell riots, and to take offenders into custody; but more particularly to apprehend runaway slaves, and punish them for such crimes as the master has supported by proper evidence; the punishment, however, is not inflicted by the *Marinen* in person, but by slaves who are appointed to the business. The punishment is stripes, the number being proportioned to the nature of the offence; and the instruments are rods made of rattans, which are split into tender twigs for the purpose, and every stroke draws blood. A common punishment costs the master a rixdollar, and a severe one a ducatoon, about six shillings and eight-pence. The master is also obliged to allow a slave, as an encouragement, three *dubbeltcheys*, equal to about seven-pence half-penny a week; this is also done to prevent his indulging his strong temptations to steal.

Respecting the government of this place we can say but little. We observed a remarkable subordination among the people. Every house-keeper has a certain specific rank, according to the length of time he has served the company. The different ranks thus acquired are distinguished by the ornaments of the coaches, and the dresses of the coachmen: some ride in plain coaches, some are allowed to paint them with different devices, and some to gild them. The coachmen also are obliged to appear in clothes quite plain, or ornamented in various manners and degrees.

The chief officer in this place has the title of governor-general of the Indies, to whom the Dutch governors of all other settlements are subordinate; and they were obliged to repair to Batavia in order to have their accounts passed by him. Should they appear to have been criminal, or even negligent, he detains them during pleasure; sometimes

three years; for they cannot without his permission quit the place. The members of the council, called by the natives *Edele Heeren*, and by the English, *Idoleers*, are next in rank to the governor-general. These assume so much state, that whoever meets them in a carriage, are expected to rise up and bow, and after this compliment, they drive to one side of the road and stop, till the members of the council are past: their wives and children expect also the same homage, and it is commonly paid them by the inhabitants. Some English Captains have thought this a slavish mark of respect, derogatory to their dignity as servants of his Britannic majesty, and for this reason have refused to pay it; nevertheless, when in a hired coach, nothing but a menace of immediate death could prevent the coachman from honouring the Dutch grandee, at the expence of their mortification.

With respect to the distribution of justice, it is administered in Batavia by the lawyers, who have peculiar ranks of distinction among themselves. Their decisions in criminal cases seem to be severe with respect to the natives, but lenient in a partial degree to their own people. A Christian is always indulged with an opportunity of escaping before he is brought to trial, whatever may be his offence, and when convicted, he is seldom punished with death. On the contrary, the poor Indians are hanged, broken upon the wheel, and even impaled alive. As to the Malays and Chinese they have judicial officers of their own, named captains and lieutenants, who determine in civil cases, subject to an appeal to the Dutch tribunal. The taxes laid upon these people by the company are very considerable, among which, that exacted for liberty to wear their hair is not the least. The time of payment is monthly, and to save the charge and trouble of collecting them, notice is given of this by hoisting a flag upon the top of a house in the middle of the town, and the Chinese find that it is their interest to repair thither when a payment is due without delay.

At Batavia the current money consists of ducats, valued at one hundred and thirty-two



stivers; ducatoons eighty stivers; imperial rix-dollars, sixty; rupees, thirty; schellings, six; double cheys, two stivers and a half; and doits one fourth of a stiver. During our stay here Spanish dollars were at five and five-pence; and we were told they were never lower than five shillings and four-pence, even at the Company's warehouse. For English guineas the exchange upon an average was nineteen shillings; for though the Chinese would give twenty shillings for some of the brightest, those that were much worn were valued at only seventeen shillings. There are two sorts of coin current here of the same denomination; these are milled and unmilled; the former of which is of most value. A milled ducatoon is valued at eighty stivers; and an unmilled one at no more than seventy-two. A rix-dollar is equal to forty-eight stivers, about for shillings and six-pence English currency. All accounts are kept in rix-dollars and stivers, which here, at least, are nominal, like our pound sterling.

On Thursday, the 27th, of December, early in the morning, we weighed, left the harbour of Batavia, and stood out to sea. On the 29th, after much delay by contrary winds, we weathered Pulo Pare, and stood for the main. On the same day passed a small island between Batavia and Bantam called Maneater's island. On Sunday the 30th, we weathered Wapping and Pulo Babi islands, and the next day, being the 31st, we stood over to the Sumatra shore.

On the morning, of this new year's day, being Tuesday, January, the 1st, 1771, we steered for the Java shore, and continued our course, as the wind permitted us, till three o'clock in the afternoon of the 5th, when we cast anchor on the south-east side of Prince's Island, in eighteen fathoms water, in order to recruit our stores, and procure refreshments for the sick, many of whom were much worse than they were at our departure from Batavia. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, accompanied by the Captain and other gentlemen, went ashore. We met upon the beach some Indians to whom we were conducted to one, who, they said, was their king. Having exchange-

ed a few compliments with this person, we entered upon business; but in settling the price of turtle could not agree. Upon this we took leave, the Indians dispersed; and we proceeded along shore in search of a watering place. We happily succeeded in a very convenient one, and had reason to believe, with care in filling, it would prove agreeable to our wishes. On our return, some Indians, who remained with a canoe upon the beach, sold us three turtles, but we were obliged to promise, that we would not tell the king. On Sunday, the 6th, we renewed with better success our traffic for turtle. About noon the Indians lowered their demands slowly, insomuch, that before the evening they accepted our stipulated price, and we had turtle in plenty. In the mean time, the three we had purchased were served to the ship's company, who, till yesterday, had not fed on salt provisions from the time of our arrival at Savu, which was now near three months. Mr. Banks, in the evening, paid a visit to the king, by whom he was received very graciously at his palace, in the middle of a rice field, notwithstanding his majesty was busily employed in dressing his own supper. The day following, Monday, the 7th, the Indians resorted to the trading place with fowls, fish, monkeys, small deer, and some vegetables; but no turtle appeared till next day, Tuesday, the 8th, after which some were brought to market every day, while we staid, but the whole quantity together was not equal to that we bought the day after our arrival.

Friday, the 11th, Mr. Banks having received intelligence from a servant he had hired at Batavia, that the Indians of this island had a town situated near the shore, to the westward, he determined to go in search of the same. With this view he set out in the morning, accompanied by the second lieutenant; and apprehending his visit might not be agreeable to the natives, he told such of them as he met, that he was in search of plants, which was indeed also true. Having come to a place where there were three or four houses, they met with an old man, of whom they ventured to make



a few inquiries concerning the town. He would have persuaded them, that it was at a great distance; but perceiving they proceeded forward, he joined the company, and went on with them. The old man attempted several times to lead them out of the way, though without success; but when at length they came within sight of the houses, he entered cordially into their party, and conducted them into the town, the name of which is Samadang. It consists of about for hundred houses, and is divided by a brackish river into two parts, one called the old, and the other the new town. When they had entered the former, they were accosted by several Indians whom they had seen at the trading place, and one of them undertook to carry them over to the new town, at two-pence per head. The bargain being made, they embarked in two small canoes, placed along-side of each other, and lashed together, to prevent their over-setting. They landed safely, though not without some difficulty; and when they came to the new town, the people shewed them every mark of a cordial friendship, shewing them the houses of their king and principal people. Few of the houses were open at this time, the inhabitants having taken up their residence in the rice-grounds, to defend their crops against the birds and monkeys, who without this necessary precaution would destroy them. When their curiosity was satisfied, they hired a large sailing boat for two rupees, value four shillings, which conveyed them to the bark time enough to dine upon one of the small deer, weighing only forty pounds, which proved to be exceeding good and savoury food. In the evening we again went on shore, to see how our people went on, who were employed in wooding and watering, when we were told, that an ax had been stolen. Application was immediately made to the king, who, after some altercation, promised, that the ax should be restored in the morning, and it was accordingly brought to us by a man, who pretended, that the thief, afraid of a discovery, had left it at his house in the night.

On Sunday, the 13th, having nearly com-

pleted our wood and water, Mr. Banks, took leave of his majesty, to whom he made several trifling presents, and at parting gave him two quires of paper, which he graciously accepted. During their conversation, the king inquired, why the English did not touch at the island as they had used to do? Mr. Banks replied, that the reason was, he supposed, because they found a deficiency of turtle, of which there not being enough to supply one ship, many could not be expected; and to supply the defect, Mr. Banks advised his majesty to breed cattle, buffaloes, and sheep; but he did not seem disposed to adopt this prudent measure.

On Monday, the 14th, we had got on board a good stock of fresh provisions, consisting of turtle, fowl, fish, two species of deer, one about the size of a sheep, the other not bigger than a rabbit; also cocoanuts, plantains, limes, and other vegetables. The deer, however, served for only present use, for we could seldom keep one of them alive more than twenty-four hours.

The trade on our parts, was carried on chiefly with Spanish dollars, the natives seeming not to set value upon any thing else; so that our people who had a general permission to trade, parted with old shirts and other articles, which they were obliged to substitute for money to great disadvantage. On Tuesday, the 15th, in the morning, we weighed, with a light breeze at N. E. and stood out to sea. We took our departure from Java Head, which is in latitude 6 deg. 49 min. S. and in longitude 253 deg. 12 min. West.

Prince's Island where we were stationed about ten days, in the Malay language, called Pulo Selan, and in that of the inhabitants, Pulo Paneitan, is a small island, situated in the western mouth of the strait of Sunda. It is woody, a very small part of it having been cleared. We could perceive no remarkable hill upon it; but a small eminence, just over the landing place, has been named, by the English, the Pike. Formerly this place was much frequented by India ships belonging to various nations, especially from England: but of late they have forsaken it, because the water is



bad, and touch either at North Island, or at New Bay, a few leagues distant from Prince's Island, at neither of which places any considerable quantity of other provisions can be procured; and, upon the whole, we must give it as our opinion, that Prince's Island is more eligible than either of them; for though, as we have already observed, the water is brackish, if filled at the lower part of the brook, yet higher up we found it excellent.

The first, second, and perhaps the third ship, that arrives here in the season, may be well supplied with turtle; but such as come afterwards must be content with small ones. What we purchased were of the green kind, and cost us, at an average, about three farthings a pound. They were neither fat nor well flavoured, which circumstance we imputed to their being long kept in pens of brackish water, without food. The fowls are large, and we bought a dozen of them for a Spanish dollar, which is about five-pence a piece. The small deer cost us two-pence a piece, and the larger, two only of which were brought to market, a rupee. The natives sell many kinds of fish by hand, and we found them tolerably cheap. Cocoa-nuts, if they were picked, we bought at the rate of a hundred for a dollar; and if taken promiscuously, one hundred and thirty. Plantains we found in abundance; also pine-apples, water-melons, jaccas, and pom-pions, besides rice, yams, and several other vegetables, all which we purchased at reasonable rates.

In this island the inhabitants are Javanese, and their Raja is subject to the Sultan of Bantam. In their manners and customs they resemble the Indians about Batavia; but they are more jealous of their women, for all the time we were there, we saw not any of them, except one by chance in the woods, as she was running away to hide herself. They profess the Mahometan religion; but not a mosque did we discover in the whole island. While we were among them, they kept the fast called by the Turks Ramadan, with extreme rigour, not one of them touching a morsel of victuals, nor would they chew their beetle till sun-set.

Their food is likewise the same with that of the Batavian Indians, except the addition of the nuts of the palm, by eating of which, upon the coast of New Holland, some of our people were made sick, and some of our hogs poisoned. We inquired by what means these nuts were deprived of their noxious deleterious quality, and were informed, that they first cut into thin slices, and dried them in the sun, then steeped them in fresh water for three months, and afterwards, pressing out the water, dried them a second time in the sun; but after all, we found they are eaten only in times of scarcity, when they mix them with their rice to make it go farther.

The houses of these people are built upon piles, or pillars, and elevated about four or five feet above the ground. Upon these is laid a floor of bamboo canes, at such a distance from each other, as to leave a free passage for the air from below. The walls also are of bamboo, interwoven hurdlewise, with small sticks, and fastened perpendicularly to the beams which form the frame of the building; it has a sloping roof, so well thatched with palm-leaves, that neither the sun, nor rain can find entrance. The ground-plot, upon which the building is erected, is an oblong square. On one side is the door, and in the space between that and the other end of the house, in the centre, towards the left hand, is a window. A partition runs out from each end of the house, which continues so far as to leave an opening opposite the door. Each end of the house therefore, to the right and left of the door, is divided into two apartments, all open towards the passage from the door to the wall on the opposite side. In that on the left hand, next to the door, the children sleep; that opposite to it is for the use of strangers; in the inner room, on the left hand, the master and his wife sleep; and that opposite to it is the kitchen. The only difference between the poor and the rich, with respect to these houses, consists in their size: but we must except the royal palace, and the house of one Gundang, the next man in riches and influence to the king; for those instead of being walled



with sticks and bamboos, are enclosed with boards. These people have occasional houses in the rice fields, at the season when they are infested with the birds and monkeys. They differ only from their town houses, by being raised ten feet instead of four from the ground.

The inhabitants of this island are of a good disposition; and dealt with us very honestly; only like other Indians, and the retailers of fish in London, they would ask twice, and sometimes thrice as much for their commodities as they would take. As what they brought to market belonged in different proportions, to a considerable number of the natives, they put all that was bought of one kind, as cocoas or plantains together, and when we had purchased a lot, they divided the money that was paid for it among the proprietors, in a proportion corresponding with their contributions. Sometimes, indeed, they would change our mo-

ney, giving us 240 doits, amounting to five shillings, for a Spanish dollar, and ninety-six, amounting to two shillings, for a Bengal rupee.

The natives of Prince's Island have a language of their own, yet they all speak the Malay language. Their own tongue they call Catta Gunung, the language of the mountains. They say that their tribe originally migrated from the mountains of Java to New Bay, and then to their present station, being driven from their first settlement by tygers, which they found too numerous to subdue. Several languages are spoken by the native Javanese, in different parts of their island; but the language of these people is different from that spoken at Samarang, though distant only one day's journey from the residence of the Emperor of Java. The following list contains several corresponding words in the languages of Prince's Island, Java, and Malacca.

PRINCE'S ISLAND.	ENGLISH.	JAVANESE.	MALAY.
Jalma, - -	<i>A man.</i>	Oong Lanang, -	Oran Lacki Laki.
Becang, - -	<i>A woman.</i>	Oong Wadong, -	Parampuan.
Orocnlatacke, -	<i>A child.</i>	Lari, -	Anack.
Holo, - -	<i>The head.</i>	Undass, -	Capalla.
Erung, - -	<i>The nose.</i>	Erung, - -	Edung.
Mata, - -	<i>The eyes.</i>	Moto, -	Mata.
Chole, - -	<i>The ears.</i>	Cuping, -	Cuping.
Cutock, - -	<i>The teeth.</i>	Untu, -	Ghigi.
Beatung, - -	<i>The belly.</i>	Wuttong, -	Prot.
Serit, - -	<i>The backside.</i>	Celit, -	Pantat.
Pimping, - -	<i>The thigh.</i>	Poopoo, -	Paha.
Hulloctoor, - -	<i>The knee.</i>	Duncul, -	Lontour.
Metis. - -	<i>The leg.</i>	Sickil, -	Kauki.
Cucu, - -	<i>A nail.</i>	Cucu, -	Cucu.
Langan, - -	<i>A hand.</i>	Tangan, - -	Tangan.
Ramo Langan, -	<i>A finger.</i>	Jari, -	Jaring.

In this specimen the different parts of the body are chosen, because they are easily obtained from those whose language is unknown; and it is worthy of observation, that the Malay, the Javanese, and the lan-

guage in Prince's Island, have words, which if not exactly similar to those used in the South Sea islands, are manifestly derived from the same source, as will appear from the following list.

SOUTH-SEA.	MALAY.	JAVANESE.	PRINCE'S ISLE.	ENGLISH.
Mata - -	Mata -	Moto -	Mata -	<i>An eye.</i>
Maa - -	Macan -	Mangan -	- - -	<i>The ear.</i>
Einu - -	Menuum -	Gnumbe -	- - -	<i>To drink.</i>
Matte - -	Matte -	Matte -	- - -	<i>To kill.</i>
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SOUTH SEA.	MALAY.	JAVANESE.	PRINCE'S ISLAND.	ENGLISH.
Outou	Coutou	-	-	A louse.
Euwa	Udan	Udan	-	Rain.
Owhe	-	-	Awe	Bamboo cane.
Eu	Sousou	Sousou	-	A beast.
Mannu	-	Manny	Mannuck	A bird.
Eyca	Ican	Iwa	-	A fish.
Tapao	-	Tapaan	-	The foot.
Tocura	Udang	Urang	-	A lobster.
Eufwhe	Ubi	Urve	-	Yams.
Etannou	Tannam	Tandour	-	To bury.
Enammou	Gnammuck	-	-	A moschitto.
Hearu	Garru	Garu	-	To scratch.
Taro	Tallas	Talus	-	Cocoa-roots.
Uta	Utan	-	-	Inland.

But the similitude in these languages is more remarkable in words expressing number, which seems to prove that they have one common root. Mr. Banks, with the assistance of a negro slave, born at Madagascar, and who was on board an English ship at Batavia, drew up the following comparative table, from whence it will appear, that the names of numbers, in particular, are in manner common to all these countries: but we must observe, that in the island of Madagascar, the names of numbers, in some instances, are similar to all these, yet the fact which is a difficulty not easy to be solved will appear unquestionable from the following list of words, drawn up, as we have observed, by Mr. Banks.

SOUTH SEA.	MALAY.	JAVANESE.	PRINCE'S ISLE.	MADAGASCAR.	ENGLISH.
Tahie	Satou	Sigi	Hegie	Isse	One.
Rua	Dua	Lorou	Dua	Rua	Two.
Torou	Tiga	Tullu	Tollu	Tellou	Three.
Haa	Ampat	Pappat	Opat	Effats	Four.
Reina	Lima	Limo	Limah	Limi	Five.
Whenev	Annam	Nunnam	Gunnap	Ene	Six.
Hetu	Tudju	Petu	Tudju	Titou	Seven.
Waru	Delapaa	Wolo	Delapan	Walon	Eight.
Iva	Sembilan	Songo	Salapan	Sivi	Nine.
Ahoura	Sapoulou	Sapoulou	Sapoulou	Tourou	Ten.

From the similitude between the Eastern Tongue and that of the South Sea, many conjectures may be formed concerning the peopling of those countries, which cannot easily be referred to Madagascar. The people of Java and Madagascar appear to be a different race: the Javanese has long hair, and his complexion is of an olive cast; whereas a native of Madagascar is black, and his hair woolly; yet this will not conclude against the opinion of their having had common ancestors: and, possibly, the learning

of ancient Egypt might run in two courses, one through Africa, and the other through Asia, disseminating the same words in each, especially terms of number, which might thus become part of the language of people who never had any communications with each other.

In the month of February, we held on our course, and made the best of our way for the Cape of Good Hope; but now the fatal seeds of disease, our people had imbibed at Batavia, began to appear, with the most



alarming symptoms, in dysenteries and slow fevers. Our situation in a short time was truly deplorable, and the ship was little better than an hospital, in which those who did duty, were too few to attend those who were confined to their hammocks. Many of these were in the last stage of the destructive disorder; and almost every night we committed a body to the sea. Mr. Banks was among the number of the sick, and for some time we despaired of his life. In the course of six weeks we buried Mr. Sporing, a gentleman of Mr. Banks's retinue, Mr. Parkinson, his natural history painter, Mr. Green the astronomer, the boatswain, the carpenter, and his mate, Mr. Monkhouse the midshipman, our jolly sailmaker, and his assistant, the cook, the corporal of the marines, two of the carpenters crew, a midshipman, and nine sailors; in all three and twenty persons, besides the seven that we had buried at Batavia. Such was the havoc disease made among our ship's company, though we omitted no means, which we conceived might be a remedy; and to prevent the infection from spreading, we purified the water taken in at Prince's Island with lime, and washed all parts of the bark between decks with vinegar.

Friday, the 15th of March, about ten o'clock P. M. we brought the ship to an anchor off the Cape of Good Hope. Capt. Cook repaired immediately to the governor, who cheerfully promised him every refreshment the country afforded; on which a house was hired for the sick, and it was agreed they should be lodged and boarded for two shillings each man per day. Our run from Java Head to the Cape afforded few observations that can be of use to future navigators, but some occurrences we must not pass over in silence. We had left Java Head eleven days before we got the general S. E. trade-wind, during which time, we did not advance above 5 deg. to the southward, and 3 deg. to the W. having an unwholesome air, occasioned probably by the load of vapours, which the eastern wind, and westerly monsoons, bring into these latitudes, both of which blew in these seas, at

the time we happened to be there. Our diseases were certainly aggravated by those poisonous vapours, and unwholesome air, particularly the flux, which was not in the least degree checked by any medicine; so that whoever was seized with it, considered himself as a dead man; but we no sooner got into the trade wind, than we felt its salutary effects. It is true, we buried several of our crew afterwards, but they were such as had been taken on board in a state so low and feeble, that there was scarcely a possibility of their recovery. We suspected at first, that this dreadful disorder might have been generated by the water that we took on board at Prince's Island, or by the turtle we purchased there; but this suspicion we found to be groundless; because all the ships that came from Batavia at the same season, suffered in like manner, and some even more severely, though none of them touched at Prince's Island in their way.

Not many days after our departure from Java we were attended by the boobies for several nights successively, and as these birds are known to roost every night on shore, we concluded land was not far distant; perhaps it might be the island of Selam, which in different charts, is very differently laid down both in name and situation. After these birds had left us, we were visited by no more, till we got nearly a-breast of Madagascar, where in latitude 27 deg. three quarters S. we saw an albatross, the number of which increased every day, with others of different kinds, particularly about the size of a duck, of a very dark brown colour, with a yellowish bill; and they became more numerous as we approached the shore. When we got into soundings, we were visited by gannets, which we continued to see as long as we were upon the bank that stretches off Anguillas to the distance of forty leagues, and extends along shore to the eastward, from Cape False, according to some charts, one hundred and sixty leagues. The real extent of this bank is not exactly known; it is however useful as a direction to shipping when to haul in, in order to make the land.



At the time the Endeavour laid at the Cape of Good Hope, the Houghton Indiamen sailed for England. She had buried near forty of her crew, and when she left the Cape, had many of her hands in a helpless condition, occasioned by the scurvy. Other ships likewise experienced a proportionable loss by sickness; so that our sufferings were comparatively light, considering that we had been absent near three times as long. We continued at the Cape till the 13th of April, in order to recover the sick, procure stores, and to do some necessary work upon the ship and rigging. When this was finished we got all the sick on board, several of whom were still in a dangerous state; and on Sunday, the 14th, having taken leave of the governor, we unmoored, and got ready to sail.

The history of Caffraria is well known in Europe, and a description of the Cape of Good Hope has been given by most of our circumnavigators; yet we think a particular account of this country will be acceptable to our numerous subscribers; and they will meet with some particulars which fell under our observation, that have either been wholly omitted or misrepresented in other narratives.

Caffraria, or Caffreria, is well situated for navigation and commerce, both which advantages are almost wholly neglected. The interior part of the country is fertile, but wants the benefit of cultivation. The inhabitants are naturally sagacious, but their faculties are absorbed in indolence; thus both the lands and minds of the people require improvement; but lest cultivation in the first should introduce luxury, and information in the last produce disobedience, neither of these are encouraged by the politic Dutch, who possess a great part of the sea coast. The country extends about seven hundred and eighty miles from N. to S. that is, from Cape Negro to the Cape of Good Hope, from hence turning N. E. to the mouth of the river Spiritu Santo, it runs about six hundred and sixty miles; and proceeding up the country almost to the equinoxial line, it is about one thousand seven hundred and forty miles farther. In some pla-

ces it is nine hundred, and in others not above six hundred broad. Caffraria is so named from the Caffres, its inhabitants; though some authors affirm, that his name is the term of reproach given by the Arabs to all who have but confused notions of the deity, and which the Portuguese have by mistake applied to these people.

The Cape of Good Hope, which is the most southern part of Africa, was first discovered, A. D. 1493, by Bartholemew Diaz, admiral of a Portuguese fleet, who on account of the boisterous weather he met with when near it, distinguished it by the name of Cabodos totos Tormentos, or the Cape of all plagues; since which, no place in the universe has been more spoken of, though little of the country, except the coast, has been penetrated or known. The reason why it has so much attracted the attention of mariners of all nations, is, their being under a necessity of frequently calling there for water or other refreshments, and also of doubling it, in their voyages to the East-Indies. But John king of Portugal, not liking the name which his admiral had bestowed upon this large promontory, changed it to that of Cabode Bona Esperanca, the "Cape of Good Hope," which appellation it hath ever since retained.

Neither Diaz, nor his successor Vasco de Gama, though they saw the Cape, thought proper to land: but in 1498 the Portuguese admiral, Rio del Infanta, was the first who ventured ashore; and from his report, Emanuel, king of Portugal, on account of the eligibility of the situation, determined to establish a colony there; but the Portuguese, who are naturally pusillanimous, having taken it into their heads, that the inhabitants of the Cape were cannibals, were too much afraid of being devoured, to obey their sovereign in making the settlement he intended: however, some time after, another body of these timid adventurers made good their landing, under the conduct of Francis d'Almeyda, a viceroy of Brasil, when the Portuguese were shamefully defeated by the scarce armed, and unwarlike natives. The viceroy and fifty of his men being killed in the engagement,



the remainder retired with precipitation to their ships. The Portuguese were much disappointed and chagrined at the idea of such martial superiority in a people by them deemed at once savage and despicable. They determined to be revenged; but not having magnanimity enough to shew a becoming resentment, they contrived a most inhuman and cowardly expedient. About two years after, touching at the cape, they landed with all the appearance of amity, accompanied with strong professions of friendship, and under this mask brought with them a large cannon loaded with grape shot. The unsuspecting natives, overjoyed by the gift of so great a treasure, began to drag it away by the means of two long ropes, which had been previously fastened to the muzzle. Great numbers laid hold of the ropes, and many others went before by way of triumph, when the treacherous Portuguese firing off the cannon, a prodigious slaughter ensued, as most of the people stood within the range of the shot. Many were killed, several wounded; and the few who escaped, abandoned with the utmost precipitation the fatal present.

About the year 1600, the Dutch began to touch at the Cape, in their way to and from the East-Indies; and becoming annually more sensible of the importance of the place, they effected a settlement 1650, which since that time hath risen to great power and opulence, and been of essential service to that nation. M. Van Riebeeck, a surgeon, in his return from India, observing the conveniency of the place for a settlement, and laying before the Dutch East India Company, a plan of its advantages, the scheme was approved, and the projector appointed governor. This Adventurer sailing with four ships to the cape, entered into a negotiation with the people, who, in consideration of fifty thousand guilders, or four thousand three hundred and seventy-five pounds sterling, agreed to yield up to the Dutch a considerable tract of country round the Cape. Van Riebeeck, in order to secure his new purchase, immediately erected a strong square fort; laid out a large garden, and planted it with a great variety of

the productions from Europe, that he might render the place as commodious and agreeable as possible. Having thus successfully founded a settlement, the Dutch Company proposed, in order the more effectually to establish it, that every man, who would settle three years at the Cape, should have an inheritance of sixty acres of land, provided that during that space he would so improve his estate, as to render it sufficient to maintain himself, and contribute something towards the maintenance of the garrison; and at the expiration of the time, he might either keep possession of it, or sell it, and return home. Induced by these proposals, many went to seek their fortunes at the Cape, and were furnished on credit with cattle, grain, plants, utensils, &c. The planters, however, at length grew weary of their habitations for want of conjugal society; therefore the governors of the company, to prevent their leaving the place, provided them with wives from the Orphan-houses, and other charitable foundations. In process of time they greatly increased, and spread themselves farther up the country, and along the coast, till they occupied all the lands from Saldanna Bay, round the southern point of Africa, to Nossel Bay, on the E. and afterwards purchased Terra de Natal, in order to extend their limits still farther.

It appears, however, that on the first settlement of the Dutch at the Cape, all the Hottentot tribes did not acquiesce in the sale of the country to foreigners; for the Gunyemains dissented from the agreement of the others, and, in 1659, disputed the possession of the purchased territories with the Dutch. They always made their attack in boisterous weather, as thinking the fire-arms then of less use and efficacy; and upon these occasions they would murder indiscriminately all the Europeans they could meet, burn down their houses, and drive away their cattle. At length an Hottentot, called by the Dutch Doman, who had resided some time at Batavia, and afterwards lived at Cape Town, retired to his countrymen, and persuaded them, that it was the intent of the Europeans to enslave them, and



stirred them up to war. Accordingly they took up arms, and, being headed by Doman, attended by another chief named Garabinga, they committed great depredations. But the Hottentots themselves at length growing tired of the war, one hundred of them, belonging to one nation, came unarmed to the Dutch fort, with a present of thirteen head of fine excellent cattle, in order to sue for peace. This, it may be imagined, was readily granted by the Dutch, who were heartily sick of a contest, in which themselves were such great losers, without reaping any advantages from it.

Notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, no country we saw during the voyage, makes a more forlorn appearance, or is in reality a more steril desert. The land over the cape, which constitutes the peninsula formed by Table Bay on the N. and False Bay on the S. consists of high mountains, altogether naked and desolate: the land behind these to the E. which may be considered as the Isthmus, is a plain of vast extent, consisting almost wholly of a light kind of sea sand, which produces nothing but heath, and is utterly incapable of cultivation. All the spots that will admit of improvement, which together bear about the same proportion to the whole as one to one thousand, are laid out in vineyards, orchards, and kitchen grounds; and most of these little spots lie at a considerable distance from each other. There is also the greatest reason to believe, that in the interior parts of the country, that which is capable of cultivation, especially what is situated at no great distance from the coast, does not bear a greater proportion to that which is barren, for the Dutch told us, that they had settlements eight and twenty days up the country, a distance equal at least to nine hundred miles, from which they bring provisions to the Cape by land; so that it seems reasonable to conclude, that provisions are not to be had within a less compass. While we were at the Cape, a farmer came thither from the country, at the distance of fifteen days' journey, and brought his children with him. We were surprised at this, and asked him, if it would

not have been better to have left them with his next neighbour. Neighbour! said the man, I have no neighbour within less than five days' journey of me. Surely the country must be deplorably barren in which those who settle only to raise provisions for a market, are dispersed at such distances from each other. That the country is every where destitute of wood is a certain fact; for timber and planks are imported from Batavia, and fuel is almost as dear as food. We saw not a tree, except in plantations near the town, that was six feet high; and the stems, that were not thicker than a man's thumb, and roots as thick as an arm or leg; such is the influence of the winds here to the disadvantage of vegetation, without considering the sterility of the soil.

Cape Town is the only one the Dutch have built here, and it consists of about a thousand houses neatly built of brick, whitened in general on the outside. They are covered only with thatch, for the violence of the S. E. winds would render any other roof inconvenient and dangerous. The streets are broad and commodious, crossing each other at right angles. In the main one is a canal, on each side of which is planted a row of oaks, that have grown tolerable well, and yield an agreeable shade. In another part of the town is also a canal, but the slope of the ground in the course of both is so great, that they are furnished with locks at intervals of little more than fifty yards. The houses in general have pleasant gardens behind, and neat court yards before them. Building, as well as tillage, is greatly encouraged here, and land given for either purpose to those who choose to accept of it; but then the government claims an annual tenth of the value of the former, and produce of the latter, and a tithe of all purchase money when estates are sold. The town extends from the sea shore to the Company's garden, spreading along Table Bay. The fort is in a valley at a small distance, its form pentagonal, it commands the landing-place, and is garrisoned by two hundred soldiers. The governor's storehouses are within it, other officers besides himself have apartments here, as



well as six hundred servants; the same number of slaves are lodged in a commodious building in the town, which is divided into two wards, the one for the men, the other for the women; and there is a house of correction for the reception of dissolute persons of either sex. The hospital for sick seamen is of essential use to the Dutch fleets in going to or returning from India. The church is a large edifice, elegantly plain; but the roof and steeple are thatched, for the reason already mentioned. Thatching indeed, from the nature of the hurricanes, seems absolutely necessary; but from the method in which it was formerly done, it appears that it was frequently attended with danger, and we were informed, there used to be shelving-pent houses erected on both sides the streets, to shelter passengers in rainy weather; but these brought the inhabitants under such dangers and inconveniencies, that they were all pulled down by order of government. Sailors and Hottentots were continually assembling, and smoking their pipes under them, and sometimes, through carelessness set them on fire. The government laid hold of that occasion to rid the streets of those fellows that were continually pestering them, by publishing an order, which is still in force, and from time to time republished, that no Hottentot, or common sailor, shall smoke in the street, and that upon presuming so to do they should be tied to the whipping post and be severely lashed. This has kept the streets clear of all who have no business there; for it is with great difficulty that either the seamen or Hottentots can forbear smoking while they are awake, if they have tobacco, which they are seldom without. What is most to be admired at the Cape is the Company's garden, where they have introduced almost all the fruits and flowers that are found in the other three quarters of the globe; most of which are improved, and flourish more than they did in their respective climates and countries from whence they were brought; and the garden is watered with springs that fall down from Table Mountain just above them. Apples and pears are planted here, with the grapes

of Asia, as well as those of Europe, all of a delicious flavour. Here are also excellent lemons, oranges, citrons, figs, Japan apples, and a great variety of other fruits. In this place a much greater proportion of the inhabitants are Dutch than in Batavia: and as the town is supported principally by entertaining strangers, and supplying them with necessaries, every man to a certain degree, imitates the manners and customs of the nations with which he is chiefly concerned. The ladies, however, are so faithful to the mode of their country, that not one of them will stir without a chaudpied, or chauffet, which is carried by a servant that it may be ready to place under her feet, whenever she sits down: though few of these chauffets have fire in them, which indeed the climate renders unnecessary.

Notwithstanding the natural sterility of the climate, industry has supplied this place with all the necessaries, and even luxuries of life in the greatest profusion. The beef and mutton are excellent, though the oxen and sheep are natives of the country; the cattle are lighter than ours, more neatly made, and have horns that spread to a much wider extent. The sheep are clothed with a substance between wool and hair, and have tails of an enormous size; we saw some that weighed twelve pounds, and we heard there were many much larger. Good butter is made from the milk of cows, but the cheese is very much inferior to our own. Here are hogs and a variety of poultry; also goats, but these last are never eaten. Hares are to be found exactly like those in Europe; likewise many kinds of antelopes; quails of two sorts, and bustards all well flavoured but not juicy. The fields produce European wheat and barley; the gardens European vegetables; fruit of all kinds; besides plantains, guavas, jambu, and other Indian fruits, but these are not in perfection; the plantains, in particular, are very bad, and the guavas no larger than gooseberries. The vineyards also produce wines of various sorts, but not equal to those of Europe, except the Constantia, which is made genuine only at one vineyard, about ten miles distant from the town. There is



another vineyard near it, where wine is made, and called by the same name, but it is greatly inferior.

With respect to the animals of this country, the wild differ in nothing from those found in other parts. There are great numbers of domestic animals in the various colonies and settlements at the Cape, and the woods and mountains abound with wild beasts. The horses, which were brought originally from Persia, are of a bay or chestnut colour, and rather small. The dogs have a very unsightly appearance, and are of little use. Among the wild beasts, the elephant claims the first place. The rhinoceros is of a dark ash colour, and has a snout like a hog. A horn projects about two feet from the nose, resembling in shape a plough-share, and of a grey dingy colour. With this he tears up the ground, pulls up trees by their roots, throws large stones over his head, and rips up the elephant, to whom he is a mortal enemy. Another horn of about six inches long, turns up from his forehead. His legs are short, his ears small, and his sense of smelling surprisingly acute. When he scents any thing he pursues in a right line, and tears up every thing in his way; but his eyes being exceeding small and fixed, he can only see straightforward, so that it is easy to avoid him by stepping aside, as he is a long time in turning himself about, and longer still in getting sight again of the object. He will not attack a man without being provoked, or unless he is dressed in scarlet. When he has killed any creature, he licks the flesh from the bones with his rough tongue, which is like a rasp. He feeds much on herbs, thistles, and a plant resembling juniper, and which, from his fondness of it, is called rhinoceros-bush. The blood, skin, and horn of this animal, are medicinally used, and said to be very efficacious in many disorders. Wine, poured into cups made of the horn, bubbles up in a strange kind of fermentation, appearing as if boiling. Should a small portion of poison be put into the wine, the cup splits; but if poison only is poured into the cup, it flies into a thousand pieces; hence cups made of this horn are deemed excel-

lent safeguards, and, on that account, independent of their salubrious qualities, are highly valued. At the Cape, wolves are of two kinds; the one resembles a sheep dog, and is spotted like a tyger; the other is like an European wolf; they prowl about, and do great mischief in the night-time, but lie concealed in the day. Lions, tygers, leopards, &c. also abound here, and are so troublesome, that the person who kills one of either sort, is rewarded with twenty-five florins, or fifty shillings. The flesh of the lion is esteemed equal to venison, and the fat is much valued. Here are much larger buffaloes than in Europe. They are of a brown colour: the horns are short, and curve towards the neck, where they incline to each other. Between them is a tuft of hair upon the forehead, which adds to the fierceness of the look. The skin is exceeding hard, and the flesh rather tough. He is a strong fierce creature, and is enraged at any thing red, like many other animals. We saw here elks five feet high, with horns a foot long. This is a very handsome creature, having a beautiful head and neck, slender legs, and soft smooth hair of an ash colour. Their upper jaw is larger than the under, the tail about a foot in length, and the flesh by the Cape epicures is said to exceed the best beef. They run swift, and climb the rocks with great agility, though they usually weigh about four hundred pounds each. Another singular animal is that called stink-box, from its offensive smell both living and dead; it is about the size of a common house dog, and made much like a ferret. The goats are of various species. One, called the blue goat, is of a fine azure colour. The spotted goat is larger, and beautifully marked with brown, white, and red spots. The horns are a foot long. The flesh fine eating. The rock-goat is no larger than a kid, but very mischievous in the plantations. The diving-goat is much like the tame one, and receives its name from its method of squatting down in the grass to hide itself. We saw another animal called a goat, without any additional appellation, it is of the size of a hart, and extremely beautiful. The hair of the sides



and back is grey, streaked with red, and that on the belly white. A white streak passes from his forehead to the ridge of his tail, and three others surround his body in circles. The female hath no horns; but those of the male are three feet in length, and the flesh is exceedingly delicate. The horns of the hart do not branch like those of Europe; but the roebuck is in every respect like ours. Wild cats are of several sorts. The first the Dutch call the civit cat, not that it is really the animal of that name, but because of the fine scent of the skin. The next is called the tyger-cat, from its being very large, and spotted like a tyger. The third sort is the mountain cat, which, as well as the tame cat resembles those of Europe. The fourth species is denominated the blue cat, from its colour, having a fine blue tinge, with a beautiful red list down its back. There is a species of mice peculiar to this country, called the rattle-mouse, which is about the size of a squirrel, and makes a rattling noise with its tail. It is very nimble, lives upon nuts and acorns, and purs like a cat. Among the hogs with which this country abounds, is the wild hog, or rather wild boar, which is very fierce, and harbours in woods; and the earth hog, which is of a red colour, and without teeth: this lodges like a badger in holes, and feeds upon ants; these he procures by forcing his long rough tongue into their hills, from whence he draws it with a great number glued thereto. Many jackalls, some ermines, baboons, monkeys, &c. are found about the Cape; and frequently do great mischief in the gardens, orchards, and vineyards. The porcupine is very common, and its flesh esteemed delicious. There are two sorts of wild asses in this country, one of which is a beautiful creature, called the zebra, and bears a greater affinity in make and shape to the horse than the ass. Indeed the ears are somewhat like those of the latter animal, but in all other respects it has a much more noble appearance. It is admirably well made, exceeding lively, and so extremely swift, that it throws almost every pursuer at a distance. Its legs are fine; it has a twisted tail, round fleshy

hamches, and a smooth skin. The females are white and black, and the males white and brown. These colours are placed alternately in the most beautiful stripes, and are parallel, distinct, and narrow. The whole animal is streaked in this admirable manner, so as to appear to a distant beholder as if covered with ribbons. Most naturalists affirm, that the zebra never can be tamed. That which was presented to her present majesty queen Charlotte, and kept several years at the stables near Buckingham-gate, continued vicious till its death, though it was brought over young, and every possible means used to render it tractable: it fed upon hay, and the noise it made rather resembled the barking of a mastiff dog, than the braying of an ass. The camelopardalis, we were informed, has been found in the countries round the Cape. Capt. Carteret having, by order of his present majesty, performed a voyage round the world in the Swallow sloop of war, mentions this animal in a letter to the late Dr. Matty, secretary to the Royal Society. "From the scarcity of this creature (says he) as I believe none have been found in Europe, since Julius Cæsar's time (when I think there were two of them at Rome) I imagine a more certain knowledge of its reality will not be disagreeable to you, as the existence of this fine animal has been doubted by many. The present governor of the Cape of Good Hope has sent out parties of men on inland discoveries, some of which have been absent from eighteen months to two years, in which traverse they have discovered many curiosities. One of these parties crossed many mountains and plains, in one of which they found two of these creatures, but they only caught the young one. This they endeavoured to bring alive to Cape town, but unfortunately it died. They took off his skin, and it has, as a confirmation of this truth, been sent to Holland." The skin here alluded to is now in the cabinet of natural history at Leyden. Linnæus ranks this animal among the deer kind. Its head is like that of a stag; the horns are blunt, about six inches long, covered with hair, but not branched. The



neck resembles a camel's, only longer, being near seven feet. It has a mane like that of a horse; feet, ears, and a tongue like those of a cow; slender legs, the fore ones being considerably longer than the hinder; the body is but small, covered with white hair, and spotted with red; the tail is long, and bushy at the end, the upper jaw contains no fore teeth; he moves both the fore feet together when he runs, and not one after the other like other animals: he is eighteen feet long from the tail to the top of the head, and is sixteen feet from the ground when he holds up his head.

A great variety of birds and fowls are found at the Cape, both wild and tame. Here are three sorts of eagles, namely, 1. The bone breaker, who feeds on tortoises; to obtain the flesh of which it uses this singular method. Having carried the tortoise aloft in the air, it drops it upon some hard rock, by which means the shell is broken, and the eagle can easily come at its prey. 2. The dung-eagle, which tears out the entrails of animals to subsist on, and, though no bigger than a common goose, is exceeding strong and voracious. 3. The duck-eagle, so called because it feeds principally on ducks. Here are also wild geese of three sorts. 1. The water goose, which resembles ours. 2. The mountain goose, which is the largest of all, having a green head, and green wings. 3. The crop goose, so named from its remarkable large crop, of which bags, pockets, and tobacco-pouches are made. All these kinds of geese are such good eating, so plentiful, and so easily taken, that the people of the Cape do not think the tame goose worth the trouble of breeding. But of all the numerous birds that are to be found here, the flamingo is one of the most singular. It has a long neck, and is larger than a swan: the legs are remarkably long and of an orange tawny, and the feet are like that of a goose: the bill contains blue teeth with black points; the head and neck are entirely white; the upper part of the wings are of a bright flame colour, and the lower black.

Reptiles are very numerous at the Cape, particularly the following serpents, 1. The

tree serpent, so called from resembling the branch of a tree, and from being fond of winding itself about trees. 2. The ash coloured asp, speckled with white and red, which is several yards long. 3. The shoot serpent, so named from the amazing velocity with which it darts itself at an enemy. Some call it the eye serpent, on account of the numerous white spots resembling eyes, with which its skin is marked. 4. The blind slowworm, a black scaly serpent, spotted with brown, white, and red. 5. The thirst serpent, or inflamer, a most venomous and dangerous serpent, about three quarters of a yard long; it has a broad neck, black back, and is very active. 6. The hair serpent, which is about three feet in length, as thick as a man's thumb, and received its name from its yellow hair. Its poison is so malignant, that nothing but the serpent stone can prevent its being mortal. This stone is said to be an artificial composition, prepared by the Bramins in India, who keep the secret to themselves. It is shaped like a bean, in the middle whitish, the rest of a sky-blue. Whenever this is applied, it sticks close without bandage or support, and imbibes the poison till it can receive no more, and then drops off. Being laid in milk, it purges itself of the venom, turning the milk yellow, and so is applied again, till by its not sticking, it proves that the poison is exhausted.

The neighbouring sea affords a plentiful supply of fish to the inhabitants of the Cape. The meat of the sea cows is much admired. The flying fish, which has wings like a bat, is reckoned a great delicacy. The brown fish is as big as an ox, and is deemed good food either fresh or salted. The bennet is near three feet long, and weighs about seven pounds: the eyes and tail are red; the fins yellow, and the scales purple, with gold streaks. The meat is of a crimson colour, and so remains after it is dressed; nevertheless it is delicious eating. The gold fish has a streak from head to tail, circles round his eyes of a gold colour; it is eighteen inches long, weighs about a pound, and its flesh of an exquisite taste. The bressemer is found only about the Cape.



Of this fish there are two sorts: the one has a black back, and purple head; the other is of a dark blue colour, and the former is rounder than the latter. They are both cheap and wholesome food. The stone brassein is good either fresh or salted, resembles a carp in make, but is more delicious in taste. One species of this fish is called flat nose, from the shape of the head, and is much more valued than the other sort. The red stone fish is exceeding beautiful to the eye, and exquisite to the taste: the back is scarlet spotted with blue, and spangled with gold; the eyes are of a bright red, and surrounded with a silver circle, and the belly is of a pale pink colour, has a shining silver tail, resembles a carp both in shape and taste, and weighs about a pound. Of shell-fish, which are innumerable, there is a singular species called Klin-kousen, which has an upper and under shell, thick, rough, twisted, and incrusted. In vinegar the crust will drop off, and the shell exhibits an admirable pearl colour. Sea-suns, and sea-stars, are small round shell-fishes, and receive their denominations from the great variety of prickles, which shoot from them like rays of light. The fish called pagger has a prickly shell, and is much dreaded by the people of the Cape, as a wound from one of its protuberances turns to a mortification, unless great care is taken to prevent it. The sea-spout resembles a piece of moss sticking fast to the rocks. It is of a green colour, emits water, and within is like a tough piece of flesh. The torpedo, or cramp-ray is a very curious fish. The body is circular, the skin soft, smooth and yellow, marked with large annular spots; the eyes small, and the tail tapering. It is of different sizes, and weighs from five to fifteen pounds. The narcotic or benumbing quality of this fish was known to the ancients, and hath furnished matter of speculation to the philosophers of all ages. If a person touches it when alive, it instantly deprives him of his arm, and has the same effect if he touches it with a stick. Even if one treads upon it with a shoe on, it effects not only the leg, but the thigh upwards. They who touch it with the feet are seized

with a stronger palpitation, than even those who touch it with the hand: this numbness bears no resemblance to that which we feel when a nerve is a long time pressed, and the foot is said to be asleep: it rather appears to be like a sudden vapour, which passing through the pores in an instant, penetrates to the very springs of life, from whence it diffuses itself all over the body and gives real pain. The nerves are so effected, that the person struck imagines all the bones of his body, and particularly those of the limb that received the blow, are driven out of joint. All this is accompanied with an universal tremor, a sickness of the stomach, a general convulsion, and a total suspension, of the faculties of the mind. In short, such is the pain, that all the force of our promises and authority could not prevail upon a seaman to undergo the shock a second time. It has been observed, that the powers of this fish decline with its strength, and entirely ceases when it expires. This benumbing faculty is of double use to the torpedo: first it enables it to get its prey with great facility; and secondly, it is an admirable defence against its enemies, as by numbing a fish of superior force with its touch, it can easily escape. The narcotic power of the torpedo is greater in the female than the male. According to Appian, it will benumb the fisherman through the whole extent of hook, line and rod. The flesh of this remarkable fish having, however, no pernicious quality, is eaten by the people of the Cape in common with others.

The air at the Cape of Good Hope is salutary in a high degree; so that those who bring diseases from Europe generally recover health in a short time; but the diseases that are brought hither from India are not so certainly cured. The weather at the Cape may be divided into two seasons, namely, the wet monsoon, and the dry monsoon; the former begins in March, and the latter in September; so that summer commences at the Cape about the time that it concludes with us. The inconveniences of the climate are excessive heat in the dry season, and heavy rains, thick fogs,



and N. W. winds in the wet season. Thunder and lightning are never known here but in March and September. Water seldom freezes, and when it does, the ice is but thin, and dissolves upon the least appearance of the sun. In the hot weather, the people are happy when the wind blows from the S. E. because it keeps off the seaweeds which otherwise would float to the shore, and corrupt there. The appearance of two remarkable clouds, which frequently hang over the summits of the two mountains of Table-hill and Devil-hill, commonly enable the inhabitants of this country to prognosticate what weather will happen. The clouds are at first small, but gradually increasing, they at length unite into one cloud, which envelops both mountains, when a terrible hurricane soon ensues. A gentleman, who resided many years at the Cape, says, "The skirts of this cloud are white, but seem much more compact than the matter of common clouds. The upper parts are of a lead colour, owing to the refracted rays of light. No rain falls from it, but at times it discovers great humidity, when it is of a darker hue; and the wind issuing from it is broken, raging by gusts of short continuance. In its usual state, the wind keeps up its first fury, unabated for one, two, or three, or eight days, and sometimes a whole month. The cloud seems all the time undiminished, though little fleeces are seen torn from the skirts from time to time, and hurried down the sides of hills, vanishing when they reach the bottom; so that during the storm the cloud seems to be supplied with new water. When the cloud begins to brighten up, those supplies fail, and the wind proportionably abates. At length the cloud growing transparent, the wind ceases." During the continuance of the S. E. winds, the Table-valley is torn by furious whirlwinds. If they blow warm, they are generally of short duration, and in this case the cloud soon disappears; but when the wind blows cold, it is a sure sign it will last long, except an hour or two at noon, or midnight, when it seems to recover new strength, and afterwards renews its boisterous rage.

Near the Cape the water of the ocean is of a green colour, owing principally to the coral shrubs, and the weed called *tromba*. The first while in the water, are green and soft; but when exposed to the air, they grow hard, and change their colour to white, black, or red. The latter are ten or twelve feet in length, hollow within, and when dry, become firm and strong. They are often framed into trumpets, and the sound they produce is very agreeable to the ear.

The sources of the rivers in this country are in the mountains: they glide over a gravelly bottom, are clear, pleasant, and salubrious; but other streams are dark, muddy, and unwholesome. Here are a few brackish springs, whose waters medicinally used, greatly purify the blood; and several hot baths are very efficacious in various disorders. Upon the whole, the reputation of the Cape waters is so great, that every Danish ship returning from India, is obliged to fill a large cask with the clear sweet water that abounds here for the use of his Danish majesty.

The soil in general about the Cape consists of a clay earth, and is so fat, that it requires but little manuring. White and red chalk are found in abundance; the former is used by the Dutch, to whitewash their houses, and the latter by the Hottentot women to paint their faces. Various bituminous substances of several colours are found in Drakenstein colony, particularly a kind of oil which trickles from the rocks, and has a very rank smell. With respect to minerals, silver ore has been found in some of the mountains, and also several iron mines. The Namaqua Hottentots, who are situated above three hundred miles from the cape, bring copper to trade with the Dutch.

When we speak of agriculture, it is to be observed, that the Europeans of the Cape, and their lands, are implied; for the Hottentots in general detest the very idea of cultivation, and would sooner starve than till the ground, so greatly are they addicted to sloth and indolence. The working of the plough here is so laborious from the stiffness of the soil, that it frequently requires



near twenty oxen to one plough. The sowing season is in July, and the harvest about Christmas. The corn is not thrashed with a flail, but trod out by horses or oxen, on an artificial floor made of cow-dung, straw, and water, which when mixed together cement, and soon become perfectly hard. It is laid in an oval form. The cattle are confined by halters which run from one to the other, and the driver stands in the middle, where he exercises a long stick to keep them continually to a quick pace. By this method half a dozen horses will do more in one day, than a dozen men can in a week. A tithe of the corn belongs to the Dutch Company, and the rest they purchase at a price stipulated between them and the husbandmen.

We have already observed of the inhabitants of the Cape, that their number bears a greater proportion to the natives and strangers, than those in Batavia; and have only to add, that the women are in general very handsome; they have fine clear skins, and a bloom of colour that indicates a purity of constitution, and high health. They make the best wives in the world, both as mistresses of a family and mothers, and there is scarcely a house that does not swarm with children. The common method in which strangers live here, is to lodge and board with some of the inhabitants, many of whose houses are always open for their reception; the rates are from five shillings to two a day, for which all necessities are found. Coaches may be hired at twenty-four shillings a day, and horses at six: but the country affords very little temptation to use them. There are no public entertainments, and those that are private, all strangers of the rank of gentlemen are always admitted.

We come now to speak of the Caffres or natives of this country, none of whose habitations, where they retain their original customs, are within less than four days' journey from Cape Town: those that we saw at the Cape were all servants to Dutch farmers, whose cattle they take care of, and are employed in other drudgery of the meanest kind. There are sixteen Hottentot nations,

which inhabit this southern promontory; at least, there are so many that hold a correspondence with the Dutch, though it is presumed, there are many more to the northward.

The stature of the Hottentot men is from five to six feet in height, their bodies are proportionable, and well made: they are seldom either too fat or lean and scarce ever any crooked or deformed persons amongst them, any farther than they disfigure their children themselves by flattening and breaking the gristles of their noses, looking on a flat nose as a beauty. Their heads as well as their eyes, are rather of the largest: their lips are naturally thick: their hair black and short like the negroes, and they have exceeding white teeth: and after they have taken a great deal of pains with grease and soot to darken their natural tawny complexions, resemble the negroes pretty much in colour.

The heads of the men are covered with grease and soot mixed together; and going without any thing else on their heads in the summer-time, the dust sticks to it, and makes them a very filthy cap, which they say cools them, and preserves their heads from the scorching heat of the sun; and in the winter, they wear flat caps of cat-skin or lamb-skin, half dried, which they tie with a thong of the same leather under their chins. The men also wear a krosse or mantle, made of sheep skins, or other skins, over their shoulders, which reaches to the middle; and, being fastened with a thong about their neck, is open before. In winter they turn the woolly or hairy sides next their backs, and in summer the other: this serves the man for his bed at night; and this is all the winding sheet or coffin he has when he dies. If he be a captain of a village, or chief of his nation, instead of a sheep-skin, his mantle is made of tyger-skins, wild cat-skins, or some other skins they set a value upon: but though these mantles reach no lower, generally than their waists, yet there are some nations who wear them as low as their legs, and others that have them touch the ground.

A Hottentot also hangs about his neck a



greasy pouch, in which he keeps his knife, his pipe and tobacco, and some dahka (which intoxicates like tobacco) and a little piece of wood, burnt at both ends, as a charm against witchcraft. He wears also three large ivory rings on his left arm, to which he fastens a bag of provisions when he travels. He carries in his right hand two sticks, the first called his kirri, which is about three feet long, and an inch thick, but blunt at both ends; the other, called his rackum-stick, about a foot long, and of the same thickness, but has a sharp point, and is used as a dart, to throw at an enemy or wild beast; which he seldom misses, if he be within distance. In his left hand he has another stick, about a foot long, to which is fastened the tail of a fox or wild cat; and this serves him as a handkerchief to wipe off the sweat. They wear a kind of sandals also, made of the raw hide of an ox or elephant, when they are obliged to travel through stony countries; and sometimes have buskins, to preserve their legs from bushes and briars; but ordinarily their legs and thighs have no covering.

The women wear caps, the crowns whereof are a little raised; and these are made of half dried skins, and tied under their chins. They scarce ever put them off night or day, winter or summer. They usually wear two krosses or mantles, one upon another, and, as these are only fastened with a thong, about their necks, they appear naked down to the middle: but they have an apron, larger than that of the men to cover them before, and another of still larger dimensions that cover their hind parts. About their legs they wrap thongs of half dried skins, to the thickness of a jack-boot, which are such a load to them, that they lift up their legs with difficulty, and walk very much like a trooper in jack-boots: this serves both for distinction of their sex, and for ornament. But this is not all their finery: if they are people of any figure, instead of a sheep skin, they wear a tyger skin, or a mantle of wild cat skin. They have also a pouch hanging about their necks, in which they carry something to eat, whether they are at home or abroad, with their dahka, tobacco, and pipe. But the principal orna-

ments both of men and women are brass or glass beads, with little thin plates of glittering brass and mother of pearl, which they wear in their hair, or about their ears. Of these glass or brass beads strung, they also make necklaces, bracelets for the arms, and girdles, wearing several strings of them about their necks, waists, and arms, choosing the smallest beads for their necks: those are finest that have most strings of them, and their arms are sometimes covered with bracelets from the wrist to the elbow. The largest beads are on the strings about the middle: in these they affect a variety of colours, all of which the Dutch furnish them with, and take their cattle in return. There is another kind of ornament peculiar to the men, and that is, the bladder of any wild beast they have killed, which is blown up, and fastened to the hair as a trophy of their valour. Both sexes powder themselves with a dust they call bachu; and the women spot their faces with a red earth or stone (as ours do with black patches) which is thought to add to their beauty, by the natives; but, in the eyes of Europeans, renders them more frightful and shocking than they are naturally. But as part of their dress, we ought to have mentioned, in the first place, the custom of daubing their bodies, and the inside of their caps and mantles, with grease and soot. Soon after their children are born, they lay them in the sun, or by the fire, and rub them over with fat or butter, mixed with soot, to render them of a deeper black, it is said; for they are naturally tawny; and this they continue to do almost every day of their lives, after they are grown up, not only to increace their beauty, but to render their limbs supple and pliable. As some nations pour oil upon their heads and bodies, so these people make use of melted fat; you cannot make them a more acceptable present than the fat or scum of the pot that meat is boiled in, to anoint themselves.

Nor are the Hottentots more cleanly in their diet than in their dress: for they choose the guts and entrails of cattle and of some wild beasts (with very little cleansing,) rather than the rest of the flesh, and eat their meat half boiled or broiled; but their



principal food consists of roots, herbs, fruits, or milk : they seldom kill any of those cattle, unless at a festival ; they only feed on such as die of themselves, either of diseases or old age, or on what they take in hunting ; and when they are hard put to it, they will eat the raw leather that is wound about the women's legs, and even soles of shoes ; and as their mantles are always well stocked with lice of an unusual size, they are not ashamed to sit down in the public streets at the cape, pull off the lice, and eat them. And we ought to have remembered, that they boil their meat in the blood of beasts when they have any of it. They rather devour their meat than eat it, pulling it to pieces with their teeth and hands, discovering a canine appetite and fierceness : they abstain, however, from swines' flesh, and some other kinds of meat, and from fish that have no scales, as religiously as ever the Jews did. And here it may not be improper to say something of the management of their milk and butter : they never strain their milk, but drink it with all the hairs and nastiness with which it is mixed in the milking by the Hottentot women. When they make butter of it, they put it into some skin made in the form of a soldier's knapsack, the hairy side inwards ; and then two of them taking hold of it, one at each end, they whirl and turn it round till it is converted into butter, which they put up for anointing themselves, their caps and mantles with, for they eat no butter ; and the rest they sell to the Dutch, without clearing it from the hairs and dirt it contracts in the knapsack. The Hollanders, when they have it indeed, endeavour to separate the nastiness from it, and sell it to the shipping, that arrives there, frequently for butter of their own making ; and some they eat themselves (but surely none but a Dutchman could eat Hottentot butter) and the dregs and dirt that is left they give to their slaves ; which having been found to create diseases, the governor of the cape sometimes prohibits their giving their slaves this stuff by public edict ; which is not, however, much regarded. The butter-milk, without any manner of cleaning or

straining, the Hottentots drink themselves ; giving what they have to spare to their lambs and calves. Their usual drink is cow's milk or water, and the women sometimes drink ewe's milk ; but this the men never touch : and it is observed, that the women are never suffered to eat with the men, or come near them, during the time of the menses.

Since the arrival of the Dutch among them, it appears that the Hottentots are very fond of wine, brandy, and other spirituous liquors : these, and the bangles already mentioned, the Hollanders truck for their cattle ; and though a Hottentot will turn the spit for a Dutchman half a day for a draught or two of sour wine, yet do they never attempt to plant vineyards (as they see the Dutch often do) or think of making wine themselves.

We shall proceed, in the next place, to give an account of their towns and houses or rather, their camps and tents.

Like the Tartars and Arabs, they remove their dwellings frequently for the conveniency of water and fresh pasture : they encamp in a circle formed by twenty or thirty tents, and sometimes twice the number, contiguous to each other ; within the area whereof they keep their lesser cattle in the night, and the larger on the outside of their camp : their tents, or, as some call them, houses, are made with slender poles, bent like an arch, and covered with mats or skins, and sometimes both : they are of an oval figure, the middle of the tent being about the height of a man, and decreasing gradually (the poles being shorter) towards each end, the lowest arch, which is the door or entrance, being about three feet high, as is the opposite arch at the other end ; the longest diameter of the tent being about twelve or fourteen feet, and the shortest ten ; and in the middle of the tent is a shallow hole about a yard in diameter, in which they make their fire, and round which the whole family, consisting of nine or ten people of all ages and sexes, sit or lie night and day in such a smoke (when it is cold, or they are dressing of victuals) that it is impossible for an European to bear it, there being usually no vent for the smoke but the door, though



some have seen a hole in the top of some of their huts, to let out the smoke, and give them light. Such a circle of tents or huts as have been described, is called by the Hottentots a kraal, but sometimes by the Europeans a town or village; but seems to be more properly a camp: for a town consists of more substantial buildings, and is seldom capable of being removed from one place to another; whereas these dwellings consist of nothing more than small tent-poles, covered with skins or mats, which are moveable, and carried away upon their baggage oxen whenever they remove with their herds to a distant pasture. As to the furniture of their tents; they consist of little more than their mantles which they lie on, some other skins of wild beasts they have killed or purchased, an earthen pot they boil their meat in, their arms, and perhaps some other trivial utensils. The only domestic animals they keep, are dogs, as ugly in their kind as their masters, but exceeding useful to them in driving and defending their cattle.

The Hottentots are agreed by all to be the laziest generation under the sun: they will rather starve, or eat dried skins, or shoe-soles at home, than hunt for their food; and yet, when they apply themselves to the chase, or any other exercise, no people are more active and dexterous than the Hottentots; and they serve the Europeans often with the greatest fidelity and application when they contract to serve them for wages: they are also very generous and hospitable; they will scarce eat a piece of venison, or a dish of fish they have caught, or drink their beloved drams alone, but call in their neighbours to partake with them as far as it will go.

Concerning their government, people agree, that every nation has its king or chief, called konquer, whose authority devolves upon him by hereditary succession; and that they do not pretend to elect their respective sovereigns. That this chief has the power of making peace and war, and presides in all their councils and courts of justice: but then his authority is said to be limited; and that he can determine nothing without the consent of the captains of the

several kraals, who seem to be the Hottentot senate. The captain of every kraal, whose office is hereditary also, is their leader in time of war, and chief magistrate of his kraal in time of peace; and, with the head of every family, determines all civil and criminal causes within the kraal; only such differences as happen between one kraal and another, and matters of state are determined by the king and senate. The Dutch, since their arrival at the cape, have presented the king, or chief of every nation of the Hottentots in alliance with them, with a brass crown; and the captains of each kraal with a brass-headed cane, which are now the badges of their respective offices; formerly they were distinguished only by finer skins, and a greater variety of beads and glittering trifles. In their councils their king sits on his heels in the centre, and the captains of the kraals sit in like manner round about him. At his accession, it is said, he promises to observe their national customs; and gives them an entertainment, killing an ox, and two or three sheep, upon the occasion; on which he feasts his captains, but their wives are only entertained with the broth; but then the next day, we are told, her Hottentot majesty treats the ladies, and their husbands are put off in like manner with the soup.

The captain of each kraal also, at his accession, engages to observe the customs of his kraal, and makes an entertainment for the men, as his lady does the next day for the women; and, though these people shew their chiefs great respect, they allow neither their king or inferior magistrates any revenue; they subsist, as other families do, upon their stock of cattle, and what they take in hunting.

Having no notion of writing, or letters, they can have no written laws; but there are some ancient customs, from which they scarce ever deviate. Murder, adultery and robbery, they constantly punish with death; and, if a person is suspected of any of these crimes, the whole kraal join in seizing and securing him; but the guilty person sometimes makes his escape to the mountains, where robbers and criminals like himself



secure themselves from justice, and frequently plunder the neighbouring country ; for no other kraal or nation of Hottentots will entertain a stranger, unless he is known to them, and can give a good reason for leaving his own kraal. If the offender is apprehended, the captain assembles the people of his kraal in a day or two ; who, making a ring, and sitting down upon their heels, the criminal is placed in the centre of them : the witnesses on both sides are heard, and the party suffered to make his defence : after which, the case being considered, the captain collects the suffrages of the judges ; and if a majority condemn him, the prisoner is executed on the spot. The captain first strikes him with a truncheon he carries in his hand, and then the rest of the judges fall upon him and drub him to death : then wrapping up the corpse in his krosse or mantle, it is carried to some place distant from the kraal, where they bury it. In civil cases also, the cause is determined by a majority of voices, and satisfaction immediately ordered to the injured person, out of the goods of the person that appears to be in the wrong. There is no appeal to any other court : the king and his council, consisting of the captains of the kraals, never interpose unless in matters that concern the public, or where the kraals are at variance. To which we may add, that the Hottentot's cattle and personal estate descend to his eldest son : he cannot disinherit him, or give his effects to his other children : but, as for property in lands, or any certain real estate, no man has any ; the whole country is but one common, where they feed their cattle promiscuously, moving from place to place, to find water or fresh pasture as necessity requires. Even the several nations have no stated bounds ; but use such tracts of land as their ancestors did before them ; it is true, their respective limit sometimes create great differences between the several nations, and occasion bloody wars ; which brings us now to treat of their arms, and the arts and stratagems they use in war.

The arms of a Hottentot are, 1. His lance which resembles a half-pike, sometimes thrown, and used as a missive weapon ; and at others, serves to push with in close fight,

No. 11.

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the head or spear whereof is poisoned. 2. His bow and arrows, the arrows bearded and poisoned likewise, when they engage an enemy or wild beast they do not intend for food. Their bows are made of iron, or olive-wood ; the string of the sinews or guts of some animal : the quiver is a long narrow case, made of the skin of an elephant, elk, or ox, and slung at their backs, as soldiers sling their knapsacks. 3. A dart of a foot long, which they throw exceeding true, scarce ever missing the mark they aim at, though it is not above the breadth of half a crown ; these also are poisoned, when they engage an enemy or a wild beast that is not to be eaten : and lastly, when they have spent the rest of their missive weapons, they have recourse to stones, seldom making a discharge in vain ; and, what is most remarkable in their shooting or throwing arrows, darts, or stones, they never stand still, but are all the while skipping and jumping from one side to the other possibly to avoid the stones and darts of the enemy. They are all foot, and never engage on horseback ; but have disciplined bulls or oxen taught to run upon the enemy, and to toss and disorder them ; which these creatures will do with the utmost fury on the word of command, not regarding the weapons that are thrown at them : for though the Hottentots have numbers of large elephants in their country, they have not yet learned the art of taming them, or training them up to war, as the military men in the East Indies do. Every able bodied man is a soldier, and possessed of a set of such arms as has been described ; and on the summons of his prince, appears at the rendezvous with all imaginable alacrity and contempt of danger, and every man maintains himself while the expedition lasts. As their officers, civil and military, have no pay, so neither do the private men expect any ; a sense of honour, and the public good, are the sole motives for hazarding their lives in their country's service.

The Hottentots, in war, have very little conception of discipline, nor indeed is it possible they should ; for the only method of raising an army, is for the kraal captains to order the people to follow them ; the only method of maintaining one is by hunting as they march : and the only way of deciding a dispute



between two nations, is, by fighting one battle; the success of which determines the whole affair. In an engagement, they attack with an hideous yell, fight in great confusion, and put more confidence in their war oxen than their own skill: for, as we have hinted above, these animals, when trained to the business, are better disciplined and much more formidable, than the Hottentots themselves. The principal inducements to their entering into a war at any time, is the preservation of their territories. As they have no land marks or written treatise to adjust the exact bound of every nation, they frequently disagree about the limits of their respective countries; and, when any neighbouring nation grazes their cattle upon a spot of ground another claims, satisfaction is immediately demanded; and, if it be not given they make reprisals, and have recourse to arms. But this is not the only occasion of wars amongst the Hottentots: they are not always that chaste and virtuous people Mr. Kolben has represented them; some tempting Helen (for Hottentots possibly may appear amiable in one another's eyes, with all the grease and carrion they are clothed with) has smitten a neighbouring chief, perhaps, who prevails on his people to assist him in the rape of a desired female: and this frequently sets their tribes together by the ears. The stealing each others cattle is another course of deadly strife; for though each kraal punishes theft among themselves with death, yet it is looked upon as an heroic act to rob those of another nation, at least the body of the people are so backward in giving up the offender, that they frequently come to blows upon it.

When they march into the field every man follows his particular captain, the chief of his kraal: they observe little order; neither do they take the precaution of throwing up trenches to defend themselves: and what is still more surprising, have no shields to defend themselves against missive weapons, though some say they will ward off a dart, and even a stone, with a little truncheon about a foot long, which they carry in their hand. The several companies advance to the charge at the command of their chief; and, when those in the front have shot one flight of arrows,

they retreat and make room for those in the rear; and when they have discharged, the former advance again, and thus alternately they continue till they have spent all their missive weapons, and then they have recourse to stones, unless they are first broken and dispersed by a troop of bulls; for the wise chiefs and generals of each side, according to the European practice, remaining on an eminence in the rear, to observe the fortune of the day, when they observe their people are hard pressed, give the word of command to their corps de reserve of bulls, who break into the body of the enemy, and generally bring all into confusion; and that side that preserves their order best, on this furious attack of these bulls of Basan, are sure to be victorious. The skill of the general seems to be chiefly in managing his bulls; who never engage each other, but spend their whole rage upon the men, who have, it seems, no dogs of English breed to play against them, or this stratagem would be of little service: but we should have observed, that as the battle always begins with horrid cries and noise, which perhaps supplies the place of drums and trumpets; so the victors insult with no less noise over the conquered enemy, killing all that fall into their hands: but they seldom fight more than one battle, some neighbouring power usually interposing to make up the quarrel, and of late the Dutch perform this good office, between such nations as lie near their settlements. From their wars with each other, we naturally proceed to their wars with wild beasts, with which their country abounds more than any other; these people, it seems, esteem it a much greater honour to have killed one of these foes to mankind, than an enemy of their own species.

Instances are not wanting of a Hottentot's engaging singly with the fiercest wild beasts, and killing them; but usually the whole kraal or village assemble, when a wild beast is discovered in their neighbourhood, and, dividing themselves in small parties, endeavour to surround him. Having found their enemy, they usually set up a great cry, at which the frightened animal endeavours to break through and escape them: if it prove



to be a rhinoceros, an elk, or elephant, they throw their lances at him, darts and arrows being too weak to pierce through their thick hides : if the beast be not killed at the first discharge, they repeat the attack, and load him with their spears ; and, as he runs with all his rage at the persons who wound him, those in his rear follow him close, and ply him with their spears ; on whom he turns again, but is overpowered by his enemies, who constantly return to the charge, when his back is towards them, and scarce ever fail of bringing the creature down, before he has taken his revenge on any of them. How hazardous soever such an engagement may appear to an European, these people make it their sport ; and have this advantage, that they are exceeding swift of foot, and scarce ever miss the mark they aim at with their spears : if one of them is hard pressed by the brute, he is sure to be relieved by his companions, who never quit the field till the beast is killed, or makes his escape : though they sometimes dexterously avoid the adversary, they immediately return to the charge, subduing the fiercest either by stratagem or force. When attacking a lion, or a tyger, their darts and arrows are of service to them ; and therefore they begin the engagement at a greater distance, than when they charge an elephant or rhinoceros ; and the creature has a wood of darts and arrows upon his back, before he can approach his enemies which make him fret and rage and fly at them with the greatest fury ; but those he attacks, nimbly avoid his paws, while others pursue him, and finish the conquest with their spears. Sometimes a lion takes to his heels, with abundance of poisoned darts and arrows in his flesh : but, the poison beginning to operate, he soon falls, and becomes a prey to those he would have preyed upon. The elephant, the rhinoceros, and the elk, are frequently taken in traps and pitfalls without any manner of hazards. The elephants are observed to go in great companies to water following in a file one after another, and usually take the same road till they are disturbed : the Hottentots therefore dig pits in their paths, about eight feet deep, and four and five over ; in which they fix sharp stakes

pointed with iron, and then cover the pit with small sticks and turf, so as it is not discernable : and as these animals usually keep in one track frequently one or other of them falls in with his fore feet into the pit, and the stakes pierce his body ; the more he struggles, the deeper the weight of his monstrous body fixes him on the stake, when the rest of the herd observe the misfortune of their companion, and find he cannot disengage himself, they immediately abandon him : whereupon the Hottentots, who lie concealed, in expectation of the success of their stratagem, approach the wounded beast, stab him with their spears, and cut his largest veins, so that he soon expires ; whereupon they cut him to pieces, and carrying the flesh home, feast upon it as long as it last. His teeth they make into rings for their arms, and, when they have any ivory to spare, dispose of it to the Europeans. The rhinoceros and elk are frequently taken in pitfalls, as the elephants are. The Hottentot, who kills any of these, or a lion, leopard, or tyger, singly, has the highest honour conferred upon him, and several privileges, which belong only to such intrepid heroes. At his return from this hazardous and important service, the men of the kraal depute one of the seniors to congratulate him on his victory, and desire that he will honour them with his presence ; whereupon he follows the old deputy to the assembly, whom he finds, according to custom, sitting upon their heels in a circle ; and, a mat of distinction being laid for him in the centre, he sets himself down upon it : after which the old deputy urines plentifully upon him, which the hero rubs in with great eagerness, having first scratched the grease off his skin with his nails ; the deputy all this while pronouncing some words unintelligible to any but themselves. After this, they light a pipe of tobacco, which they smoke and hand one to another till their remain nothing but ashes in the pipe, and these the old deputy strews over the gallant man, who rubs them in as they fall upon him, not suffering the least dust to be lost. After which the neighbours having severally congratulated him on his advancement to the high honour, they disperse, and go to



their respective tents. The conqueror, afterwards, fastens the bladder of the furious beast he has killed to his hair, which he ever after wears as a badge of his knighthood; and is from that time esteemed by every one a brave man, and a benefactor to his country, when retired to his tent, his neighbours seem to vie which of them shall oblige him most, and are, for the next three days, continually sending him one delicious morsel or other; nor do they call upon him to perform duty during that time, but suffer him to indulge his ease: but, what is still more unaccountable, his wife, or wives, (for he may have more than one) are not allowed to come near him for three days after this honour is conferred on him; but they are forced to ramble about the fields, and to keep to a spare diet, lest they should, as Mr. Kolben surmises, tempt the husbands to their embraces: but on the third day in the evening, we are told the women return to the tent, are received with the utmost joy and tenderness, mutual congratulations pass between them; a fat sheep is killed, and their neighbours invited to the feast, where the prowess of the hero, and the honour he has obtained, are the chief subject of their conversation.

There is scarce any wild beast, but the flesh is good eating, if it be not killed with poisonous weapons; but the tyger is the most delicious morsel; and as the whole kraal partake of the feast, the person who kills him meets with a double share of praise, as he both rids the country of an enemy, and pleases their palates. But to return to the field-sports of the Hottentots: when they hunt a deer, a wild goat or a hare, they go singly, or but two, or three in company, armed only with a dart or two, and seldom miss the game they throw at: yet, as has been observed already, so long as they have any manner of food left, if it be but the raw hides of cattle, or shoe-soles, they will hardly be persuaded to stir to get more; though it is true, when they apprehend their cattle in danger from wild beasts, no people are more active, or pursue the chase of them with greater alacrity and bravery. From hunting, we proceed to treat of their fishing;

at which they are very expert; taking fish with angles, nets, and spears; and they get a certain fish, called rock-fish, particularly by groping the holes of the rocks near the shore, when the tide is out: these are mightily admired by the Europeans, but having no scales, the Hottentots will not eat them.

The manner of the Hottentots swimming, is as particular as of his fishing: for he stands upright in the sea, and rather walks and tread the water, than swims upon it, his head, neck, and shoulders being quite above the waves, as well as his arms, and yet they move faster in the water than any European can; even in a storm, when the waves run high, they will venture into the sea, rising and falling with the waves like a cork.

The next thing we shall notice, is the marriages of the Hottentots: and it seems, every young fellow has such regard to the advice of his father, (or rather the laws and customs of the country require it) that he always consults the old man before he enters into a treaty with his mistress, and if he approves the match, the father and son, in the first place, pay a visit to the father of the damsel, with whom having smoked, and talked of indifferent things for some time, the father of the lover opens the matter to the virgin's father, who having consulted his wife, returns an answer immediately to the proposal: if it be rejected, the lover and his father retire without more words; but if the offer be approved by the old folks, the damsel is called and acquainted, that they have provided a husband for her; as she must submit to their determination, unless she can hold her lover at arms end, after a night's struggling; for we are told, that when the parents are agreed, the two young people are put together, and if the virgin loses her maidenhead, she must have the young fellow, though she be never so averse to the match: but then she is permitted to pinch and scratch and defend herself as well as she can; and if she hold out till morning, the lover returns without his mistress, and makes no further attempts; but if he subdues her, she is his wife to all intents and purposes, with out further ceremony; and the next day the man kills a fat ox, or more,



according to his circumstances, for the wedding dinner, and the entertainment of their friends, who resort to them upon the occasion, bringing abundance of good wishes for the happiness of the married couple, as is usual among politer people. The ox is no sooner killed, but the company get each some of the fat, and grease themselves with it from head to foot, powdering themselves afterwards with buchu, and the women, to add to their charms, make red spots with ochre, or red chalk, on their black faces. The entertainment being ready, the men form a circle in the area of the kraal (for a large company cannot sit within doors) and the women form another; the bridegroom sitting in the middle of the mens circle, and the bride in the centre of her own sex. Then the priest enters the men's circle, and urines upon the bridegroom, which the young man rubs in very joyfully. He then goes to the ladies' circle, where he does the bride the same favour. Then the old man goes from the bride to the bridegroom, till he has exhausted all his store. The priest then pronounces his benediction in these words: "That they may live long and happily together; that they may have a son before the end of the year; and that he may prove a brave man, an expert huntsman, and the like." After which the meat is served up in earthen pots glazed with grease; and some of them having knives since the Europeans came amongst them, they divide their meat pretty decently; but more of them make use of their teeth and claws, pulling it to pieces, and eating it as voraciously as so many dogs, having no other plates or napkins than the stinking corners of the napkins they wear; the sea shells without handles usually serve them for spoons. When they have dined a pipe is filled with tobacco, which they smoke all round, every one taking two or three whiffs, and then handing it to the next. It is singular, that though the Hottentots are immoderately fond of spirituous liquors, music and dancing, yet they do not drink the first, nor practise the latter at weddings.

The Hottentots allow of polygamy; but seldom have more than three wives at a time;

and it seems it is death to marry or lie with a first or second cousin, or any near relation. A father seldom gives his son more than two or three cows, and as many sheep, upon his marriage, and with these he must make his way in the world; and we do not find they give more with their daughters than a cow, or a couple of sheep; but the latter are to be returned to the father, if the bride dies without having had any children: on the contrary, if she ever bore any children to her husband, the portion becomes his, even though the children are defunct. They do not leave their daughters, or younger sons, any thing when they die; but all the children depend upon the eldest brother, and are his servants, or rather slaves, when the father is dead, unless the elder brother infranchise them; nor has the mother any thing to subsist on, but what the eldest son allows her. There being no great fortunes among them, they match purely for love; an agreeable companion is all their greatest men aim at: their chiefs intermarry frequently with the poorest man's daughter; and a brave fellow, who has no fortune, does not despair of matching with the daughter of a prince. A widow, who marries a second time, is obliged to cut off a joint of one of her fingers; and so for every husband she marries after the first. Either man or woman may be divorced, on shewing sufficient cause before the captain and the rest of the kraal; the women, however, must not marry again, though the man is allowed to marry, and have as many wives as he pleases at the same time. A young Hottentot never is master of a hut or tent till he marries, unless his father dies and leaves him one; therefore the first business the bride and bridegroom apply themselves to, after their marriage feast, is to erect a tent or hut of all new materials, in which work the woman has as great a share as the man; and this taking them up about a week's time, the new married couple are entertained in the mean time in the tents of some of their relations. When they resort to their new apartment, and come to keep house together, the wife seems to have much the greatest share of the trouble of it: she fodders the



cattle, milks them, cuts out the firing, searches every morning for roots for their food, brings them home, and boils or broils them, while the drone of a husband lies indolently at home, and will scarce give himself the trouble of getting up to eat when the food is provided for him by the drudge his wife. The more wives he has, still the more indolent life he leads; the care of making provision for the family being thrown upon them. It is said he will, in his turn, attend his cattle in the field; but expects every one of his wives should do, at least, as much towards taking care of them as he does. He will also, sometimes, but very rarely, go a hunting with the men of his kraal, and bring home a piece of vension, or a dish of fish; but this is not often? and if he is of any handicraft trade, he may work at it two or three hours in a week, and instruct his children in the art. He also takes upon him to sell his cattle, and purchase tobacco, and strong liquors of the Dutch, with necessary tools, beads and other ornaments for which the Hottentots barter away their cattle: their wives are not permitted to intermeddle in the business of buying and selling, this being the sole prerogative of the man. When a woman brings a living son into the world, there is great rejoicing; but the first thing they do with the child, is to daub it all over with cow-dung; then they lay it before the fire, or in the sun, till the dung is dried, after which they rub it off, and wash the child with the juice of certain herbs, laying it in the sun, or before the fire again, till the liquor is dried in, after which they anoint the child from head to foot with butter, or sheeps fat melted, which is dried in as the juice was; and this custom of anointing their bodies with fat, they retain afterwards as long as they live. After the child has been thus smeared and greased, the mother gives it what name she thinks proper, which is usually the name of some wild beast, or domestic animal. When the woman is well again, and able to leave her hut, she rubs herself all over with cow-dung; and this filthy daubing is by these delicate people termed a purification. Being thus delightfully perfumed, and elegantly decorated

with sheeps's guts, she is permitted to go abroad, or to see company at home.

If the woman has twins, and they are girls, the man proposes it to the kraal, that he may expose one of them, either upon pretence of poverty, or that his wife has not milk for them both; and this they usually indulge one another in: they do the same when they have a boy or girl; but always preserve the boys, though they happen to have two at a birth. The exposed child is carried to a distance from the kraal; and if they can find a cave or hole in the earth, that some wild beast has made, they put the child alive into it; and then having stopped up the mouth of the den with stones or earth, leave it there to starve: if they cannot meet such a cavity, they tie the infant to the lower bough of a tree, or leave it in some thicket of bushes, where it is frequently destroyed by wild beasts. They do not deal thus, however, as has been observed, by their male children: on the birth of a boy, they kill a bullock; and if they have twins, two bullocks; and make an entertainment for all the neighbourhood, who congratulate the parents on their good fortune; and, as with us, the greatest rejoicings are on the birth of the first son.

The males, at about ten years of age, are always deprived of their left testicle; the operation is performed with a dexterity that would surprise an European surgeon, and bad consequences are seldom or never known to ensue. A sheep is killed, and great rejoicings are made upon the occasion; but it is to be observed, that the men devour all the meat, and allow the women nothing but the broth. The reason of this absurd custom of mutilating their male youth is unknown; some of the Hottentots say, it is to make them run swift; but the greatest part of these people give their general reason, which they use upon all occasions, when they are unable to account for any of their absurd practices; namely, That it is the Hottentot custom; and has been practised by their ancestors time immemorial. At the age of eighteen, the male Hottentots, being deemed men, are admitted into male society: the men of the village (if it may be



so called) squat down, and form a circle, as is usual upon most public occasions, the youth squats down without the circle, at some distance. The oldest man of the kraal then rises from the circle, and having obtained the general consent for the admission of a new member, he goes to the youth, acquaints him with the determination of the men of the kraal, and concludes his harangue with some verses, which admonish him to behave like a man for the future. The youth being then daubed with soot and fat, and well sprinkled with urine, is congratulated by the company in general in a kind of chorus, which contains the following wishes: that good fortune may attend him, that he may live long, and thrive daily; that he may soon have a beard, and many children; till it is universally allowed he is a useful man to the nation. A feast concludes the ceremony; but the youth himself is not permitted to participate of any part thereof till all the rest are served. Having been thus admitted into male society, it is expected that he should behave ill to women in general, and to his mother in particular, in order to evince his contempt of every thing feminine. Indeed it is usual for a youth as soon as admitted, to go to his mother's hut, and cudgel her heartily, for which he is highly applauded by the whole kraal; and even the suffering parent herself admires him for his spirit, and protests that the blows do not give her so much pain, as the thoughts of having brought such a mettlesome son into the world afford her pleasure. The more ill treatment he gives his mother, the more esteem he obtains; and every time he strikes her she is in the highest raptures, and thanks providence for having blessed her with such a spirited child. So egregiously will custom counteract the very dictates of nature, and impose upon the understanding of the ignorant.

It may be proper now to say something of those officers amongst them, which the Europeans generally denominate their priests. These persons are called *furri* or master, and are elected by every kraal: they are the men who perform the ceremony of making water at their weddings, and other festivals; the

*furri* also is the person who extracts the left testicle from the young males at eight years of age; for all which he has no stated revenue, but a present now and then of a calf or a lamb, and makes one at all their entertainments. Every kraal also has its physician, as well as its priest, who are persons that have some skill in physic and surgery, and particularly in the virtues of salutary herbs: these also are chosen by a majority of voices and make it their business to look after the people's health: but have no other reward neither for their pains, than voluntary presents. And such is the opinion of the *Hottentots* of these physicians, that if they cannot effect a cure, they conclude they are certainly bewitched; as the doctor himself also never fails to give out: whereupon application is made to some pretended conjurer for relief: and if the patient happens to recover, it gives the cunning man, as we call him, a mighty reputation. The physician and surgeon, as has been hinted, is the same person; and though these gentlemen scarce ever saw a body dissected, it is said, they have pretty good notions of anatomy: they cup, bleed, make amputations, and restore dislocated limbs with great dexterity: cholicks and pains in the stomach they relieve by cupping. Their cup is an horn of an ox, the edges cut very smooth: the doctor, having sucked the part where the pain lies, claps on the cup: and after it has remained some time, till he thinks the part is insensible, he pulls off the horn-cup, and makes two or three incisions, half an inch in length, with a common knife, having no other instrument: after which, he applies the cup again, which falls off when it is full of blood, but the patient, it is said, suffers great pain in the operation. If the pain removes to another part, they rub it with hot fat; and, if that does not ease the pain, they use the cup again on the part last afflicted; and, if the second cupping does not relieve the patient, they give him inward medicines, being infusions or powders of certain dried roots and herbs. They let blood in plethories and indispositions of that kind, having no other instrument than a common knife; and if bleeding will not



effect the cure, they give the patient physic, For head-achs, which they are pretty much subject to in calm weather, they shave their heads in furrows, as they do when they are in mourning; but a brisk gale of wind usually carries off the head-ach, without any other application; and this they do not often want at the cape. They seldom make any other amputations, than of the fingers of such women as marry a second time, or oftener: and in this case, they bind the joint below that which is to be cut off very tight, with a dried sinew, and then cut off the joint at once with a knife, stopping the blood with the juice of myrrh-leaves; after which, they wrap up the finger in some healing herbs, and never any part of the finger receives any hurt beyond the amputation. They have little or no skill in setting fractured limbs; but are pretty dexterous at restoring of dislocations.

The Hottentot physician, in case he meets with a foul stomach, gives the juice of aloe leaves; and if one dose will not do, repeats it two or three days; and for any inward ail they give chiefly the powders, or infusions of wild sage, wild figs and fig leaves, buchu, garlic or fennel: but, whatever the disease be, it seems the patient never fails to sacrifice a bullock, or a sheep, upon his recovery.

The Hottentots are exceedingly superstitious, and fond of divination. In order to know the fate of a sick person, they flay a sheep alive: after having its skin entirely taking off, if the poor animal is able to get up and run away, it is deemed a propitious omen: but on the contrary, if the excruciating pain kill's it, they imagine that the patient will certainly die, and accordingly give him up entirely to nature, without taking any further care of him.

Whatever they believe of departed souls, they have no notion either of heaven or hell, or of a state of rewards or punishments; this is evident from the behaviour of a dying Hottentot, and those about him; neither he nor his friends offer up any prayers to their gods for the salvation of his soul; or even mention the state of departed souls, or their apprehensions of his being happy or miserable after death: however, they set

up terrible howlings and shriekings, when the sick man is in his last agonies; and yet these very people are frequently guilty of murdering their antient parents, as well as their innocent children; for when the father of a family is become perfectly useless and superannuated, he is obliged to assign over his stock of cattle, and every thing else he has in the world, to his eldest son; and in default of sons, to his next heir male: after which the heir erects a tent or hut in some unfrequented place, a good distance from the kraal or camp he belongs to; and, having assembled the men of the kraal acquaints them with the condition of his superannuated relation, and desires their consent to expose him in the distant hut; to which the kraal scarce ever refuse their consent. Whereupon a day being appointed to carry the old man to the solitary tent, the heir kills an ox, and two or three sheep, and invites the whole village to feast and be merry with him; and at the end of the entertainment, all the neighbourhood come and take a formal leave of the old wretch, thus condemned to be starved or devoured by wild beasts: then the unfortunate creature is laid upon one of their carriage oxen, and carried to his last home, attended to the place, where he is to be buried alive by most of his neighbours. The old man being taken down, and set in the middle of the hut provided for him, the company return to their kraal, and he never sees the face of a human creature afterwards; they never so much as inquire whether he was starved to death, or devoured by wild beasts: he is no more thought of, than if he had never been. In the same manner they deal with a superannuated mother; only as she has nothing she can call her own, she has not the trouble of assigning her effects to her son. Whenever the Hottentots are upbraided with this unparalleled piece of barbarity, they reply, it would be a much greater cruelty to suffer an old creature to languish out a miserable life, and to be many years a dying, than to make this quick dispatch with them: and that it is out of their extreme tenderness they put an end to the lives of these old wretches: all the arguments in the world against the



inhumanity of the custom, can make no impression on them ; and, indeed as long as the Dutch have resided at the cape, they have not been able to break them of one single custom, or prevail with them to alter any part of their conduct, how barbarous or absurd soever : and, it seems the captain of a kraal is not exempted from seeing his funeral solemnized in this manner, while he is alive, if he happens to become useless. And this leads us to treat of such funerals as are solemnized after the person is really dead.

The sick man, having resigned his breath, is immediately bundled up, neck and heels together, in his sheep-skin mantle, exceeding close, so that no part of the corpse appears : then the captain of the kraal, with some of the seniors, search the neighbouring country for some cavity in a rock, or the den of a wild beast, to bury it in, never digging a grave, if they can find one of these within a moderate distance. After which the whole kraal, men and women, prepare to attend the corpse, seldom permitting it to remain above ground more than six hours. When all things are ready, all the neighbourhood assemble before the door of the deceased, the men sitting down on their heels in one circle, and resting their elbows on their knees (their usual posture) as the women do in another : here they clap their hands, and howl, crying, *Bo, bo, bo!* (that is father) lamenting their loss. The corpse being then brought out on that side the tent, where the person died, and not at the door, the bearers carry him in their arms to the grave, the men and women follow it in different parties but without any manner of order, crying all the way, *Bo, bo, bo!* and wringing their hands, and performing a thousand ridiculous gestures and grimaces, which is frequently the subject of the Dutchmen's mirth ; it being impossible, it is said, to forbear laughing at the antic tricks they shew on such an occasion. Having put the corpse into the cavity prepared for it, they stop up the mouth of it with ant hills, stones, and pieces of wood, believing the ants will feed on the corpse, and soon consume it. The grave being stopped up, the men and women ren-

dezvous again before the tent of the deceased, where they repeat their howling, and frequently call upon the name of their departed friend : after which two of the oldest men get up ; and one of them going into the circle of the men, and the other into the circle of the women, urine upon every one of the company ; and, where the kraals are so very large, that two cannot find water enough for this ceremony, they double or treble the number. Then the old men go into the tent of the deceased ; and having taken up some ashes from the fire-place, they sprinkle them upon the bodies of the people, blessing them as they go : and if the deceased was a person of distinction, this is acted over again several days. But we should have remembered, that the ceremony always concludes with an entertainment. If the deceased had any cattle, a sheep is killed on the occasion ; and the caul being powdered with buchu, is tied about the heir's neck, who is forced to wear it while it rots off, which is no great penance, all stinks being perfumes to a Hottentot. All the relations also wear the cauls of sheep about their necks ; which it seems is their mourning, unless the children of the deceased are so poor, that they cannot kill a sheep ; and then they shave their heads in furrows of about an inch abroad, leaving the hair on of the same breadth between every furrow.

It is not an easy matter to come at a Hottentot's religious notions, he is sparing of his words, and laconic in his answers upon all occasions ; but when religious topics are introduced, he generally conceals his sentiments in silence. Some on this account have doubted whether the Hottentots have any religion at all : but the most intelligent among the Dutch at the Cape positively affirm, that they believe in a Supreme Being, whom they stile Gounya Taquoa, or God of gods, and fancy that his place of residence is beyond the moon. They allow that Gounya Taquoa is a humane, benevolent being, yet they have no mode of worshipping him ; for which they give this reason, "That he cursed their first parents for having greatly offended him, on which account their posterity have never from that



time paid him adoration." They believe that the moon is an inferior visible God, and the representative of the high and invisible: that she has the direction of the weather; and therefore they pray to her when it is unseasonable. They never fail to assemble and worship this planet at the new and full moon, let the weather be never so bad; and though they distort their bodies, grin and put on very frightful looks, crying and howling in a terrible manner, yet they have some expressions that shew their veneration and dependance on this inferior deity; as, "Mut-schi Atze, I salute you; you are welcome: Cheraqua kaka chori Ounqua, grant us pasture for our cattle and plenty of milk." These and other prayers to the moon they repeat, frequently dancing and clapping their hands all the while; and, at the end of every dance, crying, Ho, ho, ho, ho! raising and falling their voices, and using abundance of odd gestures, that appear ridiculous to European spectators; and which no doubt, made them at first, before they knew any thing of their language, conclude, that this could not be the effect of devotion, especially when the people themselves told them, it was not an act of religion, but only intended for their diversion. They continue thus shouting, singing and dancing, with prostrations on the earth, the whole night, and even part of the next day, with some short intervals, never resting, unless they are quite spent with the violence of the action; and then they squat down upon their heels, holding their heads between their hands, and resting their elbows on their knees; and after a little time, they start up again, and falling to singing and dancing in a circle as before, with all their might.

The Hottentots also adore a fly about the bigness of a hornet, called by some the gold beetle: whenever they see this insect approach their kraal, they all assemble about it, and sing and dance round it while it remains there, strewing over it the powder of bichu, by botanists called spiræm: which when it is dried and pulverized, they always powder themselves with it at festivals. They

strew the same powder also over the tops of their tents, and over the whole area of the kraal, as a testimony of their veneration for the adored fly. They sacrifice also two sheep as a thanksgiving for the favour shewn their kraal, believing they shall certainly prosper after such a visit: and, if this insect happens to light upon a tent, they look upon the owner of it for the future as a saint, and pay him more than usual respect. The best ox of the kraal also is immediately sacrificed, to testify their gratitude to the little winged deity, and to honour the saint he has been pleased thus to distinguish: to whom the entrails of the beast, the choicest morsel in their opinion, with the fat and the caul is presented; and the caul being twisted like a rope, the saint ever after wears it like a collar about his neck day and night, till it putrifies and rots off; and the saint only feasts upon the entrails of the beast, while the rest of the kraal feed upon the joints, that are not in so high esteem among them: with the fat of the sacrifice also the saint anoints his body from time to time, till it is all spent; and if the fly lights upon a woman she is no less revered by the neighbourhood, and entitled to the like privileges. It is scarce possible to express the agonies the Hottentots are in, if any European attempts to take or kill one of these insects, as the Dutch will sometimes seem to attempt, to put them in a fright: they will beg and pray, and fall prostrate on the ground, to procure the liberty of this little creature, if it falls into a Dutchman's hands; they are, on such an occasion, in no less consternation than the Indians near Fort St. George, when the kite, with a white head, which they worship, is in danger. If a soldier takes one of these alive, and threatens to wring the neck of it off, the Indians will gather in crowds about him, and immediately collect the value of a shilling or two, to purchase the liberty of the captive bird they adore. But to return to the Hottentots, they imagine if this little deity should be killed, all the cattle would die of diseases, or be destroyed by wild beasts; and they themselves should be the most miserable of



men, and look upon that kraal to be doomed to some imminent misfortune, where this animal seldom appears.

The Hollanders have sent several reverend divines to the cape as missionaries, who have spared no pains to bring the Hottentots off from their idolatry, and induce them to embrace Christianity; even their covetousness and ambition have been applied to, and temporal rewards offered them, on condition of their being instructed in the principles of Christianity. But no motives whatever, whether those relating to this or another state, have yet been able to make the least impression on any one of them: they hold fast and hug their ancient superstitions, and will hear of no other religion. The reason that they neither imitate the Europeans in their building, planting, or cloathing, is because they imagine themselves to be religiously obliged to follow the customs of their ancestors; and that, if they should deviate from them in the least of these matters, it might make way for a total change of their religion and manners, which they cannot think of without abhorrence. One of the Dutch governors at the Cape bred up an Hottentot from his infancy, obliging him to follow the fashions and customs of the Europeans, to be taught several languages, and to be fully instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, clothing him handsomely, and treating him, in all respects, as a person for whom he had a high esteem; and let him know, that he designed him for some beneficial and honourable employment. The governor afterwards sent him a voyage to Batavia, where he was employed, under the commissary his friend, for some time, till that gentleman died; and then he returned to the Cape of Good Hope: but having paid a visit to the Hottentots of his relations and acquaintance, he threw off all his fine clothes, bundled them up, and laid them at the governor's feet, and desired he would give him leave to renounce his Christianity, and live and die in the religion and customs of his ancestors: only begged the governor would give him leave to keep the hanger and collar he wore for his sake; which while the governor was deliberating

with himself upon, scarce believing the fellow to be in earnest, the young Hottentot took the opportunity of running away, and never came near the Cape afterwards, thinking himself extremely happy that he had exchanged his European clothes for a sheep skin, and the rest of the Hottentot's dress and ornaments. The English East India company, we are informed, made the like experiment, bringing over two of that nation hither, whom they clothed decently after the European manner, and used them, in all respects, with the greatest goodness and gentleness, hoping, by that means, to be better informed of the condition of their country, and whether it might be worth the while to make a settlement there: but the two Hottentots only learnt English enough to bewail their misfortune in being brought from their country and their friends; and, after two years trial of them, being again set on shore at the Cape, they immediately stripped off their European clothes, and, having taken up the sheep skin mantle again, rejoiced beyond measure for their happy escape from the English.

The poor Hottentots sometimes employ themselves in making arms, (viz.) bows and arrows, lances and darts, bartering them with the rich for cattle, to begin the world with: others get elephants teeth, and what they do not use in making rings and ornaments for themselves, are generally disposed of, it is thought, to the Portuguese and other Europeans, who touch at Terra de Natal, and other parts of the eastern or western coast. The Hottentots sell very few teeth to the Dutch, though it is manifest they kill abundance of elephants: they supply the Hollanders however with cattle, and take wine, brandy or tobacco, in return; and an ox may be purchased of them for a pound of tobacco, and a large sheep for half a pound. As to coin, the reader will conclude they have none; nor do they ever see any, unless some small pieces of money the Dutch sometimes give them for their wages at the Cape; and it must not be forgot, that the Hottentots find abundance of ostrichs' eggs in the sand, which they barter with the sea-faring men, that touch at the



Cape, for brandy and tobacco ; every sailor almost being proud of bringing home one of these egg shells to his friends, after he has fried and eaten the yolk, which makes a large pancake, and is pretty good food, but rather of the strongest.

Their butchers are said to be great artists in their way, and to handle a knife as dexterously as an anatomist: having tied the hind and fore legs of a sheep, they throw the creature on his back, and with cords, two of them extend it to its full stretch, while a third rips it up ; so that all the entrails appear : then with one hand, he tears the guts from the carcase, and with the other stirs the blood, avoiding as much as he can the breaking any of the blood-vessels about the heart ; so that the sheep is a long time a dying : in the mean time he gives the guts to another, who just rids them of the filth, and rinses them in water, and part of them are broiled and eaten amongst them, before the sheep is well dead : having scooped the blood out of the body of the animal with their hands or sea shells, they cut the rest of the guts in small pieces, and stew them in the blood, which is the Hottentots favourite dish. An ox also is killed in the same barbarous manner ; being thrown upon his back, and his legs extended with cords, he is ripped up, and his guts taken out first ; in which cruel operation the beast is half an hour a dying : they separate the parts with great exactness, dividing the flesh, the bones, the membranes, muscles, veins, and arteries ; and laying them in several parcels every thing entire. The bones also are taken out of the flesh, and laid together in such order, that they might be easily formed into an exact skeleton : these they boil by themselves, and get the marrow out of them, with which they anoint their bodies. Of the sheep skin, as has been observed already, they make a mantle if it be large : but if it is small, they cut it into thongs, to adorn their women's legs : and the hide of an ox serves either to cover their tents, or to make girts and straps of, with which they bind their baggage on their carriage oxen when they decamp ; and, if they have no other use for their ox-hides,

they lay them by, and eat them when they want other food.

They have another artificer, who is both felmonger and taylor : that is, he dresses skins after their way, and then makes them into mantles, he takes a sheep skin just flayed off, and, rubbing it well with fat, the skin becomes tough and smooth ; and if it be for one of his countrymen, he rubs it over also with fresh cow-dung, and lays it in the sun till it is dry : then he rubs it with fat and cow dung again ; which he repeats several times, till it becomes perfectly black, and stinks so, that no European can bear it ; and then, with a little shaping and sewing, it is a complete mantle for a Hottentot ; but, if it be dressed for a Dutchman, he only rubs the skin well with fat, which secures the wool from coming off. If he be to dress an ox's hide, he rubs the hairy side with wood ashes ; then sprinkling it with water, rolls it up, and lays it a day or two in the sun ; which expedients effectually bring off the hair ; this is then well greased, stretched out, and dried again, when it is deemed good leather.

Their smiths do not only fashion their iron, but melt it from the ore : they find plenty of iron stones in several parts of their country ; and having got a heap of these, they put them into a hole in the ground, heated and prepared for their purpose ; then they make a fire over the stones, which they supply with fuel, and keep up till the iron melts : and then it runs into another hole, which they make for a receiver, a little lower than the first : as soon as the iron in the receiver is cold they break it to pieces with stones ; and heating the pieces again in other fires, beat them with stones, till they shape them into the heads of lances, darts, arrows, and bows, and such weapons as they use ; for they scarce ever form any other utensils but arms, of this metal : they get the hardest flat stone, according to Monsieur Vogel, and laying the iron upon it, as upon an anvil, beat it with another round stone, which serves them for a hammer ; then they grind it upon the flat stone and polish it as nicely as any European artificer could do with all his tools ; they have some



copper ore too, which they melt in like manner; but they make only toys and ornaments for their dress of this metal: nor indeed, do they ever work in iron, but when they want weapons. They would never labour, if their necessities did not sometimes compel them to it: but, when they do, no people work harder, or more indefatigably; for they never leave a piece of work, till they have finished it.

The ivory-turner makes the ivory rings that are worn ornamentally about the arms; and considering that his only tool is a common clasp knife, which he procures from the Dutch, the workmanship has great merit.

The potter or maker of earthen vessels is another art; but this, it seems, they are all dexterous at, every family making the pots and pans they want. For these they use only the earth of ant-hills, clearing them of all sand and gravel; after which, they work it together with the bruised ant-eggs, that are said to constitute an extraordinary cement. When they have moulded these materials into a kind of paste, they take as much of them as will make one of their pots, and fashion it by hand upon a flat stone, making it of the form of a Roman urn; then they smooth it within and without very carefully, not leaving the least roughness upon the surface; and having dried it in the sun two or three days, they put the pot into a hole in the ground, and burn it, by making a fire over it; and when they take it out, it appears perfectly black. Every family also make their own mats, with which they cover their tents or huts; but this is chiefly the business of the women; they gather the flags and rushes by the river side, or weave or plat them into mats so closely, it is said, that neither the weather or light can penetrate them.

The last artificer we shall mention is the rope-maker, who has no better materials, than such flags and rushes as the mats are made of; and yet they appear almost as strong as those made of hemp: the Dutch, at the Cape, buy and use them in ploughing, and in draught-carriages.

As to the way of travelling here, the na-

tives all travel on foot, except the aged and infirm; and these are carried on their baggage oxen. As there are no inns or places for refreshment, the travelling Hottentot calls at the kraals in his way, where he meets with a hearty welcome from his countrymen, who endeavour to shew their hospitality to strangers, whether of their own country or of Europe. Such indeed is the general urbanity of these people, and their strict integrity when any confidence is placed in them, that when the Hollanders travel either on foot or horseback, if they cannot reach an European settlement, they also call at the kraals of the Hottentots, where they are complimented with a hut, and such provision as they have, or they may lie in the area of the kraal, in the open air, if they please, and the weather be good; and here they are secure both from robbers and wild beasts; for the bushis banditti on the mountains are dangerous, as they give no quarter; but the Hottentot nations in general hold them in abhorrence, and unanimously concur in seizing and punishing them upon all occasions.

Their language is very inarticulate and defective; one word signifies several things, the definitive meaning being determined by the manner of pronouncing; and the pronunciation is so harsh and confused, that they seem to stammer in all they speak. Hence, though they are easily taught to understand other languages, they can seldom be brought to speak them with any degree of intelligibility.

We shall here subjoin a small Hottentot vocabulary, for the satisfaction of the curious; khauna, signifies a lamb; kgou, a goose; bunqvaa, trees; knomm, to hear; quaqu, a pheasant; tkaka, a whale; horri, beasts in general; knabou, a fowling piece; qua-ara-ho, a wild ox; ounequa, the arms; quienkha, to fall; likhanee, a dog; konkequa, a captain; quas, the neck; quan, the heart; kgoyes, a buck or doe; tiquoa, a god; komma, a house; khoaa, a cat; kowknri, iron; konkekerey, a hen; thoukou, a dark night; tkoume, rice; ghoudie, a sheep; toya, the wind; ttkaa, a valley; tkaonoklua, gunpowder; kamkamma, the earth



quaouw, thunder; duckatere, a duck; kamma, water; quayha, an ass; naew, the ears; kirri, a stick; nomba, the beard; ka-a to drink; duriesa, an ox; hek-kaa, an ox of burden; ounvie, butter; houteo, a sea dog; bikgua, the head; kamma, a stag; kouquil, a piegon; anthuri, to-morrow; kou, a tooth; khamouna, the devil; kahqua, a horse; koo, a son; kammo, a stream; tika, grass; toqua, a wolf; koanqua, the mouth; khou, a peacock; gona, gois a girl; khoakamma, a baboon; kerhanehou, a star; mu, an eye; tquassouw, a tyger.

The Hottentots have only ten numerical terms, which they repeat twice to express the multiplication of the first term, and three times to express the re-multiplication of the latter. Their terms are: q'kua, one; k'kam, two; kouna, three; kakka, four; koo, five; nanni, six; kounko, seven; khissi, eight; khassi, nine; ghissi, ten.

Thus have we given a circumstantial and full account of the Cape, its inhabitants, productions and adjacent country; from whence the French, at Mauritius, are supplied by the Dutch with salted beef, biscuit, flour, and wine: the provisions for which the French contracted this year were five hundred thousand lb. weight of salt beef, four hundred thousand lb. of flour; four hundred thousand lb. of biscuit, and one thousand two hundred leagers of wine. We have only to add to this account a few observations on the bay, and garrison. The former is large, safe, and exceeding convenient. It is indeed open to the N. W. winds, but they seldom blow hard; yet as they sometimes occasion a great sea, the ships moor. N. E. and S. W. The S. E. winds blow frequently with great fury, but their direction being right out of the bay prevents them from being dangerous. For the convenience of landing and shipping goods, a wharf of wood is run out near the town, to a proper distance. Water is conveyed in pipes to this wharf, and many large boats and hoys are kept by the company to carry stores and provisions to and from the shipping in the harbour. This bay is covered by a small fort on the E. side of the town, and close to the beach; and is also defended

by several outworks and batteries extending along the shore, as well on this side of the town as the other; nevertheless they are by their situation exposed to the shipping, and in a manner defenceless against an enemy of any force by land. As to the garrison, this consists of eight hundred regular troops, besides militia of the country, in which last is comprehended every man able to bear arms. By signals they can alarm the country in a very short time, and when these are made, the militia is to repair immediately to their place of rendezvous in the town.

On Sunday, the 14th of April in the morning, we weighed, stood out of the bay, and anchored at five in the evening under Penguin, or Robin Island. Here we laid all night, and being prevented from sailing by the wind, the Captain dispatched a boat to the Island for a few trifling articles, which we had omitted to take in at the Cape: when our people drew near the shore, they were warned by the Dutch not to land at their peril. At the same time six men, armed with muskets, paraded upon the beach. The commanding officer in the boat did not think it prudent to risk the lives of his men, on account of a few cabages, and therefore returned without them to the ship. To this Island the Dutch at the Cape banish such criminals as are not thought worthy of death, for a certain number of years, according to the nature of their crimes. They are employed as slaves in digging lime-stone, which though scarce upon the continent, is here in great abundance. A Danish ship touched at this Island having been refused assistance at the Cape, and sending her boat on shore, overpowered the guard, and then took as many of the criminals as were necessary to navigate her home; for she had lost great part of her crew by sickness. To this incident we attributed our repulse; concluding that the Dutch to prevent a similar rescue of their prisoners, had ordered their garrison at this place, not to suffer any boat of foreign nations to land the crew, and come ashore.

On Thursday the 25th, we put to sea, and, about four o'clock in the afternoon died our master, Mr. Robert Mollineux a youth of



good parts, but unhappily for his own self-preservation too much addicted to intemperance, a habit we would caution all those who undertake long voyages to avoid, if they have any regard to their personal safety. We now continued our voyage without any other remarkable incident; and on Monday the 29th, we crossed our first meridian, having circumnavigated the globe from E. to W. and consequently lost a day, for which upon correcting our reckoning at Batavia, we made an allowance. On Monday the 1st of May, we came to anchor at break of day, before James's fort in the Island of St. Helena, and as we proposed to refresh here, Mr. Banks employed his time in visiting the most remarkable places, and in surveying every object of notice.

St. Helena is situated in the Atlantic ocean, in six degrees W. longitude, and sixteen S. latitude, almost in the midway between Africa and America, being twelve hundred miles distant from the former, and eighteen hundred from the latter. It was so named by the Portuguese, who discovered it on St. Helen's day. This Island is 36 miles long, 18 broad, and about 61 in circumference. It is the summit of an immense mountain rising out of the sea, and of a depth unfathomable at a small distance round it. It may be discerned at sea, at above twenty leagues distance, and looks like a castle in the middle of the ocean, whose natural walls are of that height, that there is no scaling them. The small valley called Chapel-valley, in a bay on the east side of it, is defended by a battery of forty or fifty great guns, planted even with the water; and the waves dashing perpetually on the shore, make it difficult landing even here. There is also one little creek besides, where two or three men may land at a time; but this is now defended by a battery of five or six guns, and rendered inaccessible. No anchorage is to be found any where about the Island, but at Chapel-valley bay, and as the wind always sets from the S. E. if a ship overshoots the Island ever so little, she cannot recover it again. The seat of volcanoes has been found to be the highest part of the countries in which they are

found. Hecla is the highest hill in Iceland; and the peak of Teneriffe is known to be the covering of subterraneous fire. These are still burning: but there are other mountains which bear evident marks of fire that is now extinct: among these is St. Helena, where the inequalities of the ground, and its external surface, are evidently the effects of the sinking of the earth; and that this was caused by subterraneous fire, is equally manifest from the stones, for some of them, especially those in the bottom of the valleys, are burnt almost to cinders. This Island, as the Endeavour approached it on the windward side, appeared like a rude heap of rocks, bounded by precipices of an amazing height, and consisting of a kind of stone, which shews not the least sign of vegetation: nor is it more promising upon a nearer view. Sailing along shore, we came near the huge cliffs, that seemed to overhang the ship. At length we opened Chapel-valley, which resembles a trench, and in this valley we discovered the town. The sides of it are as naked as the cliffs next the sea; but the bottom is slightly clothed with herbage. In its present cultivated state, such appeared the Island to us; and the first hills must be passed, before the country displays its verdure, or any other marks of fertility.

In Chapel-valley, a little beyond the landing place, is a fort where the governor resides with the garrison; and the town stands just by the sea-side. The greater part of the houses are ill built. The church which was originally a mean structure, is in ruins; and the market-place nearly in the same condition. The town consists of about forty or fifty buildings, constructed after the English fashion, whither the people of the Island resort when any shipping appears, as well to assist in the defence of the Island, as to entertain the seamen if they are friends: for the governor has always sentinels on the highest part of the Island, to the windward, who give notice of the approach of all shipping, and guns are there-upon fired, that every man may resort to his post. It is impossible for an enemy to approach by sea in the night time, and if



discovered the day before, preparations are speedily made for his reception.

Notwithstanding the Island appears a barren rock on every side, yet on the top it is covered with a fine layer of earth, producing grain, fruits, and herbs of various kinds; and the country after we ascended the rock, is diversified with rising hills and plains, plantations of fruit trees, and kitchen gardens, among which the houses of the natives are interspersed, and in the open fields are herds of cattle grazing, some of which are fatted to supply the shipping, and the rest furnish the dairies with milk, butter, and cheese. Hogs, goats, turkeys, and all manner of poultry also abound, and the seas are well stored with fish. But amidst all this affluence, the people have neither bread nor wine of their own growth: for though the soil is proper for wheat, yet the rats that harbour in the rocks, and cannot be destroyed, eat up all the seed, before the grain is well out of the ground; and though their vines flourish and produce them grapes enough, yet the latitude is too hot for making wine. This they have therefore from the Canaries, the Madeiras, or the Cape, as well as their flour and malt. Their very houses are some of them brought from Europe ready framed, there being no timber on the Island, trees not taking deep root here on account of the rock that lies so near the surface: however, they have underwood enough for necessary uses. Besides grapes they have plantains, bananas, figs, lemons, and such other fruits as hot countries usually produce. They also raise kidney beans, and some other kinds of pulse in their gardens; and the want of bread they supply with potatoes and yams.

In the year 1701, there were upon the Island about two hundred families, most of them English, or descended from English parents. Every family has a house and plantation on the higher part of the Island, where they look after their cattle, fruits, and kitchen garden. They scarce ever come down to the town, unless it be to church, or when the shipping arrive, when most of the houses in the valley are con-

verted into punch-houses, or lodgings for their guests, to whom they sell their poultry, and other commodities; but they are not suffered to purchase any merchandise of the ships that touch here. Whatever they want of foreign growth or manufacture, they are obliged to buy at the company's warehouse, where twice every month, they may furnish themselves with brandy, European or Cape wines, Batavia arrack, malt, beer, sugar, tea, coffee, china, and japanware, linen, calicoes, chintz, muslins, ribbands, woollen-cloth and stuffs, and all manner of clothing, for which they are allowed six months credit. Among the very few native productions of this Island must be reckoned ebony, though the trees are now nearly extinct. Pieces of this wood are frequently found in the vallies of a fine black colour, and a hardness almost equal to iron; these pieces, however, are so short and crooked, that no use can be made of them. There are few insects here, but upon the tops of the highest ridges a species of snail is found, which has probably been there since the original creation of their kind. It is indeed very difficult to conceive how any thing not formed here, or brought hither by the diligence of man, could find its way to a place so severed from the rest of the world, by seas of immense extent.

The Portuguese, who discovered this Island in 1502, stored it with hogs, goats and poultry, and used to touch at it for water and fresh provisions in their return from India; but we do not find they ever planted a colony here; or, if they did, having deserted it afterwards, the English East-India Company took possession of the Island A. D. 1600, and held it till 1673, without interruption, when the Dutch took it by surprise. However, the English, commanded by Capt. Munden, recovered it again within the space of a year, and took three Dutch East India ships that lay in the road at the same time. The Hollanders had fortified the landing place, and planted batteries of great guns to prevent a descent; but the English being acquainted with a small creek where only two men could go abreast, climbed up to the top of the rocks in the



might time and appearing next morning at the backs of the Dutch, they threw down their arms, and surrendered the Island without striking a stroke: but as we have before observed, this creek has been since fortified: so that there is now no place where an enemy can make a descent with any probability of success.

The affairs of the East-India Company are managed here by a governor, deputy-governor, and storehouse-keeper who have certain settled salaries allowed, besides a public table, well furnished, to which all commanders, masters of ships, and eminent passengers are welcome. The natives sometimes call the result of their deliberations, severe impositions; and though relief might perhaps be had from the company in England, yet the unavoidable delays in returning answers to addresses at that distance puts the aggrieved under great hardships; and on the other hand, was not the situation of this Island very serviceable to our homeward-bound East-India ships, the constant trouble and expence would induce the company to abandon the Island; for though it is furnished with the conveniencies of life, the merchants find no other profitable commodities there. The masters of the plantations keep a great many blacks, who, upon severe treatment, hide themselves for two or three months together, keeping among the rocks by day, and roving at night for provisions: but they are generally discovered and taken.

The children and descendants of white people have not the least red in their cheeks, in all other places near the tropics; but the natives of St. Helena are remarkable for their ruddy complexions, and robust constitutions. Their healthfulness may, in general, be ascribed to the following causes. They live on the top of a mountain always open to the sea breezes that constantly blow here: they are usually employed in the most healthful exercises of gardening and husbandry; the Island is frequently refreshed with moderate cooling showers; and no noxious fens, nor salt marshes annoy them. They are used also to climb the steep hill between the town in Chapel-valley and

their plantations; which hill is so steep, that having a ladder in the middle of it, they call it Ladder-hill; and this cannot be avoided without going three or four miles about; so that they seldom want air or exercise, the great preservers of health. As to the genius and temper of these people, they seemed to us the most honest, the most inoffensive, and the most hospitable people we ever met with of English extraction, having scarce any tincture of avarice or ambition. We asked some of them, if they had no curiosity to see the rest of the world, and how they could confine themselves to so small a spot of earth, separated at such a distance from the rest of mankind? They replied, that they enjoyed the necessaries of life in great plenty: they were neither parched with excessive heat, or pinched with cold: they lived in perfect security; in no danger of enemies, of robbers, wild beasts, or rigorous seasons; and were happy in the enjoyment of a continued state of health: that as there were no rich men among them (scarce any planter being worth more than a thousand dollars) so there were no poor in the Island, no man being worth less than four hundred dollars, and consequently not obliged to undergo more labour than was necessary to keep him in health.

Our thoughts were now employed on returning to our native shore; and having sufficiently recruited our stores, on Saturday the 4th of May, we weighed, and sailed out of the road in company with the Portland man of war, and his convoy, consisting of twelve sail of East Indiamen. With this fleet we continued our course for England until Friday the 10th, when perceiving they out-sailed us, and consequently might make their port before us, Capt. Cook, for this reason, made the signal to speak with the Portland, upon which Capt. Elliot came on board the Endeavour; to whom a letter for the Admiralty was delivered, with a box, containing the common log books of the ship, and the journals of some of the officers. We did not lose sight of the fleet till Thursday the 23rd, when they parted from us; and about one o'clock in the afternoon we



lost our first lieutenant, Mr. Hicks, an active, skilful, judicious, and useful officer. He died of a consumption, of which lingering disorder he discovered some symptoms when he left England; so that it may be truly said, that he was dying the whole voyage; and his decline was very gradual till we arrived at Batavia, from whence to the time of his dissolution, the slow consuming disease gained strength daily. The whole ship's company attended the funeral rites, and in the evening we committed his body to the sea with the usual ceremonies. The next day the Captain appointed Mr. Charles Clark, a young man, to act in the room of Mr. Hicks.

We now every day drew nearer our desired haven; but what must be the condition of our once good ship, the Endeavour, may easily be imagined, from a slight recollection of the hardships she had surmounted, and the dangers she had providentially escaped. At this time our rigging and sails were so weather-beaten, that every day something was giving way. However, we held on our course, without any material occurrence that might endanger our safety, till Monday the 10th of June, when, to our great joy, Nicholas Young, the boy who first discovered New Zealand, called out land from the mast head, which proved to be the Lizard. The next day, being Tuesday, the eleventh, we proceeded up the channel. On Wednesday the 12th, with the pleasing hopes of seeing our relatives and friends, exciting sensations not to be described by the pen of the most able writer, we passed Beachy Head. At noon, to our inexpressible joy we were a breast of Dover; and about three o'clock, P. M. we came to an anchor in the Downs. When we landed at Deal, our ship's company indulged freely that mirth, and sociable jollity, common to all English sailors upon their return from a long voyage, who as readily forget hardships and dangers, as with alacrity and bravery they encounter them.

We cannot close this book without joining in that general censure, which has been justly bestowed on Dr. Hawkesworth the

late compiler of a former account of this voyage of the Endeavour. An infidel may imbibe what deistical chimeras may be best adapted to the gloomy temper of his mind; but we cannot but think him highly culpable in forcing them into a work of this kind, for though it may be said, that, with respect to efficient and final causes, the opinion of a general and particular Providence will form one and the same conclusion, yet we think it is of great comfort to all men, particularly to those who can trace the wonders of an almighty hand in the deep, to be sensible of a merciful interposition, concerned, and ever attentive to their support, preservation, and deliverance in times of danger. Besides, this sentiment of a divine Agent superintending, and correcting the disorders introduced by natural and moral evil, is undoubtedly a scripture doctrine; and from the deductions of the mere light of nature, it must appear unreasonable to suppose, that the first Great Cause who planned the whole grand scheme of creation, should not be allowed to interfere with respect to particular parts, or individuals, as occasion, circumstances, or times may require. And whoever has duly considered the wonderful protection of the Endeavour in cases of danger the most imminent, particularly when encircled in the wide ocean, with rocks of coral, her sheathing beaten off, and her false keel floating by her side, a hole in her bottom, and the men by turns fainting at the pumps, cannot but acknowledge the existence of a particular Providence. The history of Joseph can only afford a more striking instance of the interposition of a divine invisible hand. This our countrymen experienced; and we have good authority to assert, that our company in the Endeavour do acknowledge, notwithstanding the private opinion of the above mentioned compiler, that the hand of Superior Power was particularly concerned in their protection and deliverance. This omniscient and omnipotent power, it is the incumbent duty of every christian to believe, confide in, and adore.



# SECOND VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD,

IN HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS

## THE RESOLUTION, AND ADVENTURE.

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### INTRODUCTION.

**T**HE king's expectations where not wholly answered by former discoveries, which were so highly blazoned both at home and abroad, and therefore his majesty projected this second Voyage of Capt. Cook, and the Navy-board was ordered to equip two such ships as were most suitable to the service. Accordingly two vessels were purchased of Capt. William Hammond, of Hull, being about fourteen or sixteen months old. They were both built at Whitby, by the same person who built the Endeavour. The largest of the two, named the Resolution, burthen four hundred and sixty two tons, was sent to Deptford to be fitted out; and the Adventure, three hundred and thirty six tons, was equipped at Woolwich. On the 28th of November, 1771, Capt. Cook was appointed to the command of the Resolution; and Tobias Furneaux, who had been second lieutenant with Capt. Wallis, was promoted to the command of the Adventure. The Resolution had one hundred and twelve hands on board, officers included; and the Adventure eighty one. In the former, James Cook was Captain, Robert P. Cooper, Charles Clark, and Richard Pickersgill, were appointed lieutenants. Joseph Gilbert was master; James Grey, boatswain; James Wallis, carpenter;

Robert Anderson, gunner; and James Patteu, surgeon. John Edgcumbe was lieutenant of the marines, under whom were one serjeant, two corporals, one drummer and fifteen privates. The rest of the crew consisted of three master's mates, six midshipmen, two surgeon's mates, one captain's clerk, one master at arms, one corporal, one armourer, his mate, one sail-maker, his mate, three boatswain's mates, carpenter's three, gunner's two, four carpenter's crew, one cook, his mate, six quarter masters, and forty-five able seamen. In the Adventure, Tobias Furneaux was captain, Joseph Shank, and Arthur Kempe, lieutenants; Peter Fannin was appointed master, Edward Johns boatswain, William Offard carpenter, Andrew Gloag gunner, Thomas Andrews surgeon: of master's mates, midshipmen, &c. as above, the number was twenty-eight, and thirty-three able bodied seamen. James Scott was lieutenant of the marines, under whose command were one serjeant, one corporal, one drummer, and eight privates.

The two ships were ordered to be got in readiness with the utmost expedition, and both the Navy and Victualling boards paid an uncommon attention to their equipment; even the first lord of the Admiralty visited



them from time to time; in consequence of which they were not restrained by ordinary establishments, every extra article thought necessary being allowed, in order that they might be fitted completely, and in every respect to the satisfaction of those who were to embark in them. Indeed, Capt. Cook sailed with greater advantages in this expedition, than any of his predecessors who had gone out before on discoveries; and we may venture to say, no future commander will ever have a commission of a more liberal kind, nor be furnished with a greater profusion of the very best stores and provisions. He had the frame of a vessel of twenty tons, one for each ship, to serve occasionally, or upon any emergency, as tenders: he had on board fishing-nets, lines and hooks of every kind; he was supplied with innumerable articles of small value, adapted to the commerce of the tropical Islands: he had on board additional clothing for the seamen, particularly suited to a cold climate, to all which were added the best instruments for astronomical and nautical observations; in which were included four time-pieces on Mr. Harrison's principles, constructed by Messrs. Arnold and Kendal. And that nothing might be wanting to procure information, and that could tend to the success of the voyage, a landscape painter, Mr. William Hodges, was engaged for this important undertaking, accompanied by Mr. (now Dr) John Reinhold Foster and Son, who were thought the most proper persons for the line of Natural History, to which they were appointed with parliamentary encouragement. Mr. William Wales, and Mr. William Baily, were likewise engaged to make astronomical observations; the former being placed by the board of longitude, in the *Resolution*, and Mr. Bailey in the *Adventure*. Nor must we omit to mention the number of medals struck by order of the Lords of the Admiralty, and intended to be left both as presents and testimonies in new discovered countries.

The two ships were victualled and provided with all manner of necessaries for a three years' voyage; among which were the following extra articles: 1. Malt, for sweet

wort, designed for those whose habit of body might engender the scurvy, and as a remedy for such who might be afflicted with that disorder. The quantity prescribed for each patient, from one to six pints a day, at the discretion of the surgeon. 2. Sour kroust, of which each seaman was to be allowed two pounds a week. This is cabbage salted down, and close packed in casks, after having been properly fermented. It is esteemed by our navigators an excellent antiscorbutic. 3. Cabbage cut small and salted down, to which is added juniper berries, and anniseeds, which are likewise put to the sour kroust. 4. Portable soup, very nourishing, and of great utility both for invalids, and those that are in good health. 5. Oranges, rob of lemons, and saloup, for the use of the surgeons, to be administered to the sick and scorbutic only. 6. Marmalade of Carrots, recommended by Baron Storch of Berlin, as a very great antiscorbutic; but it did not as such answer our expectation. This syrup is extracted from yellow carrots, by evaporating the finer parts, till it is brought to a consistence of treacle, which it much resembles both in taste and colour. 7. Juice of wort and beer, inspissated as the foregoing article, and intended to supply at times the place of beer, by mixing it with water. For this we were indebted to Mr. Pelham, Secretary of the Victualling office; the commissioners of which ordered thirty-one half barrels of this juice to be prepared for trial; nineteen whereof were stowed in the *Resolution*, and twelve on board the *Adventure*. Thus all the conveniences necessary for the preservation of health during a long voyage, were provided in abundance; and even some alterations were made in the customary articles of provisions; wheat being substituted in the room of a quantity of oatmeal, and sugar instead of oil.

A proposed voyage attended with such extraordinary preparations, patronized by parliament, as well as royal bounty, and the execution of which being superintended by the first officers of the admiralty, the navy, and by Capt. Cook himself, we do not hesitate to pronounce one of the most



important that was ever performed in any age, or by any country; and we may also with truth assert, that the able navigator made choice of by his majesty, was equal to the task on which he was embarked. Every thinking person cannot but admire his skill, his fortitude, his care of his men, his vigilance in attending to the minutest intimations of former navigators, his perseve-

rance amidst the dangers and hardships of rigorous seasons, his prowess in leading his company just so far as they were capable of proceeding; in short, his conduct throughout, which while he kept every man singly in strict obedience to his duty, he conciliated the affections of all, and secured their esteem.

## CHAP. I.

*The Resolution takes her departure from Deptford; Touches at the Island of St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verdes; Pursues her voyage to the Cape of Good Hope; Account of transactions there, and incidents that happened in her passage; Her departure from the Cape; Continues her voyage in search of a Southern Continent; Sequel of this search, between the meridian of the Cape of Good Hope, and that of New Zealand; Separation of the two ships, and the arrival of the Resolution in Dusky Bay.*

**T**HE Resolution and Adventure being equipped in the most complete manner, as already related, the former on the 9th of April, dropped down the river as far as Woolwich, at which place she was detained by contrary winds; but on the 22nd, sailed from thence to Long Reach, where she was joined by her companion the Adventure and both ships took in their marines, guns, and ammunition. May the 10th, we sailed for Plymouth, but before we got out of the river, the Resolution was found to be very crank, on which account we put into Sheerness. While some alterations were making in her upper works, Lord Sandwich and Sir Hugh Palliser paid us a visit, in order to see they were executed in a proper manner. The Resolution being again ready for sea, we departed from Sheerness. On the 2nd of July we met Lord Sandwich, in the Augusta Yacht, whom we saluted with seventeen guns, and his lordship, accompanied with Sir Hugh Palliser, honoured us with their presence on board, which was the last instance of that very great attention they had paid to a variety of particulars that might tend to promote the success of our undertaking.

About this time Capt. Cook received from the board of Admiralty his instructions, dated the 25th of June, the tenor and substance of which were, that the Adventure was to be under his command: that the two ships were to proceed to the Island of Madeira, from thence to the Cape of Good Hope: that having at this place refreshed the ships' companies, and supplied them with provisions and other necessaries, they were to make the best of their way to the southward, in search of Cape Circumcision, which by M. Bouvet, is said to be in latitude 54 deg. S. and in about 11 deg. 20 min. E. longitude, from the Royal Observatory in the Park at Greenwich; that if they fell in with this Cape, Capt. Cook was to endeavour, by all means in his power, to discover whether the same was part of the supposed continent, which had so much employed the national attention of different European powers, or only the promontory of an Island: that in either case, the gentlemen on board the two ships were diligently to explore the same, to the utmost extent possible; and to make such observations of various kinds, as might correspond with the grand object in view, and be



in any respect useful to either navigation or commerce; not omitting at the same time proper remarks on the genius and temper of the inhabitants; whose friendship and alliance they were directed to conciliate, by all probable motives, and prудential means in their power: that they were to proceed on new discoveries to the eastward or westward, as the captains might judge most eligible, endeavouring only to run into as high a latitude, and as near the south pole as possible: that whatever might be the result of their investigations with respect to Cape Circumcision, they were to continue their surveys to the southward, and then to the eastward, either in search of the said continent, should it not have been ascertained, or to make discoveries of such Islands as might be seated in the hitherto unexplored and unknown parts of the southern latitudes: that, having circumnavigated the globe, they were to return to Spithead by the way of the Cape of Good Hope: and that to answer the intentions of government in this voyage as fully as possible, when the season of the year rendered it unsafe to continue in high latitudes, they were to repair to some known port to the northward; and after having refitted, &c. they were to return again, at the proper season to the southward, in prosecution of new discoveries there. It may not be amiss here to observe, that these orders were not intended in any respect to cramp Capt. Cook, who was allowed, in case the Resolution should be lost, to continue his voyage in the Adventure: he had to this end assistants out of number: his stay was not even hinted at: he was not obliged to return at any limited time; in short he had ample power, full authority, and, in all unforeseen cases, he was to proceed according to his own discretion, and act entirely as he pleased. We beg leave further to observe, that in the history of this voyage, Greenwich is made our first meridian, and from hence the longitude is reckoned E. and W. to 180 deg. each way. And our readers will also take notice, that whenever the initial letters, A. M. and P. M. of ante-meridianum, and

post-meridianum, are used, the former signifies the forenoon, and the latter the afternoon of the same day.

A copy of the above instructions we transmitted to Captain Furneaux, inclosed with Capt. Cook's orders, in which he appointed, should the two ships be separated, the Island of Madeira for the first place of rendezvous; Port Praya for the second; the Cape of Good Hope for the third; and New Zealand for the fourth.

While we remained at Plymouth, our astronomers, Mr. Wales, and Mr. Bayley made observations on Drake's Island; when the latitude was found to be 50 deg. 21 min. 30 sec. N. and the longitude 4 deg. 20 min. W. of Greenwich; whereby the true time for putting the time-pieces and watches in motion was ascertained. This was done on the 13th, of July, and they were set a going, in the presence of the two astronomers, Capt. Furneaux, Capt. Cook, and the two first lieutenants of the ships. These had each of them keys of the boxes which contained the watches, and were always to be present at the winding them up, and comparing the one with the other, unless prevented by indisposition. This day, the ships' crews according to the custom of the navy, received two months' wages in advance. As a further encouragement, and that they might provide necessaries for the voyage, they were likewise paid the wages due to them to the 28th, of the preceeding May.

On Sunday the 12th, of July, the Resolution broke from her moorings in the Sound, and was adrift together with the transport buoy to which she was fastened. All hands were on deck instantly, the cables were cleared, and the sails spread. We passed the Adventure, and came to an anchor, after having escaped the very apparent danger of being dashed against the rocks which are under the fort. This favourable event was looked upon by our seamen as an omen to the success of the voyage. It was undoubtedly an instance of the care of Divine Providence exerted for our protection in so critical a moment. Indeed the whole of our voyage, equally with this circumstance



demonstrates, that a divine power was absolutely necessary to protect us in times of danger, and to give us a safe return.

On Monday the 13th, at six o'clock, A. M. the two ships sailed from Plymouth Sound, in company, and passed the Eddystone, which is a lofty, well contrived tower, of the utmost advantage to navigation and commerce. As we stood off shore, the wind increased, and the billows rolled higher and higher. Most of the seamen both old and young were affected with sickness. On the 20th, we fell in with Cape Ortegal on the coast of Galicia. The country appears hilly, and the tops of the hills are covered with wood. The sea now grew perfectly calm, and the prospect which surrounded us was very delightful. When in sight of Cape Finisterre, bearing W. S. W. seven or eight leagues, we were met by a small French Tartan from Marseilles, freighted with flour from Ferrol and Coruna. We obtained from them a small supply of fresh water, which we much wanted, having been obliged to subsist on bread and our wine. On the 22nd, in the afternoon, we passed two Spanish men of war, one of which fired a shot at the Adventure to bring her to; but on hailing her, and being told we were king's ships, made a proper apology, and very politely took leave, wishing us a good voyage. On Wednesday, the 29th, about nine at night, we anchored in Funchiale road, in the Island of Madeira. After having saluted the garrison with eleven guns, and they had returned the compliment, we went on shore, accompanied by the two Forsters, and were conducted by Mr. Sills, a gentleman from the vice-consul, to the house of Mr. Loughnans, a considerable English merchant, who assisted us with every accommodation the Island and his house afforded, during our stay. Here the officers and private men furnished themselves with such stocks of wine as they could conveniently purchase.

The Madeira, or Madera Islands are only three in number; namely, Madeira properly so called; the Island of Puerto, or Porto Santo; and Isla Deserta, or the Desolate Isle. They are situated to the N. of the

Salvages, and in the Atlantic ocean, between thirty-two and thirty-three deg. and seventeen and eighteen deg. W. longitude, two hundred and fifty miles N. by E. from Teneriffe, three hundred and sixty from Cape Cantin on the coast of Africa, and three hundred N. of the Island of Farro. They were thus named from the principal of them, which was called by the Portuguese Madeira, signifying a wood or forest, from its being overgrown with trees. They were first discovered by an English gentleman, and many years after by the Portuguese; and as there is something extremely singular in both these occurrences, but more particularly the first, we shall, for the entertainment of our readers relate the circumstances attending it.

In the reign of Edward III. king of England, a young gentleman, named Robert Machin, conceived a violent passion for Ann D' Arfet, a beautiful and accomplished lady of a noble family. Machin, with respect to birth and fortune, was inferior to the lady; but his personal qualifications overcame every scruple on that account, and she rewarded his attachment with a reciprocal affection. Her friends, however beheld the young gentleman in a different light; they fancied their blood would be contaminated by an alliance with one of a lower rank, and therefore determined to sacrifice the happiness of the young lady, to the hereditary pride of blood, and their own mercenary and interested motives. In consequence of these ideas, a warrant was procured from the king, under the sanction of which, Machin was apprehended, and kept in close confinement, till the object of his affections was married to a nobleman, whose chief merit lay in his honorary title and large possessions; and immediately after the nuptial ceremony was over, the peer, took his beautiful bride with him to a strong castle which he had in the neighbourhood of Bristol, and then the unfortunate lover was set at liberty.

After being released from his cruel confinement, Machin was acquainted that his mistress had been compelled to give her hand to another. This rendered him almost



frantic, and he vowed to revenge the violence done to the lady, and the injury which he himself had sustained; and with this view, imparted his design to some of his friends and companions, who engaged to accompany him to Bristol, and assist him in whatever enterprise he undertook. Accordingly one of his comrades contrived to get himself hired by the nobleman as a servant, and by that means being introduced into the family, he soon found an opportunity to let the lady know the sentiments and intentions of her lover; when she fully entered into all his projects, and promised to comply with whatever he should propose. To facilitate their designs, the lady appeared more cheerful than usual, which lulled asleep every suspicion that her lord might otherwise have entertained; she also entreated permission to ride out daily to take the air for the benefit of her health, which request her consort easily granted. This point being gained, she did not fail to take advantage of it, by riding out every morning accompanied by one servant only, which was her lover's companion, he having been previously pitched upon always to attend her by her own contrivance.

Matters being thus prepared, she one day rode out as usual, when her attendant conducted her to his friend, who waited at the sea side to receive her. They all three immediately entered a boat, and soon reached a ship that lay at some distance ready to receive them on board: and Machin, having the object of his wishes on board, immediately, with the assistance of his associates, set sail, intending to proceed to France; but all on board being ignorant of maritime affairs, and the wind blowing a hard gale, they missed their port, and the next morning, to their astonishment, found themselves driven into the main ocean. In this miserable condition, they abandoned themselves to despair, and committed their fates to the mercy of the waves. Without a pilot, almost destitute of provisions, and quite devoid of hope, they were tossed about for the space of thirteen days. At length, when the morning of the fourteenth day began to dawn, they fancied they could descry

something very near them, that had the appearance of land; and when the sun rose, to their great joy they could distinctly perceive it was such. Their pleasure however, was in some measure lessened by the reflection, that it was a strange country; for they plainly perceived it was covered with a variety of trees, whose nature and appearance they had not the least knowledge of. Soon after this, some of them landed from the sloop, in order to make their observations on the country; when, returning soon after to the ship, they highly commended the place, but at the same time believed there were no inhabitants in it.

The lover and his mistress, with some of his friends, then landed, leaving the rest to take care of the ship. The country appeared beautifully diversified with hills and dales, shaded with various trees, and watered by many clear meandering streams. The most beautiful birds of different species perched upon their heads, arms, and hands, unapprehensive of danger; and several kinds of wild beasts approached, without offering any violence to them. After having penetrated through several woody recesses, they entered a fine meadow admirably encircled with a border of laurels, finely enamelled with various flowers, and happily watered with a meandering crystal rivulet. Upon an eminence in the midst of this meadow, they saw a lofty spreading tree, the beauty of which invited them to repose under its shade, and partake of the shelter it would afford them from the piercing rays of the sun. They at length attempted to make a temporary residence beneath this tree; and providing themselves with boughs from the neighbouring woods, they built several small huts, or arbours. They passed their time very agreeably in this place, from whence they made frequent excursions into the neighbouring country, admiring its strange productions and various beauties. Their happiness, however, was of no very long continuance; for one night a terrible storm arose from the N. E. which tore the ship from her anchor, and drove her to sea. The crew were obliged to submit to the



mercy of the elements, when they were driven to the coast of Morocco, where the ship being stranded, the whole crew were made captives by the Moors.

Machin and his companions, having missed the ship the next morning, they concluded she had foundered, and was gone to the bottom. This new calamity plunged them into the deepest melancholy, and so greatly affected the lady, that she could not support herself under it. She had indeed before continually fed her grief, by sad presages of the enterprise's ending in some fatal catastrophe to all concerned; but the shock of the late disaster struck her dumb; so that she expired in three days afterwards, in the most bitter agonies. The death of the lady affected Machin to such a degree, that he survived her but four days, notwithstanding the utmost endeavours of his companions to afford him consolation. Previous to his death, he begged them to place his body in the same grave with her's which they had made at the foot of an altar, erected under the beautiful lofty tree before mentioned. They afterwards placed upon it a large wooden cross; and near that an inscription, drawn up by Machin himself, containing a succinct account of the whole adventure; and concluded with a request, that if any Christians should come thither to settle, that they would build and dedicate a church to Jesus Christ upon that spot. The remaining companions of Machin, after his death, determined to attempt returning to England in the sloop, which had been so well secured near the shore, as not to be in the least damaged by the storm which had driven away the ship. But, happening to take the same course the others had been forced upon, they unfortunately arrived in like manner upon some part of the coast of Morocco, where they met with exactly the same fate, being seized in a similar manner and carried to the same prison. Here they met with several other Christian slaves, besides their own companions; particularly one John de Morales, a Spaniard of Seville. This man was an excellent sailor, and took a peculiar delight in hearing the English captives rehearse their adventures, by which

means he learnt the situation and particular marks of this new discovered country, which he took care to retain in his memory.

In process of time, John I. king of Portugal, having entered into a war with the Moors, passed over into Africa with a formidable army; and in the year 1415 laid siege to and took Ceuta. In this expedition, he was accompanied by his sons, one of whom, prince Henry, took great delight in the study of the mathematicæ, particularly geography and navigation. Upon this occasion, they had a great opportunity of conversing with the Moors and African Jews; and informing himself, by their means, of the situation of several foreign countries, the seas about them, their coasts, &c. Hence grew an insatiable thirst for making new conquests; and from this time he was determined to devote his attention to the discovery of unknown countries. In consequence of which resolution, he retired, after the reduction of Ceuta, to the Algarves, where he found a new town within a league of Cape St. Vincent, erected a fort to defend it, and determined to send out ships from thence upon discoveries. The person he intended to employ as chief commander, upon these occasions, was a gentleman of extraordinary abilities, named Juan Gonsalvo Zarco, who became famous not only for his maritime discoveries, but for being the first person who introduced the use of artillery on board ships. In 1418 he discovered Puerto Santo, one of the Madeiras; and in 1420 he passed the straits, and surveyed a considerable extent of the coast of Africa. In the mean time, a Spanish prince dying, left by his will a large sum of money for the purpose of redeeming Spanish Christians, who were kept as slaves in Morocco. Terms being agreed upon between the emperor of Morocco and the commissioners, for the redemption of those captives, a Spanish ship was sent to Morocco to fetch home the redeemed Christians, among whom was John de Morales before mentioned. On the return of this ship to Spain, it happened to fall in with the squadron commanded by Juan Gonsalvo Zarco, who was as we have just noticed, then passing the



straits to make observations on the coast of Africa. Spain and Portugal being at this time at war, Juan Gonsalvo Zarco made prize of the Spanish ship; but finding it contained only redeemed captives, he was touched with compassion at the miseries they had already suffered during their slavery, and generously dismissed them, taking out only John de Morales, whom he found to be a very intelligent person, an able sailor, and an expert pilot.

When Morales was informed of the reason of his detention, and the discoveries that the Portuguese were upon, he was mightily rejoiced, and offered voluntarily to enter into the service of prince Henry. He then told the Portuguese commander of the Island which had been lately discovered by the English, related the story of the two unfortunate lovers, and every other circumstance, which, during his captivity, he had heard from Machin's companions. Gonsalvo was so delighted with his relation, that he tacked about, and returned to the new town which prince Henry had built, called Terra Nabal. On his arrival, he introduced Morales to the prince, when the Spaniard again repeated all that he had before told to Juan Gonsalvo. The prince thought this worthy of becoming a national affair; and therefore, communicating the whole to the king his father, and the Portuguese ministry, they determined to pursue the discovery; and for that purpose fitted out a good ship, well manned and provided, and a sloop to go with oars, when occasion required: and Juan Gonsalvo was appointed to the whole command. Some Portuguese, on the discovery of Puerto Santo a short time before, had been left by Gonsalvo on that Island; and judging by the account of Morales, concerning the situation of the Island they were in quest of, that it could not be far from Puerto Santo, he determined to sail thither; where when he arrived, the Portuguese whom he had left behind, informed him, that they had observed to the north-east a thick impenetrable darkness, which constantly hung upon the sea, and extended itself upward to the heavens. That they never knew it to be diminished;

but a strange noise, which they could not account for, was often heard from thence.

John de Morales appeared to be convinced that this was the Island they were in search of; and Juan Gonsalvo was inclined to coincide with him; but all the rest were terrified at the accounts they had heard. It was therefore concluded to remain at Puerto Santo till the change of the moon, to see what effect that would have upon the shade, or whether the noise would cease. But perceiving no alteration of any kind, the panic increased among the generality of the adventurers. Morales however, stood firm to his opinion of that being the Island they were looking for; and very sensibly observed, that, according to the accounts he had received from the English, the ground was covered over with lofty shady trees; it was no wonder, therefore, that it should be exceeding damp, and that the humid vapours might exhale from it by the power of the sun, which spreading themselves to the sky, occasioned the dark clouds they saw; and with respect to the noise, that might be occasioned by certain currents dashing against the rocks on the coast of the Island.

Notwithstanding these obstacles, Juan Gonsalvo determined to proceed; and, setting sail the next day, he at length made land; and the fear of those who had been all along terrified now vanished. The first point they saw, they named St. Lawrence's Point: doubling this, they found to the southward, rising land, whither Morales and others were sent in a sloop to reconnoitre the coast; and came to a bay which seemed to answer the description given by the English. Here they landed; and finding the cross and inscription over the grave of the two lovers, they returned to Juan Gonsalvo with an account of their success; whereupon he immediately landed, and took possession of the place, in the name of John I. king of Portugal, and prince Henry his son. Having built an altar near the grave, they searched about the Island in order to discover if it contained any cattle; but not finding any, they coasted westward, till they came to a place where four fine rivers ran into the sea, of the waters of



which Juan Gonsalvo filled some bottles, to carry as a present to prince Henry. Proceeding farther, they came to a fine valley, which was intersected by a beautiful river, and after that to a pleasant spot covered with trees, some of which being fallen down, Juan Gonsalvo ordered a cross to be erected of the timber, and called the place Santa Cruz, or Holy Cross. After this they began to look out for a place proper to fix their residence in while they stayed: and at length found a fine tract of land, not so woody as the rest of the country, but covered over with fennel, which, in the Portuguese language, is called Funcho; from thence the town of Funchal, or Funchiale, took its name which was afterwards built on the same spot.

Juan Gonsalvo, after having viewed other parts of the Island, and finding daily cause for new admiration of the beauties continually discovered, returned to Portugal and arrived at Lisbon in the end of August 1420, without having lost a single man in the whole enterprise: and a day of audience being appointed for him to make his report of his voyage, the king gave the name of Madeira to the new discovered Island, on account of the great quantity of excellent wood found upon it. Soon after an order was made for Juan Gonsalvo to return to Madeira in the ensuing spring, with the title of captain governor of Madeira, to which title the heir of his family at present adds that of count. He accordingly set sail on his second voyage in May 1421, taking with him the greatest part of his family, and arriving at Madeira he cast anchor in the road, till then called the English Port; but Gonsalvo, in honour of the first discoverer, then called it Puerto de Machino, from which name it was corrupted to Machico, which it now bears. He then ordered the large spreading beautiful tree before mentioned (under which Machin and his companions had taken up their residence) to be cut down, and a small church to be erected with the timber; which, agreeable to Machin's request, he dedicated to Jesus Christ, and intersected the pavement of the choir with the bones of the two unfortunate lovers.

He soon after laid the foundation of the town of Funchal, which afterwards became famous; and the altar of the new wooden church was dedicated to St. Catharine, by his wife Constantia, who was with him.

John I. king of Portugal, dying, his eldest son and successor Duarte, in consideration of the great sums of money expended in peopling this Island, by prince Henry, his brother gave him the revenues of it for life. He likewise gave the spiritualities of it to the order of Christ, which endowment Alonza XV. afterwards confirmed:

The Island of Madeira, properly so called, is composed of one continued hill of a wonderful height, extending from east to west; the declivity of which, on the south side, is cultivated and interspersed with vineyards; and in the midst of this slope, the merchants have fixed their country seats, which help to render the prospect very agreeable. The air is more moderate than that in the Canary Islands, and the soil more fertile in corn, wine, sugar and fruits. Fine springs abound almost in every part, besides which there are eight good rivers. The great plenty of water first suggested the hint to prince Henry of sending sugar canes to Madeira from Italy, which greatly improved through the increase of heat, and produced more than in their native soil.

This Island affords plenty of citrons, bananas, peaches, apricots, plumbs, cherries, figs and walnuts; with oranges of all sorts, and lemons of a prodigious size. Fruit-trees from Europe thrive here in perfection; and the natives are said to make the best sweetmeats of any in the world, and particularly greatly excel in preserving citrons and oranges, and in making marmalade and perfumed pastes, which greatly excel those of Genoa. The sugar made here is very fine, and has the smell of violets; this, indeed, is said to be the first place in the West where this manufacture was set on foot, and from thence was carried to America: but afterwards the sugar plantations at Brazil prospering extremely, the greatest part of the sugar-canes in this Island were pulled up, and vineyards planted in their stead, that produce excellent wines, which



the author of Lord Anson's voyage observes, seems to be designed by Providence to exhilarate and comfort the inhabitants of the torrid zone. The cedar-tree here is very straight, tall, and thick, and has a rich scent. The wood of the nasso tree is of a red rose colour; here are also the mastic and gum-dragon trees; and besides fruit-trees there are a variety of other trees, which are common both to Europe and Africa. The everlasting-flower is a great curiosity; for when it is plucked it cannot be perceived to fade; it grows like sage, flowers like camomile, and always appears fresh and blooming. Vines are in abundance; and from the grapes which they produce, a vast quantity of the most delicious wines are made. Indeed the soil is so well adapted for the cultivation of vines, that the grapes exceed the leaves in number, and some of the bunches are sixteen or eighteen inches in length. Here are several sorts of these wines; one is of the colour of champagne, but is not much valued: another sort is a white wine, much stronger than the former. A third sort is excellent, and resembles malmsey, it being of the same nature with that which grows in Teneriffe: and another resembles Alicant wine, but is much inferior to it in taste, and is never drank alone, but mixed with the other sorts, to which it gives a colour and strength to keep. It is observable of the Madeira wines, that they are greatly improved by the heat of the sun, when exposed to it in the barrel, after the bung is taken out. In the whole Island they annually make about twenty-eight thousand pipes, eight thousand of which are drank there, and the rest exported, the greatest part being sent to the West-Indies. The wines that are brought directly to England, are not equal in goodness to such as are first carried to the West-Indies; and their flavour is exceedingly heightened, if they remain some time in Barbadoes. The product of each vineyard is usually divided equally between the proprietor, and the person who gathers and presses the grapes; it commonly happens, however, that while the merchant is rich, the gatherer is poor. The people here trade among themselves, or barter.

The principal town in the whole Island is Funchal, or Funchiale, and is seated in the south part of the Island at the bottom of a large bay, in latitude 32 deg. 33 min. 34 sec. N. and in 17 deg. 12 min. W. longitude. We deduced the longitude from lunar observations, and Mr. Wales reduced the same for the town by Mr Kendal's watch, which makes the longitude of Funchiale, 17 deg. 10 min. 14 sec. W. Towards the sea it is fortified by a high wall, with a battery of cannon, besides a castle on the Loo, which is a rock standing in the water at a small distance from the shore. This town is the only place of trade, and indeed the only place where it is possible for a boat to land: and even here the beach is covered with large stones, and a violent surf continually beats upon it. The only good time for landing is before the sea-breeze comes on. The town is very populous, but the majority of the inhabitants are not natural born Portuguese; for a great number of English and French Roman catholics settled there, who live after the Portuguese manner; some English protestants, and a prodigious number of negroes and mulattoes, both free-men and slaves. The streets are straight, and drawn by a line, and their houses are pretty well built; their churches are well built beautiful structures, enriched with gilding, fine pictures, and plate, and people are said to meet in them upon business that has little relation to devotion.

Those women who have no domestic chapels, never go to church but on Sundays and holidays; when, if there be several daughters, they walk two and two before the mother, each having a large thin vail over her face: but their breasts and shoulders are quite bare. By their side walks a venerable old man, with a string of beads in his hand, and armed with a sword and dagger. This town is the see of a bishop, who has the whole Island under his spiritual jurisdiction, and is suffragan to the archbishop of Lisbon. The governor of the Island also resides here.

In the Island are two other towns; one called Manchico, which has a church named Santa Cruz, or the Holy Cross and a



convent of Bernardine-friars; the other town is named Moncerito. In short, the Island lately contained thirty-six parishes; a college, and a monastery of jesuits, five other monasteries, eighty-two hermitages, and five hospitals. There are several fine seats and castles about the country, in which the merechants chiefly reside.

The ordinary food of the poorer people, in the time of vintage, is little else than bread and rich grapes; and were it not for their abstemiousness, fevers in the hot seasons would be frequent; therefore even the rich, in the hot months are very moderate in their diet and drinking. The generality of the people affect great gravity in their deportment, and usually dress in black; but they cannot dispense with the spado and dagger, which even servants wear; so that you may see a footman waiting at table with a sword at least a yard long, and a great basket hilt to it. The houses in general are plain, as the inhabitants put themselves at no great expence in furnishing them. The windows are secured by wooden shutters at night, and instead of being glazed, are latticed. With respect to their marriages, affection is never considered, the principal inquiries are into family descent and circumstances; the women are prohibited from marrying Englishmen, unless the latter consent to embrace the Roman catholic religion. Murders are very frequent, on account of the great numbers of places deemed sanctuaries, and the ease with which a murderer can thereby screen himself from justice. But if the criminal is taken before he can reach the sanctuary, the punishment is only either banishment or imprisonment, both which, by a pecuniary composition, may be evaded.

Here are a great number of clergy, who are generally rich; but none who are descended from Moors or Jews are admitted to take orders. The churches are made repositories for the dead, and the corpse is curiously dressed and adorned: yet in the interment, store of lime is used, in order to consume the body as speedily as possible, which usually happens in a fortnight: so that there is then room for another corpse. The bodies of protestants are not allowed

to be buried, but must be thrown into the sea; nevertheless they are permitted to be interred in consecrated ground, provided a handsome sum of money is paid to the clergy.

Puerto Santo is generally termed one of the Madeira Islands, and lies to the north-east of Madeira, in 32 deg. 30 min. N. latitude, and in 16 deg. 5 min. W. longitude from London, and is only about 15 miles in circumference. It was discovered in the year 1412, by two Portuguese gentlemen, one of whom was Don Juan Gonsalvo, sent by prince Henry, son to John I. king of Portugal, to double Cape Bajador, in order to make farther discoveries; but being surprised by a violent storm, were driven out to sea, and, when they gave themselves over for lost, had the happiness to find this Island, which proving a safe asylum to them, they called it Puerto Santo, or the Holy Port.

This Island produces wheat and other corn, just sufficient for the support of the inhabitants: here also are plenty of oxen, wild hogs, and a vast number of rabbits. There are trees which produce the gum called dragon's blood, and likewise a little honey and wax, which are extremely good. It has properly no harbour, but there is good mooring in the road which affords a convenient retreat for ships going to Africa, or coming from the Indies; so that merchantmen often stop there, which affords considerable profit to the inhabitants, who are descended from the Portuguese, to whom the Island is subject. The inhabitants are all Roman catholics, being under the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishop of Funchal in Madeira. They would live a very quiet life, were it not for the pirates, who often pay them troublesome visits. In the year 1617, they landed here, and carried off six hundred and sixty-three prisoners, besides plundering the place.

There is a little Island called the Desart, which produces only orchilla-weed, and some goats are on it: it lies on the east-side of Madeira, at about six leagues distance.

On Saturday the 1st of August, having stowed on board a supply of water, wine,



and other necessities, we set sail, lost sight of Madeira, and stood to the southward, with a gentle gale at N. E. On Tuesday the 4th, we saw the pleasant Island of Palma, bearing S. S. W. distant about three or four leagues. This is one of the Canary Isles. It may be seen, on account of its height, twelve or fourteen leagues at sea, and lies in latitude 28 deg. 38 min. N. and in 17 deg. 58 min. W. longitude. On Wednesday, the 5th, we passed the Isle of Ferro, at the distance of fourteen leagues.

The Island of Palma lies about fifty miles to the W. of Teneriffe, and two hundred W. of the continent of Africa. It is about thirty miles long, twenty broad, and seventy in circuit. On the N. E. part of the Island, within land, is a high and spacious mountain, steep on all sides. This is called La Caldera, or the cauldron, from a hollow like that on the peak of Teneriffe. The summit is about two leagues in circumference, and on the inside, the cauldron descends gradually from thence to the bottom, which is a space of about thirty acres. On the declivity of the inside spring several rivulets, which joining together at the bottom, issue in one stream through a passage to the outside of the mountain from which this brook descends; and having run some distance from thence, turns two sugar-mills. The water of this stream is unwholesome, on account of its being mixed with some water of a pernicious quality in the cauldron; all the inside of which abounds with herbage, and is covered with palms, pitch-pine, laurel, lignum-rhodium and retamas; which last have in this Island a yellow bark, and grow to the size of large trees; but in the others they are only shrubs. The people here take great care not to let the he-goats feed on the leaves of the retama, on account of their breeding a stone in the bladder, which is mortal. Two rivulets spring on the outside of the cauldron; one of these runs northward to the village of St. Andrew, and turns two sugar-mills, and the other runs to the town of Palmas, which lies to the eastward. These are the only rivulets or streams of any consequence in the Island: on which account the natives build tanks, or square

reservoirs with planks of pitch-pine, which they make tight with caulking. These they fill with the torrents of rain-water that in the winter season rush down from the mountains, and preserve it for themselves and cattle: but the sheep, goats, and hogs, in places at a distance from the rivulets, feed almost all the year round on the roots of fern and asphodil, and therefore have little or no need of water, there being moisture enough in those roots to supply the want of that element. Though the south quarter of the Island is most destitute of water, yet there is a medicinal well of hot water so close to the sea-shore, that the tide flows into it at full sea.

At Uguer is a cave, that has a long narrow entrance, so straight that people pass through it backwards, with their face to the mouth of the cave; but after they have got through this passage, they enter a spacious grotto, where water distils from between the large flakes of slate stones that hang from the roof; the least blow given to these, resounds with a noise like thunder through the cave. In the district of Tifuya is a mountain, which appears to have been removed by an earthquake from its original situation. The natives have a tradition, that the spot on which it now stands was a plain, and the most fertile spot in the whole Island, till it was destroyed by the burning lava, and the fall of the mountain. Indeed, the effects of volcanoes are to be seen in almost every part of the Island; for the channels where the burning matter, melted ores, and calcined stones and ashes ran, may be easily distinguished by a curious observer. Nunno de Penna, in his Historical Memoirs, relates, that on the 13th of November 1677, a little after sun-set, the earth shook for thirteen leagues with a dreadful noise, that continued five days, during which it opened in several places; but the greatest gap was upon the mountain of La Caldera, a mile and a half from the sea, from whence proceeded a great fire, which cast up stones and pieces of rock. The like happened in several places thereabouts, and in less than a quarter of an hour were twenty-eight gaps about the foot of the mountain, which cast



forth abundance of flames and burning stones. The same person adds, that on the 20th of November following there was a second eruption of the same mount, from whence came forth stones and fire, with great earthquakes and thunders for several days, so that black cinders were taken up at seven leagues distance: the adjacent ground was entirely wasted, and the inhabitants forced to quit their dwellings. The last volcano that happened in this Island was in 1750, when one of these rivers of fire ran, with great rapidity, from the mountains towards the town of Palmas, and discharged itself about a mile to the northward of the town, but we have not learnt that any considerable eruption hath happened since that time.

If we take a view of Palma at the distance of three leagues off at sea, the mountains seem full of gutters or beds formed by torrents of rain water; but these only appear little from their height and distance; for we find them to be large vallies, abounding with woods, on a nearer approach. In many places on the shore of this and the other Islands, is found the black shining sand used to throw upon writing, to prevent its blotting. It appears to have been cast out of volcanos, for the load-stone, when held near it, will draw up every grain of it.

The air, weather, and winds, are nearly the same as at Teneriffe and Canaria, except that the westerly winds and rain are more frequent at Palma, on account of its lying more to the westward and northward, and on that account is not so far within the verge of the N. E. trade winds as those Islands; whence it is particularly exposed to the S. wind, which mostly prevails in the latitudes adjacent to those of the N. E. trade-winds, as well as to variable winds from other quarters.

The climate here, and in Teneriffe, Canaria, and Gomera, differs greatly, according as a person lives in the mountains, or near the sea shore. During a calm, the heat seems almost intolerable near the shore, in the months of July, August, and September; but the air is at the same time quite fresh and pleasant on the mountains. In

the middle of winter the houses upon these (some of which are near the clouds) must be extremely cold, and the natives keep fires burning in their habitations all day long; but this is far from being the case near the sea, where they use fires only in their kitchens. The summits of all the Canary Isles, except Lancerota and Fuerteventura, are generally covered with snow for eight months in the year. The summit of Palma formerly abounded with trees, but a great drought in 1545 destroyed them all; and though others began to spring up some time after, they were destroyed by the rabbits and other animals, which finding no pasture below, went up there, and destroyed all the young shrubs and trees, so that the upper part of the Island is at present quite bare and desolate. Before the trees and shrubs were destroyed, a great deal of manna fell there, which the natives gathered and sent to Spain. The rabbits were first brought to Palma by Don Pedro Fernandez de Lago, the learned lieutenant general of Teneriffe, and have since increased in a surprising manner.

Palma affords nearly the same productions as Canaria, but a great quantity of sugar is made here, particularly on the S. W. side of the Island. The principal port is called by the same name, and is situated on the south side of the Island. The road is about a quarter of a mile from the shore, where vessels generally ride in fifteen or twenty fathoms water; and with good anchors and cables, notwithstanding the easterly winds, they may ride with great safety in all the winds that blow in this part of the world. The town is large, containing two parish churches, several convents, with many private buildings, though they are neither so good nor so large as those in the city of Palmas in Canaria, or of the towns in Teneriffe. Near the mole is a castle or battery, mounted with some pieces of cannon, for the defence of the ships in the bay, and to prevent the landing of an enemy. There are no other towns of note in Palma; but many villages, the chief of which is called St. Andrew, where there are four engines for the making of sugar; but the land here



abouts is very poor, so that the inhabitants are supplied from the Island of Teneriffe with grain and other necessary articles.

For the amusement of uninformed readers, we shall here add an account of the Island of Ferro, and also a particular description of the present natives of the Islands of Canaria, Teneriffe, Palma, Gomera, and Ferro, their persons, habit, diet, buildings, manners, customs, &c.

The Spaniards call the Island of Ferro, Hierro, and the French the Isle de Fer, or the Island of Iron: it is the most westerly of all the Canaries, and is about thirty miles long, fifteen broad, and seventy-five in circumference. The French navigators formerly placed in the centre of this Island their first meridian for reckoning the longitude, as the Dutch did theirs at the peak of Teneriffe; but at present most geographers reckon their first meridian from the capital of their own country, as the English from London, the French from Paris, &c. It being more convenient, and conveying a more distinct idea to say, that such a place is so many leagues distant E. or W. from the capital of his own country, than to reckon the longitude from a distant land.

This Island of Ferro rises on all sides steep and craggy from the sea-shore above a league, so as to render the ascent extremely difficult and fatiguing; but after travelling thus far, the rest of the Island will be found to be tolerably level and fruitful, abounding with many kinds of trees and shrubs, and producing better grass, herbs, and flowers, than any of the other Islands, whence bees thrive and multiply here in a very extraordinary manner, and excellent honey is made by them. There are but few springs in the whole Island; and on account of the scarcity of water, the sheep, goats, and swine, do not drink in summer, but quench their thirsts at that season, by digging up and chewing the roots of fern. The great cattle are watered at a place where water distils from the leaves of a tree. Many authors have made mention of this tree, some of whom represent it as miraculous; while others deny its very existence: but the author of the

history of the discovery and conquest of the Canary Islands, gives a particular account of it, which we shall here insert for the satisfaction of the curious.

In the cliff or steep rocky ascent by which the whole Island is surrounded, is a narrow gutter which commences at the sea, and is continued to the summit of the cliff, where it joins, or coincides, with a valley terminated by the steep front of a rock, on the top of which grows a tree called in the language of the ancient inhabitants garse, or sacred, which for many years has been preserved entire, sound, and fresh. Its leaves constantly distil so great a quantity of water, that it is sufficient to furnish drink to every living creature in Hierro, nature having provided this remedy for the drought of the Island. It is distinct from other trees, and stands by itself: its trunk is about twelve spans in circumference; its height from the ground to the top of the highest branch is forty spans, and the circumference of all the branches together is one hundred and twenty feet. The branches are thick and extended, and the lowest begin about the height of an ell from the ground. Its fruits resembles an acorn, but tastes like the kernel of a pine-apple, only it is softer, and more aromatic; and the leaves resembles those of the laurel, but are larger, wider, and more curved. These come forth in a perpetual succession, whence the tree always remains green. Near it grows a thorn, which fastens on many of its branches, with which it is interwoven, and some beech trees, bresos, and thorns, are at a small distance from it. On the north side of the trunk are two large tanks or cisterns of rough stone, or rather one cistern divided; each half being twenty feet square, and sixteen spans deep. One of these contains water for the drinking of the inhabitants, and the other that which they use for their cattle, washing, and the like purposes.

A cloud or mist rises from the sea every morning, which the south and easterly winds force against the above mentioned steep cliff; when the cloud having no vent but by the gutter, gradually ascends it, and



advances slowly from thence to the extremity of the valley, and then rests upon the wide spreading branches of the tree, from whence it distils in drops during the remainder of the day, in the same manner as water drops from the leaves of trees after a heavy shower of rain. This distillation is not peculiar to the tree, for the bresos which grow near it also drop water; but their leaves being only few and narrow, the quantity is so trifling, that though the natives save some of it, yet they make little account of any but what distils from the tree; which, together with the water of some springs, is sufficient to serve the natives and their cattle. It has been remarked, that this tree yields most water in those years when the easterly winds have most prevailed; for by them alone the clouds or mists are drawn hither from the sea. A person lives near the spot on which the tree grows, who is appointed by the council to take care of it and its water, and is allowed a certain salary, with a house to live in. He daily distributes to each family of the district seven vessels filled with water, besides what he gives to the principal persons of the Island.

Mr. Glass says, he is unable to determine whether the tree which yields water at present be the same here described, but justly observes, that it is probable there have been a succession of them. He himself did not see this tree, for this is the only Island of all the Canaries which he did not visit; but he observes, that he has sailed with the natives of Hierro, who, when questioned about the existence of this tree, answered in the affirmative; and takes notice, that trees yielding water are not peculiar to this Island, since one of the same kind in the Island of St. Thomas, in the gulf of Guinea, is mentioned by some travellers.

By reason of a scarcity of water, the soil, in some parts of this Island, is very barren; but in others it is fertile, and produces all the necessary articles for the support of the inhabitants. The sheep, goats, and hogs, that are brought up in those parts distant from the rivelets, feed almost all the year round on the roots of fern and asphodil, and

therefore have little occasion for water, as the want of that element is supplied by the great moisture that is naturally in those roots.

There is only one small town in this Island, and the most distinguished building in it is a parish church. Many small villages are dispersed about the town, but there are not any of them that deserve a particular description.

Small cattle, brandy, honey and orchilla weed, are the chief articles of the trade carried on by the inhabitants of this Island.

As to the original natives of the Island of Ferro we are told by travellers, that before it was rendered subject to Spain they were of a middle stature, and clothed with the skins of beasts. The men wore a cloak of three sheep-skins sewed together, with the woolly side outwards in summer, and next their bodies in winter. The women also wore the same kind of cloak, besides which they had a petticoat, which reached down to the middle of their legs. They sewed their skins with thongs cut as fine as thread, and for needles used small bones sharpened. They wore nothing on their heads, and their long hair was made up into a number of small plaits. They had shoes made of the raw skins of sheep, hogs, or goats. These people had a grave turn of mind, for all their songs were on serious subjects, and set to slow plaintive tunes, to which they danced in a ring, joining hands, and sometimes jumping up in pairs, so regularly that they seemed to be united; they still practise in Ferro this manner of dancing. Their dwellings consisted of circular inclosures, formed by a stone wall without cement, each having one narrow entrance. On the inside they placed poles or spars against the wall, one end resting on the top, and the other extending a considerable distance to the ground; and these they covered with fern, or branches of trees. Each of these inclosures contained about twenty families. A bundle of fern, with goat-skin spread over it, served them for a bed and for bed-clothes and coverings, they used dressed goat skins to keep them warm. Before they offered the breast to a new-born



child, they gave it fern roots roasted, bruised and mixed with butter; and at present they give them flour and barley meal roasted, and mixed with bruised cheese.

The natives usually bake the flesh of sheep, goats, and hogs; and as they had no kind of grain, their bread was made of fern roots, of which, with milk and butter the principal part of their diet was composed.

One king governed them all; and having never any occasion to go to war, had no warlike weapons: they indeed carried long staves; but these were only to assist them in travelling; for the country being so rocky, as to make it necessary frequently to leap from one stone to another, this they performed by means of these poles.

Polygamy was not allowed; but they had no restrictions with respect to their marriages, except a man's not being allowed to marry his mother or sister; for every man might take the woman he liked best, and whose consent he could obtain, without the least regard to rank or nobility. Indeed all, except the king, were in this respect upon an equality: the only distinction among them consisted in the number of their flocks. It was usual for the man, when he chose a wife, to make a present of cattle to her father, according to his ability, in return for the favour of letting him have his daughter. The king received no particular tribute from his subjects; and every one made him a present of cattle; for they were not obliged to give him any thing, but according to their pleasure or circumstances. At a feast, they killed one or two fat lambs, according to the number of their guests: these they placed in a vessel on the ground, sitting round it in a circle, and never rising till they had eaten the whole. These feasts are still continued among their descendants. If a person fell sick, they rubbed his body all over with butter and sheep's marrow, covering him well up to keep him warm, but when a man happened to be wounded, they burned the part affected, and afterwards anointed it with butter. They buried their dead in caves; and if the deceased was a man of wealth, they interred him in his clothes, and put a board at his feet, and the

pole he used to travel with at his side; and, in order to prevent his being devoured by ravens, they closed the mouth of the cave with stones.

Murder and theft were the only crimes for which they inflicted corporal punishment. The murderer was put to death in the same manner as he had killed the deceased; and the thief, for the first offence, was punished with the loss of one of his eyes, and for the second, of the other. This was done that he might not see to steal any more. The office of an executioner on these occasions, were performed by a particular person set apart for that purpose.

As to their religion, they worshipped two deities, one of whom was male, the other female; the male was named Eraoranzan, and was the object of the men's adoration; the other, worshipped by the women, was called Moneyba. They had no images, or visible representations of these deities; nor did they ever sacrifice to them, but only prayed to them in their necessities, as when they wanted rain to bring up the grass for the subsistence of their cattle, &c. The natives pretended, that when the gods were inclined to do them good, they came to the Island, and alighted on two great rocks, which are in a place to which they gave the name of Ventayca, where they received the petitions of the people, and afterwards returned to their celestial abode; these rocks are now called by the Spaniards Los Antillos de los Antiguos, or the hills of the ancients.

We shall now give a particular description of the present natives of Canaria, Tenerife, Palma, Gomera, and Ferro, with an account of their persons, dress &c. Previous to which it will be necessary to observe, that the descendants of this mixed nation are at present denominated Spaniards, whose language is that of the Castilian, which the gentry speak in perfection; but the peasants, in the remote parts of the Islands, in an almost unintelligible manner, so that they are scarcely understood by strangers.

The greatest part of the natives are small of stature, well made, and have good



features ; but they are more swarthy than the inhabitants of the southern parts of Spain ; their eyes, however, are fine, large and sparkling, and their countenances exceedingly expressive ; but the old people have a very disagreeable aspect. People of distinction wore in common a camblet cloak of a dark red or black colour, a linen night-cap, bordered with lace ; and a broad slouched hat. When they pay visits, a coat, sword, and white peruke are added, the latter of which forms a very odd contrast to their dusky complexions, and what is still more singular, they keep their large slouched hat upon their heads always in the house ; but when they are out of doors, they carry them under their arm. Neither do they put on their perukes, upper coats, or swords, but when they walk in procession, pay formal visits, or go to church, on high festivals. The lower class of people wear their own black, bushy hair, and tuck some of it behind the right ear ; and their principal garment is a white loose coat with a friar's cape, and girded round the middle with a sash. This garment is long and narrow, and made of the wool of their own sheep.

Women of inferior rank wear a piece of gauze on their heads, which falls down the shoulders, is pinned under the chin, and covers the neck and breast. A part of their dress is a broad-brimmed slouched hat, but they use this with more propriety than the men ; for abroad they wear it upon their heads, whereby their faces are screened from the scorching beams of the sun. They throw a mantle over their shoulders, the goodness of which is in proportion to the condition of the wearer. They wear jackets instead of stays, and are all very fond of a great number of petticoats. The principal ladies of Grand Canaria and Teneriffe dress after the fashion of France and England, and pay visits in chariots ; but none walk the streets without being veiled, though some are so careless in the use of their veils, that they take care to let their faces and necks be seen. Some ladies have their hair curiously plaited, and fastened to the crown of their head with a gold comb. Their

mantles are very rich, and they wear a profusion of jewels ; but they render their appearance ridiculous to strangers, from that clumsiness of dress, and awkwardness of gait, which is observable in both sexes.

The poorer sort of people are afflicted with many loathsome disorders, and are naturally very filthy ; the gentry, however, affect great delicacy. Both sexes go every morning to hear mass ; and most of them go before they take any refreshment. Their breakfast is usually chocolate : they dine at noon : and shut up the doors till three o'clock. People in good circumstances have four courses brought to table. The first dish consists of soup made of beef, mutton, pork, bacon, potatoes, turnips, carrots, onions, and saffron, stewed together, with thin slices of bread put into the dish. The second course consists of roasted meat, fowls, &c. The third is the olio, or ingredients of which the soup was made. After which, comes the desert, consisting of fruit and sweet-meats. The company drink freely of wine, or wine and water, while at dinner ; but have no wine after the cloth is removed. While drinking, their toasts are much like ours. When dinner is over, a large silver dish, filled with water, is set upon the table, when the whole company, all at once, wash in it ; and then a servant, who stands at the lower end of the table, cries, "Blessed and praised be the most holy sacrament of the altar, and the clear and pure conception of the most holy virgin, conceived in grace from the first instant of her natural existence. Ladies and gentlemen, much good may it do you !" After which, making a low bow to the company, he retires. They then rise, and each goes to his apartment, to take a nap for about an hour ; which proves a great refreshment in this warm climate. Those of higher stations have generally a friar for one of their guests, who we may suppose is the confessor to some of the family, and frequently behaves with great rudeness ; yet neither the master of the house, nor any of the company, chuse to take much notice of it. Mr. Glass was once invited to dine with a gentleman where a Franciscan friar made one of the company ;



but no sooner had they begun to eat, than the friar asked him if he was a christian? He answered, that he hoped so. He was then desired to rehearse the Apostle's creed; but answering, that he knew nothing about it, the reverend father stared full in his face, and exclaimed, "O thou black ass!" Offended at this piece of ill manners, our author asked, What he meant by treating him in that manner? When the friar only answered by repeating the abuse! the master of the house endeavoured in vain to persuade him to give over; but as the person did not at that time understand Spanish so well as to express himself fluently, he arose and left the house, after telling the gentleman, that he saw he was unable to protect him from insults at his own table. They treat with chocolate and sweet-meats in the morning and evening visits; but in the summer evenings with snow-water. People sup between eight and nine, and retire to rest soon after. The diet of the common people consists of goffio, fruit, and wine, with salt fish brought from the coast of Barbary. Some think their being subject to the itch, is owing to their eating so much of this last food. In the summer season fresh fish is pretty plentiful, but more scarce and dear at other times of the year.

People of rank here have houses, two stories high, which are handsome square buildings, of stone and mortar, with an open court in the middle, like our public inns in England, and like them have balconies running round, which are on a level with the floor of the second story. The street-door is placed in the middle of the front of the house, and within that door is a second, the space between them being the breadth of the rooms of the house. The court-yard, which is on the inside, is large or small according to the size of the building, and is usually paved with flags, pebbles, or other stones. In the centre of the court is a square or circular stone-wall about four feet high, filled with earth, in which are commonly planted orange, banana, or other trees common in these parts. The lower story of each quarter of the house consists entirely of store-rooms, or cellars. The

stairs leading to the second story usually begin at the right or left hand corner of the entrance of the court, and consist of two flights of steps, which lead into the gallery, from which one may enter any room on the second story. The principal apartments are generally in that quarter of the house facing the street, which contains a hall with an apartment at each end. These rooms are the whole breadth of the quarter, and the hall is twice the length of any of the apartments at its extremities. The windows of these rooms are formed of wooden lattices, curiously wrought; none of them looking inwards to the court; but they are all in the outside wall. Some great houses have balconies in the middle of the front, on the outside, above the gate, equal with the floor of the second story; and some have a gallery which runs from one end of the front to the other, but the outside of the house has seldom any. They white-wash all the apartments; and those at the extremities of the great halls, with some of the rest, are lined with fine mats about five feet high, and the floor is sometimes covered with the same. The sides of the windows of all the rooms are lined with boards to prevent people's clothes being whitened; for they commonly sit in the window, there being benches on each side of it for that purpose; and when the master of the house intends to shew a stranger respect, he always conducts him to the window, to converse with him. The great hall, and the walls of some of the apartments, are hung with paintings, representing the virgin, the twelve apostles, saints and martyrs, usually drawn as large as life, and distinguished by some circumstance of their history. Thus St. Peter is usually represented looking at a cock and weeping, and a great bunch of keys always hangs at his girdle. St. Anthony preaching to the fishes, is one of their favourite paintings. Their beds have seldom any curtains, for these they consider as receptacles for fleas and bugs, which abound here extremely. They chiefly use mattresses spread on the floor upon fine mats; besides the sheets, there is a blanket and above that a silk quilt. The sheets,



pillows, and quilt are frequently fringed or pinked, like the shrouds used for the dead with us. There is a place in a particular apartment, raised a step higher than the floor, covered with mats or carpets; and there the women generally sit together upon cushions, both to receive visits from their own sex, and give directions concerning their household affairs. The houses of the peasants and lower sort of people, though only one story high, are built of stone and lime, and the roofs are either thatched or tiled. These are generally neat, clean and commodious. Indeed there is but little dirt or dust in these Islands to make them uncleanly; for the ground is mostly rocky, and seldom wet, from the almost continual fine weather.

The deportment of the natives is grave, but at the same time tempered with great quickness and sensibility; the women in particular, are remarkable for their sprightliness, and vivacity of their conversation, which is said greatly to exceed that of the English, French, or northern nations. The great families in these Islands would be highly offended should any one tell them, they are descended from the Moors, or even from the ancient inhabitants of these Islands; yet it would not perhaps be difficult to prove, that most of their customs have been handed down to them from those people. The gentry boast much of their birth, and indeed that they are descended from the best families in Spain, there is no reason to doubt.

They have the utmost contempt for the employment of a butcher, taylor, miller, or porter. It is not indeed very surprising, that they should not have any great esteem for the profession of a butcher, or that the employment of a taylor should be considered as some what too effeminate for a man; but it is difficult to imagine why millers and porters should be despised, especially the former; but it must be considered, that the millers here are generally esteemed great thieves; and as the master of every family sends his own corn to be ground, unless it be narrowly watched, the miller will take too much toll. It is said when

any criminal is to suffer death, and the executioner happens to be out of the way, the officers of justice have the power of seizing the first butcher, miller, or porter they can find, and of obliging him to discharge that office; such is their dislike to persons of these occupations. Mr. Glass, once touching at the Island of Gomera to procure fresh water, hired some poor ragged fishermen to fill the water casks, and bring them on board; but some time after, going to the watering place to see what progress they had made, he found the casks full, and all ready for rolling down to the beach, with the fishermen standing by, talking together, as if they had nothing farther to do. He reprimanded them for their laziness in not dispatching the business in which he had employed them; when one of them, with a disdainful air, replied, "What do you take us to be, Sir? Do you imagine we are porters? No, Sir, we are seamen." Notwithstanding all his entreaties and promises of reward, he was unable to prevail upon any of them to roll the cask to the water side; but was at last obliged to hire porters, to do the business. But the gentry of these Islands, though for the most part poor, yet are extremely polite and well bred, the very peasants and labouring people have a considerable share of good manners, with little of that surly rusticity which is too common among the lower class of people in England, yet they do not seem to be abashed in the presence of their superiors. A beggar asks charity of a gentleman, by saying, "For the love of God, Sir, please to give me half a rial;" and if the other gives him nothing, he returns, "For the love of God, I beg your worship's pardon," and then departs.

The common people and servants here are much addicted to private pilfering, for which they are usually punished by being discharged the service, beaten, or imprisoned for a short time. Highway robberies are seldom or never known; but murder is more common than in England: and they have no notion of duels, for they cannot imagine that because a man has the courage to fight, he thereby atones for the injury done to another, or that it ought to give him



a right to do him a greater. When the murderer has killed a man, he flies to a church for refuge, till he can find an opportunity to escape to another Island; and if he had been greatly provoked or injured by the deceased, and did not kill him designedly, every body will be ready to assist him to escape, except the near relations of the person who has lost his life; yet quarrels are far from being frequent here, which may be owing to the want of taverns and other public houses, their polite behaviour, the little intercourse there is between them, and their temperance in drinking. Persons of the lower class never fight in public, but if one person puts another into a violent passion, the injured party, if able, takes his revenge in the best manner he can, till he thinks he has had satisfaction, without any regard to the equity of the method he uses for this purpose.

The inhabitants of the Canary Islands are in general extremely temperate; or at least, if they are otherwise, it is in private only; for nothing can be a greater disgrace there, than to be seen drunk; and a man who can be proved a drunkard, is not permitted to give evidence, or take his oath, in a court of judicature. Hence those that are fond of liquor, intoxicate themselves in their chambers, and then lie down, in order to sleep till they are sober. Those of all ranks in these Islands are extremely amorous; but their notions of love are pretty singular, which may perhaps be attributed to the want of innocent freedom between the sexes. However, they do not seem to be inclined to jealousy, any more than the English or French. It is usual for young people here to fall in love at sight; and if the parties agree to marry, but find their parents averse to their union, they complain to the curate of the parish, who goes to the house where the girl lives, and endeavours to persuade them to agree to her marriage; but if they refuse to consent to their union, he takes her away before their faces, without their being able to hinder him, and either places her in a convent, or with some of her relations, where she must remain till they consent to her marriage. We have

been informed that a lady will sometimes send a man an offer of her person in an honourable way; if he declines it, he keeps the matter secret till death, should he do otherwise, he would be looked upon by all people in the most despicable light. Young men are not allowed to court the youth of the other sex without an intention to marry them; for if a woman can prove that a man has in any instance, endeavoured to engage her affections, she can oblige him to marry her. This, like many other good laws, is abused; for loose women taking advantage of it, frequently lay snares to entrap the simple and unwary; and sometimes worthless young men, form designs upon the fortunes of ladies, without having the least regard for their persons; there are not however, many mercenary lovers in this part of the world, their notions in general being too refined and romantic to admit the idea of that passion being made subservient to their ambition or interest; and yet there are more unhappy marriages here than in the countries where innocent freedom being allowed between the sexes, lovers are not so blinded by their passions, as not to perceive the frailties and imperfections of their mistresses. On the death of a man's wife, it is usual for some of his relations to come to his house, and reside with him for some time, in order to divert his grief, and do not leave him till another relation comes to relieve the first, the second is relieved by a third, and thus they succeed each other for the space of a year.

Each of the Canary Islands, as well as every town and family, hath a peculiar tutelary saint for its patron, whose day is celebrated as a festival, by a sermon preached in honour of the saint, and a service suited to the occasion. On these days, the street near the church is strewn with flowers and leaves, a multitude of wax candles are lighted, and a considerable number of fire works played off.

A kind of fair is generally held on the eve of these festivals, to which the people of the adjacent country resort, and spend the greatest part of the night in mirth and dancing to the sound of the guitar, accompanied



with the voices not only of those who play on that instrument, but by those of the dancers. The dances practised here are sara-bands and folias, which are slow dances; those which are quick are the canario, first used by the Canarians; the fandango, which is chiefly practised by the vulgar; and the rapetes, which nearly resembles our hornpipe. Some of these dancers may be termed dramatic, as the men sing verses to their partners, who answer them in the same manner. Most of the natives of these Islands can play on the guitar, and they have in general excellent voices.

For the entertainment of the populace, plays are acted in the streets, at the feasts of the tutelar saints of Teneriffe, Canaria, and Palma; but the performers cannot be supposed to rise to any degree of perfection, as they are not professed actors, and only some of the inhabitants of the place seem to have a natural turn for acting.

The gentry frequently take the air on horseback; but when the ladies are obliged to travel, they ride on asses, and instead of a saddle, they use a kind of chair, in which they sit very commodiously. The principal roads are paved with pebble-stones, like those used in the streets of London. There are a few chariots in Canaria, the town of Santa Cruz, and the city of Laguna in Teneriffe; these are all drawn by mules, but they are kept rather for show than use; for the roads are not proper for wheel carriages, being steep and rocky. The lower class of people divert themselves with dancing singing, and playing on the guitar; likewise with throwing a ball through a ring placed at a great distance, cards, wrestling, and quoits. The peasants, particularly those of Gomera, have the art of leaping from rock to rock when they travel, which is thus performed: the long staff or pole used on these occasions, has an iron spike at the end of it, and when a man wants to descend from one rock to another, he aims the point of the pole at the place where he intends to alight, and then throws himself towards it, pitching the end of the pole so as to bring it to a perpendicular, and then slides down it to the rock on which he fixed it.

In the convents, children are taught reading, writing, Latin, arithmetic, logic, and other branches of philosophy. The scholars read the classics; but the Greek is never taught here, and is entirely unknown even to the students in divinity. They are particularly fond of civil law and logic, but the latter is chiefly preferred.

The people belonging to these Islands have a genius for poetry, and compose verses of different measures, which they set to music. Some of their songs, and other poetical pieces, would be greatly esteemed in a country where taste for poetry prevails. Few of those books called profane (to distinguish them from those of a religious kind) are read here, since they cannot be imported into the Island without being first examined by the inquisition; a court which nobody cares to have any concern with. The history of the wars in Granada is in every body's hands, and is read by people of all ranks; they have also some plays, most of which are very good. Thomas a Kempis, and the Devout Pilgrim, are in every library, and much admired. But the books most read by the laity are the Lives of the Saints and Martyrs, which may be considered as a kind of religious romances, stuffed with legends, and the most absurd and improbable stories.

With respect to the civil government of the Islands of Canaria, Teneriffe, and Palma, which are called the king's Islands, it will be proper to observe, in the first place, that the natives, on their submitting to the crown of Spain, were so far from being deprived of their liberty, that they were put on an equality with their conquerors in which the Spaniards shewed great wisdom and policy; but how they came afterwards to act in a quite contrary manner in America, is hard to determine: perhaps they might be apprehensive, that if they proceeded with too much rigour against them at first, they might in time be induced to shake off the yoke, and dispossess their tyrannical masters, which we are informed, by late events, has proved to be the case in South America; as the following piece of intelligence, published in September 1782, announces: "You have repeatedly heard it



reported, that there was a rebellion in Chili and Peru, in South America; and though the Spaniards do all they can to keep it a secret, I can assure you, from undoubted authority, that all the mines in Peru and the city of Pez, which is situated in the interior part of the country, where they lodged their bars of gold and silver, and other valuables, are taken from them, and there were one hundred and fifty millions of piastres taken out of the strong chests. The natives will very soon have the whole country in their possession, for they destroy every white man, woman, and child, and even kill every one begot between a Spaniard and a native." But to return. After the conquest of the Canary Islands, the Spaniards incorporated with the natives in such a manner as to become one people with them, and in consequence of this political union, the king of Spain is able to raise in these Islands more soldiers and seamen than in any other part of his dominions of three times their extent. The alcade, who is a justice of peace, is the lowest officer except the alguazils; there is one of them in every town or village of note. These magistrates are appointed by the royal audience of the city of Palmas, in Canaria: they hold their places only for a certain time, and, in cases of property, can take cognizance of no disputes where the value of what is contended for exceed seventeen rials, or seven shillings sterling. Over these magistrates is the alcade major, who is appointed in the same manner as the other, and cannot decide any case relating to property, that exceeds the sum of two hundred dollars. From the decision of those magistrates, appeals lie to the tiniente and corregidor: the first of whom is a lawyer, and nominated by the royal audience; but the latter, who is appointed by the king, is not obliged to be a lawyer, yet must have a secretary, clerk, or assistant bred to the law. The corregidor generally holds his place five years, and sometimes longer. Few of the natives enjoy this honourable office, which is commonly filled by Spaniards. The proceedings of the corregidor's court, and in that of the tiniente, are the same; these courts seeming to have been

originally intended as a check upon each other. Appeals are made from the corregidor tiniente to the royal audience of Grand Canaria; a tribunal composed of three oidores, or judges, a regent, and fiscal, who are usually natives of Spain, and are always appointed by the king. The governor-general is president of this court, though he resides in Tenerife. In criminal causes there is no appeal from their determination: but appeals are carried to the council or audience of Seville in Spain, in matters respecting property.

In the Canary Islands, the standing forces amount only to about an hundred and fifty men; but there is a militia of which the governor-general of the Island is always commander in chief, and the officers, as colonels, captains, and subalterns, are appointed by the king. There are also governors of forts and castles, some of which are appointed by the king, and others by the twelve regidors of the Islands, called the cavildo; some of the forts belong to the king, and the rest are under the direction of the regidors, or sub-governors, who also take care of the repair of the high-ways prevent nuisances, and the plague from being brought into the Island by shipping; for no man is allowed to land in these Islands from any ship, till the master produces a bill of health from the last port, or till the crew have been examined by the proper officers. The royal revenue arises from the following articles: a third of the tithes, which scarcely amounts to a tenth part of them, the clergy appropriating almost the whole to themselves. This third part was given by the pope to the king of Spain, in consideration of his maintaining a perpetual war against the infidels. The second branch consists in the monopoly of tobacco and snuff, which the king's officers sell on his account, no other persons being allowed to deal in those articles. Another branch of the revenue arises from the orchilla-weed, all of which in the Islands of Tenerife, Canaria, and Palma, belong to the king, and is part of his revenue; but the orchilla of the other Islands belongs to their respective proprietors. The fourth branch consists



of the acknowledgment annually paid by the nobility to the king for their titles, which amounts to a mere trifle. The fifth branch is a duty of seven per cent, on imports and exports: and the sixth duty on the Canary West India commerce. All these branches, the sixth excepted, are said not to bring into the king's treasury above fifty thousand pounds per annum, clear of the expences of government, and all charges relating thereto.

Having departed from Madeira on the 1st of August, on the 9th we crossed the Tropic of Cancer, and at nine in the morning came in sight of Bonavista, bearing S. W. by W. about two leagues. This day Capt. Cook made from the inspissated juice of malt three puncheons of beer. The proportion of water to juice was ten of the former to one of the latter. We had on board nineteen half barrels of inspissated juice, fifteen of which were made from wort that had been hopped before it was inspissated. This you may mix with cold water, in a proportion of one part of juice to eight of water, or one part to twelve; then stop it down, and in a few days it will be brisk and fit to drink; but the first sort, after having been mixed as above directed, will require to be fermented with yeast, in the manner as is done in making beer; however, we found this not always necessary, as we at first imagined. This juice would be a most valuable article at sea, could it be kept from fermenting, which it did at this time by the heat of the weather, and the agitation of the ship, that all our endeavours to stop it were in vain.

On Monday the 10th, we passed the Island of Mayo, on our starboard side, and at two P. M. came to an anchor, eighteen fathoms water, in Port Praya, in the Isle of St. Jago one of the Cape de Verds. An officer was sent on shore for leave to procure what refreshments we wanted, which was readily granted; and on his return we saluted the fort with eleven guns. Here both ships were supplied with plenty of good water. We also recruited our live stock, such as hogs, goats, and poultry, some of which continued alive during the remainder of the voyage.

No. 13.

D d

The Cape de Verd Islands are situated in 14 deg. 10 min. N latitude and 16 deg. 30 min. W. longitude. They were so called from a cape of the same name opposite to them, and were discovered by Anthony Noel, a Genoese, in the service of Portugal, in the year 1640, and are about twenty in number; but some of them are only barren uninhabited rocks. The cape took its name from the perpetual verdure with which it is covered. The Portuguese give them the name of Les Ilhas de Verdes, either from the verdure of the Cape, or else from an herb called sargasso, which is green and floats on the water all round them. His Portuguese majesty appoints a viceroy to govern them, who constantly resides in the Island of St. Jago. The Dutch call them the Salt Islands, from the great quantities of that commodity produced in several of them. The principal of these are, 1. May, or Mayo; 2. San Jago, or Saint James's; 3. Sal or Salt; 4. Buena, or Bono Vista, or Good Sight; 5. St. Philips's, otherwise called Fuego, or the Island of Fire; 6. St. John or San Juan; 7. St. Nicholas; 8. St. Vincent; 9. St. Anthony; 10. St. Lucia; 11. Brava. Their soil is very stony and barren; the climate exceeding hot, and in some of them very unwholesome; however, the principal part of them are fertile, and produce various sorts of grain and fruits, particularly rice, maize, or Indian wheat, bananas, lemons, citrons oranges, pomegranates, cocoa-nuts, and figs. They have also calavances, a sort of pulse like French beans, and great quantities of pumpkins, on which the inhabitants chiefly subsist. They produce also two other fruits of a remarkable nature, viz. the custard apple, and the papah. The former of these is as large as a pomegranate, and nearly of the same colour. The outside husk, shell, or rind, is in substance and thickness between the shell of a pomegranate, and the peel of a Seville orange, softer than the former, yet more brittle than the latter. The coat or rind is also remarkable for being covered with small regular knobs or risings; and the inside of the fruit is full of a white soft pulp, which in its form, colour and taste, greatly



resembles a custard, from whence it received its name, which was probably first given it by the Europeans. It has in the middle a few small black stones, but no core, for the whole of it is entire pulp. The tree that bears this fruit is about the size of a quince-tree, and has long slender branches that spread a considerable way from the trunk. Only some of the branches bear fruit, for though these trees are large, yet in general such trees do not produce above twenty or thirty apples. The fruit grows at the extremity of these branches, upon a stalk about nine or ten inches long. The other fruit, called the papah, is about the size of a musk melon, and resembles it in shape and colour both within and without; only in the middle, instead of flat kernels, which the melons have, these have a quantity of small blackish seeds, about the size of pepper-corns, the taste of which is much the same as that spice. The tree on which this fruit grows, is about ten or twelve feet high; the trunk is thickest at the bottom, from whence it gradually decreases to the top, where it is very thin and taper. It has not any small branches, but only large leaves, that grow immediately on the stalks from the body. The leaves are of a roundish form, and jagged about the edges, having their stalks or stumps longer or smaller, as they grow nearer or farther from the top: they begin to spring out of the body of the tree at about six or seven feet high from the ground, the trunk being below that entirely bare, and the leaves grow thick all the way from thence to the top, where they are very close and broad. The fruit grow only among the leaves, and most plentiful where the leaves are thickest; so that towards the top of the tree the papahs spring forth from it in clusters. It is, however, to be observed, that where they grow so thick, they are but small, being no bigger than ordinary turnips; whereas those nearer the middle of the trunk, where the leaves are not so thick, grow to the first mentioned size.

Various sorts of poultry abound in these Islands, particularly curlews, Guinea hens, and flamingos, the latter of which are very numerous. The flamingo is a large bird,

much like a heron in shape, but bigger, and of a reddish colour; they go in flocks, but are so shy that it is very difficult to catch them: they build their nests in shallow ponds, where there is much mud, which they scrape together, making little hillocks, like small Islands, that appear about a foot and a half above the surface of the water. They make the foundations of these hillocks broad, bringing them up taper to the top, where they leave a small hollow pit to lay their eggs in: they never lay more than two eggs, and seldom less. The young ones cannot fly till they are almost full grown, but they run with surprising swiftness: their tongues are broad and long, having a large lump of fat at the root, which is delicious in its taste, and so greatly admired, that a dish of them will produce a very considerable sum of money. Their flesh is lean, and of a dingy colour, but it neither tastes fishy, nor any ways unpleasant. Here are also several other sorts of fowls, as pigeons and turtle doves; miniotas, a sort of land fowl, as big as crows, of a grey colour, and the flesh well tasted; crusias, another sort of grey-coloured fowl, almost as large as the former; these are only seen in the night, and their flesh is said to be exceeding salutary to people in a decline, by whom they are used. They have likewise great plenty of partridges, quails, and other small birds, and rabbits in prodigious numbers.

Many wild animals abound here, particularly lions, tigers and camels, the latter of which are remarkably large. There are also great numbers of monkies, baboons, and civet-cats, and various kinds of reptiles. The tame animals are horses, asses, sheep, mules, cows, goats and hogs; and here the European ships bound for the East Indies, usually stop to take in fresh water and provisions, with which they are always plentifully supplied.

Fish of various sorts abound in the sea, particularly dolphins, bonettas, mullets, snappers, silver fish, &c. and here is such plenty of turtles that several foreign ships come yearly to catch them. In the wet season the turtles go ashore to lay their eggs



in the sand, which they leave to be hatched by the heat of the sun. The flesh of the turtles, well cured, is as great a supply to the American plantations, as cod-fish is to Europe. The inhabitants go out by night and catch the turtles, by turning them on their backs with poles; for they are so large that they cannot do it with their hands.

In these Islands are many European families, all of whom profess the Roman Catholic religion. The natives are all negroes, and much like their African neighbours from whom they are supposed to be descended; though, as they are subject to the Portuguese, their own religion and language prevail among them. Both men and women are stout, and well limbed, and they are in general of a civil and quiet disposition. Their dress (particularly in the Island of St. John) is very trifling, consisting only of a piece of cotton cloth wound round the waist. The women sometimes throw it over the head, and the men across the shoulders. Neither sex wear shoes or stockings, except on certain festivals. The men are particularly fond of wearing breeches, if they can get them, and are very happy if they have but a waistband and flap before, be they ever so ragged.

The Island of Mayo, or May, obtained its name from its being discovered on the first of that month. It is situated in 15 deg. 5 min. N. latitude, near 300 miles from Cape Verd, and is about 17 miles in circumference. The soil is in general very barren, and water scarce: however, here are plenty of cows, goats, and asses; and also some corn, yams, potatoes and plantains. The trees are situated on the sides of the hills, and the natives have some water-melons and figs. The sea likewise abounds with wild fowl, fish and turtle. There grows on this Island, as well as on most of the others, a kind of vegetable stone extremely porous, of a greyish colour, which hoots up in stems, and forms something like the head of a cauliflower.

On the west side of the Island is a sand-bank that runs two or three miles along the shore, within which is a large salina, or salt-pond, encompassed by the sand-bank, and

the hills beyond it. The whole salt-pond is about two miles in length, and half a mile wide; but the greater part of it is generally dry. The north end, which is always supplied with water, produces salt from November till May, those months being the dry season of the year. The waters yield this salt out of the sea, through a hole in the sand-bank, and the quantity that flows into it is in proportion to the height of the tides: in the common course it is very gentle, but when the spring tides arise, it is supplied in abundance. If there is any salt in the pond, when the flush of water comes in, it soon dissolves; but in two or three days after it begins to congeal, and so continues till a fresh supply of water from the sea comes in again. A considerable trade for salt is carried on by the English, and the armed ships destined to secure the African commerce, afford the vessels thus engaged their protection. The inhabitants of the Island are principally employed in this business during the season: they rake it together, and wheel it out of the pond in barrows, from whence they convey it to the sea-side on the backs of asses, which animals are very numerous here. The pond is not above half a mile from the landing-place; so that they go backwards and forwards many times in the day; but they restrain themselves to a certain number, which they seldom exceed.

There are several sorts of fowl, particularly flamingos, curlews, and Guinea hens. Their chief cattle are cows, goats, and hogs, which are reckoned the best in all the Cape de Verd Islands. Besides the fruits above mentioned, they have calavances and pumpkins, which are the common food of the inhabitants.

The inhabitants of this Island live in three small towns, the principal of which is called Pimont, and contains two churches, with as many priests; the other is called St John, and has one church; and the third, which has a church also, is called Lagos. The houses are very mean, small, and low; they are built with the wood of the fig-tree (that being the only one fit for the purpose that grows on the Island) and the rafters are made of a sort of wild cane which grows here.



The Portuguese governor of St. Jago grants the patent to the negro governor of this Island, whose situation is tolerably advantageous, as every commander that lades salt here is obliged to compliment him with a present. He spends most of his time with the English in the salting season, which is his harvest, and a very busy time with all the natives. These people have not any vessels of their own, nor do any Portuguese ships come hither, so that the English are the chief on whom they depend for trade; and though they are subjects of Portugal, they have a particular esteem for the English nation. Asses are also a great commodity of trade here; and are so plentiful, that several European ships from Barbadoes and other plantations, come annually to freight with them to carry thither.

The Island of St. Jago, or St. James's Island, is situated about four leagues to the westward of Mayo, between the 15th and 16th deg. N. lat. and in the 23rd, of W. long. This Island is the most fruitful and best inhabited of all the Cape de Verd Islands, notwithstanding it is very mountainous, and has a great deal of barren land in it. The principal town is called after the name of the Island, and is situated in 15 deg. N. latitude. It stands against the sides of two mountains, between which there is a deep valley two hundred yards wide, that runs within a small space of the sea. In that part of the valley next the sea is a straggling street, with houses on each side, and a rivulet of water in the bottom, which empties itself into a fine cove or sandy bay, where the sea is generally very smooth, so that ships ride there with great safety. A small fort stands near the landing place from this bay, where a guard is constantly kept, and near it is a battery mounted with a few small cannon.

The town of St. John contains about three hundred houses, all built of rough stone, and it has one small church and a convent. The inhabitants of the town are in general very poor, having but little trade. Their chief manufacture is striped cotton cloth, which the Portuguese ships purchase of them, in their way to Brazil, and supply

them with several European commodities in return.

A tolerable large town is on the east side of the Island called Praya, where there is a good port, which is seldom without ships, especially in peaceable times. Most of the European ships bound to the East Indies touch at this port to take in water and provisions, but they seldom stop here on their return to Europe. The town of Praya does not contain any remarkable building, except a fort, situated on the top of a hill, which commands the harbour. When the European ships are here, the country people bring down their commodities to sell to the seamen and passengers; these articles generally consist of bullocks, hogs, goats, fowls, eggs, plantains, and cocoanuts, which they exchange for shirts, drawers, handkerchiefs, hats, waistcoats, breeches, and linen of any kind.

The port of Praya, a small bay, is situated about the middle of the south side of the Island of St. Jago, in the latitude of 14 deg. 53 min. 30 sec. N. and 23 deg. 30 min. W. longitude. It is discovered, especially in coming in from the east, by the southernmost hill on the Island, and which lies west from the port. The entrance of the bay is formed by two points, rather low, being W. S. W. and E. N. E. half a league from each other. Near the west point are sunken rocks, whereon the sea continually breaks. The bay lies in N. W. about half a league. We watered at a well, behind the beach, at the head of the bay. The water is scarce, but it is difficult to get it aboard, on account of a great surf on the beach. The refreshments to be procured here will be found in the course of our account of the Islands. Other articles may be purchased of the natives in exchange for old cloths, &c. Bullocks can only be bought with money; the price twelve Spanish dollars per head, weighing between 250 and 300 pounds; but the sale of them is confined to a company of merchants, to whom this privilege is granted, and who keep an agent residing on the spot. The bay is protected by a fort well situated for the purpose of defence.

The complexion of the natives of this



town and St. Jago inclines to black, or is at least of a mixed colour, except some few of the better sort that reside in the latter, among whom are the governor, the bishop, and some of the padres (fathers) or priests. The people of St. Jago town, as they live under the governor's eye, are pretty orderly, though generally very poor, having little trade; but those about Praya are naturally of a thievish disposition, so that strangers who deal with them must be very careful, for if they see an opportunity, they will steal their goods and run away.

Sal, or Salt, is the windwardmost of all the Cape de Verd Islands, and is situated in the 17th deg. of N. latitude, and 5 deg. 18 min. W. long. from the Cape. It received this name from the great quantity of salt naturally produced here from salt water, that from time to time overflows part of the land, which is mostly low, having only five hills, and stretches from north to south about eight or nine leagues, but it does not exceed one league and a half in breadth. In this Island are only a few people. These live in wretched huts near the sea-side, and are chiefly employed in gathering salt for those ships that occasionally call here for that article. The best account of this barren Island is given us by Capt. Roberts, who landed here, and relates the following story, which he says he was told by one of the blacks that resided in it. "About the year 1705, not long before I went ashore, the Island was entirely deserted for want of rain by all its inhabitants except one old man, who resolved to die on it, which he did the same year. The drought had been so extreme for some time, that most of the cows and goats died for want of sustenance, but rain following, they increased apace, till about three years after they were again reduced by a remarkable event. A French ship coming to fish for turtle, was obliged, by stress of weather, or from some other cause, to leave behind her thirty blacks, which she had brought from St. Antonio to carry on the fishing. These people, finding nothing else, fed mostly on wild goats, till they had destroyed them all but two, one male and the other female; these were

then on the Island, and kept generally upon one mountain. A short time after an English ship (bound for the Island of St. Mayo) perceiving the smoke of several fires, sent their boat on shore, and thinking they might be some ship's company wrecked on the Island, put in there; when they understood the situation of the people, they commiserated their case, took them all in, and landed them on the Island from whence they were brought."

The Island of Buena Vista, or Bona Vista thus named from its being the first of the Cape de Verd Islands discovered by the Portuguese, is situated in the 16th degree of N. latitude, two hundred miles W. of the coast of Africa, and is twenty miles long, and twelve broad, mostly consisting of low land, with some sandy hills, and rocky mountains. It produces great quantities of indigo, and more cotton than all the other Cape de Verd Islands; yet there is not one of them where there are fewer cotton cloths to be sold: for the natives will not even gather the cotton before a ship arrives to buy it; nor will the women spin till they want it. They have, in general, the same animals as in the other Islands, with plenty of turtle, and many sorts of fish. When the English land to take in a lading of salt, they hire men and asses to bring it down to the sea; for which they pay them in biscuits, flour, and old clothes. This Island had also formerly a pretty good trade for horses and asses, which are the best of all that are upon these Islands. The people are very fond of silk, with which they work the bosoms of their shirts, shifts, caps, women's waistcoats, &c.

The people of this Island prefer the English dress to their own; for most of them have suits of clothes bought of the English, and have learned to make cotton cloth to imitate the European fashion. The women have one, two, or three cotton cloths wrapped about them like petticoats tied on with a girdle about the hips, and sometimes without a girdle. Their shifts are made like a man's shirt, but so short, as scarcely to reach to the girdle; the collar, neck and waistbands, of the young people



of some rank, are wrought in figures with silk in various colours in needlework; but the old and the poor have theirs worked with blue cotton thread. Over their shifts they wear a waiscoat, with sleeves to button at the arms, not above four inches deep in the back part, but long enough before to tie with strings under their breasts. Over all they have a cotton cloth in the manner of a mantle; those of the married women are generally blue, and the darker the colour, the richer it is reckoned; but the maidens, and gay young wives, and widows, wear blue and white, some spotted and some figured. They, however, rather choose, if they can get them, linen handkerchiefs wrought on the edges, and sometimes only on the corners, with red, green, and blue silk; the first being the colour they most admire. They wear neither shoes nor stockings, except in holidays; and, indeed, at other times the women have generally only a small cotton cloth wrapped round their waist, and the men a ragged pair of breeches; to which, if there be but a waistband, and a piece hanging to it before to hide what modesty teaches them to conceal, they think it sufficient. The people of Bona Vista are fond of the English, and most of them can speak a little of their language.

St. Philip, called also Fuego, or the Isle of Fire, received this latter name from a very large mountain, which frequently emits great quantities of fire and sulphur. It is situated in 15 deg. 20 min. N. latitude, and 6 deg. 54 min. W. from the Cape? is the highest of all the Cape de Verd Islands, and appears at a distance like one continued mountain. On the west side of it there is a road for shipping, near a small castle situated at the foot of a mountain, but the harbour is not safe on account of the violent beating of the waves. The wind blows very strong round this Island, and the shore being on a slant, the water is very deep, so that, except very near the castle, no ground is to be found within the lines. In this Island water is very scarce, there not being a single running brook throughout it; notwithstanding which it is tolerably fertile, and produces great quantities of

pompions, water-melons, festroons, and maiz, but no bananas or plantains, and scarce any fruit trees except wild figs; however, in some of their gardens, they have guava-trees, oranges, lemons, and limes. They have likewise some good vineyards, but they make no more wine than just what they use themselves. Most of the inhabitants are negroes, there being an hundred blacks to one white; they are all Roman Catholics, though some of them introduce many pagan superstitions into that religion. They breed great numbers of mules, which they sell to other nations, and make cotton cloths for their own use.

The Portuguese, on their first peopling this Island, brought with them negro-slaves, and a stock of cows, horses, asses, and hogs; but the king himself furnished the place with goats, which ran wild in the mountains. There are many of the latter animals here at this time, and the profits of their skins is reserved to the crown of Portugal. An officer, called captain of the mountains, has the management of this revenue, and no person dares, without his licence, kill any one of them.

St. John's is situated in 15 degrees 25 min. N. latitude and 7 deg. 2 min. W. of Cape Verd, and is very high and rocky. It has more salt-petre than any of these Islands; this is found in several caverns, covering the sides like a hoar-frost, and in some hollow rocks, like icicles, as thick as a man's thumb. This Island abounds with pompions, bananas, water-melons, and other fruit, and also with fowls, goats, asses, hogs, &c. There are plenty of fish in the seas about St. John's, and most of the fish here have remarkable sharp teeth; and they generally use crabs and insects for baits. Fishing is the principal employment of the natives; hence they miss no opportunities of wrecks, or when ships touch here, to procure all the bits of iron they can.

In this Island, the salt is made by the heat of the sun, which shining on the water in the holes of the rocks, is thereby turned, and sometimes lies two feet thick. The natives usually go and get a quantity



of salt early in the morning, fish the greatest part of the day; dry, split, and salt their fish in the evening, and having heaped them up let them lie in the salt all night. On the ensuing morning they spread them out to dry in the sun, and they are fit to use when wanted.

The baleas, a sort of whale or grampus, is very common near this Island; and some affirm, that ambergris is the sperm of this creature. A great quantity of ambergris was formerly found about this Island, but it is less plentiful at present. Some years before Capt. Roberts was here, Juan Carneira, a Portuguese, who was banished from Lisbon for some crime, having procured a little ship or shallop, traded among these Islands: meeting at length with a piece of ambergris of an uncommon bigness, he not only procured his liberty, and leave to return before the term of his exile was expired, but had sufficient left, after defraying all charges, to put himself into a comfortable way of living; and a rock near to which he found the ambergris, is called by his name to this day.

The natives of this Island do not amount to above two hundred souls, and are quite black. They are the most ignorant and superstitious of any of the inhabitants of these Islands. But in their disposition they are simple and harmless, humble, charitable, humane, and friendly; pay a particular respect to their equals, reverence their elders, are submissive to their superiors, and dutiful to their parents. People wear in common only a slip of cotton fastened to a string before, which passing between the thighs, is tied to the same string behind; but when full dressed they also wear a piece of cotton cloth, (spun and wove by themselves) which the men hang over their shoulders, and wrap round their waists, while the women put it over their heads, and then wrap it about their bodies; and on both of them it extends to the calf of the leg, or lower. They use in fishing, long canes for rods, cotton lines, and bent nails for hooks. As to their hunting, the governor having the sole privilege of killing the wild goats, none dare hunt without his consent. This

was a law made by the Portuguese when they peopled these Islands from the coast of Africa, in order to prevent the entire loss of the breed.

When a general hunt is appointed by the governor, all the inhabitants are assembled, and the dogs, which are between a beagle and a greyhound, are called. At night, or when the governor thinks proper to put an end to the sport, they all meet together, and he parts the goats flesh between them as he pleases, sending what he thinks proper to his own house, with all the skins; and after he comes home, he sends pieces to those who are old, or were not out a hunting; and the skins he distributes amongst them as he thinks their necessities require, reserving the remainder of them for the lord of the soil. This is one of the principal privileges enjoyed by the governor; who is also the only magistrate, and decides the little differences that sometimes happen among the people. Upon their not submitting to this decision, he confines them till they do, in an open place walled round like a pound: but, instead of a gate, they generally lay only a stick across the entrance, and those innocent people will stay there without attempting to escape, except when overcome by passion, and then they rush out in a rage; but these are soon caught again, tied hand and foot, and a centinel set to watch them, till they agree with their antagonist, ask the governor's pardon for breaking out of his prison, and have remained there as long as he thinks they have deserved. Nay, if one kills another, which hardly happens in an age, the governor can only confine him till he has pacified the relations of the deceased, by the mediation of his friends, who are bound for the criminal's appearance, in case a judge should be ever sent from Portugal to execute justice; but imprisonment is here reckoned such a scandal, that it is as much dreaded as Tyburn was by criminals here.

About forty-five miles from the Island of Salt is St. Nicholas Island, the N. W. point of which is in 17 deg. 10 min. N. latitude, and 6 deg. 52 min. W. longitude from Cape de Verd. It is the largest of all the Cape de Verd Islands, except St Jago. The land



is high, and rises like a sugar-loaf, but the summit of the most elevated part is flat. The coast of this Island is entirely clear from rocks and shoals. The bay of Paraghis is very safe, but the other roads are insecure till the trade winds are settled. Here is a valley which has a fine spring of water in it, and many persons employ themselves in supplying different parts with that useful article with which they load asses, and carry it a considerable way at a cheap rate. Water may likewise be obtained in almost any part of the Island, by digging a well.

The town of St. Nicholas is the chief place in the Island; it is close built and populous, but all the houses, and even the church, are covered with thatch. Capt. Avery, the celebrated pirate, having once received some offence from the inhabitants, burnt this town; but it was afterwards rebuilt, much in the same manner, and to the same extent as before.

The people are nearly black, with frizzled hair. They speak the Portuguese language tolerably well, but are thievish and blood thirsty. The women here are more ingenious, and better housewives than in any other of the Cape de Verd Islands. Most families have horses, hogs, and poultry; and many of the people of St. Nicholas understand the art of boat-building, in which the inhabitants of the other Islands are deficient. They likewise make good cloths, and even clothes, being tolerable taylors, manufacture cotton quilts, knit cotton stockings, make good shoes, and tan leather. They are strong Roman Catholics, but their dispositions are so obstinate, that their priests find it very difficult to rule them. This Island abounds in oranges, lemons, plantains, bananas, pompions, musk, water-melons, sugar-canes, vines, gum-dragon, festroons, maize, &c.

The Island of St. Vincent is under 18 deg. of N. latitude, two leagues to the west of St. Lucia, and about forty-three leagues distant from the Isle of Salt, W. and by N. It is five leagues in length. On the N. W. of it there is a bay a league and a half broad at the entrance, surrounded with high moun-

tains, and stretching to the middle of the Island. This bay is sheltered from the westerly and north-westerly winds, by the high mountains of the Isle of St. Vincent; so that this is the safest harbour of any in all these Islands; and yet it is difficult of access, because of the furious winds that blow with the utmost impetuosity from the mountains along the coast. There are several other small bays on the south-side of the Island, where ships may anchor, and thither the Portuguese generally go to load hides. The S. E. side of this Island is a sandy shore, but there is not a drop of water on the hills, nor even in any of the deep valleys, except one, in which fresh water is seen to spout out of the ground on digging a little.

St. Anthony is the most northward of all the Cape de Verd Islands, and lies in 18 deg. N. latitude, seven miles from St. Vincent, with a channel between them, which runs from S. W. to N. E. Here are two high mountains on this Island, one of which is nearly as high as the peak of Teneriffe, and seems always enveloped in clouds. The inhabitants are about five hundred in number, and on the N. W. side of the Island there is a little village, consisting of about twenty houses or cottages, and inhabited by near fifty families of negroes and white people, who are all wretchedly poor, and speak the Portuguese language. On the north-side of the Island there is a road for shipping, and a collection of water in a plain lying between high mountains, the water running from all sides in the rainy season; but in the dry season the people are greatly distressed for water. The principal people here are a governor, a captain, a priest, and a schoolmaster, all of whom take much upon themselves, so that the people have some jingling verses concerning them, which imply, that the governor's staff, the beads of the priest, the schoolmaster's rod, and the captain's sword, give them a licence to feast on the natives who serve as slaves to support their luxury and grandeur.

St Lucia lies in latitude 17 deg. 18 min N. It is high land, full of hills, and is about eight or nine leagues long. On the S. E.



end of it are two small Isles, very near each other. On the E. S. E. side is the harbour, where the shore is of white sand : here lies a small Island, round which there is a very good bottom, and ships may ride at anchor in twenty fathoms water, over against the Island of St. Vincent.

Brava, or the Savage, or the Desart Island, is about four leagues to the S. W. of Fuego. There are two or three small Islands to the north of it. The best harbour lies on the S. E. side of the Island, where ships may anchor next to the shore in fifteen fathoms water. There is an hermitage, and an hamlet just above the harbour. On the west side of the Island there is a very commodious road for such ships as want to get water.

On Friday the 14th of August, both ships having got on board a supply of refreshments and provisions, we weighed anchor, put to sea, and continued our voyage to the Cape of Good Hope. On Sunday the 16th, in the evening, a luminous fiery meteor made its appearance; it was of a bluish colour, an oblong shape, and had a quick descending motion. After a momentary duration, it disappeared in the horizon; its course was N. W. We observed a swallow following our vessel, and making numberless circles round it, notwithstanding our distance from St. Jago was between fifty and sixty leagues. This harmless bird continued to attend the ship in her course the two following days. We observed many conitos in the sea, which shot past us with great velocity; but we could not take a single one, though we endeavoured to catch them with hooks, and strike them with harpoons. We were more successful in hooking a shark, about five feet long. On this fish we dined the next day. We found it rather difficult of digestion, but when fried, it was tolerable good eating. Nothing very remarkable happened on board our ship the Resolution, except that on the 19th, one of our carpenter's mates fell overboard, and was drowned. He was sitting on one of the scuttles, from whence it was supposed he fell. All our endeavours to save him were in vain, for he was not seen till the

No. 14. E c

instant he sunk under the ship's stern. We felt his loss very sensibly, he being a sober man, as well as a good workman; and he was much regretted even by his shipmates.

On Thursday the 20th, the rain descended not in drops, but in streams, and, at the same time, the wind was equally and variable, so that the people were obliged to keep on deck, and of course had all wet jackets, an inconvenience very common, and often experienced by seamen. However, this disagreeable circumstance was attended with good, as it gave us an opportunity of spreading our awnings, and filling seven empty puncheons with fresh water. This heavy rain was succeeded by a dead calm, which continued twenty-four hours, and was followed by a breeze from S. W. Between this and the south point it held for several days, at times blowing in squalls, attended with rain and hot sultry weather. On the 27th instant, one of captain Furneaux's petty officers died on board the Adventure; but on board the Resolution, we had not one man sick, although a deal of rain fell, which in such hot climates, is a great promoter of sickness. Capt. Cook took every necessary precaution for the preservation of our health, by airing and drying the ship with fires made between decks, and by making the crew air their bedding, and wash their clothes, at every opportunity. Two men were punished on board the Adventure; one a private marine for quarrelling with the quarter-master; the other a common sailor for theft. Each of them received one dozen. This we mention to shew what strict discipline it was necessary to preserve on board, in order to establish a regular and peaceable behaviour in such hazardous voyages, when men, unaccustomed to controul, are apt to prove mutinous.

On Tuesday, September the 8th, we crossed the line in longitude 8 deg. W. Some of the crew, who had never passed the line before, were obliged to undergo the usual ceremony of ducking, but some bought themselves off, by paying the required forfeit of brandy. Those who submitted to an emersion, found it very salutary, as it cannot well be done too often in warm weather,



and a frequent change of linen and clothes is exceeding refreshing. On the 14th, a flying fish fell on our deck; we caught several dolphins; saw some aquatic birds; and, at various intervals, observed the sea covered with numberless animals. On Sunday the 27th, a sail was discovered to the W. standing after us; she appeared to be a snow, and shewed either Portuguese colours, or St. George's ensign. We did not chuse to wait till she approached nearer, or to speak to her. The winds began now to be variable, so that we made but little way, and not any thing remarkable happened till October the 11th, when we observed an eclipse of the moon. At twenty-four minutes, twelve seconds, after six o'clock, by Mr. Kendal's watch, the moon rose about four digits eclipsed.

On Monday the 12th, the weather being calm, we amused ourselves with shooting sea fowl. We were now accompanied by sheerwaters, pintadoes, &c. and by a small grey peterel. This last is less than a pigeon, has a grey back, whitish belly, and a black stroke across from the tip of one wing to that of the other. These are southern birds, and, we believe, never seen within the tropics, or north of the line. They visited us in great flights; and about the same time we saw several animals of the molusca kind, within our reach, together with a violet-coloured shell, of a remarkable thin texture, and therefore seems calculated to keep the open sea; and not to come near rocky places, it being easily broken. Saturday the 17th, we discovered a sail to the N. W. which hoisted Dutch colours. She kept us company two days, but on the third we out-sailed her. From the 12th. to this day, we had the wind between the N. and E. a gentle gale. On Wednesday the 21st, our latitude was 35 deg. 20 min. S. and our longitude 8 deg. 4 min. 30 sec. E. From this time to the 23rd, the wind continued easterly, when it veered to the N. and N. W. After some hours calm, we saw a seal, or as some thought, a sea lion. The wind now fixed at N. W. which carried us to our intended port. As we drew near to land, the fowl, which had accompanied us hither, began to leave us: at least they did not ap-

pear in such numbers; nor did we see gannets, or the black bird, commonly called the Cape Hen, till we were nearly within sight of the Cape. On Thursday, the 29th, at two o'clock P. M. we made the land of the Cape of Good Hope; for a particular description of which, and of the adjacent country, see page 148, &c. of this work. The Table Mountain, over the Cape Town, bore E. S. E. distant twelve or fourteen leagues; had it not have been obscured by clouds, it might from its height, have been seen at a much greater distance. Friday the 30th, we stood into Table Bay, with the Adventure in company, and anchored in five fathoms water. We were now visited by the master-attendant of the fort, some other officers belonging to the company, and Mr. Brandt. This last gentleman brought off to us many articles that were very acceptable; and the master-attendant, as is customary, took an account of the two ships, inquiring particularly, if the small-pox was on board, a disorder dreaded above all others by the inhabitants of the Cape; for which reason a surgeon always attends on these visits. This day Capt. Cook sent an officer to wait upon Baron Plettenberg the governor, to inform him of our arrival; to which he returned a polite answer; and on the return of our officer, we saluted the fort with eleven guns, which compliment was acknowledged by the same number. The governor, when the captain accompanied by some of our gentlemen waited upon him, told them, that two French ships from the Mauritius about eight months before, had discovered land, in 48 deg. S. latitude and in the meridian of that Island, along which they sailed forty miles, till they came to a bay, into which when they were about to enter, they were driven off and separated in a hard gale after having lost some of their people and boat who had been sent out to sound the bay; but the La Fortune, one of the ships, arrived soon after at Mauritius, the captain of which was sent home to France with an account of the discovery. We also learned from the governor, that two other French ships from Mauritius, in March last, touched at the Cape in their passage to the Pacific



Ocean; to which they were bound upon discoveries, under the command of M. Marion. Aotourou, the Indian whom M. de Bougainville brought from Otaheite, was, had he been living, to have returned home with M. Marion. Having visited the governor and some of the principal inhabitants, we took up our abode at Mr. Brandt's the usual residence of most officers belonging to English ships. With respect to accommodations this gentleman spares neither expence nor trouble, in order to render his house as agreeable as possible to those who favour him with their company. We concerted measures with Mr. Brandt for supplying us with provisions, &c. all which he procured without delay, while our men on board were employed in overhauling the rigging, and the carpenters in caulking the ship's sides, &c. At the same time Mr. Wales and Mr. Bayley made observations for regulating the watches, and other purposes. The result of these was that Mr. Kendal's watch had answered beyond our expectations, by determining the longitude of this place to within one minute of time to what it was observed in 1761, by Messrs. Mason and Dixon.

At this place two Dutch Indiamen arrived after us, from Holland. Their passage was near five months, in which one of the ships lost by the scirvy, and the other by putrid fevers, in all 191 men. One of these ships touched at Port Praya, and departed a month from thence before we came there, yet we arrived at the Cape three days before her. During our stay here, Mr. Forster, who employed his time wholly in the pursuit of Natural History and Botany, met with one Mr. Sparman, a Swedish gentleman who had studied under Linnæus. Mr. Forster importuned strongly Capt. Cook to take him aboard; and Mr. Sparman being willing to embark, the Captain consented; and he was engaged under Mr. Forster, who bore his expences on board, and allowed him a yearly stipend besides. Mr. Hodges also employed himself in taking views of the Cape, town, and parts adjacent, in oil colours; all which were left with Mr. Brandt, to be forwarded by him to the ad-

miralty, by the first ship bound for England.

On the 18th of November we had got every thing on board; but it was the 22nd before we could put to sea. In this interval the crews of both ships were served every day with fresh beef, or mutton, new baked bread, and what quantity of greens they thought sufficient; and the two ships, in every respect, were put in as good condition as when they left England. At this time some removes took place in the Adventure. The first lieutenant, Mr. Shank, desired leave to resign, in order to return to England for the recovery of his health, which was granted. Mr. Kemp was appointed first lieutenant, and Mr. Burney, one of our midshipmen, was made second lieutenant, in the room of Mr. Kemp.

On the 22nd we repaired on board, having first taken leave of the governor, and other officers, who in a most obliging manner had afforded us all the necessary assistance we required. At three o'clock, P. M. we weighed, and saluted the fort with fifteen guns, which compliment was instantly returned. We now stood all night to the westward, to get clear of the land, during which time the sea made the same luminous appearance, which has been already, in the course of our history, noticed and described. As soon as we had cleared the land, we directed our course, as ordered, to Cape Circumcision. We had a moderate gale from the N. W. point until the 24th, when the wind shifted to the eastward. This day by observations, at noon, we found ourselves to be in 35 deg. 25 min. S. lat. and 29 min. W. of the Cape of Good Hope. As we were now directing our course toward the antarctic circle, and expected to encounter soon with cold weather, the Captain ordered a waste of fresh water to be as much as possible prevented; at the same time he supplied each man with a fearnought, jacket, and trowsers, allowed by the Admiralty, and also slops to such who wanted them. Observing a great number of albatrosses about us, we put out hooks and lines with which we caught several, and the ship's company, though served with mutton,



relished them very much. On the 29th, a heavy storm came from the W. N. W. with few intervals of moderate weather, for nearly a week: the sea ran very high, and frequently broke over the ships.

On Sunday, December the 6th, we were in latitude. 48 deg. 41 min. S. and in 18 deg. 24 min. E. longitude. The storm continued and the roaring of the waves, together with hail, rain, and a great agitation of the vessel, were circumstances that rendered our situation extremely disagreeable. A boy in the fore part of our ship hearing a noise of water running among the chests, turned out, and found himself half way up the leg in water; upon which all hands worked at the pumps, but the water increased upon us. This was at last discovered to come in through a scuttle in the boatswain's store-room. This gale, attended with hail and rain, continued till the 8th, with such fury, that we could carry no sails; and being driven by this means far to the eastward of our intended course, not the least hope remained of our reaching Cape Circumcision. Our distress was augmented by the loss of a great part of our live stock we had brought from the Cape. Every man felt the effects of the sudden transition from warm to extreme cold weather; for which reason an addition was made to the men's allowance of brandy in both ships. On the morning of the 7th, the rising sun gave us a flattering prospect of serene weather; but our expectations soon vanished; the barometer was unusually low; and by one o'clock P. M. the wind, which was at N. W. blew with such violence as obliged us to strike our top-gallant-masts. On the 8th, the gale was somewhat abated; but the sea ran too high for us to carry more than the fore-top-mast stay-sail.

On Wednesday, the 9th, at three A. M. we wore the ship to the southward, showers of snow fell, with squally weather. At eight made signal for the Adventure to make sail. On the 10th, made another signal for her to lead, and saw an ice-Island to the westward of us, in 50 deg. 40 min. S. latitude, and 2 deg. E. longitude of the Cape of Good Hope. The weather being hazy, Capt. Cook by

signal called the Adventure under our stern; a fortunate circumstance this; for the fog increased so much, that we could not discern an Island of ice, for which we were steering, till we were less than a mile from it. The sea broke very high against this Island of ice, which Captain Furneaux took for land, and therefore hauled off from it, till he was called back by signal. We cannot determine with precision on the height or circumference of this ice-Island; but, in our opinion such large bodies must drift very slowly, for, as the greatest part of them are under water, they can be little affected by either the winds or waves. It being necessary to proceed with great circumspection, we reefed our top-sails, and upon sounding found no ground with one hundred and fifty fathoms.

Friday, the 11th, in 51 deg. 50 min. S. latitude, and 21 deg. 3 min. E. longitude, saw some white birds, and passed another large Island of ice. The birds were about the size of pigeons, with blackish bills and feet. Capt. Cook thought them of the petrel kind, and natives of these frozen seas. The dismal scene in view, to which we were unaccustomed, was varied as well by these birds, as several whales, which made their appearance among the ice, and afforded us some idea of a southern Greenland. But though the appearance of the ice, with the waves breaking over it, might afford a few moments pleasure to the eye, yet it could not fail filling us with horror, when we reflected on our danger; for the ship would be dashed to pieces in a moment, were she to get against the weather side of one of these Islands, when the sea runs high.

On the 13th, a great variety of ice Islands presented themselves to our view, and the number of our attendant birds decreased. As we were now in the latitude of Cape Circumcision, according to Mr. Bonvet's discoveries, in the year 1739, yet we were 10 deg. to the longitude of it; but some people on board were very eager to be first in spying land. In this field of low ice were several Islands, or hills, and some on board thought they saw land over the ice; but this was only owing to the various



appearances which the ice hills make, when seen in hazy weather. We had smooth water, and brought to under a point of ice: here we consulted on places of rendezvous, in case of separation, and made several regulations for the better keeping company. We then made sail along the ice.

On Monday the fourteenth a boat was hoisted out for two gentlemen to make some observations and experiments. While they were thus engaged, the fog increased so much, that they entirely lost sight of both of the ships. Their situation was truly terrific and alarming, as they were only in a small four oared boat, in an immense ocean, surrounded with ice, utterly destitute of provisions, and far from any habitable shore. They made various efforts to be heard, and rowed about for some time, without effect; they could not see the length of their boat, nor hear any sound. They had neither mast nor sail, only two oars. They determined to lie still, as the weather was calm, and hoped that the ships would not swim out of sight. A bell sounded at a distance, which was heavenly music to their ears. They were at last taken up by the Adventure, and thus narrowly escaped those extreme dangers. So great was the thickness of the fog sometimes, that we had the utmost difficulty to avoid running against the Islands of ice, with which we were surrounded. We stood to the south on the seventeenth, when the weather was clear and serene, and saw several sorts of birds, which we were unacquainted with. The skirts of the ice seemed to be more broken than usual and we sailed among it most part of the day; we were obliged to stand to the northward, in order to avoid it. On the eighteenth we got clear of the field of ice, but were carried among the ice Islands, which it was difficult to keep clear of. The danger to which we were now exposed, was preferable to being entangled among immense fields of ice. There were two men on board the Resolution, who had been in the Greenland trade; the one had lain nine weeks, and the other six, stuck fast in a field of ice. That which is called a field of ice is very thick, and consists but of one piece, be it ever so

large. There are other pieces of great extent packed together, and in some places heaped upon each other. How long such ice may have lain here, is not easily determined. In the Greenland seas, such ice is found all the summer long, and it cannot be colder there in summer time than it is here. Upon the supposition that this ice which we have been speaking of is generally formed in bays and rivers, we imagined that land was not far from us, and that the ice alone hindered our approaching it. We therefore determined to sail to the eastward, and afterwards to the south, and, if we met with no land or impediment, there to get behind the ice, that this matter might be put out of doubt. We found the weather much colder, and all the crew complained of it. Those jackets which were too short were lengthened with baize, and each of them had a cap made of the same stuff, which kept them as warm as the climate would admit. Scorbatic symptoms appearing on some of the people, the surgeons gave them fresh wort every day, made from the malt we took with us for that purpose.

We stood once more to the southward on the twenty-second instant. On the twenty-third, we hoisted out a boat to make such experiments as were thought necessary. We examined several species of birds, which we had shot as they hovered round us with seeming curiosity.

On the twenty-fifth, being Christmas-day we were very cheerful and notwithstanding the surrounding rocks of ice, the sailors spent it in savage noise and drunkenness. On the twenty-sixth, we sailed through large quantities of broken ice. We were still surrounded with Islands, which in the evening appeared very beautiful, the edges being tinged by the setting sun. We were now in latitude 58 deg. 31 min. S.

On the twenty-seventh we had a dead calm, and we devoted the opportunity to shooting petrels and penguins. This afforded great sport, though we were unsuccessful in our chase of penguins. We were obliged to give over the pursuit, as the birds dived so frequently, and continued so long under water. We at last wounded one repeatedly



but was forced finally to kill it with a ball; its hard glossy plumage having constantly turned the shot aside. The plumage of this bird is very thick, the feathers long and narrow, and lie as close as scales. These amphibious birds are thus secured against the wet, in which they almost continually live. Nature has likewise given them a thick skin, in order to resist the perpetual winter of these inhospitable climates. The penguin we shot weighed eleven pounds and a half. The petrels are likewise well provided against the severity of the weather. These latter have an astonishing quantity of feathers, two feathers instead of one proceeding out of every root. Glad were we to be thus employed, or indeed to make any momentary reflections on any subject, that we might in some measure change that gloomy uniformity in which we so slowly passed our time in these desolate and unfrequented seas. We had constant disagreeable weather, consisting of thick fogs, rain, sleet, hail, and snow; we were surrounded with innumerable quantities of ice, and were in constant danger of being split by them; add to which, we were forced to live upon salt provisions, which concurred with the weather to infect our mass of blood. Our seamen coming fresh from England did not yet mind these severities and fatigues, their spirits kept them above repining at them; but among some of us a wish prevailed to exchange our situation for a happier and more temperate one. The crew were well supplied with portable broth and sour krout, which had the desired effect in keeping them from the scurvy. The habit of body in one man was not to be relieved by those expedients, but he was cured by the constant use of fresh wort. This useful remedy ought never to be forgotten in ships bound on long voyages, or the encomiums on the efficacy of malt cannot be exaggerated; great care must also be taken to prevent its becoming damp and mouldy, for if it is suffered to do so, its salutary qualities will become impaired in a long voyage.

On the 29th, the commanders, came to a resolution, provided they met with no impediment, to run as far west as Cape Cir-

cumcision, since the sea seemed to be pretty clear of ice, and the distance not more than eighty leagues. We steered for an Island of ice this day, intending to take some on board, and convert it into fresh water. On this Island we saw a great number of penguins. The sight of these birds is said to be a sure indication of the vicinity of land. This may hold good where there are no ice Island, but not so when there are any, for there they find a resting place. We will not determine whether there are any females among them at so great a distance from land, or whether they go on shore to breed.

On the 31st, we stood for this Island again, but could not take up any of the loose ice, for the wind increased so considerably, as to make it dangerous for the ships to remain among the ice; besides which, we discovered an immense field of ice to the north, extending further than the eye could reach. We had no time to deliberate, as we were not above two or three miles from it.

On the 1st of January, the gale abated but there fell a good deal of snow and sleet, which froze on the rigging of the ships. The wind continued moderate the next day, and we were favoured with a sight of the moon, whose face we had not seen since we left the Cape of Good Hope. We were now in 59 deg. 12 min. S latitude, and in 9 deg. 45 min. E longitude. Several observations were made of the sun and moon. We were nearly in the longitude assigned by M. Bouvet to Cape Circumcision: but as the weather was very clear at this time, inasmuch that we could see at least fifteen leagues distance from us, it is most probable that what he took for land was no more than mountains of ice, surrounded by loose or packed ice, the appearances of which are so deceptive. From all the observations we could make, we think it highly probable that there is no land under the meridian between the latitude of 55 and 59 deg. We directed our course to the E. S. E. that we might get more to the S. We had a fresh gale and a thick fog, a good deal of snow and sleet, which froze on the rigging, and



every rope was covered with fine transparent ice. This was pleasing enough to look at, but made us imagine it was colder than it really was; for the weather was much milder than it had been for many days past, and there was not so much ice in the sea. One inconvenience attended us, which was that the men found it very difficult to handle the rigging.

On Friday the 8th, we passed more ice Islands, which became very familiar to us. In the evening we came to one which had a vast quantity of loose ice about it, and, as the weather was moderate, we brought to, and sent the boats out to take up as much as they could. Large piles of it were packed upon the quarter-deck, and put into casks, from which, after it was melted, we got water enough for thirty days. A very little salt water adhered to the ice, and the water which this produced was very fresh and good. Excepting the melting and taking away the ice, this is a most expeditious method of supplying ships with water. We observed here several white whales, of an immense size. In two days afterwards we took in more ice, as did the *Adventure*. Some persons on board, who were ignorant of natural philosophy, were very much afraid that the unmelted ice, which was kept in casks, when the weather altered, would dissolve and burst the casks in which it was packed, thinking that, in its melted state it would take up more room than in its frozen one. In order to undeceive them, Capt. Cook placed a little pot of stamped ice in a temperate cabin, which as it gradually dissolved, took up much less space than before. This was a convincing argument, and their fears of this sort subsided. As we had now several fine days, we had frequent opportunities of making observations, and trying experiments, which were very serviceable to us on many accounts. The people likewise took the opportunity of washing their clothes in fresh water, which is very necessary in long voyages.

On the 17th, before noon, we crossed the antarctic circle; and advanced into the southern frigid zone, which to all former navigators had remained impenetrable. We

could see several leagues around us, as the weather was tolerably clear. In the afternoon we saw the whole sea covered with ice, from S. E. to S. W. We saw a new species of the petrel, of a brown colour, with a white belly and rump, and a large white spot on the wings; we saw great flights of them, but never any of them fell into the ships. We called it the Antarctic petrel, as such numbers of them were seen hereabouts.

In the afternoon we saw thirty-eight ice Islands, large and small. This immense field was composed of different kinds of ice; such as field-ice, as so called by the Greenlanders, and packed ice. Here we saw several whales playing about the ice, and still large flocks of petrels. Our latitude was now 67 deg. 15 min. S.

We did not think it prudent to persevere in a southern direction, as that kind of summer which this part of the world produces was now half spent; and it would have taken up much time to have gone round the ice, supposing it practicable; we therefore resolved to go directly in search of the land lately discovered by the French.

On the 19th, in the evening, we saw a bird, which in Capt. Cook's former voyage was called the Port Egmont hen; so called, because there are great numbers of them to be seen at Port Egmont in Falkland Islands. They are about the size of a large crow, short and thick, of a chocolate colour, with a white speck under each wing. Those birds are said never to go far from land; and we were induced from this circumstance to hope that land was near, but we were disappointed; the ice Islands had probably brought this bird hither.

On the 21st, we saw white albatrosses with black tipped wings. On the 29th, several porpoises passed us with amazing swiftness; they had a large white spot on their sides, which came almost up to their backs. They went at least three times as fast as our vessels, and we went at the rate of seven knots and a half an hour. On the 31st, we passed a large ice Island, which at the time of our sailing by was tumbling to pieces. The explosion equalled that of a cannon.



On the 1st of February, we saw large quantities of sea weed floating by the ships. Capt. Furneaux acquainted Capt. Cook, that he had seen a number of divers, which very much resembled those in the English seas, and likewise a large bed of floating rock-weed. These were certain signs of the vicinity of land; but we could not tell whether it was to the E. or W. We imagined that no land of any extent lay to the W. because the sea ran so high from the N. E. N. N. W. and W. we therefore steered to the E. lay to in the night, and resumed our course in the morning. We saw two or three egg birds, and passed several pieces of rock-weed, but no other signs of land. We steered northward, and made signal for the Adventure to follow, as she was rather thrown astern by her movement to the eastward. We could not find land in that direction, and we again steered southward. There was an exceeding thick fog on the 4th, on which we lost sight of the Adventure. We fired several signals, but were not answered; on which account we had too much reason to think that a separation had taken place, though we could not well tell what had been the cause of it. Capt. Cook had directed Capt. Furneaux, in case of a separation, to cruize three days in that place he last saw the Resolution. Capt. Cook accordingly made short boards, and fired half hour guns till the afternoon of the 7th, when the weather cleared up, and the Adventure was not to be seen in the limits of that horizon. We were obliged to lie to till the 10th, and notwithstanding we kept firing guns, and burning false fires all night, we neither saw nor heard any thing of the Adventure, and were obliged to make sail without her, which was but a dismal prospect, for we were now exposed to the dan-

ger of the frozen climate without the company of our fellow-voyagers, which before had relieved our spirits when we considered that we were not entirely alone in case we lost our own vessel. The crew universally regretted the loss of the Adventure; and they seldom looked around the ocean without expressing some concern that we were alone on this unexplored expanse. At this time we had an opportunity of seeing what we had never observed before, the aurora australis, which made a very grand and luminous appearance. Nothing material happened to us, but various changes of the weather and climate, till the 25th of March, when land was seen from the mast-head, which greatly exhilarated the spirits of our sailors. We steered in for the land with all the sail we could carry, and had the advantage of good weather and a fresh gale. The captain mistook the bay before us for Dusky Bay, the Islands that lay at the mouth of it having deceived him. We proceeded for Dusky Bay, in New Zealand, but with much caution as we advanced nearer the land. We passed several Islands, &c. and two leagues up the bay an officer was sent out to look for anchorage, which he found, and signified it by signal. Here we anchored in fifty fathoms water, and very near the shore. This joyful circumstance happened on the 26th of March, after we had been 117 days at sea, and sailed 3660 leagues, without so much as once seeing land. It might be supposed, from the length of time we had been at sea, that the people would have been generally affected by the scurvy; but the contrary happened, owing to the precautions we used. We had much reason to be thankful to divine Providence, that no untoward accident had befallen us, and that our crew were in good health.



## CHAP. II.

*A narrative of what happened in Dusky Bay, in New Zealand; Interviews with the natives. The Resolution sails to Charlotte's Sound; Is there joined by the Adventure; Transactions in this place, with observations on the inhabitants; Capt. Furneaux's narrative; The two ships proceed in company from New Zealand to the Island of Otaheite; Remarks on some low Islands, supposed to be the same that were discovered by M. de Bougainville; The Resolution and Adventure arrive at Otaheite; Are in a critical situation; An account of several incidents while they lay in Oaiti-piha Bay.*

**T**HE country appeared beautiful and pleasing. The Islands we passed, before our entrance into Dusky Bay, were shaded with evergreen, and covered with woods; the various shades of autumnal yellow, intermixed with the evergreens, exhibited a delightful contrast. The rocky shores were enlivened with flocks of aquatic birds, and the whole country resounded with the wild notes of the feathered songsters. As soon as we anchored we caught great numbers of fish, which eagerly took the bait laid for them. Our first meal upon fish here was looked upon as the most delightful we had ever made. Capt. Cook did not like the place in which we anchored, and sent lieutenant Pickersgill in search of a better, which he soon found. The captain liked it, and called it Pickersgill harbour. This we entered on the twenty-seventh of March, by a channel which was scarcely twice the width of the ship. Here we determined to stay some time, and examine it thoroughly, as no one had ever entered it before, or landed on any of the southern parts of this country. Our situation was admirable for wood and water. Our yards were locked in the branches of trees, and near our stern ran a delightful stream of fresh water. We made preparations on shore for making all necessary observations, and perform necessary repairs, &c. &c. The live cattle we had left which consisted of a few sheep and goats, would not taste the grass which grew on the shore; nor were they very fond of the leaves of tender plants which grew here. When we examined these poor creatures, we found their teeth loose, and they had other symp-

toms of an inveterate scurvy. We had not hitherto seen any appearance of inhabitants; but on the twenty-eight some of the officers went on a shooting party in a small boat, and discovering them, returned to acquaint Capt. Cook therewith. Very shortly a canoe came filled with them, within musket shot of the ship. They stood looking at us for some time, and then returned; we could not prevail upon them to come any nearer, notwithstanding we shewed them every token of peace and friendship. Capt. Cook, with several officers and gentlemen, went in search of them the same day. We found the canoe hauled upon the shore, where were several huts, with fire-places and fishing-nets, but the people had probably retired into the woods. We made but a short stay, and left in the canoe some medals, looking glasses, &c. not chosing to search any further, or enforce an interview which they wished to avoid; we returned accordingly to the ship. Two parties went out the next day, but returned without finding any thing worth noticing.

On the 1st, of April we sent to see if any thing we had left in the canoe remained there. It did not appear that any body had been there, and none of the things meddled with. On the 2nd, we again went on shore to search for natural productions. We killed three seals, and found many ducks, wood hens, and wild fowl, several of which we killed. Another party went ashore the same day, and took with them a black dog we had brought from the Cape, who ran into the woods at the first musket they fired, and would not return. Both parties came back to the ship in the evening.



On the sixth, we made a shooting party, and found a capacious cove, where we shot several ducks; on which account we called it Duck Cove. We had an interview with one man and two women, as we returned in the evening, who were natives, and the first that discovered themselves; and had not the man halloed to us, we should have passed without seeing them. The man stood upon the point of a rock, with a club in his hand, and the women were behind him with spears. As we approached, the man discovered great signs of fear, but stood firm; nor would he move to take up some things that were thrown to him. His fears were all dissipated by Capt. Cook's going up to embrace him; the captain gave him such things as he had about him. The officers and seamen followed the Captain, and talked some time with them; though we could not understand them. In this conversation, the youngest of the women bore the greatest share. A droll fellow of a sailor remarked, that the women did not want tongue in any part of the world. We were obliged to leave them on the approach of night; but before we parted Mrs. Talkative gave us a dance.

On the 7th, we made them another visit, and presented them with several things; but they beheld every thing with indifference, except hatchets and spike nails. We now saw all the man's family, as we supposed, which consisted of two wives, the young woman we mentioned before, a boy about fourteen years old, and three small children. Excepting one woman (who had a large wen upon her upper lip,) they were well favoured; on account of her disagreeable appearance, she seemed to be neglected by the man. We were conducted to their habitation, which consisted of two mean huts, situated near the skirts of a wood. Their canoe lay in a small creek near the huts, and was just large enough to transport the whole family from place to place. A gentleman of our party made sketches of them, which occasioned their calling him Toe-Toe, which, it seems, is a word which signifies marking or painting. On taking leave, the man presented Capt. Cook with some trifles and a piece of cloth of their own manufacture; and pointed to a boat cloak, which he wished to have. The hint was taken, and one was ordered to be made for him of red baize. On the 9th we paid the natives another visit, and signified our approach by hallooming to them; but they neither met us on shore, nor answered us as usual; the reason of which was, that their time was fully occupied in dressing themselves to receive us. They had their hair combed and oiled, stuck with white feathers, and tied upon the crowns of their heads, and had bunches of feathers stuck in their ears. We were received by them with great courtesy in their dress. The man was so well pleased with the present of the cloak, that he took his patta-patoe from his side, and gave it to Capt. Cook. We continued here a little time, and took leave, spending the rest of the day in surveying the bay.

On Monday the 12th, this family paid us a visit in their canoe, but proceeded with caution as they approached the ship. We could not by any means persuade them to come on board, but put ashore in a little creek near us, and sat themselves down near enough to speak to us. Capt. Cook ordered the bagpipes to play, and the drum to beat; the latter only they regarded. They conversed very familiarly (though not well understood) with such officers and seamen as went to them, and paid a much greater regard to some than to others; we supposed that they took such for women. One of the females shewed a remarkable fondness for one man in particular, until she found out his sex; after which she would not let him approach her. We cannot tell whether she had before taken him for a female, or whether, in discovering himself, he had taken some liberties with her. In the evening the natives of Dusky Bay took up their quarters very near our watering-place, which was a clear proof that they placed a great deal of confidence in us. We passed two or three days in examining the bay and making necessary experiments and observations. We likewise shot great quantities of wild fowl.

On Monday the 19th, the man and his





A FAMILY IN DISK BAY, NEW ZEALAND.

Published by T. Smith, Woodcutting.

J. H. B. engraving.







laughter before mentioned ventured on board our ship, while the rest of the family were fishing in the canoe. Before the man would come into the ship, he struck the side of it with a green branch, and muttered some words, which we took for a prayer; after which he threw away the branch and came on board. We were at breakfast, but could not prevail on them to partake with us. They viewed every part of the cabin with apparent curiosity and surprise; but we could not fix the man's attention to any one thing for a moment. All we shewed him seemed beyond his comprehension, and the works of nature and art were alike regarded. The strength and number of our decks and other parts of the ship seemed to strike him with surprise. The man was still better pleased with hatchets and spike-nails than any thing our ship produced; when he had once got possession of these, he would not quit them. Capt. Cook and three other gentlemen left the ship as soon as they could disengage themselves from the visitors, whom they left in the gun-room, and went out in two boats to examine the head of the bay; at which place they took up their night's lodging; the next day they continued their observations, and fired at some ducks. Upon the report of the gun, the natives, who had not discovered themselves before, set up a most hideous roar in different places. The gentlemen hallooed in their turn, and retreated to their boats. The natives did not follow them, neither indeed could they, because a branch of the river separated them, but still made a great noise. As they continued shooting and making their observations, they frequently heard the natives in the woods. A man and woman appeared at last on the banks of the river, waving something in their hands as a token of friendship. The gentlemen could not get near them, and the natives retreated into the woods. Two others appeared; but as the gentlemen advanced they retreated likewise, and the woods afforded them thick cover. The captain and his party passed the next night in the same place, and after breakfast embarked to return on board; but saw two men on the opposite shore,

who hallooed to them, and they were induced to row over to them. Capt. Cook with two other gentlemen landed unarmed, and advanced all together, but the natives retreated, nor would they stand still till Capt. Cook went up alone. It was with some difficulty that he prevailed on one of them to lay down his spear; at last he did it, and met the captain with a grass plant in his hand, giving Capt. Cook one end to hold whilst he himself held the other. In this position they stood while the natives made a speech, which the captain did not understand, but returned some sort of answer; they then saluted each other, and the native took his coat from his back, and put it on the captain. The Captain presented each of them with a hatchet and a knife, having nothing else with him. They invited the gentlemen to their habitation, and wanted them to eat, but the tide prevented their accepting of this invitation. More people appeared in the skirts of the woods, but did not approach any nearer. The two natives accompanied the gentlemen to their boats, but seemed very much agitated at the appearances of the muskets, which they looked upon as instruments of death, on account of the slaughter they had observed among the fowls. It was necessary to watch them, for they laid their hands on every thing except the muskets. They assisted the seamen in launching the boat. It did not appear that they had any boats or canoes with them, but used two or three logs of wood tied together, which answered the same purposes; for the navigation of the river, on the banks of which they lived, was not very difficult, and swarmed with fish and fowl. We apprehend that all the natives of this bay did not exceed more than three families. This party took leave of the man about noon; and in the evening returned to the ship, when they found that the visitors had staid on board till noon; that he and his family remained near them till that day, and went into the woods, after which they were never seen; this appears rather extraordinary, as they never went away without some present. Several parties were made in order to catch seals,



which were very useful for food, for oil, and their skins were cured for rigging. The flesh of them is nearly as good as beef-steaks, and their entrails are equal to those of a hog. We likewise took the summit of the mountains in this bay, and made other remarks.

On Saturday the 24th, Capt. Cook took five geese and a gander, which were all that remained of those brought from the Cape of Good Hope, and carried them to a cove, which on this account he called goose-cove; this was a convenient place, for they were not likely to be disturbed by the inhabitants, there was plenty of food for them, and they were likely here to breed and spread the country with their species. We had now several days fair weather, which gave us a fine opportunity of making necessary preparations for departure.

On Tuesday the 27th, we found an arm of the sea more convenient than that by which we entered the bay; we shot several ducks, and were much pleased with the day's expedition. All we now waited for was wind to carry us out of harbour by the new passage we had discovered. The tents and all other articles were got on board. The rubbish we had made on shore, which consisted chiefly of pieces of wood, &c. we set on fire, in order to dry the ground, which being done, Capt. Cook sowed the spot with various sorts of garden seeds. This was the best place we could find to place them in. We made several efforts to sail, but the wind proving contrary we made but little way, and were obliged to anchor on the first of May on the north side of Long Island. Here we found two huts with fire places, which appeared to be lately inhabited. Capt. Cook was detained on board by a cold, and sent a party to explore an arm of the sea, which turns in to the east. This party found a good anchoring place, with plenty of wild fowl, fish and fresh water. We made several shooting parties when the wind would not permit us to sail. Before we leave Dusky Bay, we think it necessary to give our readers some description of it.

There are two entrances to this Bay, which

are by no means dangerous; and there are numerous anchoring places, which are at once safe and commodious; at Cascade Cave, so called on account of the magnificent cascade near it, is room for a fleet of ships, and a very good passage in and out. The country is very mountainous, and the prospect is rude and craggy. The land bordering on the sea-coast, and all its lands, are covered with wood. There are trees of various kinds which are common in other countries, the timber of which is remarkably fine. Here are likewise a great number of aromatic plants; and the woods are so over-run with supple-jacks, that it is difficult to make way through them. The soil is undoubtedly composed of decayed vegetables, which make a deep black mould; it is very loose, and sinks at every step. This may be the reason why there are so many large trees blown down as we meet with in the woods. Except flax and hemp, there is very little herbage. The bay abounds with fish, which we caught in great numbers. Seals are the only amphibious animals to be found here, but there are great numbers of them. Various kinds of ducks are to be found, as well as all other wild fowl. Here is likewise a bird which we called the wattle bird, because it has two wattles under its beak like those of a dunghill cock. Its bill is short and thick, its feathers are dark, and is about the size of an English black-bird. This we called the poy-bird, on account of two little tufts of curled hair which hang under its throat, called its poies, which is the Otaheitan word for ear-rings. The feathers of this bird are of a fine mazarine blue, except those of his neck, which are of a silver grey. The sweetness of its note is equal to the beauty of its plumage; its flesh is likewise luxurious food, though it is a great pity to kill them.

The small black sand flies are here very numerous and troublesome; they cause a swelling and intolerable itching wherever they bite. Another evil attending this bay is the almost continual rains that fall, but happily our people felt no ill effects from them. The place must certainly be healthful, as those of our crew, who were in any



degree indisposed when we came in recovered speedily.

The inhabitants of Dusky Bay are the same with those in other parts of New Zealand; they speak the same language and adopt the same customs. It is not easy to divine what could induce these few families to separate themselves from the society of the rest of their fellow-creatures. It seems probable that there are people scattered all over this southern Island, by our meeting with inhabitants in this place. They appear to lead a wandering life, and don't seem to be in perfect amity with each other.

On Tuesday the 11th of May, we again made sail, but met with more obstructions. We observed on a sudden a whitish spot on the sea, out of which a column arose which looked like a glass tube. It appeared that another of the same sort came down from the clouds to meet this, and they made a coalition and formed what is called a water-spout; several others, were formed in the same manner soon after. As we were not very well acquainted with the nature and causes of these spouts, we were very curious in examining them. Their base was a broad spot, which looked bright and yellowish when the sun shone upon it; this appeared when the sea was violently agitated, and vapours rose in a spiral form. The columns were like a cylinder, and moved forward on the surface of the sea, and frequently appeared crossing each other, they at last broke one after another, this was owing to the clouds not following them with equal rapidity. The sea appeared more and more covered with short broken waves as the clouds came nearer to us; the wind veered about, and did not fix in any one point. Within 200 fathoms of us, we saw a spot in the sea, in violent agitation; the water ascended in a spiral form towards the clouds; the clouds looked black and lowering, and some hail stones fell on board. A cloud gradually tapered into a long slender tube directly over the agitated spot, and seemed descending to meet the rising spiral, and soon united with it. The last water-spout broke like others, no explosion was heard, but a flash of lightning attended this dis-

junction. The oldest mariners on board had never been so near water-spouts before, they were therefore very much alarmed. Had we been drawn into the vortex, it was generally believed that our masts and yards must have gone to wreck. From the first appearance, to the last dissolution was three quarters of an hour.

On May the 18th, at five o'clock in the morning, we opened Queen Carlotte's Sound and saw three flashes arising from a strong hold of the natives. We imagined them to be signals of the Europeans, and probably of our old friends in the Adventure; when we fired some guns, we were answered, and in a short time saw the Adventure at anchor. We were saluted by Capt Furneaux with 13 guns, which we very cheerfully returned; none can describe the joy we felt at this most happy meeting.

*As it must be pleasing to our Subscribers and Readers, whose generous encouragement we have experienced, and it being our intention, in return, to render this work as complete, in every respect as possible, we shall here present them with a complete Narrative of Capt. Furneaux's proceedings, and of the various incidents that happened, during the separation of the two ships, to their joining again in Queen Charlotte's Sound; with an account of Van Diemen's Land.*

**T**HE Adventure, on Sunday the 4th, of February, after having lost sight of the Resolution, in a very thick fog, had no other means of again meeting with her, but by cruizing in the place where they parted company, or by repairing to Charlotte Bay, the first appointed place of rendezvous, in case such a misfortune should happen. Soon after their separation, the people of the Adventure heard a gun, the report of which they judged to be on the larboard beam; upon which they hauled up S. E. and fired a four pounder every half hour; but receiving no return, nor sight of their companion, they kept the course they had steered before the fog came on. In the evening it began to blow hard. The storm



was attended with a prodigious fall of rain, every drop of the size of a common pea; and the sea broke over the ship's bows to the height of the yard arms; yet, at intervals, the weather was more clear; but at these favourable opportunities, they could not see their wished for object, the Resolution, which gave them many moments replete with inexpressible uneasiness. They then stood to the westward, to cruise in the latitude where they last saw her, according to agreement, in case of separation; but the storm returned with renewed fury, and the weather being again exceeding hazy, they were compelled to bring to, which untoward circumstance prevented them from reaching the intended place; however, they cruized as near the same as they could for three days, when, after having kept beating about the seas, in the most terrible weather that any ship could possibly endure, and giving all hopes over of joining their lost companion, they bore away for winter-quarters, 1400 leagues distant from them; and, having to traverse a sea entirely unknown, they took every precaution for their safety, and reduced the allowance of water to one quart a day for each seaman. On the 8th, they kept between the latitude 52 and 53 degrees S. and reached to 95 deg. E. longitude. They had here hard gales from the W. attended with snow, sleet, and a long hollow sea from the S. W. On the 26th, a meteor called to the northward, the Aurora Borealis, or northern lights, appeared with uncommon brightness in the N. N. W. directing its course to S. W. And what is more remarkable, after our separation from the Resolution to our making land, we saw but one of the ice-Island, though in the most part of our long run, we were 2 or 3 degrees southward of the latitude in which we first met with them; but we saw numberless sea birds, and porpoises, curiously spotted with white and black, frequently darted swiftly by our ship.

On Monday the 1st of March, having made no discovery of land, though we had traversed from latitude 48 to 45 degrees S. and from longitude 36 to 146 degrees, it was determined to bear away for Van Die-

men's Land, in order to take in water, and repair our shattered rigging. This land, supposed to join New Hol'and, was discovered by Tasman A. D. 1642, and in the charts is laid down in latitude 44 deg. S. and longitude 140 deg. E. On the 9th, being Tuesday, about nine o'clock A. M. we fell in with the S. W. part of this coast bearing N. N. E. 8 or 9 leagues distant, and 140 deg. 10 min. E. longitude from Greenwich. It appeared moderately high and uneven near the sea, but the hills farther back formed a double land and much higher. We saw a point which bore N. four leagues off from us, much like the Ram-head off Plymouth. This we concluded to be the same that Tasman called the South Cape. About four leagues E. S. E. half E. from hence are three Islands, and several rocks, resembling the Mewstone, (one of which we so named) and they are not laid down by Tasman in his draughts. At the South East Cape, in latitude 43 deg. 36 min. S. and 147. deg. E. longitude, the country is hilly and full of trees, the shore rocky, and landing difficult, caused by the wind blowing continually from the westward, which occasions such a surf, that the sand cannot lie on the shore. On Wednesday the 10th, A. M. the second lieutenant was dispatched in the great cutter, the ship being about four miles from the land, to find if there was any harbour or good bay. With much difficulty they landed, saw several places where the Indians had been, and one they had lately left. There was a path in the woods, which probably leads to their habitations, but our people had not time to pursue it. The soil appears to be very rich, and the lee country well clothed with wood, especially on the side of the hills. Plenty of water fell from the rock, in beautiful cascades, for two or three hundred feet perpendicular into the sea. Not perceiving the least sign of any place to anchor in, we hoisted in the boat, and made sail for Frederick Henry Bay. At three o'clock P. M. we were abreast of the westernmost point of a very deep bay called by Tasman, Stormy Bay. Several Islands from the W. to the E. point of this bay and some black rocks, we named the



**Friars.** At seven, being abreast of a fine bay, with little wind, we came to, and by a good observation found our latitude to be 43 deg. 20 min. S. and our longitude 147 deg. 34. min. E. On Thursday the 11th, at day break, we found a most commodious harbour, and at seven in the evening, we anchored in seven fathoms water, about one mile from the shore on each side. Maria's Island is about 5 or 6 leagues off. Here we lay five days, and found the country exceeding pleasant. The soil, though thin, is rich; and the sides of the hills are covered with large trees, that grow to a great height before they branch off. They differ from any we had hitherto seen. All of them are of the evergreen kind, and the wood being very brittle, is easily split. Of these we found only two sorts. The leaves of one are long and narrow, and the seed, shaped like a button, has a very agreeable smell. The leaves of the other resemble those of the bay, and its seed that of the white thorn. From these trees, when cut down, issued, what the surgeons call, gum-lac. They are scorched near the ground, by the natives setting fire to the underwood in the most unfrequented places. Of the land birds, are some like a raven, others of the crow kind, paroquets, and several sorts of small birds. One of our gentlemen shot a large white fowl of the eagle kind, about the size of a kite. The sea fowl are ducks, teal, and the sheldrake. Of beasts we saw only an opossum, but observed the dung of others which we pronounced to be of the deer kind. The fish we caught in the bay were mostly sharks, dog fish, and another sort called by the seamen nurses, full of white spots, and some small ones not unlike sprats. In the Lagoons are trout, and other sorts of fish, a few of which we caught with hooks. During our stay here, we did not see any of the natives, but perceived the smoke of their fires, eight or ten miles to the northward. It is evident that they come into this bay from their wigwams or huts, which are formed of boughs, either broken, or split, and tied together with grass: the largest ends are stuck in the ground, and the smaller are brought to a point at the top; making

the whole of a circular form, which is covered with fern or bark in the middle of which is the fire-place, surrounded with heaps of muscle, pear scallop, and cray-fish shells. In one of their huts we found the stone they strike fire with, and some tinder made of the bark of a tree. In others of their wigwams were one of their spears, sharp at one end, with some bags and nets made of grass, which contained, we imagine, their provisions and other necessities. We brought most of those things away, leaving in their room medals, gun-flints, a few nails, and an old iron hooped empty barrel. The huts of these people seemed to be built only for a day, the workmanship being so slender, that they will hardly keep out a shower of rain. The inhabitants lie on the ground, on dried grass, round their fires. They wander about in small parties, from one place to another in search of food, the chief end of their existence; and, from what we could judge, they are altogether an ignorant wretched race of mortals, though natives of a country capable of producing every necessary of life, and a climate the finest in the world. Having got on board our wood and water, we sailed out of Adventure Bay, intending to coast it, with a view of discovering whether Van Diemen's Land is part of New Holland.

On Tuesday the 16th, we passed Maria's Islands, and on the 17th, Schouten's, when we hauled in for the main land, and stood off two or three leagues along shore. Here the country appeared well inhabited, and the land level; but we discovered not any signs of a harbour or bay, wherein a ship might anchor with safety. The land in lat. 40 deg. 50 min. S. trends to the westward, and from this latitude to that of 39 deg. 50 min. is nothing but Islands and shoals; the land appearing high, rocky, and barren. We now stood to the northward, and again made land in 30 deg. but soon after discontinued this course, to fall in with the shore, being very dangerous. From Adventure Bay to where we stood away for New Zealand, the coast lies in the direction S. half W. and N. half E. and Capt. Furneaux was of opinion, that there are no straits between



New Holland and Van Diemen's Land, but a very deep bay. The wind blowing a strong gale at S. S. E. and seeming likely to shift round to the eastward, he thought it most prudent to leave the coast, and make the best of his way for New Zealand,

On the 24th, having left Van Diemen's Land, a very severe squall reduced us to reefed courses. We shipped many waves, one of which stove the large cutter, and with much difficulty we prevented the small one from being washed over board. After this heavy gale, which continued twelve hours, we had more temperate weather, accompanied with calms. At length we made the coast of New Zealand in 40 deg. 30 min. S. latitude, having run 24 deg. of longitude from Adventure Bay, in a passage of fifteen days. When we first came in sight of land, it appeared high, forming a confused group of hills and mountains. We steered along shore to the northward, but our course was much retarded by the swell from the N. E.

On Saturday, April the 3rd, at six o'clock, A. M. we descried land, which upon a nearer approach we knew to be that which lies between Rock Point and Cape Farewell, so named by Capt. Cook, when on his return from his last voyage. Cape Farewell, the south point of the entrance of the west side of the straits, bore E. by N. half N. three or four leagues distant. Sunday, the 4th, we continued our course, and stood to the eastward for Charlotte's Sound. On Monday the 5th, we worked up to windward under Point Jackson. From Stephen's Island to this point, the course is nearly S. E. distance eleven leagues. We fired several guns while standing off and on, but saw not any inhabitants. At half past two P. M. we anchored in thirty-nine fathoms water, muddy ground; Point Jackson being S. E. half E. three leagues. At eight we weighed and made sail. Tuesday, the 6th, at eight o'clock A. M. had the Sound open, and worked up under the western shore. At ten came to, close to some white rocks, in thirty-eight fathoms, and on the 7th, anchored in Ship Cove, in ten fathoms water, and moored the best bower to the N. N. E. In the night heard the howling of dogs, and people hal-

looing on the east shore. Capt. Furneaux now ordered the large cutter to be manned, and sent her, with a proper guard, to examine, whether there were any signs of the Resolution having arrived at that harbour. The boat returned without the least discovery, but that of the post, erected by the Endeavour's people, on the top of a hill, with her name and time of her departure in 1770. Upon this, we instantly prepared to send the tents ashore, for the accommodation of those who were afflicted with the scurvy; while such who enjoyed health were very alert in catching fish, which proved of great service in recovering our sick, to whom fresh provisions were both food and physic.

On Friday, the 9th, three canoes came along side the Adventure, having fifteen Indians of both sexes, all armed with battle axes, and with other offensive weapons made of hard wood, in the form of our officers' spontoons, about four feet in length; but they had neither bows nor arrows. A kind of mat was wrapt round their shoulders, and tied about their waists with a girdle made of grass. Both men and women exhibited a most savage appearance, and were very unwilling to venture on board. The Captain made them presents, and by signs invited them to trade. They accepted the presents, and some of them assumed courage enough to trust themselves on deck. One of our gentlemen, seeing something wrapt up, had the curiosity to examine what it was, when to his great surprise, he found it to be the head of a man, which, by its bleeding, seemed to be fresh cut off. As Capt. Cook had expressed his abhorrence of such unnatural acts, the Indians were very apprehensive of its being forced from them, and the man, to whom it belonged, trembled for fear of being punished. They therefore, with surprising dexterity, in order to conceal the head, shifted it from one to another, till it was conveyed out of sight; endeavouring, at the same time, to convince us by signs, that no such thing was in their possession. They then left the ship, and went on shore, not without some visible signs of displeasure. In this visit they often mentioned the name of Tupia, and upon being



informed he died at Batavia, some of them with much concern inquired whether we killed him, or if he died a natural death. By these questions, we concluded these Indians were some of the same tribe who had visited the Endeavour's company. They returned in the afternoon, with fish and fern roots, which they bartered for nails, to them the most valuable articles; but the man and woman who had the head were not among them. Having a catalogue of words in their language, we called several things by name, at which they seemed much surprised, and offered a quantity of fish for the catalogue. On Saturday the 10th, about eight in the morning, five double canoes came along side the Adventure, with about fifty Indians, at the head of whom was their chief. We purchased of them, for nails, and bottles, their implements of war, stone hatchets, cloth, &c. upon which they set a high price. Several of their head men came on board, nor would they quit the ship by fair means; but upon presenting a musket with a bayonet fixed, they quickly took leave of us, seemingly in great good humour; and afterwards they visited us daily, bringing with them fish in abundance, which they exchanged for nails, beads and other trifles. They behaved quite peaceably, and, having disposed of their cargoes, departed at all times, seemingly, well pleased. We now placed a guard on a little Island, which, at low water, is joined to Mortuara, called the Hippah, at which place was an old fortified town, that had been abandoned by the natives. We took possession of their houses, and by sinking a fort within side, made them very comfortable. Here our astronomer erected his observatory; at the same time we struck our tents on Mortuara; and having run farther into the cove with the ship, we moored her for the winter, on the west shore, and gave her a winter coat to preserve her hull; then after sending ashore the spars and lumber of the decks to be caulked, we pitched our tents near the river, at the watering-place.

On Tuesday, the 11th, of May, several of our crew, who were at work on shore, very sensibly felt the shock of an earthquake, from

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which circumstance we think it probable, that there are volcanos in New Zealand, as these phenomena generally go together. On the 12th, the weather continuing fair, and the Indians friendly, the Captain and officers were preparing to go ashore, when about nine, A. M. no less than ten canoes came paddling down the Sound. We counted one hundred and twenty natives all armed. When along side of the ship, they expressed a desire to be admitted on board; but Capt. Furneaux, not liking their looks and gestures, gave orders, that a few only should be admitted at a time. These behaved so disorderly that the sailors were obliged to turn them out, and it now appeared plainly that the intentions of our visitors were to make themselves masters of the ship: however finding the crew to be upon their guard, they became more civil, but not before a great gun was discharged over their heads, which alone intimidated them. Being thus reduced to order, the people on board produced several articles, such as beads, small clasp knives, scissors, cloth, paper, and other trifles, which they bartered for battle axes, spears, weapons of various sorts, fish-hooks, and other curiosities, the manufacture of the country. Being visibly disappointed in the execution of their grand design, they took to their canoes, all gabbling together in a language, a word of which no one on board could understand: but previous to their departure, the Captain and officers made presents to those among them who appeared to be their chiefs, which they accepted with great apparent satisfaction.

Three months were now elapsed since the Adventure lost sight of the Resolution; but on the 17th, she was seen at Jackson Point. We immediately sent out boats to her assistance, it being calm, to tow her into the Sound. In the evening she anchored about a mile without us, and next morning weighed and warped within us. The pleasure the ship's companies felt at meeting can only be conceived by those who have been in like circumstances, each were as eager to relate, as the others were to hear. Having thus related the progress of the Adventure, we now come to record the transactions of both



ships after their junction. It were little more than a repetition of the Adventure's distresses to recapitulate the effects of the boisterous weather that were felt by the crew of the Resolution; being sometimes surrounded with Islands of ice, out of which they could only extricate themselves by the utmost exertion of their skill in seamanship, sometimes involved in sheets of sleet and snow, and in mists so dark, that a man on the fore-castle could not be seen from the quarter deck; sometimes the sea rolling mountains high, while the running tackle, made brittle by the severity of the frost, was frequently snapping, and sometimes rendered immovable. Amidst the hardships of such a traverse, there is nothing more astonishing, than that the crew should continue in perfect health, scarce a man being so ill as to be incapable of duty. Nothing can redound more to the honour of Capt. Cook, than his paying particular attention to the preservation of health among his company. By observing the strictest discipline from the highest to the lowest, his commands were duly observed, and punctually executed. When the service was hard, he tempered the severity thereof by frequently relieving those employed in the performance, and having all hands at command, he was never under the necessity of continuing the labour of any set of men beyond what their strength and their spirits could bear. Another necessary precaution was, that in fine or settled weather, the Captain never suffered any of his men to be idle but constantly employed the armourers, the carpenters, the professed navigators, foremastmen, &c. in doing something each in his own way, which, though not immediately wanted, he knew there might be a call for before the voyage was completed. Having by this means left no spare time for gaming, quarrelling, or rioting, he kept them in action, and punished drunkenness with the utmost severity; and thus by persevering in a steady line of conduct, he was enabled to keep the sea till reduced to a very scanty portion of water; and when he despaired of finding any new land, and had fully satisfied himself of the non-existence of any continent in the quar-

ter he had traversed, he directed his course to Charlotte's Sound, the place appointed for both ships to rendezvous in case of separation, and appeared off the same, (as has been already related) on Tuesday, the 18th of May, 1773, and here we discovered our consort the Adventure, by the signals she made to us, an event every one in both ships felt with inexpressible satisfaction.

The next morning after our arrival, being Wednesday, the 19th, Capt. Cook went off in the boat, at day-break, to gather scurvy grass, celery, and other vegetables. At breakfast time he returned with a boat load, enough for the crews of both ships; and knowing their salutary efficacy in removing scorbutic complaints, he ordered that they should be boiled with wheat and portable broth, every morning for breakfast, and with pease and broth for dinner, and thus dressed they are extremely beneficial. It was now the Captain's intention to visit Van Diemen's land, in order to determine whether it made a part of New Holland; but as Capt. Furneaux had cleared up this point, it was resolved to continue our researches to the east between the latitudes of 41 deg. and 46 deg. In consequence of this determination Capt. Cook ordered out his men to assist the crew of the Adventure in preparing her for sea. He was induced more especially to this, because he knew refreshments were to be procured at the Society Isles. On the 20th, we visited the fortifications of the natives where the observatory was fixed. It is only accessible in one place, and there by a narrow, difficult path, being situated on a steep rock. The huts of the natives stood promiscuously within an inclosure of pallisadoes; they consisted only of a roof, and had no walls. Perhaps these are only occasional abodes, when the Indians find themselves in any danger. Capt. Furneaux had planted before our arrival, a great quantity of garden seeds, which grew very well, and produced plenty of salad and European greens. This day Capt. Cook sent on shore, to the watering place, near the Adventure's tent, the only ewe and ram remaining of those we brought from the Cape of Good Hope. On the 21st, we went over to Long Island,



which consists of one long ridge, the top nearly level, and the sides steep. Here we found various kinds of stone, and sowed different kinds of garden seeds upon some spots which we cleared for that purpose. On Saturday, the 22nd, we found the ewe and ram dead, whose death we supposed to have been occasioned by some poisonous plants. About noon we were visited by two small canoes in which were five men. They dined with us, and it was not a little they devoured. In the evening they were dismissed with presents. They resembled the people of Dusky Bay, but were much more familiar, and did not appear concerned at seeing us, which was probably owing to their having before visited the crew of the *Adventure*. Some of our crew made use of their canoes to set themselves ashore, on which they complained to the Captain; and, upon their canoes being restored, they seemed highly delighted.

On Monday the 24th, early in the morning, Mr. Gilbert, the master, was dispatched to sound about the rock we had discovered in the entrance of the sound; at the same time Capt. Cook, accompanied by Capt. Furneaux and Mr. Forster, set off in a boat to the west bay on a shooting party. They met a large canoe, in which were fourteen or fifteen people; and the first question they asked was concerning the welfare of *Tupia*. Being told he was dead, they expressed some concern. The same inquiry, as has been observed, was made of Capt. Furneaux when he first arrived, and on our getting aboard in the evening, we were informed, that some Indians, in a canoe, who were strangers to our people, had also inquired for *Tupia*. Mr. Gilbert having sounded all round the rock, which he found to be very small and steep, returned late in the evening. This day the *Resolution* received another visit from a family who came with no other intent than partaking of our food, and to get some of our iron work. We wanted to know their names, but it was a long time before we could make them understand us. At last we found that the oldest was called *Towahanga*, and the others *Kotughaa*, *Koghooa*, *Khoaa*, *Kollakh*, and *Taupuape-*

*rua*. The last was a boy about twelve years of age, very lively and intelligent. He dined with us, eat voraciously, and was very fond of the crust of a pie made of wild fowl. He did not much relish Madeira wine which the Captain gave him, but was very fond of some sweet Cape wine, which elevated his spirits and his tongue was perpetually going. He very much wanted the captain's boat cloak, and seemed much hurt at a refusal. An empty bottle and a table-cloth being also denied him, he grew exceeding angry, and at length was so sullen, that he would not speak a word. On Saturday the 29th, instant, a great number of natives surrounded us with canoes, who brought goods to exchange, for which they got good returns, owing to the eagerness with which our sailors outbid each other, all of them being desirous of having some of the productions of this country. Among these Indians we saw many women whose lips were of a blackish hue, and their cheeks were painted with a lively red. They had large knees, and slender bandy legs, owing to want of exercise, and sitting in their canoes cross legged. These ladies were very agreeable to our crews, who had no opportunity of indulging an intercourse with other women since our departure from England; and they soon found out, that chastity was not a distinguishing part of their character. Their consent was easily purchased: a spike-nail, or an old shirt, was a sufficient bribe: the lady was then left to make her man happy, and to exact from him another present for herself. We must observe to the credit of some of these women, and to the discredit of their men, that several of the former submitted to this prostitution with much seeming reluctance; and they were sometimes terrified into a compliance by the authority and even menaces of the men. The New Zealanders encouraged by the gain of this disgraceful commerce, went through both the ships, offering their daughters and sisters to the promiscuous embraces of every one for iron tools, &c. but the married women were not obliged to carry on this infamous kind of traffic. Indeed it seems to be an established custom in New Zealand for a girl to



bestow her favour on a number of men, without the least infringement on her character; but after marriage, the strictest conjugal fidelity is expected from her. Sketches of the most characteristic of their faces were taken by our draughtsmen. Several of the old men in particular, had very expressive countenances; and some of the young ones looked very savage owing to their bushy hair hanging over their faces. Their dress is like what is exactly described in our copper-plates for this work. In the evening they all went on shore, and erected temporary huts opposite to the ships. Here they made fires, and prepared their suppers, which consisted of fresh fish, which they caught with great dexterity. One of these Indians, Capt. Cook took over to Mortnara, and shewed him some potatoes, in a thriving condition, which were planted by Mr. Fannin, master of the *Adventure*. The man was so well pleased with them, that of his own accord, he began to hoe up the earth round the plants. He was then conducted to other plantations of turnips, carrots, and parsnips, of which it was easy to give them an idea, by comparing them with such roots as they were well acquainted with. We must further remark of these people, that not any of our methods of fishing are equal to theirs.

On the 30th, instant, we went over to Long Island, to collect some hay which the crews had made, and to bring some vegetables on board. In this trip we found several new plants, and shot some small birds, which we had not seen before. In the afternoon, leave was given to some of our sailors to go on shore, where they again purchased the embraces of the women. These fellows must have been very keen indeed, or they would have been disgusted with the uncleanness of their doxies, all of whom had a disagreeable smell, which might be scented at a considerable distance; and their clothes as well as hair swarmed with vermin to a very great degree; which they occasionally cracked between their teeth. It is surprising how men, who had received a civilized education, could gratify the animal appetite with such loathsome creatures. While this

party were on shore, a young woman on board, stole one of our seamen's jackets, and gave it to a young man of her own tribe; upon the sailor's taking it from the Indian, he received several blows on the face by the young fellow's fist. At first the sailor took this as in joke, but upon perceiving the assailant to be in earnest, he gave him a hearty English drubbing, and made him cry out for quarters. At this time Capt. Cook continued his employment of sowing, in different spots cleared for the purpose, all sorts of vegetables that he thought would grow in this country, such as potatoes, beans, peas, corn, &c.

On Tuesday the 1st of June we were visited by several natives whom we had not seen before, and who brought with them sundry new articles of commerce, among these were dogs, some of which we purchased. Of these people we saw a few oddly marked in their faces, by spiral lines deeply cut in them. Such kind of marks were very regular in the face of a middle-aged man, named Tringho Waya, who appeared to be a person of note, and to have authority over his brethren. This company seemed to understand perfectly well how to traffic, and did not like we should make hard bargains. Some of them entertained us with a dance on the quarter deck, previous to which they parted with their upper garments, and stood in a row. They sung a song, and its chorus all together, making during the performance many frantic gestures. Music accompanied this song and dance, but it was not very harmonious.

On Wednesday the 2nd, we set ashore on the east-side of the sound a male and a female goat. The latter, which was more than a year old, had two fine kids, that were killed by the cold some time before we arrived in Dusky Bay. Capt. Furneaux likewise put on shore, in Cannibal Cove, a boar and two breeding sows, which were left to range in the woods at pleasure. Should they remain unmolested by the natives till they become wild, they will then be in no danger, and in time this country may be stocked with these useful animals. In an excursion made this day by some of our people to the east, they met with the



largest seal they had ever seen. They discovered it swimming on the surface of the water, and got near enough to fire at it, but without effect; and after pursuing it near an hour, they were obliged to give over the chase. By the size of this animal, it probably was a sea-lioness; Capt. Cook was of this opinion from having seen a sea-lion when he entered this sound, in his former voyage; and he thought these creatures had their abode in some of the rocks, that lie off Admiralty Bay, and in the strait. On the 3rd, some boats were sent to Long Island, to bring away the remainder of the hay, and our carpenter went over to the east-side of the sound, to cut down some spars, which were much wanted. On their return, one of the boats was chased by a large double canoe, containing about fifty men. Prudence dictated to effect an escape by sailing, for though the Indians might have no hostile intentions, yet this was a necessary caution. Friday the 4th, of June, being his Majesty's birth-day, we hoisted our colours, and prepared to celebrate the day with the usual festivities. Early in the morning our friends brought us a large supply of fish. One of them promised to accompany us in our voyage, but afterwards altered his mind, as did also some others who had made a like promise to the people of the Adventure. It was very common for these people to bring their children with them, not with the unnatural intention of selling them, as was reported, but in expectation that we would make them presents. A man brought his son, a boy about ten years of age, and presented him to Capt. Cook, who thought at first he wanted to sell him: but we soon found the desire of the father was inclined only towards a white shirt, which was given to his son. The boy was so highly delighted with his new garment, that he went all over the ship, presenting himself before every one who came in his way. This freedom, or perhaps the colour of his dress, or the boy's antic gestures, offended old Will, the ram goat, who by a sudden butt knocked him backwards on the deck. The shirt was dirtied; the misfortune seemed irreparable to the boy, who feared to appear be-

fore his father in the cabin, until brought in by Mr. Forster; when he told a very lamentable story against Gourey, the great dog (for so they called all the quadrupeds we had aboard) nor would he be reconciled till his shirt was washed and dried. From this trifling story may be seen how liable we are to mistake these people's meaning, and to ascribe to them customs they are utter strangers to. This day a large double canoe approached, well manned: it came within musket shot, and contained about thirty men. Our friends on board told us they were enemies very earnestly. Among these new visitors, one stood at the head of the canoe, and another at the stern, while the rest kept their seats. One of them held a green bough, the New Zealand flag in his hand, and spoke a few words. The other made a long harangue, in solemn and well articulated sounds. Being invited aboard, he at last ventured, and was followed soon by the rest, who eagerly traded with us. They directly saluted the natives on board, by an application of their noses, and paid the same compliment to the gentlemen on the quarter-deck. The chief's name was Teiratu. They all inquired for Tupia, and were much concerned at hearing of his death. These people were taller than any we had hitherto seen in New Zealand, and their dress and ornaments bespoke them superior to the inhabitants of Queen Charlotte's Sound. Their tools were made with great attention, and were elegantly carved: we obtained a few of these, and also some musical instruments from them. They made but a short stay, and, embarking, they all went over to Mortuara, where, by the help of our glasses, we discovered four or five canoes, and several people on the shore. About noon Capt. Cook, accompanied by several other gentlemen followed them, and were received with every mark of friendship. The Captain distributed several presents, among which were a great number of brass medals inscribed with the king's title on one side, and the ship which undertook this voyage on the other. Teiratu appeared to be the chief among these people, by the great degree of respect paid him. Capt. Cook



conducted Teiratu to the garden he had planted, and obtained a promise from him that he would not suffer it to be destroyed.

Early in the morning of the 7th of June, we sailed from this place in company with the *Adventure*, but had frequent hindrances from contrary winds. On the 22nd of July we were in lat. 32 deg. 30 min. longitude, 133 deg. 40 min. W. And now the weather was so warm, that we were obliged to put on lighter clothes. We did not see a single bird this day, which was rather remarkable, as not one day had hitherto passed since we left the land without seeing several. Capt. Cook having heard that the crew of the *Adventure* were sickly, went on board the 29th, of July, when he found the cook dead, and twenty men ill with the scurvy and flux. Only three men were on the sick list on board the *Resolution*, which was certainly owing to the Captain's absolutely enforcing the eating celery and scurvy grass with the food, though at first the crew did not like it.

All hopes of discovering a continent now vanished, as we had got to the northward of Capt. Carteret's tracts, and we only expected to see Islands till our return to the south. Every circumstance considered we were induced to believe that there is no Southern Continent between New Zealand and America; it is very certain that this passage did not produce any sure signs of one.

On the 6th of August, Capt. Furneaux came on board the *Resolution* to dinner, and reported, that his people were much better, that the flux had quite left them, and that the scurvy was at a stand. The scorbutic people had been well supplied with cyder, which in a great measure contributed to this happy change. Land appeared to the south on the eleventh instant at day break, which we judged to be one of those Islands discovered by Mons. Bougainville. We called it *Resolution Island*, it lies in the latitude of 17 deg. 24 min. longitude 141 deg. 39 min. W. We did not stay to examine it, as it did not appear large enough to supply our wants; we therefore determined to make the best of our way to Otaheite, where we were sure of a plentiful supply of refresh-

ments. In the evening we saw land again, which in all probability was another of Mons. Bougainville's discoveries. This we called *Doubtful Island*. On the morning of the 12th, instant at day-break, we discovered land at about two miles ahead of us, so that we were apprized of our danger but just in time. This was another small half-drowned Island. The sea broke against it in a dreadful surf. This Island is in latitude 17 deg. 5 min. longitude 143 deg. 16 min. W. We called it *Furneaux Island*. On the 17th, we saw another of these Islands in latitude 17 deg. 4 min. longitude 144 deg. 30 min. W. It is with very great propriety that Mons. Bougainville calls these low overflowed Islands the *Dangerous Archipelago*. We were under the necessity of proceeding with the utmost caution, especially in the night, as we were surrounded by them which the smoothness of the sea sufficiently indicated. On the 14th, we found ourselves clear of these Islands, and steered our course for Otaheite. We saw *Osnaburg Island* (which was discovered by Capt. Wallis) on the 15th, at five in the morning, and acquainted Capt. Furneaux that it was our intention to put into Oati-piha Bay, near the south end of Otaheite, and get what refreshments we could in that part of the Island, before we went to Matavai.

On the 18th, we were within a league of the reef. On account of the breeze failing us, we hoisted out our boats to tow the ships off, but they could not keep us from being carried too near the reef. Many inhabitants came on board from different parts, who brought fruits, &c. to exchange; they most of them knew Capt. Cook again, and inquired for Mr. Banks and others, but none of them asked for Tupia. Our situation became still more dangerous as the calm continued. On sending to examine the western point of the reef, in order to get round that way into the bay, we found that there was not sufficient depth of water. Both ships were carried with great impetuosity towards the reef and all the horrors of shipwreck now stared us in the face. The breakers were not two cables length from us, and we could find no bottom to anchor. The



Resolution came at three fathoms water, and struck at every fall of the sea, but the Adventure brought up under our bow without striking. The dreadful surf which broke under our stern threatened our shipwreck every moment. At length we found ground a little without the bason, and got the ship afloat by cutting away the bower anchor, and the tide ceased to act in the same direction. We happily towed off the Resolution, and all the boats were ordered to assist the Adventure. We happily got once more safe at sea, after narrowly escaping shipwreck. A number of the natives were on board the ships while we were in this perilous situation, but were totally insensible of any danger, even while we were striking, and when they parted with us they seemed quite unconcerned. We anchored in Oati-piha Bay very near the shore, and were visited by a great number of the natives, who brought roots, fruit, &c. Presents were made to their chiefs, of shirts, axes, and other articles, in return for which they promised hogs, fowls, &c. but we believe they never intended to keep their promise. In the afternoon, Captains Cook and Furneaux landed to sound the disposition of the natives, and to view the watering-place. The natives behaved with great civility, and we had a very convenient supply of water.

We recovered the Resolution's bower anchor, which we were obliged to leave; but the Adventure lost three in the time of our extremity, which were never recovered. We were still supplied with fruit and roots, but not in large quantities. A party of men were trading on shore, under the protection of a guard. We could not get any hogs from the natives, though plenty were said to be seen about their habitations, they all said they belonged to Waheatow their chief, whom we had not seen. A man who pretended to be a chief came on board with several of his friends, to whom presents were made, but he was detected in handing several things over the quarter gallery; and as complaints of the same nature were alledged against those on the deck, the Captain took the liberty to turn them all out of the ship. The Captain was so exasperated at the con-

duct of the pretended chief, that he fired two muskets over his head, which terrified him so much, that he quitted his canoe and took to the water. On sending a boat to take up the canoe, the people from the shore pelted the boat with stones. The captain went himself in another boat to protect her, he likewise ordered a cannon loaded with ball to be fired along the coast, which terrified them sufficiently, and he brought away the canoes without any opposition. They soon became friends again, and the canoes were returned. Two or three people began to inquire after Tupia, but they were soon satisfied when they heard the cause of his death. Several people asked for Mr. Banks, and other people who were at Otaheite with Capt. Cook before. We were informed by these people that there had been a battle fought between the two kingdoms, that Tontaha, the regent of the greater peninsula, was slain, and that Otoo reigned in his stead. In this battle Tubourai, Tamaide, and several of our old friends fell. A peace was now fully established.

On the 19th, the two commanders made an excursion along the coast, and were entertained by a chief (whom they met) with some excellent fish, &c. to whom in return they made several presents. On the 20th, one of the natives stole a gun from the people on shore. Some of the natives pursued him of their own accord, who knocked him down, and brought back the musket. We imagine that fear operated more with them in this business than any other motive. On the 21st, a chief came to visit us, who brought in a present of fruit, which proved to be some cocoa-nuts that we had drawn the water from, and thrown overboard. He had so artfully tied them up, that we did not soon discover the deceit. He did not betray the least emotion when we told him of it, and opened two or three of them himself, as if he knew nothing of the matter; he then pretended to be satisfied that it was really so, and went on shore, from whence he sent some bananas and plantains. We were informed that Waheatow was come into the neighbourhood, and wished to see Capt. Cook, who accordingly went



in company with Capt. Furneaux and some gentlemen: they were likewise attended by some natives. About a mile from the landing place they met the chief, advancing to meet them with a numerous train. When the prince perceived the company, he halted. He knew Capt. Cook very well, as they had seen each other several times in 1769. He went at that time by the name of Terrace, and took his father's name at his death. We found him sitting on a stool; and as soon as the usual salutation was over, he seated Capt. Cook on the same stool with himself; the rest sat on the ground. He inquired after several who had been on the former voyage, and seemed sorry when we told him we must sail the next day, offering the Captain that if he would stay he should have hogs in plenty. Capt. Cook made him many presents, and staid with him the whole morning. This party returned on board of ship to dinner, and made this chief another visit in the afternoon, made him more presents, and he gave us two hogs. At the different trading places some others were got, so that a meal's fresh pork served for the crews of both ships.

Early in the morning of the 24th, we put to sea, and were accompanied by several canoes, who brought cargoes of fruit for sale; neither did they return till they had disposed of them. The sick people on board the *Adventure* got much relief from these fruits. We left a lieutenant on shore, in order to bring some hogs, which they promised to send by him. He returned on the 25th, and brought eight pigs with him. We arrived at Matavai Bay in the evening of the 25th, and our decks were crowded with natives before we could get to anchor, almost all of them were acquainted with Capt. Cook. Otoo their king and a great crowd were got together on the shore. Capt. Cook was going on shore to pay him a visit, but was told that he was gone to Oparee in a fright; which seemed very extraordinary to the captain, as all others were much pleased to see him. Maritata, a chief, was on board, and advised the Captain to defer his visit till next morning. The Captain set out on the 26th, for Oparee, after having

given directions to fetch tents for the reception of the sick, &c. Capt. Furneaux, Maritata and his wife, and some others, went with the Captain. They were conducted to Otoo as soon as they were landed, who sat on the ground under a shady tree, with a great number of people around him. Capt. Cook made him several presents, after the usual compliments had passed, being very well persuaded that it was much to his interest to establish a friendship with this man. His attendants also had presents made to them, they offered cloth in return, which was refused, being told that what was given was merely out of friendship. Otoo inquired for all the gentlemen who had been there before, as well as for Tupia, and promised to send some hogs on board, but was very backward in saying he would come on board himself, being, as he said, much afraid of the great guns. He was certainly the most timid prince, as all his actions demonstrated. He was a personable well made man, six feet high, and about thirty years of age. His father and all his subjects were uncovered before him, that is, their heads and shoulders were made bare.

On the 27th, the king Otoo came to pay us a visit, attended by a numerous train; he sent before him two large fish, a hog, some fruits, and a large quantity of cloth. After much persuasion he came on board himself, accompanied by his sisters, a younger brother, &c. with many attendants, who all received presents; and when they had breakfasted, carried them home to Oparee. Upon landing, an old lady, the mother of Toutaha, met Capt. Cook, seized him by both hands, and, weeping bitterly, told him that her son and his friend Toutaha were dead. Had not the king taken her from Capt. Cook, he must have joined her lamentations. It was with a good deal of difficulty that the captain prevailed on the king to let him see her again, when he made her some presents. Capt. Furneaux gave the king a male and female goat, which we hope will multiply. A lieutenant was sent to Attahouron on the 28th, to purchase hogs. The king, with his sister and some attendants, paid us another visit soon after sun



rise, and brought with them a hog, some fruit, and some more cloth. They likewise went on board the *Adventure*, and made Capt. Furneaux the same presents. Soon after they returned, and brought Capt. Furneaux with them. Capt. Cook made them a good return for the presents they brought, and dressed out the king's sister to the greatest advantage. The king was carried again to Oparee, when his Otaheitan majesty thought proper to depart, and was entertained as he went with bagpipes and the seamen dancing. Some of his people danced also in imitation of the seamen, and performed their parts tolerably well. Toutaha's mother again presented herself to Capt. Cook; but could not look upon him without shedding many tears. The next day the king promised to visit us again, but said we must first wait upon him. The lieutenant whom we sent for hogs returned only with a promise of having some, if he would go back in a few days.

On the 29th, the commanders took a trip to Oparee, early in the morning, attended by some officers and gentleman, and made the king such presents as he had not before seen. One of them was a broad sword; at the sight of which he was very much intimidated, and desired it might be taken out of his sight. With a vast deal of argument he was prevailed upon to suffer it to be put on his side, where it remained a very short time. We received an invitation to the theatre, where we were entertained with a dramatic piece, consisting of a comedy and dance. The subject we could not well find out; though we heard frequent mention of Capt. Cook's name during the performance. The performers were one woman, which was no less a personage than the king's sister, and five men, and their music consisted of only three drums. The whole entertainment was well conducted, and lasted about two hours. When this diversion was over, the king desired us to depart, and loaded us with fruit and fish. The king sent more fruit and fish the next morning.

In the evening of the 30th, we were alarmed with the cry of murder from the shore. A boat was immediately armed, and sent

on shore, to bring off any of our people who might be found there without orders, and to discover the occasion of the disturbance. The boat soon returned, with a seaman and three marines; others were taken, who belonged to the *Adventure*, and even put under close confinement till the morning, when they were severely punished according to their demerits. The people would not confess any thing; and it did not appear that any material injury had been done. The disturbance might be occasioned by the fellows making too free with the women: notwithstanding this, the alarm was so great, that the natives fled from their habitations in the night; and the inhabitants of the whole coast were terrified. The king himself had fled a great way from the place of his abode; and when Capt. Cook saw him, he complained to him of the disturbance. Capt. Cook presented the king with three Cape sheep, as it was his last visit. With this present he was very well pleased, though he had not much reason to be so, as they were all weathers; this he was made acquainted with. The king's fears were now dissipated, and he presented us with three hogs, one of which was very small, which we took notice of. Soon after a person came to the king, and seemed to speak very peremptorily about the hogs, and we thought he was angry with him for giving us so many; and more so when he took the little pig away with him; but we were much mistaken, for soon after we were gone, another hog was brought to us, larger than the other two. The king seemed much affected when Capt. Cook told him he should leave the Island the next day. They embraced each other several times, and departed.

On the 1st of September we determined to depart, as the sick were nearly recovered, the necessary repairs of the ship were completed, and plenty of water provided. Most of the day was employed in unmooring the ships; and in the afternoon the lieutenant returned, who had been sent for the hogs promised. With him came Pottaton (the chief of the district of Attahounou,) with his wife, to pay Capt. Cook a visit, and made him a present of two hogs and some fish.



The lieutenant got likewise two more hogs. As the wind was westerly, we were obliged to dismiss our friends sooner than they wished; but they were very well satisfied with the reception they met with. A young man, named Poreo, came on board some hours before we got under sail, and desired to go with us, to which we consented; and at the same time he asked for an axe and a spike nail for his father, who came with him on board. They were accordingly given him, and they parted with great indifference, which seemed to indicate that they had deceived us, and no such consanguinity subsisted. Presently a canoe, conducted by two men, came along side, and demanded Poreo in the name of Otoo. We informed them that we would part with him if they would return the hatchet and spike nail, but they said they were ashore; so the young gentleman sailed along with us, though he wept when he saw the land at our stern. On the 2nd, we steered our course for the Island of Huahine, and the *Resolution* anchored in twenty-four fathoms water on the 3rd instant, but the *Adventure* got ashore on the north side of the channel, but she was happily got off again without receiving any damage. The natives received us with the utmost cordiality, several of whom came on board before our commanders went on shore. Some presents were distributed among them, which were gratefully returned by a plentiful supply of hogs, fruit, &c. Here we had a fine prospect of being plentifully supplied with fresh pork and fowls, which was to us very pleasing. Two trading parties were sent ashore on the 4th instant, which were very well conducted. Capt. Cook was informed that Oree was still alive, and waited to see him. The commanders, with Mr. Forster, went to the place appointed for the interview, accompanied by one of the natives. The boat was landed before the chief's house, and we were desired to remain in it till the necessary ceremony was gone through. There stood close to the shore five young plantain trees, which are their emblems of peace: these were, with some ceremony, brought on board separately. The first three were each

accompanied by a young pig, whose ears were ornamented with cocoa-nut fibres; the fourth plantain tree was accompanied by a dog. All these had particular names and meanings, which we could not understand. The chief had carefully preserved a piece of pewter, with an inscription on it, which Capt. Cook had presented him with in 1769, together with a piece of counterfeit English coin, which, with a few beads, were all in the same bag the captain made for them; these the chief sent on board. This part of the ceremony being over, we were desired by our guide to decorate three young plantain trees with nails, looking-glasses, beads, medals, &c. With these in our hands we landed, and were conducted through the multitude. We were directed to sit down a few paces before the chief, and the plantains were laid one by one before him. We were told that one was for God, another for the king, and the third for friendship. This being done, the king came to Capt. Cook, fell on his neck, and kissed him. A great effusion of tears fell down the venerable cheeks of this old man; and if ever tears spoke the language of the heart, surely these did. Presents were made to all his attendants and friends. Capt. Cook regarded him as a father, and therefore presented him with the most valuable articles he had. He gave the Captain a hog, and a good deal of cloth, with the promise that all his wants should be supplied. Soon after we returned on board, fourteen hogs were sent us, with fowls and fruits in abundance. In the morning of the 5th instant we were visited by this good old man, who brought a hog and some fruit; indeed he sent the Captain every day ready dressed fruit and roots in great plenty. This morning the lieutenant went on shore in search of more hogs, and returned in the evening with twenty-eight, and about seventy more were purchased on shore.

On Monday the 6th, of September, the trading party went on shore as usual; it only consisted of three people. Capt. Cook went on shore after breakfast, and learnt that one of the inhabitants had been very insolent and troublesome. This man was



shewn to the Captain, equipped in his war habit, and he had a club in each hand. The Captain took these from him, as he perceived him bent on mischief, broke them before his face, and obliged him to retire. The Captain being informed that this man was a chief, became a little suspicious of him, and sent for a guard. About this time a gentleman had gone out botanizing alone; two men assaulted him, and stripped him of every thing but his trowsers; luckily they did him no harm, though they struck him several times with his own hanger. They made off when they had done this, and another of the natives brought a piece of cloth to cover him. This gentleman presently appeared at the trading place, where a number of the natives were assembled, who all fled at seeing him. Capt. Cook persuaded some of them to return, assuring them that none should suffer who were innocent. When the king heard this complaint, he and his companions wept bitterly; and as soon as his grief was assuaged, he made a long harangue to the people, telling them the baseness of such actions, when the Captain and his crew had always behaved so well to them. He then took a particular account of the things the gentleman had lost, and promised they should be returned, if it was in his power to find them. After this he desired Capt. Cook to follow him to the boat, but the people being apprehensive of his safety, used every argument to dissuade him from it. It is impossible to describe the grief they expressed in the intreaties they used; every face was bedewed with tears, and every mouth was filled with the most dissuasive arguments. Oree was deaf to them all, and insisted on going with the Captain; when they both were in the boat, he desired it might be put off. The only person who did not oppose his going, was his sister, and she shewed a magnanimity of spirit equal to her brother. We proceeded in search of the robbers, as far as it was convenient by water, and then landed. The chief led the way, travelled several miles, and inquired after them of all he saw. We then went into a cottage, and had some refreshment. The king wanted to proceed

farther, and was with great difficulty dissuaded from it by Capt Cook. When we returned to the boat, we were met by the king's sister, who had travelled over land to that place, accompanied by several other persons. The king insisted on going into the boat with us, as well as his sister. We returned to the ship, and the king made a very hearty dinner; though his sister, according to custom, eat nothing. We made them suitable presents for the confidence they had placed in us, and set them ashore amidst the acclamations of multitudes. Peace was now perfectly re-established, provisions poured in from all quarters, the gentleman's hanger and coat were returned, and thus ended these troublesome transactions.

We went to take our leave of Oree while the ships were unmooring, and presented him with things both valuable and useful. We left him a copper-plate with this inscription. "Anchored here, his Britannic Majesty's ships Resolution and Adventure, September 1773." After we had traded for such things as we wanted, we took our leave, which was a very affectionate one. On returning to the ships, they were crowded, as on our arrival, with canoes filled with hogs, fowls, &c. Soon after we were on board, the king came, and informed us that the robbers were taken, and desired us to go on shore, that we might behold their exemplary punishment. This we should have been glad to have done, as so much pains had been taken to discover them; but it was out of our power, as the Adventure was out of harbour, and we were under sail. The good old king staid with us till we were near two miles out at sea, and then, after taking another affectionate leave, parted. During our stay here, we procured upwards of three hundred hogs, besides fowls and fruit in great abundance. While at this Island, Capt. Furneaux engaged a young man, named Omai, a native of Ulitea, who had been dispossessed of his property by the people of Bolabola, to accompany him on his voyage. This young man has a good understanding, honest principles, and a natural good behaviour. But his history is so



well known in England, that we will not enlarge upon it.

On Wednesday the 8th, we entered the harbour of Ohamaneno ; the natives crowded about us with hogs and fruit as soon as we were anchored. We refused the hogs, as we had already more than we could manage; but several of the principal people obliged us to take them whether we would or no. We made a visit on the 9th, to Oreo, who is the chief of this part of the Island of Ulitea. He expressed great satisfaction on seeing Capt. Cook again, and desired him to exchange names with him, which the latter agreed to: this is a distinguishing mark of friendship. Here we traded as usual, but the balance of trade was much in our favour. On the 10th, the chief entertained us with a comedy; a very entertaining part of which was a theft, committed, with amazing dexterity, by a man and his accomplice. Before the thief has time to carry off the prize, he is discovered, and a scuffle ensues; the discoverers are vanquished, and the thieves go off in triumph. We returned to dinner after the play was over, and as we were walking on shore in the evening, one of the natives informed us that there were nine uninhabited Islands to the westward.

Oreo and his son paid us a visit early in the morning of the 11th of September, and brought as usual, hogs and fruit with them. We dressed the youth in a shirt, and some other articles, of which he was not a little proud. After staying some hours, they went ashore; and so did Capt. Cook soon after, but to another part of the shore. When the chief heard he was landed, he went of his own accord, and put a hog and some fruit in the boat, and returned without saying any thing of it to any other person. He afterwards came with some friends to dinner. After dinner, Po-oorau, who is the most eminent chief of the Island, made us a visit. He was introduced by Oreo, and brought a present with him; for which he received a handsome return. We promised to visit both the chiefs the next morning: which we accordingly did in company with several gentlemen. Another play was acted, and two very pretty young women performed,

otherwise this piece was not so entertaining as the one we saw before.

On the 14th, we sent on shore for a supply of bananoes and plantains, for sea store. Oreo and some friends paid us a pretty early visit, when we informed him, that we would dine with him on shore; and desired he would let us have two pigs for dinner, dressed in their fashion. We found the floor of the chief's house strewn thick with leaves, and we were soon seated round them. Soon after the pigs came tumbling over our heads upon the leaves; and they were both so hot as scarcely to be touched. The table was ornamented with hot bread-fruit and plantains: we had likewise a quantity of coconuts to drink. We never saw victuals dressed cleaner nor better in our lives, and it had a most exquisite flavour, much superior to victuals dressed in our mode; how they contrived it we cannot tell, but though one of these hogs weighed fifty pounds at least, it was well done in every part, and not too much done in any. Oreo and his son, with some male friends, dined with us. We had a great number of attendants and people who came to see us thus dine in public, to whom pieces of pork were handed. The chief did not refuse his glass of Madeira whenever it came to his turn, and we never at this, or at any other time, saw him affected by it. The boat's crew took the remainder when he had dined. In the afternoon we were again entertained with a play.

On the 15th, we had a sufficient proof of the timorous disposition of these people. We rather wondered that none of them came to the ships as usual. We were afraid that as two men of the Adventure's crew staid out all night contrary to orders, that the natives had stripped them, or done them some other injury, and were afraid we should revenge their conduct. We went ashore, and found the neighbourhood nearly deserted. Presently the two men made their appearance, and reported that they had been very civilly treated. We could get no account of the cause of their flight, and could only learn from a few persons who ventured near us, that several were killed and wounded, and pointed to their bodies



where the balls of the guns went in and out. Capt. Cook was very uneasy at this relation, fearing for the safety of the people gone to Otaha. In order to get the best information the captain determined to go to the chief himself, whom after much searching for, he found seated under the shade of a house, with a great many people round him. There was a great lamentation as soon as Capt. Cook approached, the chief and all his company bursting into tears. After all

this piece of work, it was found that the cause of their alarm was on account of our boats being absent, supposing that the people in them had deserted us, and that we should adopt violent methods to recover them. They were satisfied when Capt. Cook assured them there was no cause for alarm, and that the boats would certainly return. On the morning of the 16th, we paid the chief a visit, who was in his own house in perfect tranquility. At this time Poreo left us.

### CHAP. III.

*A Spanish ship visits Otaheite; State of the Islands; Remarks on the diseases and customs of the Natives; Mistaken notions concerning the women corrected; Passage from Ulieta to the Friendly Isles; Hervey's Island discovered; Incidents at Middleburgh; The two ships arrive at Amsterdam; A place of worship described. Incidents that happened during their stay at that Island; The above Islands described; Their produce; Cultivation; Houses; Canoes; Navigation; Manufactures; Weapons; Customs; Government; Religion and language of the inhabitants.*

**O**N the 17th of September, being Friday, we determined to put to sea, having a good supply of all kinds of refreshments. Before we sailed, Oreo and his son paid us a visit. Several canoes filled with fruit and hogs surrounded us: of the latter we could receive no more, our decks being so crowded with them that we could scarcely move. In both ships were about three hundred and fifty. Oreo and his friends did not leave us till we were under sail, and earnestly importuned us to tell them when we should return. Capt. Cook, as many young men offered to come away with us, took one on board, about 18 years of age, named Oedidee, a native of Bolabola, and a near relation of the great Opoony, chief of the Island. When we were out of the harbour and had made sail, a canoe was observed following us conducted by two men; whereupon we brought to, and when along side, they delivered to Capt. Cook a present of roasted fruit, and roots, from Oreo. The Captain after having made them a proper return set

sail to the west, with the Adventure in company. We shall here give some further account of these Islands; some things, which are rather interesting, having been omitted in the relation of daily transactions and incidents.

A few days after our arrival at Otaheite we were told that a ship, about the size of the Resolution, had visited Owchainrua Harbour, at the S. E. end of the Island; at which place, after having remained three weeks, she departed about three months before our arrival. Four of the natives went away in her, whose names were Debedebea, Paoodou, Tanadooee, and Opahiah. We conjectured she was a French ship, but at the Cape of Good Hope, we were informed she was a Spaniard, sent out from America. The natives of Otaheite complained of a disorder communicated to them by the people in this ship, which they described as affecting the head, throat, and stomach, and at length they said it killed them. This ship they called Pahai-no Peppe (ship of peppe)



and the disease they named *Apano Pep-pe*, just as they call the venereal disease *Apano Pretane*, (English disease) yet to a man, they say this loathsome distemper was introduced among them by M. de Bougainville; and they thought he came from Pretane, as well as every other ship that touched at the Island. We were of opinion, that long before these Islanders were visited by Europeans, this or a disease near a kin to it, had existed among them; for they told us people died of a disorder, which we imagined to be venereal, before that period. But be this as it may, the disease is far less common among them than it was in 1769, when we first visited these Isles.

In the years 1767 and 1768, the Island of Otaheite, as it were, swarmed with hogs and fowls; but at this time it was so ill supplied with these animals, that hardly any thing could tempt the owners to part with them; and the little stock they had, seemed to be at the disposal of their kings. When we lay at Oaiti-piha Bay, in the kingdom of Tiarrabou, or lesser Peninsula, we were given to understand, that every hog and fowl belonged to Waheatoua; and that all in the kingdom of Opoureonu, or the greater Peninsula, belonged to Otoo. While at this Island we got only 24 hogs in 17 days; half of which came from the kings themselves, and the other half we were inclined to think were sold us by their permission. But with respect to all the fruits produced in the Island, with these we were abundantly supplied, except bread-fruit which was not in season. Cocoa-nuts and plantains, we got the most of; the latter, with a few yams and other roots, supplied the place of bread. At Otaheite we procured great plenty of apples, and a fruit resembling nectarine, called by the natives *Aheeya*. This fruit was common to all the Isles. Of all the seeds, brought by Europeans to those Islands, none thrived so well as pumpkins, but these they do not like. We attributed the scarcity of hogs to two causes: first to the great number of these animals which have been consumed, and carried away for stock, by the ships that have touched here of late years; secondly, to the frequent wars be-

tween the two kingdoms. Two we know have commenced since the year 1767; but at present peace reigns among them, though they do not seem to entertain a cordial friendship for each other. We could not learn the occasion of the late war, nor who were victorious in the conflict; but we learnt, that in the last battle which terminated the dispute, numbers were killed on both sides. On the part of Opoureonu, Toutaha, our very good friend was killed and several other chiefs. Toutaha was buried in his family Morai at Oparree; and several women of his household, with his mother, are now under the protection, and taken care of by Otoo, the reigning prince; one, who did not appear to us at first to much advantage. We could learn but little of Waheatoua of Tiarrabou; but we observed, that this prince, not more than 20 years of age, appeared in public with all the gravity of a man of fifty; yet his subjects do not uncover before him, or pay him that outward obeisance as is done to Otoo; yet they shewed him equal respect, and when abroad, or in council, he took upon him rather more state. His attendants were a few elderly men, who seemed to be his principal advisers. Such was the present state of Otaheite, but the other Islands, that is Huaheine, Ulietea, and Otaha, appeared in a more flourishing condition, than they were at the time when we first visited them; since which, having enjoyed the blessings of peace, the people possess not only the necessities, but many of the luxuries of life in great profusion: but as we have treated at large of these Islands in our journal and narrative of Capt. Cook's first voyage, we shall not trouble our readers with unnecessary repetitions; but only add, under this head, new matter, or clear up any mistakes, and seeming inconsistencies. In our first voyage to these places, we were inclined to believe that the natives at times offered to their supreme deity human sacrifices. To clear up this matter, the two Captains, Cook and Furneaux, with some others went to a Morai, in Matavai. In our company we had, as upon all other occasions, an intelligent, sensible man, belonging to the



Resolution, who spoke the language of the natives tolerably well. In this Morai, or burying place, was a Tupapow, on which lay a dead body, and some viands. We first inquired, if the plantains, &c. before us, were for the Etua, and if they offered to him hogs, dogs, and fowls? They answered in the affirmative. We then, after a few more introductory questions, asked, if they sacrificed any of the human species to the Etua? They answered, Yes, Taata-eno, that is, bad men, who they first beat till they were dead; but good men were not sacrificed. We asked him if any Earees were? They replied, that hogs were given to Etua, and only Taata-eno. All the answers seemed to tend to the same point, and meant that men for certain crimes were condemned to be sacrificed, provided they had not wherewithal to redeem themselves, and such will generally be found among the lower class of people. But, notwithstanding those of whom these inquiries were made, took some pains to explain the whole of this religious rite, yet we were not sufficiently acquainted with their language, to make ourselves complete masters of the subject; but we have not the least doubt remaining of the certainty of the fact, having since been informed by Omai, that it is undoubtedly a custom with them to offer human sacrifices to the Supreme Being. The object, according to his account, or who shall be sacrificed, depends solely on the pleasure of the high-priest, who, on any solemn occasion, retires alone into the temple, and, when he comes from thence, informs the people, that he has seen and talked with the Etua; (the high-priest only having this privilege) that he requires a human sacrifice; and that such a particular person is the man, whom he names, and who immediately is killed, falling most probably a victim to the priest's resentment.

These people have a simple, but, to us, a nauseous manner of preparing the plant called Ava-ava, which we have noticed in the first part of this work. This is pressed from the roots, and not from the leaves, as we first thought. The makers of the liquor chew a quantity of the root till it is soft and pulpy; then every one spits the juice he has

pressed out into one and the same platter. When a sufficiency for their use is thus procured, more or less water is mixed with it, according to the strength required; after which the diluted liquor is strained through some fibrous stuff like fine shavings. Having undergone this process, it is fit for drinking, which is always done immediately. It drinks flat and insipid, but has a pepperish taste; and an intoxicating quality, the effect of which we saw in one instance; however, the natives drink it for that reason with great moderation, and but little at a time. The root is sometimes chewed by them as the Europeans do tobacco, and sometimes we have seen them eat the same. Great quantities of this plant are cultivated at Ulitea; at Otaheite very little; but we believe there are few Islands in this sea that do not produce more or less of it.

We must not omit to remark here, that great injustice has been done the women of the Society Isles, by those who have represented them as a race of prostitutes without exception, who will sell their favours for gain to any purchaser, which is far from being true; for the enjoyment of either the married or unmarried women, of the higher and middling classes, is a favour as difficult to be obtained here, as in any other country whatever, and even many women in the lower class will admit of no such familiarities. That the proportion of prostitutes are greater than that of other countries may be true, and most of them were such who frequented our ships and tents on shore. By observing these to mix indiscriminately with women of the first rank, we concluded hastily, that all females were of the same turn, and that the only difference was in the price; but the truth is, as we have more than once before observed, the woman who prostitutes herself, does not seem, in the popular opinion, to have committed a crime, which ought to exclude her from the esteem and society of the community in general. It must be confessed that all the women in this part of the world are complete coquettes, and that few among them fix any bounds to their conversation; therefore it is no wonder that they have obtained the character of



women of pleasure; yet we would think it very unjust, if the ladies of England were to be condemned in the lump, from the conduct of those on board of ships in our naval ports, or of those who infest the purlieus of Covent-garden, and Drury-lane.

Respecting the geography of these Isles, we think it necessary to add to what has been said in the narrative of our former voyage, that we found the latitude of the bay of Oaitipila, in Otaheite, to be 17 deg. 46. min. 28 sec. S. and the east longitude from Point Venus, to be 0 deg. 21 min. 25 sec. and an half, or 149 deg. 13. min. 24 sec. W. from Greenwich. It is highly probable, that the whole Island is of greater extent than at first we supposed it to be in 1769, by two miles, and 4 min. 3 quarters respectively. When our astronomers made their observations on Point Venus, they found the latitude to be 17 deg. 29 min. 13 sec. S. which differs by 2 seconds from that determined by Mr. Green and Capt. Cook; and its longitude, namely, 149 deg. 34 min. 49 sec. and an half W. may be as accurately laid down, for any thing yet known to the contrary.

After our departure from the Society Isles, and leaving Ulietea, it was our intention to get into the latitudes of the Islands of Middleburgh and Amsterdam, to which end, on Friday the 17th of September, we steered to the west, inclining to the south, with a view of getting clear of the tracks of former navigators. We proceeded at night with great circumspection, frequently laying to, lest we should pass any land unobserved. On the 21st, and the whole of the 22nd, we had rain, thunder, lightning, a large swell from the south, and the wind blew from the N. W. for several days; a sign to us, that in that direction, no land was near us. This was discovered from the mast-head, on Thursday, the 23rd, stretching from S. by W. to S. W. by S. We hauled up with the wind at S. E. and found it to consist of two or three small Islots, united by breakers, as are most of the low Isles in the sea; the whole being in a triangular form, and about six leagues in circuit. This Island is in latitude 19 deg. 18 min. S. and in 158 deg.

54 min. W. longitude. Each of the small connected Isles are clothed with wood, particularly of the cocoa-nut kind; but we saw no traces of inhabitants, and had reason to believe there were none. To these Islots we gave the name of Hervey's Island, in honour of Capt. Hervey of the navy, one of the lords of the Admiralty, and now earl of Bristol. As the landing on this isle would have occasioned a delay, we resumed our course to the west, in which we saw some men of war, tropic birds, and flying fish. On Saturday, the 25th, we again began to use our sea biscuit, the fruit being all consumed; but of fresh pork each man had every day a necessary allowance. On Wednesday, the 29th, in latitude 21 deg. 26 min. S. we altered our course at noon W. half S.

On Friday, the 1st, of October, at two o'clock P. M. we made the island of Middleburgh, and the next morning bore up for the west side thereof, passing between the same, and a small island that lay off it, where we found a clear channel two miles broad. After running about two thirds of its length, half a mile from the shore, we observed it assumed another aspect, and offered a prospect both of anchorage and landing. Upon this we plied in under the island. We were now visited by two canoes, which came boldly along-side of us, and several of the Indians entered the Resolution without hesitation; which mark of confidence determined us to visit them if possible. After making a few trips, we found good anchorage, and came to in twenty-five fathoms water, at three cables length from the shore. We had scarcely anchored, when we were surrounded with Indians, some in canoes, and some swimming, several came on board, and among them a chief, named Tioony, to whom Capt. Cook presented a hatchet, spike-nails, and other articles, with which he was highly pleased. A party of our people, in company with Tioony, went on shore, who were conducted to a little creek formed by the rocks, right abreast of the ships, where landing was very easy, and the boats secure against the surf. Here we were saluted with loud acclamations,



*The LANDING of CAPT. COOK &c, at MIDDLEBURGH one of the FRIENDLY ISLES.*









by an immense crowd of people, who shewed the most evident signs of pacific intentions, not one of them having so much as a stick, or any weapon in their hands. They thronged so thick round the boats with cloth, matting, &c. that it was some time before we could make good our landing. Many of them, who could not get near the boats, threw over the others' heads, whole bales of cloth, and retired immediately, without either asking, or waiting to get any thing in return. At length the chief caused them to open to the right and left, and make room for us to land. We were then conducted up to his house, which was situated about three hundred yards from the sea, at the end of a fine lawn, and under some shaddock trees. In the front was the prospect of the sea and the ships at anchor. Plantations abounding with the richest productions of nature, were placed behind, and on each side. We were seated on mats, laid on the floor, and the natives placed themselves in a circle round on the outside. Having with us bag-pipes, Capt. Cook ordered them to be played, and in return, the chief directed three young women to sing a song, which they did with an exceeding good grace: and a few presents being distributed among these young women, set all the rest in the circle a singing, who did not sit down unrewarded. Their songs were in no wise harsh, but on the contrary musical and harmonious. Having continued here some time, at our own request, we were conducted to another plantation, where the chief had a house, into which we were introduced. Bananoes and cocoa-nuts were set before us, and a bowl of liquor, prepared in our presence, of the juice of ava, in the manner already related; the latter of which was presented to each of us in cups made by the folding of green leaves, containing near half a pint each cup; but Capt. Cook was the only person who tasted the liquor; however, the bowl was soon emptied by the natives, of which both men and women partook; but we observed that the same cup was never filled twice, nor did two persons drink out of it; each had a fresh cup, and

fresh liquor. The house we were now entertained in was situated at one angle of the plantation, abounding with fruit and trees, whose fragrance diffused a pleasing odour, and the spreading branches made an agreeable shade. Before the house was an area, on which we were seated. It being now noon, we returned on board to dinner, with the chief Tioony in our company. We had on the table fresh pork, but he eat nothing, which we thought somewhat extraordinary. After dinner we again went on shore, and were received as before. Mr. Forster, with his botanical party, and some other gentlemen, took a walk into the country. Our two Captains were conducted to the chief's house, where fruit, and some greens were set before us. Having just dined we could not eat much, but Oedidee and Omai did honour to the desert. We now intimated a desire of seeing the country, and Tioony very readily gratified our wishes. He led us through several plantations, laid out with great judgment, and inclosed with fences made of reeds. Most of them belonged to our hospitable chief, and were all in very good order, and planted with various fruit trees. Hogs and very large fowls, the only domestic animals we saw, were running near the houses, and in the lanes that separated the plantations. Every person was very much pleased with this delightful country, and the friendly reception we met with; and we much regretted, that the season of the year, and other circumstances, would not permit our longer stay. In the evening we returned on board, and on Saturday the 2nd, of October, the ships were crowded with people the whole day, trafficking in perfect good order. On the 3rd, early in the morning, while the ships were preparing to get under sail, Captains Cook and Furneaux, accompanied by Mr. Forster, went off in the boat, to take leave of our hospitable chief. He met us at the landing-place, and had we not excused ourselves, he would have entertained us at his house. We therefore spent half an hour with him, seated on the grass, in the midst of a vast crowd of the natives, who seemed to vie with each other in doing what they thought would give us



pleasure. Having made the chief a present, consisting of various articles, he was given to understand that we were going away, at which he seemed not at all affected. He went with us into our boat, with two of his friends, intending to accompany us aboard, but when he saw the *Resolution* under sail, he and his companions went into a canoe, and returned on shore. It is remarkable, that on shore this friendly Indian never made the least exchange; but now, during his stay in the boat, he bartered fish-hooks for nails, and engrossed the trade in a manner wholly to himself.

On Sunday, October the 3rd, as soon as Capt. Cook came on board, we departed from Middleburgh, and made sail down to Amsterdam. When we were about half way between the two isles, we were met by three canoes, and the people made several attempts to come on board, but without effect, as the rope we threw out to them broke, and we did not shorten sail. They were likewise unsuccessful in boarding the *Adventure*. We ran along the south-west coast of Amsterdam, at the distance of half a mile from the shore, whereon the sea broke in a great surf. By the help of glasses, we saw the face of the whole island, which, in every part that came under our observation, appeared covered with plantations. Along the shore we perceived the natives running in great numbers, and displaying small white flags, the emblems of peace, which signals we answered by hoisting a St. George's Ensign. At this time three of the natives of Middleburgh, who had continued too long on board the *Adventure* to return, quitted her, and swam to the shore, from whence we concluded they had no strong inclination to accompany us in our voyage. We had no sooner opened the west side of the isle, than several canoes, having four men in each, came boldly along-side, and when they had presented us with some ava root, came on board without the least ceremony. Having got into Van Diemen's Road, we anchored in eighteen fathoms water, little more than a cable's length from the breakers; and our coasting anchor, to keep the ship from tacking on the

rocks, lay in forty seven fathoms water. By this time we were surrounded with people, and our seamen were so eager in purchasing their curiosities, even at the expence of clothes, that Capt. Cook found it absolutely necessary to prohibit any farther commerce of this sort. The good effect of this order, was, that on the 4th, the natives brought us fowls, pigs, bananoes, and cocoa-nuts in abundance, for which we exchanged small nails and pieces of cloth, even old rags would purchase pigs and fowls. A trading party was now settled, and our commanders went on shore, attended by Mr. Forster and other officers, in company with a chief named Attago, who had attached himself to Capt. Cook, the first moment of his coming aboard, which was before the ships came to anchor. This person of some note presented the captain with several articles, and as a greater testimony of friendship exchanged names with him; a custom, which, as we have observed, is practised at Otaheite, and the Society Isles. We were received on shore with the same demonstrations of joy as at Middleburgh, and the gentlemen set out into the country, except the two commanders, who distributed presents to such of the natives as Attago pointed out, who were afterwards discovered to be of superior rank to himself; though at this time, by the attention paid to him, he appeared to be the principal person. Having complained of the heat, Attago shewed and seated us under the shade of a large tree; and the people, who were ordered to form a circle, never attempted to pass the prescribed bounds, and croud upon us, as did those of Otaheite. After having been here some time, we hinted our desire to see the country; whereupon Attago immediately conducted us along a lane that terminated in an open green, on one side of which we saw a place of worship, built on a mount about eighteen feet high. It was an oblong square, inclosed by a stone parapet wall, about three feet in height; from which the mount, covered with green turf, rose to the building with a gradual slope. The building was twenty by fourteen feet. When we had advanced within fifty yards



of its front, every one sat down on the green. Three elderly men, whom we took for priests, begun a prayer, having their faces to the house, which lasted about ten minutes ; and this being ended, they came and seated themselves by us. We made them presents of what we had about us, and then proceeded to view the premises, to which they did not shew the least reluctance. The house was built in every respect like their common dwellings, with posts and rafters, covered with palm thatch. The eaves came down within three feet of the ground, and the open space was filled up with strong matting made of palm-leaves as a wall. In the front, leading to the top of this, were two stone steps ; and round the house was a gravel walk : the floor also was laid with fine gravel, in the centre whereof was an oblong square of blue pebbles, raised six inches higher. In one angle of the building stood an image roughly carved in wood, and another lay on one side. This image was turned over and over by Attago, as he would have done any other log of wood, which convinced us, that they were not considered by the natives as objects of worship. We put several questions to Attago concerning this matter, but did not understand his answers ; for our readers are to be informed, that, at our first arrival, we hardly could understand a word the people said. We thought it necessary to leave an offering, and therefore laid down upon the platform some medals, nails, and other things, which our friend immediately took up and put in his pocket. We could not conceive how they could cut such large stones out of the coral rocks, with which the walls were made that inclosed the mount, some of them being ten feet by four, and near six inches thick. The mount, which stood in a kind of grove, was open only to view on that side which fronted the green, and here five roads met, most of which appeared to be public. Among the various trees that composed the grove, we found the Etoa tree, of which are made clubs, and a sort of low palm, very common in the northern parts of Holland. This place of worship,

in the language of Amsterdam, is called A-fia-ton-ca.

On our return to the water side, we turned off to a road leading into the country, about sixteen feet broad, and as level as a bowling-green, several other roads intersected it, all inclosed on each side with neat reed-fences and shaded by fruit-trees. The country hereabouts is surprisingly fertile, inasmuch, that we might easily have imagined ourselves in the most pleasant situation that Europe could afford. Here are various delightful walks, and not an inch of uncultivated ground. Nature assisted by art nowhere appears to more advantage than in this fertile spot. The roads, even the high public one, which was about sixteen feet broad, occupied no more space than was absolutely necessary, nor did the boundaries and fences take up above four inches each, and in many places of these were planted useful trees and plants. On every side we saw the same appearances ; nor did change of place alter the scene. In this transporting place we met great numbers of people going to the ships laden with fruit, and coming from them ; all of whom gave us the road, by either turning to the right or left hand, sitting down, or standing still with their backs to the fences, till we had passed by them. In many of the cross roads, were A-fia-ton-cas, whose mounts were surrounded with pallisades. After having walked several miles, we came to a more spacious one, near which was a large house, the property of an old chief, who was one of our company. Here we were regaled with fruit ; but our stay was short, and our guides having conducted us down to our boat, we returned with Attago to our ship to dinner. When aboard an old man was ushered into the cabin ; we placed him at table, and soon perceived he was a man of consequence, for Attago, the chief being almost blind, eat with his back towards him ; and as soon as the old man returned ashore, which was after he had tasted the fish, and drank two glasses of wine, Attago took his place at the table, finished his dinner, and drank also two



glasses of wine. After dinner we all went ashore again. We found the old chief, who, in return for his slender meal, presented us with a hog. Before we set out for the country, Capt. Cook went down with Attago to the landing-place, where he found Mr. Wales laughing at his perplexing situation. The boats that brought us ashore not having been able to get close in with the landing-place, Mr Wales had pulled off his shoes and stockings to walk through the water, and, when on dry ground, sitting down, he put them between his legs, in order to put them on, when in an instant they were snatched away by a person behind him, who immediately mixed with the crowd. The man he could not follow barefooted over the sharp coral rocks; the boat was put back to the ship, all his companions had made their way through the crowd; and he was found by the captain in this forlorn condition: but the friendly Attago soon set him at liberty, by finding out the thief, and recovering the shoes and stockings. We now began our excursion into the country. Having past the first-mentioned Afiatonca, the old chief shewed us a pool of fresh water, though he had not made the least inquiry for any. It is very probable this is the bathing place for the king and his nobles, mentioned by Tasman. From hence we were conducted down to the shore of Maria Bay, or N. E. side of the Isle, where we were shewn a boat-house, in which was a large double canoe not yet launched. The old chief did not fail to make us sensible it belonged to him. Night now approaching, Attago attended us to the boat, and we returned aboard. As to the botanizing and shooting parties, that were out with us the same day, they were all civilly treated, and well entertained by the natives. The party also at the market on shore had a brisk trade, and many advantageous bargains. They procured plenty of bananas, yams, cocoa-nuts, pigs, and fowls, for nails and pieces of cloth. A boat from each ship was employed to bring off their cargoes, by which means we obtained cheaper, and with less trouble, a good quan-

tity of refreshments from those of the natives who had no canoes to carry their commodities off to the ships.

On Tuesday the 5th, early in the morning, the Captain's friend, Attago, brought him a hog and some fruit, for which, in return he received a hatchet, a sheet, and some red cloth. The pinnace having been sent on shore to trade, as usual, soon returned, and we were informed that the natives, in many respects, were exceeding troublesome. The day before they had stole the boat's grappling, and at this time they were for taking every thing out of the pinnace. It was therefore judged necessary to have on shore a guard, and accordingly the marines were sent, under the command of Lieutenant Edgcumbe. These were soon after followed by the two commanders, Attago, and several of the gentlemen. On landing, the old chief presented Capt. Cook with a pig; and then Mr. Hodges, accompanied by the two Captains, took a walk into the country, in order to make drawings; after which they all returned with Attago, and two other chiefs on board to dinner, one of which last had sent a hog on board the Adventure, some hours before, for Capt. Furneaux, without requesting any return; a singular instance of generosity this: but Attago did not omit to put Capt. Cook in mind of the pig the old king gave him in the morning, for which he had in return, a chequed shirt, and a piece of red cloth. He desired to put them on, which when done, he went upon deck, and shewed himself to all his countrymen. He had done the same with the sheet the Captain gave him in the morning; but when we went on shore in the evening the old chief took to himself every thing Attago and others had got in their possession. This day the different trading parties procured for both ships a good supply of refreshments; the sailors therefore had leave to purchase any curiosities they might fancy: which opportunity they embraced with great eagerness; indeed they became quite the ridicule of the natives from their thirst after trifles, who jeeringly offered them sticks and stones, in



exchange for other things; and one waggish boy took a piece of human excrement on the end of a stick, and offered it for sale to every one he met. This day a fellow found means to get into the master's cabin, and stole some books and other articles, with which he was making off in his canoe. On being pursued by one of our boats, he left the canoe, and took to the water; but as often as our people attempted to lay hold of him, he dived under the boat, and at last, having unshipped the rudder, got clear off. Other daring thefts were committed at the landing-place. One man stole a seaman's jacket, and would not part with it till pursued and fired at.

Wednesday, the 6th, our friend Attago visited us again as usual, brought with him a hog, and assisted us in purchasing many more. We went afterwards on shore, visited the old chief, with whom we stayed till noon, and then returned on board to dinner, accompanied by Attago, who never one day left Capt. Cook. Being about to depart from this Island, a present was made for the old king, and carried on shore in the evening. When the Captain landed, he was informed by some of the officers, that a far greater man than any we had yet seen, was come to pay us a visit. Mr. Pickersgill said, he had seen him in the country, and believed he was a man of great consequence, by the extraordinary respect paid him by all ranks of people; some of whom, when they approached him, fell on their faces, and put their head between their feet; nor do any pass him without permission. Upon his arrival, Mr. Pickersgill and another gentleman took hold of his arms, and escorted him down to the landing-place, where we found him seated with such an affected gravity, that we really thought him an idiot, whom, from some superstitious notions, the people were ready to adore. When Capt. Cook saluted and addressed him, he neither answered, nor took the least notice of him. And as there appeared in the features of his countenance not any alteration, the captain was about to leave him to his private cogitations; but an intelligent youth cleared up all our doubts;

and from his information, we were now fully convinced, that what we took for a stupid fool was the principal head man, or king of the Island. Therefore the present, intended for the old chief, was presented to him. It consisted of a shirt, an axe, a piece of red cloth, a looking glass, some nails, medals, and beads; all of which were put upon, or laid down by his majesty, without his speaking one word, or turning his head either to the right or left. We departed from this living statue, and had not been long on board, before he sent us a present of provisions, consisting of about twenty baskets of roasted bananas, sour bread and yams, and a roasted pig, weighing about twenty pounds. We now no longer questioned the real dignity of this sullen chief. When these things were brought down to the water side, Mr. Edgecumbe and his party were coming off to the vessels, and the bearers of the present said it was from the Areeke, (that is king) of the Island, to the Areeke of the ship.

On Thursday the 7th of October, early in the morning our two commanders accompanied by Mr. Forster, went ashore, to make a return to the Areeke of the Island for his last night's present. They soon found Attago, of whom we learnt, that his majesty's name was Ko-haghee-too-Fallangou. After some little time he appeared with a very few attendants. By Attago's desire we all sat down under a tree, and the king seated himself on a rising ground about twelve yards from us. We continued some minutes facing each other, expecting Attago would introduce us to his majesty; but observing no signs of this, the two Captains went, and having saluted the king sat down by him. They then put on him a white shirt, and laid down before him a few yards of red cloth, a brass kettle, a saw, two large spikes, three looking glasses, twelve medals, and some strings of beads. All this time he behaved in the manner before related, sitting like a statue; his arms seemed immovable; he spoke not one word, nor did he seem to know what we were about. When we gave him to understand by signs and words, that we should



soon depart from his Island, he made not the least reply; but when we had took leave, we perceived he conversed with Attago, and an old woman; and in the course of this conversation he laughed heartily in spite of his assumed gravity; for it could not be his real disposition, seeing he was in the prime of life, and these Islanders, like all others we had lately been acquainted with, are much given to levity. We were now introduced by Attago into another circle of respectable old people of both sexes, among whom were our friend, the aged chief, and the priest, who was generally in his company. We concluded, that the juice of pepper-root had the same effect that strong liquors have on Europeans, when they drink too much of them; for we observed, that the reverend father could walk very well in the morning, but in the evening was generally led home by two friendly supporters. We were a little at a loss how to take leave of the old chief, having, we feared, almost exhausted all our choicest store on the king; but having examined our pockets, and Capt. Cook's treasury bag, which he always carried with him, we collected together a tolerable good present both for the chief and his friends. This old chief had a natural air of dignity, which the king had not. He was grave, but not sullen; would talk at times in a jocular manner, and when conversing only on indifferent subjects, would endeavour to understand us, and be understood himself. The priest in all our visits would repeat a short prayer, which none in the company attended to, and which for our parts we did not understand. Having continued a social conversation with these friends near two hours, we bid them farewell, and repaired to our ship with Attago, and a few of his friends, who after breakfast were dismissed loaded with presents. Attago very strongly importuned us to call again at this isle on our return, and requested of the Captain, more than once, to bring him a suit of clothes like those he then had on, which was his uniform. This friendly Islander, during our stay, was, on several occasions, very serviceable to us. He daily came on

board in the morning, soon after dawn, and frequently stayed with us till the evening. When on board, or on shore, he performed every kind of office for us in his power, the expence for his services was trifling, and we thought him a very valuable friend.

The supplies which we procured from this Island were about one hundred and fifty pigs, double that number of fowls; as many bananas, &c. as we could find room for, and, had we continued longer, we might have had more than our wants required. We were now about to depart, when, in heaving the coasting cable, it broke, by being chafed by the rocks; by which accident we lost nearly half the cable, together with the anchor, which lay in forty fathoms water, without any buoy to it; from whence a judgment may be formed of this anchorage. At ten o'clock P. M. we got under sail, but our decks being encumbered with fruit, fowls, &c. we kept plying under the land till they were cleared. Before we continue the history of this voyage, we shall here give a particular account of this Island, and its neighbouring one of Middleburgh, a description of which we doubt not will afford an agreeable entertainment to our readers, and very numerous subscribers who have favoured this work with a generous encouragement, equal to our most sanguine expectations and wishes.

These two islands were first discovered by Capt. Abel Jansen Tasman, a Dutchman, in January 1642---3, which we named Amsterdam and Middleburgh. The former is called by the natives Tonga-ta-bu, and the latter Ea-oo-wee. From observations made on the spot, they are found to be situated between the latitude of 21 deg. 29 min. and 21 deg. 3 min. S. and between the longitude of 174 deg. 40 min. and 175 deg. 15. min. W. Middleburgh, the southermost isle, is about ten leagues in circumference, and from its height may be seen twelve leagues at sea. It is bounded by plantations, especially on the S. W. and N. W. sides; but the interior parts are not so well cultivated; yet even this neglect gives an additional beauty to the whole island; for here we see dispersed, forming an agreeable variety, groves of



cocoa-nut and other trees, lawns cloathed with thick grass, with plantations, roads, and paths in every direction, making a charming confusion, as greatly improves and enlivens the prospect.

The island of Tongatabu, or Amsterdam, is shaped something like an isosceles triangle, the longest legs of which are seven leagues each, and the shortest four. It lies nearly in the direction of E. S. E. and W. N. W. much of an equal height, but rather low, being not more than eighty feet above the level of the sea. Both this Isle, and that of Middleburgh, are guarded by a reef of coral rocks, on which the force of the sea is spent before it reaches the shore. Van Diemen's Road, wherein we anchored, is under the N. W. part of the Island, having a reef of rocks without it, over which the sea breaks continually. The extent of the bank is not more than three cables length from the shore; without that is an unfathomable depth; and, as we have before observed, the loss of an anchor, and the damage our cables sustained, are plain indications that the bottom is none of the best. This island is wholly laid out in plantations, abounding with the richest productions of nature, as bread-fruit, plantains, sugar-cane, and a fruit like a nectarine, called Fighega, and at Otaheite Ahuya; in short, here are to be found most of the articles, productions of the Society Islands, besides others which they have not. The same may be said of vegetables, the stock of which we increased by an additional assortment of garden seeds, &c. The produce and cultivation of Middleburgh is much the same as at Amsterdam, only a part of the former is cultivated. The lanes and roads are laid out in so judicious a manner, as to open a free communication from one part of the Island to the other. We here saw no towns or villages; most of the houses being situated in the plantations; they are neatly constructed, but in their dimensions do not exceed those in the other Islands. The only difference seems to consist in the disposition of the framing. They have small areas before most of them, planted round with trees, or shrubs, whose

fragrancy perfumes the very air. The whole of their furniture is composed of a few wooden platters, cocoa-nut shells, and some neat wooden pillows shaped like stools or forms. Their common clothing serves them for bedding, with the addition of a mat. We saw two or three earthen vessels among them; one in the shape of a bomb-shell, with two holes in it, opposite each other; the others resembled pipkins, containing about five or six pints. Having seen no great number of these utensils, we concluded they were the manufacture of some other Isle. The only domestic animals we saw among them were hogs and fowls. The latter are as large as any in Europe, and their flesh equally good, if not better. We believe they have no dogs, as they were very desirous of those we had on board. In these Isles are no rats, nor did we discover any wild quadrupeds, except small lizards. The land birds are pigeons, turtle-doves, parrots, parroquets, owls, baldcoots, with a blue plumage, small birds, and large bats in abundance. The same sorts of fish are found here as in other Isles. Their fishing-tackle is much the same; as hooks made of mother of pearl, gigs having two or three prongs, and nets composed of a very fine thread, with the meshes made exactly like ours. The construction of their canoes is remarkably ingenious, exceeding in point of workmanship, every thing of this kind we saw in this sea. They are formed of several pieces sewed together, in so neat a manner, that on the outside it is difficult to discern the joints. On the inside, all the fastenings pass through ridges. They are of two sorts, namely, double and single; the single ones are from twenty to thirty feet in length, and about twenty or twenty-two inches broad in the middle.

The stern terminates in a point, and the head is somewhat like the extremity of a wedge. At each end is a kind of deck, open in the middle for about one third part of the whole length. The middle of their decks in some of them, is ornamented with white shells, stuck on little pegs, and placed in rows. They work these single canoes sometimes with sails, but oftner with



paddles, the short blades whereof are broadest in the middle; they have all out-riggers. The double canoes are made with two vessels about sixty or seventy feet long, and four or five broad, in the middle. Each end terminates in a point, and the hull differs but little in its construction from the single canoe, being put together exactly in the same manner; but they have a rising in the middle round the open part, somewhat like a trough which is made of boards, well compacted and secured to the body of the vessel. Two such vessels as above mentioned are placed parallel to each other, and fastened by strong cross beams, secured by bandages to the upper part of the risings. The vessels are about six feet asunder. Over these beams, and others, supported by stanchions fixed on the bodies of the canoes, is laid a boarded platform, whereon esteps a mast that may easily be raised or let down. All parts of the double canoes are strong, yet as light as the nature of the work will admit; and they may be immersed in the water to the very platforms, without being in the least danger of filling; and so long as they hold together, it is scarce possible, under any circumstance whatever, to sink them. By the nature of their construction, they are not only vessels of burden, but fit for short voyages from one Island to another, and are navigated with a lattean-sail, or triangular one, extended by a long yard; a little curved or bent. Their sails are composed of mats, and their ropes like ours, some four or five inches. A little shed is raised upon the platform, for to screen the crew from the sun, and for other purposes. Here they have a moveable fire-heap, which is a square shallow wooden trough, filled with stones. From off the platform is the way into the hold, wherein they stand to bail out the water. Capt. Cook was of opinion, that these double canoes are navigated either end foremost, and that in changing tacks, the sail is only shifted, or gibbed; but we cannot speak with certainty of this matter, not having seen any of them under sail, or with the mast and sail an end, but what were at a great distance from us.

The only piece of iron we saw among these people was a small awl, which had been made of a nail; all their working tools are of stone, bone, shells, &c. as at the other Islands. Every one who sees the work executed with these tools, cannot but be struck with admiration at both the ingenuity and patience of the artificers. They had little knowledge of the utility of iron, but enough to prefer nails to beads, and such trifles. Shirts, cloth jackets, and even rags, were more esteemed by them than the best edged tool, on which account we parted with few axes but what were given as presents; however, if we include the nails exchanged for curiosities, by the companies of both ships, with those given for refreshments, &c. they could not get from us less than 5 cwt. great and small.

As to the natives of these Islands, both sexes are of a common size with Europeans; but with respect to complexion, their colour is that of a lightish copper, and more uniformly so than among those of Otaheite and the Society Isles. Of our gentlemen, some thought these people were a much handsomer race; others were of a contrary opinion, of which number Capt. Cook was one. It is certain, that they have in general regular features, with a good shape: they are also active, brisk, and lively. The women are especially very merry and sociable, and would chat with us, without being invited, or if we seemed attentive, without considering whether we understood them or not. They appeared in general to be modest: yet instances of those of a different character were not wanting; and having some venereal complaints, Capt. Cook took all possible care, that the disorder should not be communicated to them. Whenever opportunity served, they discovered a strong propensity to pilfering, and in the art of thieving are full as knowing and dexterous as the Otaheiteans. Their hair particularly, of the females, is black, but some of the men have a method of staining their hair with various colours, as white, red, and blue, which we saw upon the same head. It is wore cut short, and we met with only two exceptions to this custom. The boys



have only a single lock on the top of the head, combed upwards and a small quantity on each side. The beards of the men are shaved quite close with two shells, and even those of an advanced age have fine eyes, and in general good teeth. They are tattooed from the middle of the thigh to above the hips; but among the women, the skin is punctured very slightly, and that only on their arms and fingers. Their dress consists of a piece of cloth or matting, hanging below the knees, but from the waist upwards they are generally naked. Their ornaments are bracelets, amulets, and necklaces, composed of bones, shells, and beads, of mother of pearl. The women have a curious apron made of the outward fibres of the cocoa-nut shell: small pieces of this stuff are sewed together in such a manner as to form stars, half moons, and squares, &c. and the whole is studded, and decorated with red feathers, so as to have a pleasing effect. They wear also rings on their fingers made of tortoiseshell, and pendants of the same about the size of a small quill; but though all have their ears bored, yet these last kind of ornaments are not worn in common. The natives of these Islands make the same sorts of cloth, as the inhabitants of Otaheite; but they have not such a variety, nor any of so fine materials; yet having a method of glazing their cloth, it is more durable than that at Otaheite, and will resist rain for sometime. Their matting is of various kinds; some very fine, and generally used for clothing; another sort is thick and stronger, which serves them for sails, and to sleep on. The colours of their cloth are black, brown, purple, yellow, and red; all extracted from vegetables. They make many little toys, which sufficiently evinces their ingenuity: and among their utensils are various sorts of curious baskets, some made of the same materials as their mats, and others of the twisted fibres of cocoa-nuts: which prove in the workmanship, that these people want neither taste to design, nor skill to execute. How they amuse themselves in their leisure hours, we cannot particularly

and positively say, being but little acquainted with their diversions. We were entertained frequently with songs from the women, in an agreeable style, and the music they accompanied by snapping their fingers, so as to keep time to it. Both this and their voices are very harmonious; and they have a considerable compass on their notes. Among their musical instruments, which came under our knowledge, they have a drum, or rather an hollow log of wood, on the side of which they beat with two drum sticks, whereby is produced a doleful sound, not quite so musical as that of an empty cask. We saw one of these drums five feet and a half long, and thirty inches in girth. It had a slit in it from one end to the other, about three inches wide, by means of which it had been hollowed out. They have also two musical pipes; one a large flute made of a piece of bamboo, which they fill with breathing through their noses: they have four stops, whereas those at Otaheite have only two. The other instrument is composed of ten or eleven small reeds of unequal lengths, bound together side by side, as the Doric pipe of the ancients is said to have been. The open ends of the reeds into which they blow with their mouths are of equal height or in a line.

In this country the manner of a salutation is by joining or touching noses, and the displaying a white flag or flags, when strangers arrive, is a sure sign of peace. Such were displayed when we first drew near the shore; but the people who then came on board, brought with them some pepper plant, which they sent before them into the ship; and a stronger sign of friendship we could not wish for. From the friendly reception we experienced, and the unsuspicious manner of behaviour upon our landing, we concluded, they are seldom molested either by foreign or domestic enemies; nevertheless they are not without very formidable offensive and defensive weapons, as bows and arrows; also clubs and spears formed of hard wood. The clubs are of various shapes, and from three to five feet in length,



The bows and arrows are none of the best, the former being very slight, and the latter only a slender reed pointed with hard wood. On the inside of the bow is a groove, wherein is placed the arrow. Several of their spears have many barbs, and must be dangerous weapons where they take effect. Another singular custom is that of putting every thing you give them to their heads, by way of thanks, as we imagined; and where things were given to young infants, the mother lifted up the child's hand to its head, so that this manner of paying a compliment is taught them from their very infancy. The same custom they also used in their exchanges with us. It is called by the natives *fagafatie*, and has, we believe, various significations, according as it is applied; all however complimentary. A still more singular custom prevails among them, though not peculiar to the inhabitants of the Friendly Isles. The greater part of both sexes had lost one or both of their little fingers; and, except some young children, we found few who had both hands perfect; but the reason of this mutilation we could not learn. They also burn or make incisions in their cheeks, near the cheek bone; the reason of which was equally unknown to us. However, such is the goodness of the climate, that we observed neither sick nor lame among them; all appeared healthy, strong and vigorous.

The government of this country is much like that of *Otaheite*, that is, in a king or prime chief (called *Areeke*) with other subordinate chiefs, who are lords of certain districts, perhaps sole proprietors, to whom the people seem to pay great obedience. We also perceived a third rank, one of whom was our friend *Attago*, who seemed to have not a little influence over the common people. It was the opinion of Capt. Cook, that all the land on *Tongatabu* is private property, and that here, as at *Otaheite*, are a set of servants, or slaves, who have no property in land. Indeed, we cannot suppose every thing to be in common, in a country so richly cultivated. Few would toil if they did not expect to reap, and

enjoy the fruits of their labour as their own. Parties of six, eight, or ten people, would frequently bring fruit down to the landing place; but we always saw one man, or woman, superintend the sale of the whole, without whose consent no exchanges could be made; and the things they bartered for were always given them, all which plainly shews they were the owners, and the others only their servants.

Though the benevolent author of nature has poured forth liberally his bounties on the Isles; yet the high state of cultivation their lands are in, must have cost them indefatigable pains and labour; but this is now amply rewarded by the great produce every where to be seen, and of which all partake; for no one wants the common necessities of life: the poor are not crying for bread; but joy, contentment, and cheerful mirth are painted in the features of every one. An easy freedom prevails among all ranks of people; they have few desires they cannot gratify, and they are blessed with a clime wherein the disagreeable extremes of heat and cold are equally unknown. The article of water was the only one of which they may be said to have a scanty supply; this they are obliged to dig for. We saw not any at *Amsterdam*, and but one well. At *Middleburgh* we found no water but what the natives had in vessels; this was sweet and cool, and probably procured not far from the spots where we saw it.

We can say very little of the religion of these people. The *Afiatoucas* may be appropriated to this purpose; but some of our gentlemen thought these buildings were only burying places. It is certain, particular persons made speeches in them, which we understood to be prayers; perhaps, they may be both temples and burying places, as at *Otaheite*; but with respect to the images being idols, we had many reasons to be of a contrary opinion. Mr. Wales told us, that one of these images was set up for him and others to shoot at, not very respectful this to divinity; and yet we have seen the Portuguese, when their



wishes were not gratified, treat their tutelar saints with much greater familiarity. It appeared however very plain to us, that these Afiatoucas are much frequented for one purpose or other; for the areas before

them were covered with green sod, and the grass was very short, by being often sat upon, and much trodden, which doubtless prevented its growth.

## CHAP. IV.

*The Resolution and Adventure continue their voyage from Amsterdam; proceed for Queen Charlotte's Sound; An interview with the inhabitants; The final separation of the two ships; Transactions and incidents in Charlotte's Sound; The inhabitants discovered to be Cannibals; A description of the coast; The Resolution departs from the Sound, and proceeds in search after her consort; Course of the Resolution in search of the supposed continent; and the methods pursued to explore the Southern Pacific Ocean; Arrives at Easter Island; Transactions there; An expedition into the inland part of the country, with an account of some gigantic statues, and description of the whole Island.*

**O**N Thursday, the 7th, of October, we made sail to the southward, and our route determined was to make for Queen Charlotte's Sound in New Zealand, there to take in a supply of wood and water, and then to proceed on farther discoveries to the S. and E. On the 8th, we made the Island of Pilstart, distant eight leagues, and bearing S. W. by W half W. This was also discovered by Tasman, and lies in latitude 22 deg. 26 min. S. and in 175 deg. 59 min. W. longitude, distant 32 leagues from the south end of Middleburgh, in the direction of S. 52 deg. W. Two remarkable hills rise therein of a considerable height, and seemingly disjoined from each other by a low valley. We now after a few hours calm, stretched with a S. W. wind to the S. E. but, on Sunday, the 10th, it veered round to the S. E. and E. S. E. upon which we resumed our course to the S. S. W.

On Thursday the 21st, at five o'clock, A. M. we made the land of New Zealand, extending from N. W. by N. to W. S. W. We now stood in shore till we were abreast of Table Cape and Portland Island, which is joined to it by a ledge of rocks; we were

gazed at by the natives as we passed: but none of them ventured to come off in their canoes. We advanced to the Black Cape on the 22nd, and now several inhabitants took courage and boarded us, among whom was a chief; he was clothed elegantly, and his hair was dressed in the high fashion of the country. We entertained him in the cabin, and his companions sold us some fish. These people were very fond of nails, and the chief received them with much greater eagerness than when the Captain gave him hogs, fowls, seeds, and roots. We obtained from him a promise not to kill any; and if he keeps his word, there are enough to stock the whole Island; the present consisted of two sows, two boars, four hens, and two cocks; we likewise gave him several useful seeds, and instructed him in the manner of setting them. These people very well remembered the Endeavour having been in their coast. The Adventure was now a good way to leeward, and as we were obliged to tack, she was consequently separated from us; but we were joined by her on the twenty-fourth. The wind was now very high, so that we could carry hardly any sail; we endeavoured



to make Cape Palliser, the northern point of Eakeinonauwe, but we had such a hard gale for two days, that drove us off the land just as we were in sight of port. This was very mortifying; but two favourable circumstances attended it, for we were in no danger of a lee-shore, and it was fair over head. In the evening of the twenty-fifth we endeavoured to find the Adventure, which the storm had separated, but without effect, the weather being so hazy, that we could not see a mile round us. On the twenty-eighth we saw the Adventure about five miles to leeward, and we kept company with her till the night of the twenty-ninth, when she disappeared, nor did we see her at day-light. Charlotte Sound was the appointed place of rendezvous; and as we had separated from the Adventure, we were obliged to make for it, otherwise Capt. Cook would have sought a supply of wood and water further south. We stood to the eastward, in hopes of meeting with the Adventure. On the second of November the morning was very clear, and we kept a sharp look-out for the Adventure; but as we could not see her, we judged she was got into the Sound. We accordingly made for the shore of Eakeinonauwe. In doing which we discovered an inlet, which the captain had never observed before, on the east side of Cape Teerewhitte. We anchored in twelve fathoms water, at the entrance of this inlet; and several of the inhabitants came on board, who were extravagantly fond of nails. We ran up into Ship Cove on the third of November, where we expected to see the Adventure, but were disappointed. Here we were obliged to unbend the sails, which had been very much damaged in the late storms. Several people came on board, who remembered the Endeavour when on this coast, particularly an old man called Goubiah. The empty casks were ordered on shore, and the necessary repairs both to them and the ship were ordered to be made. We were unsuccessful in our fishing parties, who caught no fish, but were well supplied by the natives with that useful article. On opening the bread casks, we found a great deal of it damaged; that which remained

good we baked over again, in order to preserve it.

On Friday the 5th, one of the natives took an opportunity of stealing one of the seamen's bags of clothes, which, with some difficulty, we recovered. This made our people more cautious in future. We found one of the sows which Capt. Furneaux had put on shore, and were informed that the boar and other sow were taken to another part, but not killed. We were mortified very much when we heard that old Goubiah had killed the two goats which Captain Cook put on shore, and were concerned to think that our endeavours to stock this country with useful animals were likely to be rendered fruitless, by those very people for whose benefit they were designed. But nature had amazingly assisted our intentions in the gardens, where every thing was in a flourishing state, except the potatoes, which were most of them dug up. We put on shore another boar and sow, with two cocks, and four hens. We purchased a large quantity of fish from the natives, who were very much inclined to theft; we detected them picking our pockets very frequently. Several strangers came to visit us in five canoes, they took up their quarters in a cave near us, and decamped the next morning with six of our small water casks. All the people whom we found on our arrival likewise went with them. Some of them returned in a day or two, and supplied us with fish.

On Monday, the fifteenth, we made a party to the summit of one of the hills, in order to look for the Adventure, but were disappointed, and totally at a loss to know what was become of her. When we returned, the natives were collected round our boat, to whom we made some presents, and went on board. We were very well supplied with fish during our stay here. On the 22nd, we took one boar and three sows, together with some cocks and hens, into the woods, where we left them with provision sufficient for ten or twelve days, with hopes that the natives would not discover them till they had bred. Our officers having visited the dwelling-places of several of the natives, found some human



bones, from which the flesh appeared to be lately taken; and on the twenty-third, they being on shore, saw the head and bowels of a youth, lately killed, laying on the beach; his heart was stuck on a fork, and fixed at the fore part of one of the largest canoes. The head was bought, and brought on board, where one of the natives broiled and eat it before the whole ship's company, and the sight made several of them sick. Oedidee, whom we had brought with us, expressed his horror at this transaction in terms which it is impossible for us to describe. It is certain that the New Zealanders are cannibals, which this circumstance fully proves; but from all we could learn, they only eat the flesh of those slain in battle. This youth had fallen in a skirmish with some of the natives, as well as several others; but how many, or what was the cause of the quarrel, we could not learn.

Our crew had for three months past, lived almost wholly on fresh provisions and vegetables; and we hail, at this time, neither a scorbutic, nor sick person on board. Before we quitted the Sound, we left a memorandum, setting forth the day of our departure, what course we intended steering, &c. and buried it in a bottle, where it must be discovered, should Capt. Furneux touch here, though we did not place any great expectation in such an event. We sailed from hence on the 25th, of November and sought the Adventure in several harbours, but without effect. All hopes of seeing her again were now vanished, and we set about our intended discoveries by ourselves. The ship's company were perfectly satisfied with Capt. Cook's care and conduct, and did not express any uneasiness at our being unattended.

On Friday, the 26th, we steered to the south, and on Monday the 6th, of December found ourselves antipodes to our London friends. We were then in S. latitude 59 deg. 17 min. and E. longitude 179 deg. 40 min. We met with several flights of our old companions, albatrosses, petrels, &c. We sailed through large quantities of loose ice on the 14th of November, and discovered many ice islands. We were soon embayed by the ice, and were obliged

to stretch to the N. W. We were now in much danger, owing to the ice islands and the fog. We attempted to take some of the ice on board, but without effect; but on the 17th, we succeeded, and got on board as much as we could manage.

Tuesday, the 21st, we came the second time within the antarctic circle; and on a sudden got among a great quantity of loose ice, and a cluster of ice Islands, which it was very difficult to steer clear of, as the fog was very thick. On the 24th, they increased so fast upon us, that we could see near an hundred round us, besides an astonishing quantity of small pieces. Here we spent the 25th, being Christmas-day, in much the same manner as we did the preceding one.

On the 2nd of January, we steered N. W. in order to explore great part of the sea between us and our track to the south; but were obliged to steer north-easterly the next day, and could not accomplish our design. Many of the people were attacked with slight fevers while we were in these high latitudes, but happily they were cured in a few days. Taking every circumstance into consideration, it is not very probable that there is any extensive land in our track from Otaheite which was about two hundred leagues; and that any lay to the west is still less probable; we therefore steered N. E. There was no sign of land; and therefore on the 11th, we altered our course, and steered S. E. On the 25th we found ourselves in a pleasant climate, and no ice in view; on the 26th, came a third time within the antarctic circle. On Sunday, the 30th, we saw a very extensive field of ice, and within the field we distinctly enumerated ninety-seven ice hills of various sizes; it is probable that such mountains of ice were never seen in the Greenland seas. On this account, the attempt to get farther to the south, though not absolutely impossible, was yet both rash and dangerous. The majority of us were of opinion that this ice extended to the pole, as it might possibly join some land to which it has been contiguous since the earliest times. Should there be land to the south behind this ice, it



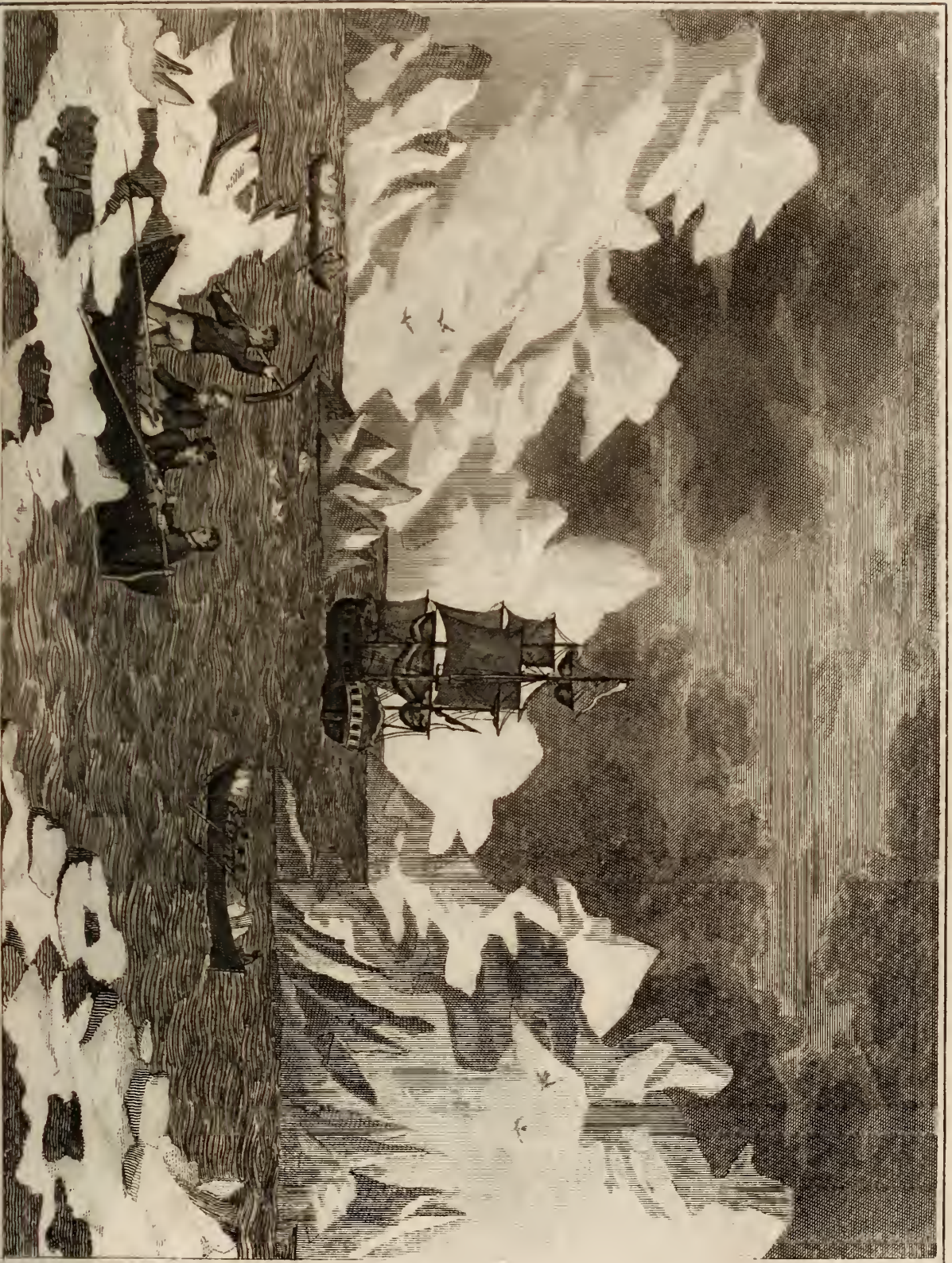
certainly can afford no better retreat for man, beast, or birds, than the ice itself, with which it must certainly be covered. As we could not go any farther to the south, we thought it adviseable to tack, and stand back to the north, being at this time in the latitude 71 deg. 10 min. S. and 106. deg. 54 min. W. Happily for us we tacked in good time; for we had no sooner done it, than a very thick fog came on; which would have been highly dangerous when we fell in with the ice.

On the 1st, of February we were able to take in some more ice, which though it was cold work to collect, served us for present consumption when melted. Capt. Cook was now well satisfied that no continent was to be found in this ocean, but that which is totally inaccessible; he therefore determined to pass the ensuing winter within the tropic, if he met with no other object worth pursuing. It was determined to steer for the land discovered by Juan Fernandez, or, in failure of this pursuit, to search for Easter Island, or Davis's Land, which we knew very little about. The sailors and all on board acceded to these designs, and were happy at the thoughts of getting into a warmer climate. We had continual gales from the 8th, to the 12th instant, when it fell a dead calm. The weather varied every day considerably till the 25th, when Capt. Cook was persuaded that the discovery of Juan Fernandez, if any such was ever made, could be nothing but a small Island, not worth notice. On the 25th, Capt. Cook was taken so ill as to be obliged to keep his bed, and recovered very slowly. It is something very extraordinary, that when he could eat nothing else, he had a mind to a dog of Mr. Forster's which was killed, and he relished both the flesh and the broth made of it. This seems a very odd kind of food for a sick man: and, in the opinion of many people, would create much greater sickness than it was likely to be any means of removing.

On the 11th of March, land was seen from the mast-head, which proved to be Easter Island; and on the 13th, we came to an anchor in thirty-six fathoms water, before

the sandy beach. One of the natives came on board the ship where he staid two nights. He measured the length of the ship, and called the number by the same names as the Otaheiteans do; but otherwise we could not understand his language. A party of us went ashore on the 14th, and found a great number of the natives assembled, who were pacifically inclined, and seemed desirous to see us. We made signs for something to eat, after we had distributed some trinkets among them; they brought us some sugar-canes, potatoes, and plantains. We very soon found out that these gentlemen were as expert thieves as any before met with; we could scarce keep any thing in our pockets, and it was with some difficulty that we could keep our hats upon our heads. These people seemed to understand the use of a musket, and to be very much afraid of it. Here were several plantations of potatoes, sugar-canes, and plantains; but otherwise the country appeared barren and without wood. We found a well of brackish water, and saw some fowls. As the natives did not seem unwilling to part with these articles, and as we were in want of them, we determined to stay a few days. A trade was accordingly opened with the natives, and we got on board a few casks of water. A party of officers and men were sent up the country in order to examine it; and Capt. Cook remained on shore among the natives. An advantageous trade for potatoes was opened, but soon put a stop to by the owners of the spot from whence they were dug. It seems that they had stolen these potatoes; for they all ran away at his approach. From this circumstance it is pretty evident that they are not more strictly honest amongst themselves than to strangers. This reconnoitring party were followed by a crowd of natives; and before they had proceeded far, they were met by a middle-aged man, with his face painted. He had a spear in his hand, and walked along with them, keeping his countrymen at a distance, that our people might receive no molestation from them. This man was punctured from head to foot. They found the greatest part of the island





VIEW of the ICE ISLANDS as seen in FIDOCK'S second VOYAGE on Jan<sup>y</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> 1773.

Published by Robinson & Co. 17, Fleet Street, 1812.







barren ; though in many places there were plantations of the roots before mentioned. They met with the ruins of three platforms of stone work. On each of these platforms had stood four very large statues, made of stone, but they were now fallen to the ground, and much defaced. These statues were fifteen feet long, and six feet broad across the shoulders. On the head of each statue was a round red stone, of considerable magnitude. Travelling on, they found in some places a poor sort of iron ore, and afterwards came to a fruitful part of the Island, on which were several plantations. They could get no good water in their journey ; but they were obliged to drink what they could get, on account of the extremity of their thirst. They found the natives so addicted to theft, that they were obliged to fire some small shot at a man, who took from them their bag of provisions and implements. The shot hit this fellow in the back, on which he dropped the bag and fell ; but he soon afterwards got up and walked off. Some delay was occasioned by this affair. The man before mentioned ran round them and repeated several words, which they could not understand ; and afterwards they were very good friends together, no one attempting to steal any thing more. A number of the natives were assembled together on a hill at some distance, with spears in their hands, but dispersed

at the desire of their countrymen. There appeared to be a chief among them, which wore a better cloth than the rest. He had a fine open countenance, and was very well made. His face was painted, and his body punctured. They met with some pretty fresh water towards the eastern end of this Island, but it was rendered dirty by a custom which the inhabitants have of washing themselves in it as soon as they have drank. Let the company be ever so large, the first that gets to the well, jumps into the middle of it, drinks his fill, and washes himself all over ; the next does the same, and so on till all of them have drank and washed.

Great numbers of the gigantic statues, before described, are to be seen on this part of the island ; one of which they measured, and found it to be twenty-seven feet long, and eight feet broad across the shoulders. One of these figures, of an astonishing height, being standing, it afforded shade for the whole party to dine under, which consisted of thirty persons. Many gained the summit of a hill, but could not see any bay or creek, nor discover any signs of fresh water. They returned to the ship in the evening. No shrubs worth mentioning were found in this excursion, neither did they see an animal of any sort, and but very few birds. They could not discover any thing in the whole Island to induce ships in the utmost distress, to touch at it.



## CHAP V.

*The Resolution sails from Easter Island to the Marquesas; Transactions and incidents while she lay in Resolution Bay, in the Island of St. Christina; Departs from the Marquesas; These Islands described, with an account of the inhabitants, their customs, &c. The Resolution prepares to leave Otaheite; Another naval review; A description of the Island; Her arrival at the Island of Huaheine; An expedition into the same; Various incidents related; The ship proceed to Ulietea; Her reception there; Incidents during her stay; Character of Oedidee; General observations on the Islands.*

ON Wednesday, the 16th, of March, we took our departure from Easter Isle, and steered for the Marquesas Islands, intending to make some stay there if nothing material intervened. On the 6th, of April, we discovered an Island, when we were in latitude 9 deg. 20 min. and longitude 138 deg. 14 min. we were about nine leagues distance from it. We soon discovered another, more extensive than the former, and presently afterwards a third and a fourth; these were the Marquesas discovered in 1595 by Mendana. After various unsuccessful trials to come to an anchor, we came at last before Mendana's port, and anchored in thirty-four fathoms water, at the entrance of the bay. Several canoes appeared, filled with natives, but it was with some difficulty they were persuaded to come along side; they were at last induced by some spike nails and a hatchet. From these people we got some fish and fruit. Great numbers of them came along side next morning, and brought with them one pig, some bread-fruit and plantains, for which they received nails, &c. We often detected them in keeping our goods, and making no return; which practice was not put a stop to till Capt. Cook fired a musket-ball over the head of one man, who had repeatedly served us so. We wanted to get farther into the bay, and accordingly sought after a convenient place to moor the ship in. When Capt. Cook saw there were too many natives on board, he desired that they might be well looked after, or they would certainly commit many thefts. Before the Captain was well got into the boat, he was told that a canoe, with some men in her, were making off with one

of the iron stanchions from the opposite gangway. The captain immediately ordered them to fire over the canoe, but not to kill any body. There was such a noise on board, that his orders were not distinctly heard, and the poor thief was killed at the third shot. The rest that were in the canoe leaped overboard, but got in again just as Capt. Cook came up to them, and threw over board the stanchion. One of the men sat laughing as he laded the blood and water out of the boat, but the other looked very serious and dejected. We afterwards had reason to think that the father of the latter had been shot. The natives retired with great precipitation at this unhappy accident; but their fears were in some measure allayed by the captain's following them into the bay, and making them presents. We found fresh water ashore, which we very much wanted. One would have imagined that the fatality attending one poor fellow's thieving, would have discouraged them from making any more attempts of the like nature; but no sooner was our kedge anchor out, but two men came from the shore, wanting to take away the buoy, not knowing what was fastened to it. Lest they should take away the buoy, a shot was fired, which fell short of them: of this they took not the least notice; but when another was fired, which went over their heads, they instantly let go the buoy, and returned to the shore. This last shot had a good effect; for by this they saw that they were not safe at any distance, and they were ever afterwards much terrified at the sight of the musket. However, they still continued to practice their art of thieving: but it was



judged better to put up with it, as we did not intend making a long stay here. A man who had the appearance of a chief came off to us with a pig upon his shoulder; he was presented with a hatchet in return, and afterwards great numbers of the natives came along-side, and carried on some traffic. Peace being now established, another party of men were sent on shore. The natives received us civilly, and we got a supply of water, as well as some hogs and fruit. On the 9th, another party went ashore, and were met by a chief of some consequence, attended by several of the natives. Presents were made to him; but we could not prevail on him to return with us to dinner. In the afternoon another party was made to the southern cove, which came to the house that belonged to the man we had killed. His son inherited his substance, which consisted of five or six pigs; but he fled at our approach. We should have been glad to have seen him, as we wanted to convince him that we bore the nation no ill-will, though we killed his father, and to have made him some presents by way of a small compensation. We collected a good many pigs and other refreshments this day, and returned on board in the evening. We also obtained several pigs from the different canoes that came along-side of us on the 10th, instant; and by this time we had a sufficient number to afford the crews a fresh meal. A party was made on this day, which was successful in the purchase of several more pigs, and a large quantity of fruit. We had now a fine prospect of getting a supply of all manner of refreshments; but our expectations were frustrated, by some of our crew having been on shore, and selling them such articles as they had never before seen, which made the natives despise the hatchets and nails, which before they so much prized. As this was the case, and we had much need of refreshment, having been a long time at sea, it was determined to remove our quarters, and make sail for Otaheite, hoping to fall in with some of those Islands discovered by the Dutch and other navigators, where our wants might be effectually relieved. We had been nineteen weeks at sea, living the

whole time upon salt provisions, and therefore could not but want some refreshments; yet we must own, with grateful acknowledgments to goodness supreme, that on our arrival here, it could scarcely be said we had one sick man, and but a few who had the least complaint. This Capt. Cook attributed to the number of antiscorbutic articles on board, and to the great attention of the surgeon, who was very careful to apply them in time. On Monday, the 11th, at three o'clock, we weighed from St. Christina, and stood over for La Dominica, and the night was spent in plying between the two Isles. On the 12th, we steered to the S. and at five P. M. Resolution Bay bore E. N. E. half E. distant five leagues, and the Island of Magdalena about nine leagues, which was the only view we had of it.

But we shall now in our narrative return to the Marquesas. These are five in number, namely, La Magdalena, St. Pedro, La Dominica, Santa Christina, and what we named Hood's Island, which is the northernmost, in latitude 9 deg. 26 min. S. Its breadth is unequal, and it is about sixteen leagues in circumference. The surface is full of rugged hills rising in ridges, which are disjoined by deep valleys clothed with wood, as are the sides of some of the hills: the aspect is, however, barren; yet it is nevertheless inhabited. St. Pedro is about three leagues in circuit, and lies south four leagues and a half from the east end of La Dominica. Christina lies under the same parallel, four leagues more to the west. This Isle is nine miles in length, and about twenty-one in circumference. These Islands occupy one degree in latitude, and nearly half a degree in longitude, namely, from 138 deg. 47 min. to 139 deg. 13. min. W. which is the longitude of the west end of Dominica.

The port of Madre de Dios, which was named Resolution Bay, is situated not far from the middle of the west side of St. Christina, under the highest land in the Island. The south point of the bay is a steep rock, terminating in a peaked hill. The north point is not so high, and rises in a more gentle slope. In the bay are two



sandy coves ; in each of which is a rivulet of excellent water. For wooding and watering, the northern cove is most convenient. We saw here the little cascade mentioned by Quiros, Mendana's pilot ; but the village is in the other cove.

The productions of these Isles, which came within our knowledge, are nearly the same as at the Society Isles, namely, hogs, fowls, plantains, yams, and some other roots ; also bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, but of these not in abundance. Trifles highly valued at the Society Isles, are lightly esteemed here, and even nails, at last, in their opinion, lost their value.

The natives in general, are the finest race of people in this sea. They surpass all other nations for shape and regular features. The affinity of their language to that of Otaheite, and the Society Isles, shews that they are of the same nation. Oedidee could converse with them, though we could not. The men are curiously tattooed, from head to foot, with various figures, that seem to be directed more by fancy than by custom. These punctures cause the skin to appear of a dark hue ; but the women who are not much punctured, and youths who are not at all, are as fair as some Europeans. The men are about five feet six inches high ; but none of them were fat and lusty like the Earees of Otaheite, yet we saw not any that could be called meagre. Their eyes are neither full nor lively ; their teeth not so good as those of other nations, and their hair is of many colours, except red. Some have it long ; the most prevailing custom is to wear it short ; but a bunch on each side of the crown they tie in a knot. In trimming their beards, which are in general long, they observe different modes : some part it, and tie it in two bunches under the chin ; some plait it, some wear it loose, and others quite short. Their clothing is much the same as at Otaheite, but not so good, nor in such plenty. The men, for the most part, cover their nakedness with the Marra, which is a slip of cloth passed round the waist, and between the legs. This simple dress is quite sufficient for modesty, and the climate. The women wear a piece of

cloth round their loins, like a petticoat, reaching below the middle of their legs, and a loose mantle over their shoulders. Their head dress, and what seems to be their principal ornament, is a broad fillet, made curiously of the fibres of the husks of cocoa-nuts, in the front of which is placed a mother-of-pearl shell, wrought round to the size of a tea-saucer. Near this is one smaller, of very fine tortoiseshell, perforated in curious figures ; and in the centre is another round piece of mother-of-pearl, about the size of half a crown ; before which is another piece of perforated tortoiseshell the size of a shilling. Some have this decoration on each side, in smaller pieces, and all have annexed to them the tail-feathers of cocks or tropic birds, which stand upright, and the whole makes a very singular ornament. Round the neck they wear a kind of ruff or necklace of light wood, covered with small red peas, fixed on with gum. Round their legs and arms they have bunches of human hair fastened to a string. Instead of hair, they sometimes use short feathers ; but all these ornaments we seldom saw on the same person. The chief, indeed, who came to visit us, was completely dressed in this manner ; but their ordinary ornaments are necklaces and amulets composed of shells, &c. All had their ears pierced, yet we saw not any with ear-rings.

Their houses are in the valleys, and on the sides of hills, near their plantations, built after the same manner as at Otaheite, but much meaner, being only covered with the leaves of the bread tree. Most of them are built on a pavement of stone, an oblong, or square, which is raised above the level of the ground. These pavements are likewise near their dwellings, on which they eat and amuse themselves. In their eating, these people are not very cleanly. They are also dirty in their cookery. They dress their pork in an oven of hot stones ; but fruit and roots they roast, and having taken off the rind, they put them into a trough with water, out of which we have seen both men and hogs eat at the same time. Once we saw them make a batter of fruit and roots in a vessel that was loaded with dirt,



and out of which the hogs had been that moment eating, without washing either that, or their hands, which were equally dirty; but the actions of a few individuals are not sufficient to fix a custom on a whole nation. Their weapons are clubs and spears. They have also slings with which they throw stones with great velocity, but not with a good aim. Their canoes are made of wood, and the bark of a soft tree, which grows near the sea, and is very proper for the purpose. Their length is from sixteen to twenty feet, and their breadth about fifteen inches. The head and stern are formed out of two solid pieces of wood; the former is curved, and the latter ends in a point; the latter, which projects horizontally, is decorated with a rude carved figure, having a faint resemblance of a human shape and face. Some of these canoes have a latteen sail, but they are generally rowed with paddles. The only tame fowls we saw were cocks and hens; and of quadrupeds no other than hogs; but the woods were well inhabited by small birds, whose plumage is exceeding beautiful, and their notes sweetly varied. We did not shoot as many of them as we might have done, from apprehensions of alarming and terrifying the natives.

On Sunday, the 17th, at ten o'clock A. M. having steered W. by S. land was seen bearing W. half N. being a chain of low Islets, connected together by a reef of coral rocks. We ranged the N. W. coast till we came to a creek or inlet, and which seemed to have a communication with a lake in the centre of the Island. Having a desire of surveying these half drowned Islets, we hoisted out a boat, and sent the master in to sound. While the Resolution ran along the coast, the natives were seen in different places armed with long spears and clubs, and a group of them were observed on one side of the creek. As they shewed some signs of a friendly disposition, two boats were sent ashore well armed, under the command of Lieutenant Cooper, who was accompanied by Mr. Forster. We saw our people land without any opposition from a few natives standing on the shore: but

perceiving, a little time after, forty or fifty, all armed, coming down to join them, we stood closer on shore, with the view of supporting our people in case they should be attacked; but our boat returned without any thing of this kind having happened. By Mr. Cooper we were informed, that many of the natives hovered about the skirts of the wood with spears in their hands; and that the presents he made to those on shore were received with great coolness. When their reinforcement arrived, his party thought it most prudent to embark, especially as the captain had ordered them to avoid, if possible, an attack. When the crew, &c. were all in the boats, some of the natives attempted to push them off, others seemed disposed to detain them; at length they suffered our people to depart at their leisure. One of them procured a dog for a single plantain, which led us to conjecture this was not a production of their Island; indeed, they saw no fruit but coconuts, of which they could get by barter, only two dozen. When the master returned from sounding in the creek, he reported that there was no passage from thence into the lake; and that the creek, at its entrance, was fifty fathoms wide, and thirty deep; farther up thirty wide, and twelve deep; that the bottom was rocky, and the sides bounded by coral rocks. We were not inclined to run the ship into such a place, and therefore, after having formed some judgment of the natives, we prepared to proceed on new discoveries.

The natives call this Island Tiookea, which was discovered and visited by Commodore Byron. It is of an oval form, about thirty miles in circumference, and lies in 14 deg. 27 min. 30. sec. S. latitude, and in 144 deg. 56 min. W. longitude. They, and perhaps all the low Islands, are of a much darker colour than those of the higher ones, and seem more savage in their nature. These low Islands are not so fertile as some others; the inhabitants are much exposed to the sun; they depend upon the sea for their support, by which means they are darker in colour, and more robust; yet there is no doubt of their being of the same



nation. A fish is an emblem of their profession, and a figure of one was marked on the bodies of the men, who in general are well made, stout, and fierce.

On Monday, the 18th, we saw such another Island as that we had left, to the westward, which we reached by eight o'clock A. M. We ranged the S. E. side at one mile distant from the shore. It lies S. W. by W. two leagues from the west end of Tiookea, in 14 deg. 37 min. S. latitude, and in 145 deg. 10. min. W. longitude. These we apprehended to be the same, to which Commodore Byron gave the name of George's Islands. We left them on the 19th, and at seven o'clock A. M. discovered another of these half-overflowed Islands, which are so common in these southern latitudes. In general they are surrounded with an unfathomable sea, and their interior parts are covered with lakes, which would be excellent harbours, were they not shut up from the access of shipping, which, according to the report of the natives, is the case with most of them. Of the great number we ranged, not a passage was to be discovered into one of them. We were told, that they abound with fish, particularly turtle, on which the natives subsist, and sometimes exchange with the inhabitants of the higher Islands for cloth, &c. This Island, (by which, while in this part of the ocean, we would be understood to mean a number of little Isles, or Islots, connected together into one by a reef of coral rocks) is about five leagues long, and three broad, and is in 15 deg. 26 min. S. latitude, and in 146 deg. 20 min. longitude. Near the south end we discovered from the mast head, distant four leagues, another of these low Isles; soon after a third, bearing S. W. by S. It extends W. N. W. and E. S. E. in which direction its length is twenty-one miles, but its breadth not more than six. It appears, in every respect, like the rest, only it has fewer Islots, and less firm land on the reef which surround the lake. While ranging the north coast, we saw people, huts, canoes, and what appeared to be stages for drying of fish. The natives were armed with the same weapons, and seemed to be the same

sort, as those in the Island of Tiookea. Approaching now the west end we saw a fourth Island, bearing N. N. E. It lies six leagues west from the first. These four clusters we named Palliser's Isles, in honour of Sir Hugh Palliser, comptroller of the navy.

On Wednesday the 20th, at day-break, hauling round the west end of the third Island, we found a great swell rolling in from the S. by which we knew that we were clear of these low Islands; and being not within sight of land, we made the best of our way for Otaheite having a strong gale at E. attended with showers of rain. It is here necessary to take notice, that this part of the ocean, from the latitude 20 deg. down to 12 deg. and from the meridian of 138 deg. to 150 deg. W. is so strewed with low Isles, that a navigator cannot proceed with too much circumspection; but whether these Isles be any of those discovered, and laid down in the charts of the Dutch navigators, cannot be determined with any degree of certainty; especially when we consider, that their discoveries are not handed down to us with sufficient accuracy. Thursday, the 11th, we made the high land of Otaheite; by sun-set was in with Point Venus, and the next morning, at eight o'clock anchored in Matavai Bay in seven fathoms water. Our arrival was no sooner known to the natives, than they paid us a visit, expressed the most lively congratulations, and supplied us with fish and fruit sufficient for the whole crew. Our first business was to erect tents for the reception of such of our people as were required on shore. Sick we had none, for the refreshments we got at the Marquesas, had been the means of removing every complaint of the scorbutic kind, and of preserving the whole crew in good health. We also sent ashore Mr. Wales's instruments; our chief reason for putting into this place being to afford him an opportunity to ascertain the error of the watch by the known longitude, and to determine precisely its rate of going.

On Sunday, the 24th, Otoo and other chiefs, with a train of attendants, brought us ten large hogs, besides fruit, which made



their visit exceedingly agreeable. As the king's coming had been announced to us, and knowing how much it was our interest to keep this chief our friend, Capt. Cook met him at the tents and conducted the whole of this retinue, with himself, on board, where they staid to dinner, and appeared highly pleased with their reception. Next day, notwithstanding we had much thunder, lightning, and rain, the king came again to see us, and brought with him another present, consisting of a large quantity of refreshments. When at Amsterdam, we had collected, among other curiosities, some red parrot's feathers. These precious valuables procured us hogs, fruit, and every other thing the Island afforded. Our having them was a fortunate circumstance; for our stock in trade being greatly exhausted, without these we should have found it difficult to have supplied the ship with necessary refreshments. When we put into this island, we intended to stay no longer than Mr. Wales had made the necessary observations for the purposes already mentioned; and supposing we should meet with no better success than we did the last time we were here. But the reception we had already met with, and the few excursions we had made to the plains of Matavai and Oparree, convinced us of our error; for at these two places we found built, and building, a large number of canoes and houses of every kind: people living in spacious houses, who had not a place to shelter themselves in, eight months before; also several hogs in every house, with many other signs of a rising state. On account of these favourable circumstances, we resolved to make a longer stay at this Island, and to repair the ship, which was now indispensably necessary. Accordingly the empty casks and sails were got ashore, the ship was ordered to be caulked, and the rigging to be overhauled.

On Tuesday, the 26th, Capt. Cook accompanied by some of the officers and gentlemen, went down to Oparree, to visit Otoo by appointment. When arrived, we saw a number of large canoes in motion, but were much surprised at perceiving more

than three hundred ranged along shore, all completely equipped and manned; besides a vast number of armed men upon the shore. We landed in the midst of them, and were received by a vast multitude, some under arms, and some not. The cry of the former was Tiyono Towha, and of the latter was Tivo no Otoo. Towha, we afterwards learnt, was admiral, or commander of the fleet. Upon our landing we were met by a chief, named Tee, uncle to the king, of whom we inquired for Otoo. Soon after we were met by Towha, who received us in a friendly manner. He took Capt. Cook by the one hand, and Tee by the other, and dragged him, as it were, through the crowd that was divided into two parties, both of which proclaimed themselves his friends, by crying out Tiyono Tootee. One party wanted him to go to Otoo, and the other to remain with Towha. When come to the usual place of audience, Tee left us to go and bring the king. Towha insisted on the captain's going with him, but he would not consent. When Tee returned, he took hold of his hand in order to conduct him to the king. Towha was unwilling he should sit down, and desired him to go with him; but this chief being a stranger, he refused to comply. Tee was very desirous of conducting the captain to the king; Towha opposed, and he was obliged to desire Tee to desist, and to leave him to the admiral and his party, who conducted him down to the fleet. Here we found two lines of armed men drawn up before the admiral's vessel, in order to keep off the crowd, that we might go on board; and when the captain made an excuse, a man squatted down, and offered to carry him, but he would not go. At this time Towha quitted us, without our seeing which way he went, nor would any one inform us. We were now jostled about in the crowd. We saw Tee, and inquiring of him for the king, he told us he was gone into the country of Mataou, and he advised us to repair to the boat, which we accordingly did, as soon as we could get collected together. When in our boat we took our time to reconnoitre the grand fleet. We told



an hundred and sixty large double canoes, equipped, manned, and armed, but we believe they had not their full complement of rowers. The chiefs and all those on the fighting stages, were habited in cloth, turbans, breast plates, and helmets. Some of the latter seemed much to incumber the wearer. Be this as it may, the whole of their dress added a grandeur to the prospect, and they were so complaisant as to shew themselves to the best advantage. Their vessels were full dressed with flags, streamers, &c. so that the whole fleet made such a noble appearance, as we had never before seen in this sea, and what no one could have expected. Their instruments of war were clubs, spears, and stones. The vessels were ranged close along side of each other, having their heads to the shore, and their sterns to the sea. The admiral's vessel was nearly in the centre. We counted, exclusive of the vessels of war, an hundred and seventy sail of smaller double canoes, all rigged with mast and sail, which the war canoes had not. These we judged were designed for transports, victuallers, &c. for in the war canoes, were no sorts of provisions whatever. We conjectured that in these three hundred and thirty vessels there were no less than seven thousand seven hundred and sixty men, a number incredible, especially as we were told they all belonged to the districts of Attahourou and Ahopatea. Most of the gentlemen, by their calculations, thought the number of men belonging to the war canoes exceeded this, allowing to each war canoe forty men, and to each of the small canoes eight. Having viewed this fleet, it was our intention to have gone on board, could we have seen the Admiral. We inquired for him, but to no purpose. At last Tee came, by whom we were informed, that Otoo was gone to Matavai. This intelligence gave rise to new conjectures. When we got to Matavai, our friends told us, that this fleet was part of the armament intended to go against Eimeo, whose chief had thrown off the yoke of Otaheite. We were still at a loss to account for the flight of Otoo from Oparree, for we were informed he neither was nor had been

at Matavai. We therefore went thither again in the afternoon, where we found him, and learnt, that the reason of his absconding in the morning was, because some of his people had stole some of the Captain's clothes which were washing at the tents, and he feared restitution would be demanded. He repeatedly asked Capt. Cook if he was not angry, nor could he be easy till assured, that the pilferers might keep the stolen things. Towha also was alarmed, thinking that Capt. Cook was displeased, and jealous of seeing such a force so near us, without knowing its destination. It happened unluckily that Oedidee was not with us in the morning; for Tee, who was the only man we could depend on, served rather to increase our perplexity. Thus by mutual misunderstanding, we lost a favourable opportunity of scrutinizing the naval force of this Isle, and making ourselves better acquainted with its manœuvres. It was commanded by an intelligent and brave chief, who was disposed to have satisfied us in all questions we had thought proper to ask; and from the nature of the objects, which were before us, we could not well have misunderstood each other. All mistakes being now rectified, and presents having passed between Otoo and Capt. Cook, we took leave and returned on board.

On Wednesday, the 27th, in the morning, Towha sent us, by two of his servants, two large hogs, and some fruit. The bearers of this present had orders not to receive any thing in return, nor would they when offered them. Some of our gentlemen went with the Captain in his boat down to Oparree, where we found Towha, and the king; after a short visit, we brought them both on board, together with Tarevato, the king's younger brother. When we drew near the ship, the admiral, who had never seen one before, expressed strong signs of surprize, and when on board, he was shewed, and beheld every part of it with great attention. When Towha retired after dinner, he put a hog on board without our knowledge, or waiting for a return; and soon after Otoo and his attend-



ants departed also. There was a jealousy between these two chiefs, on what account we could not learn, nevertheless Otoo paid Towha much respect, and was desirous we should do the same. Otoo had the day before frankly declared, that the admiral was not his friend. When on board, both these chiefs requested our assistance against Tiarabon, notwithstanding there was no rupture at this time between the two states, and they had informed us, that their joint forces were intended against Eimeo. The reason of this duplicity we could not find out: perhaps they were desirous of annexing that kingdom, by our alliance, to their own, as it was formerly: be that as it may, as Capt. Cook gave them no encouragement, we heard no more on this subject. Our endeavours to maintain a neutrality, we believe, were well received by both parties; for next day, being Thursday, the 28th, Wahea-tona, king of Tiarabon sent us a present of a hog, for which he requested a few red feathers, which were accordingly sent him. On the 29th, early in the morning, Otoo, Towha, and several chiefs, again paid us a visit, and brought with them not only provisions, but some of the most choice curiosities of the Island, and among other returns with which they seemed well pleased, the Captain did not forget to repay the civilities we had received from the admiral Towha. We must not omit taking notice, that the preceding evening, one of the natives was detected in an attempt to steal a cask from the watering place, and being caught in the act, he was sent on board, and we put him in irons. Otoo and the other chiefs saw the culprit in this situation, and Otoo earnestly interceded in his behalf, requesting with many entreaties, that he might be set at liberty; but he was told by Capt. Cook, that as our people were punished for the least offence committed against the natives of Otaheite, it was but justice to punish this man also, which he was determined to see done in an exemplary manner; especially as it was well known, he, Otoo, would not do it himself. The man, in consequence of the Captain's resolution, was conducted ashore to the

tents, where a guard was ordered out under arms, and the offender tied up to a post; Ofoo, his sister, and many of the natives being spectators. Otoo and his sister begged hard for the man; with whom the Captain expostulated, telling Otoo, how unjust it was in his people to steal from us who were their friends, and who never took any thing from them without giving certain articles, which he enumerated, in exchange. The Captain laboured also to convince Otoo, that the punishment he was about to inflict on this man might prove the means of saving the lives of others of his subjects; for if they continued in such kind of criminal practices, some would certainly, one time or another, be shot dead. We believe he pretty well understood our commander, and seemed satisfied, only he desired the criminal might not be Matteeron, (or killed.) The concourse of people was by this time very great. The Captain therefore drew a line for them at a proper distance, and then, in the presence of them all, ordered the fellow two dozen of lashes with a cat-o-nine-tails. This chastisement he received with great firmness, and was then set at liberty. Upon this the natives were going way, apparently not much pleased: which Towha perceiving, who all the time had remained silent, though very attentive to every thing going on, he stepped forward, and harangued them for near half an hour, in short sentences. We understood little of his speech, but from what we could gather, it was a recapitulation of Capt. Cook's: he mentioned several advantages they had received from our people; and having reprimanded them for their present conduct, he exhorted them to adopt and pursue a different one for the future. His action was remarkably graceful, and the profound attention of his audience, proved him to be a masterly speaker. Otoo said not one word. When Towha had concluded his harangue, the marines were ordered to go through their exercise. They fired in volleys with ball, and being very quick in charging, and in their manœuvres, is scarcely possible to describe the astonishment of the natives during the



whole time, particularly the amazement of those to whom this sight was quite a novelty. The chiefs with all their retinue, now took leave, we are apt to think not less frightened than pleased at what they had seen. In the evening Mr. Forster and his party returned from an excursion they had made to the mountains, where they had spent the night. Mr. Forster collected some new plants, and found others which grew in New Zealand. He saw the Island of Huaeheine, situated forty leagues to the westward; whereby a judgment may be formed of the height of the mountains of Otaheite.

On Saturday the 30th, we saw ten war canoes go through part of their paddling exercise. They were properly equipped for war, and in landing we observed, that the moment the canoe touched the ground, all the warriors leaped out, and with the assistance of a few people on shore, dragged the canoe on dry land to its proper place; which done, every one walked off with his paddle, &c. Such was their expedition, that in five minutes time after putting ashore, no one could tell that any thing of the kind had been going forward. The warriors on the stage encouraged the rowers to exert themselves, and we observed some youths in the curved stern elevated above the rest, with white wands in their hands, placed there perhaps to look out, and give notice of what they saw. The king's brother Tarevato, knowing that Mr. Hodges made drawings of every thing curious, intimated of his own accord, that he might be sent for; and thus an opportunity was unexpectedly afforded our draughtsman, to collect materials for a picture of the Otaheite fleet, as it appeared when assembled at Oparree. Being present when the warriors undressed, we could scarcely conceive how it was possible for them to stand under the quantity of cloth with which they were clad, in time of action. Many rounds of this composed a kind of turban or cap, which, in the day of battle, might prevent a broken head, and some by way of ornament, had fixed to these caps dried branches of small shrubs, interwoven with white feathers.

On Sunday the 1st, of May, several chiefs supplied us with a large quantity of provisions; and the day following our friend Towha sent us a present of a hog, and a boat loaded with various sorts of fruit and roots. We received also another present from Otoo, brought by Tarevato. On the 3rd, upon examining into the condition of our provisions, we found our biscuit much decayed, and that the airing we had given it at New Zealand was not of the service we expected: we therefore were now obliged to have it on shore, where it underwent another airing and picking, in doing which we found a great part thereof wholly rotten and unfit for use. We attributed this decay of our bread to the ice we frequently took in, which made the hold damp and cold, which, when to the north, was succeeded by a contrary extreme of intense heat; but whatever was the real cause of our loss, it put us to a scanty allowance of this valuable article, and we had bad bread to eat besides. On Thursday the 5th, in the afternoon, the botanists made another excursion up the country, to the mountains; they returned the evening of the next day, and in their way made some new discoveries. On Saturday the 7th, in the morning, we found Otoo at the tents, of whom the captain asked leave to cut down some trees for fuel. He took him to some growing near the sea shore, the better to make him comprehend what sort he wanted; and he seemed much pleased when he understood, that no trees should be cut down that bore any kind of fruit. This assurance from us he repeated several times aloud to the people about us. In the afternoon we were honoured, when on board; with a visit from the whole royal family, consisting of Otoo, his father, brother, and two sisters; but this was properly her father's visit, who brought the captain a complete mourning dress, a present we much valued; for which he had in return whatever he desired, which was not a little; and to the rest of the company were presented red feathers. The whole were then conducted ashore in the captain's boat. Otoo and his friends were so well pleased with the



reception they met with, that, at parting, we were granted the liberty of cutting down as many trees as we wanted, and what sort we pleased.

On Sunday the 8th, our friendly connections with the natives were interrupted by the negligence of one of our centinels at the tents, who had his musket carried away, he having slept or quitted his post. We had received an imperfect account of this affair from Tee, but we understood enough to know that something had happened, which alarmed the king, who Tee said, was under great apprehensions of being matteeroned. We therefore lost no time in going ashore; and when landed were informed of the whole transaction by the servant who commanded the party. Most of the natives had fled at our approaching the tents. Tarevadoo slipped from us in a moment, and a few besides Tee had courage to remain. We went immediately in search of Otoo, and in the way endeavoured to allay the fears of the people. Having advanced some distance from the shore into the country, Tee on a sudden stopped, and advised our returning, saying, he would proceed to the mountains, whither Otoo had retired, and inform him that we were still his friends; a question, and if we were angry, that had been asked a number of times by the natives. The captain now thought it was to no purpose to go farther, we therefore took Tee's advice, and returned aboard. After this Oedidee was dispatched to the king, to let him know his fears were groundless, seeing the captain required of him only what was in his power, the return of the musket. A short time after the departure of Oedidee, we saw six large canoes coming round Point Venus. Suspecting that one belonging to these had committed the theft, it was resolved to intercept them, for which purpose a boat was put off, and another ordered to follow. One of the canoes was ahead of the rest, and seemingly making for the ship. We put along-side of her, and found two or three women whom we knew. They said, they were going aboard the ship with a present to the captain, and that the other canoes were

laden with fruit, hogs, &c. Satisfied with this intelligence, the captain recalled his orders for intercepting them, thinking they also, as well as this one, were bound for the ship. We therefore left this single canoe within a few yards of it, and proceeded for the shore to speak with Otoo; but upon landing we found he had not been there. Looking behind us we saw all the canoes, the one we had left near the ship not excepted, making off in the greatest haste. Vexed at being thus deceived, we resolved to pursue them, and as we passed the ship, Capt. Cook gave orders to send out another boat for the same purpose. We overtook and brought five out of the six alongside, but the one by which we were outwitted got clear off. This, in which were only a few women, had actually amused us with false stories, while the other, in which were most of their effects, were to have made their escape. In one of the prizes was a friend of Mr. Forster's, who had hitherto called himself an Earee, also three women, his wife, daughter, and the mother of the late Tontaha. This chief we would have sent to Otoo; but he made many excuses, saying, he was of a rank too low for such an honourable embassy; that he was no Earee, but a Manahouna; that an Earee ought to be sent to speak to an Earee: and that as there were none of this high rank but Otoo and the captain, it would be much more proper for the captain to go. At this time Tee and Oedidee came on board, and assured us, that the man who had stole the musket was from Tiarabou; and that we might credit their declaration, they desired us to send a boat to Waheatona, the king of Tiarabou, offering to go themselves in her, and recover the musket. This story, though not altogether satisfactory, carried with it an air of probability; and thinking it better to drop the affair altogether, the captain suffered Mr. Forster's friend to depart with his two canoes. The other three belonged to Maritata, a Tiarabou chief, on which account it was determined to detain them; but as Tee and Oedidee both assured us, that Maritata and his people were innocent, they were permitted to go off with their



canoes also: and the captain desired Tee to tell Otoo, that he should give himself no farther concern about the musket, being satisfied none of his people had committed the theft. We had now given it up, concluding it to be irrecoverably lost, but in the dusk of the evening it was brought to the tents, together with other things we had not missed, by three men, who, as well as some other people present, affirmed, that it was by one belonging to Maritata, by whom the things had been stolen; whence we concluded both Tee and Oedidee had intentionally deceived us. Every one present, at the restoration of the things, and even they who came afterwards, claimed a reward, all pretending to have had some hand in recovering them. Nuno particularly, a man of some note, and with whom we were acquainted when here in 1769, played his part in this farce exceeding well. He came with the most savage fury imaginable expressed in his countenance and gestures; and having a large club in his hand, he laid it about him most violently, in order to convince us, how he alone, and to make us sensible in what manner he had killed the thief; when at the same time we all knew that he had been at home, and not out of his house the whole time, which shews that human nature, respecting her original passions and powers, are the same in every clime, where the same instincts, the same perceptive faculties and the same self love universally prevail.

On Monday the 9th, Tee came again abroad to inform us, that Otoo was at Oparree, and requested of the Captain to send a person, to let him know if he was still his friend. He was asked why he had not done this himself, as he was desired; he made a trifling excuse, but we thought he had not seen Otoo. As the natives brought not any thing to market, and a stop was consequently put to our trade with them, it was judged time, ill spent to send any more fruitless messages; a party therefore set out, with Tee in our company, and having reached the utmost boundaries of Oparree, the king at last, when we had waited a considerable time,

made his appearance. The first salutations being over, and having taken our seats under the shade of some trees, Otoo desired the Captain to parou (or speak.) Capt. Cook began with blaming the king for giving way to groundless alarms, he having always professed himself his friend, and was displeased only with those of Tiarabou, who were the thieves. The Captain was then asked, how he came to fire at the canoes? By way of excuse, he told them they belonged to Maritata, one of whose people had stolen the musket, and, added the Captain, "If I had them in my power, I would destroy them, or any other belonging to the district of Tiarabou." We knew this declaration would please them, from the natural aversion the one kingdom has to the other; and it was enforced by presents, which we believe were the strongest arguments in favour of a reconciliation: for after these weighty reasons, things were soon restored to their former state, by Otoo's promising, on the word of a king, that we should be supplied next day with provisions and fruit as usual. Peace and amity being now once more established, we accompanied him to his proper residence at Oparree, where he obliged us with a view of some of his dock-yards, (for so they may well be called) where we saw several large canoes; some building, and others lately built, two of which were the largest we had any where seen. Having fully gratified our curiosity, we repaired on board with Tee in our company, who after he had dined with us, went to acquaint Happi, the king's father that all differences were brought to a happy conclusion. But we had reason to think this old chief was not satisfied with the terms of the accommodation; for all the women, and these not a few, were sent for out of the ship, and the next morning, no supplies whatever were brought, and we were obliged for the present to be contented with some fruit sent us by our friends from Oparree. But in the afternoon, Otoo himself came to the tents with a large supply; and presently after more fruit was brought us than we knew what to do with: for the natives



we believe, thought themselves injured equally with ourselves? and we knew they had every thing ready for our market, when they were permitted to bring them. Otoo desiring to see some of the great guns fired, his wish was complied with, but the sight, which was intirely new, gave him as much pain as pleasure? but in the evening when we entertained him with a shew of fire-works, he expressed much greater satisfaction. We have before had occasion to observe, that these people were continually watching opportunities to rob us; and seeing the offenders were continually screened, we cannot but think, that the chiefs either encouraged, or had not power to prevent thievish practices. We thought it more extraordinary that they should so often attempt what they knew might cost them their lives; and they well knew also they should be obliged to make restitution, if the article stolen was of any great value. They were fully sensible of these consequences, and therefore, the moment a theft was committed, every one took the alarm, and went off with his moveables as fast as possible? but if the article was a trifle, or such as we usually gave them, no commotion happened, because, in general, little or no notice was taken of it. Whether we obliged them to make restitution or not, the chief frequently secreted himself, and he must be reconciled before the people were permitted to bring in any refreshments; and we are persuaded it was by his orders the supplies were detained from us. These they imagined we could not do without, not considering, that their war canoes, dwellings, and even fruit, were entirely in our power. Their propensity to thieving must be almost irresistible, otherwise our uniform conduct towards them would have had its due weight: for, except detaining their canoes for a time, we never touched the smallest article of their property. When two extremes were under our consideration, we always chosed the most equitable and mild; and frequently settled disputes, or effected a reconciliation, by trifling presents, notwithstanding we were the party aggrieved. A present to a chief always succeeded

to our wish, and put things on a better footing than they had been before. In all our differences they were the first aggressors; and our people very seldom infringed the rules prescribed by our commander. Had the Captain pursued less eligible methods, he might have been a loser in the end; for had he destroyed any of the natives, or part of their property, all he could expect would have been the empty honour of obliging them to make the first advances towards an accommodation. Nor is it certain this would have been the event. They were made our fast friends by three motives; our own benevolent disposition, mild treatment from us, and the dread of our fire-arms. Had we not continually had recourse to the second, the first would have been of little use to us; and a too frequent application of fire-arms might have excited revenge, perhaps taught them in a little time, that they were not such terrible things as they had conceived them at first to be. They knew their strength in the superiority of their numbers, and who can say what an enraged multitude might do by undauntedly closing with even an European enemy.

On Wednesday, the 11th, a large supply of fruit came to market, and among the rest a present from Towha, the admiral; for which the Captain made a suitable return. At this time all the necessary repairs of the ship being nearly finished, it was resolved to leave Otaheite in a few days; to this end every thing was ordered off from the shore, that the natives might see we were about to leave them. On the 12th Oberea, whom we had not seen since 1769, paid us a visit, bringing with her hogs and fruit. Otoo also came soon after her, with a number of attendants, and a large quantity of provisions. Capt. Cook was very generous in his returns of presents, and in the evening entertained them with fire-works, thinking it might be the last time we might see these friendly people, who had so liberally relieved our wants.

On Friday, the 13th, we were not ready to sail, but the wind was favourable, and the weather fair. Oedidee was not yet returned from Attahourou, and various reports



were circulated concerning him. Some said, he was at Matavai; others, that he intended not to return; and there were those who affirmed he was at Oparree. With a view of discovering the truth, a party of us repaired to Oparree, where we found him. Towha was also here, who, notwithstanding he was afflicted with a swelling in his feet and legs which had taken away the use of them, had nevertheless resolved to see the captain before he sailed, and had advanced with this intent thus far on his journey. The day being far spent, we were obliged to shorten our stay, and after having seen Otoo, we returned on board with Oedidee. This youth, we found, was desirous of remaining at Otaheite; the captain therefore told him he was at liberty to remain here, or to quit us at Ulitea, or to go with us to England. That if the latter was his choice, he must look upon him as his father, as it was very probable he would never return to his own country. The youth threw his arms about his neck, wept much, and said, many of his friends persuaded him to remain at Otaheite. Oedidee was well beloved in the ship; on which account every one was persuading him to go with us. But Capt. Cook thought it an act of the highest injustice to take a person from these Isles, when there was not the least prospect of his returning, under any promise which was not in his power to perform. Indeed, at this time, it was quite unnecessary, seeing many young men offered voluntarily to go with us, nay, even to remain and die in Pretance, as they call our country. Several of our gentlemen would have taken some as servants, but Capt. Cook prudently rejected every solicitation of this kind, knowing, they would be of little use to us in the course of the voyage; besides, what had still greater weight with the captain, was, that he thought himself bound to see they were afterwards properly taken care of.

On Saturday, the 14th, early in the morning, Oedidee came on board, and Mr. Forster prevailed upon him to go with us to Ulitea. Towha, Poatatou, Oamo, Happei, Oberea, and many more of our friends

paid us a visit. The wife of Towha was with him, and this chief was hoisted in, and placed on a chair, on the quarter deck. Among other presents, we gave the admiral an English pendant, which, after he had been instructed in the use of it, pleased him more than all the rest. Soon after these friends had left us, we saw a number of war canoes coming round the point of Oparree, to which place the captain, accompanied by some of our officers and gentlemen, hastened down, in order to have a nearer view of the fleet. We arrived there before all the canoes were landed, and had an opportunity of observing in what manner they approached the shore. No sooner had they got before the place where they intended to land, than they formed themselves into divisions, consisting of three or more canoes lashed square and along-side of each other; after which each division paddled in for the shore, one after another, in so judicious a manner, that they formed, and closed a line along the shore to an inch. The rowers were encouraged by their warriors, and directed by a man who stood with a wand in his hand at the head of the middlemost vessel. By words and actions he directed the rowers when all should paddle, and when either the one side or the other should cease, &c. for the steering paddles were not sufficient to direct them. They observed all these motions with such quickness, and answered so exactly, as plainly shewed them to be expert in their business. Mr. Hodges made a drawing of them, as they lay ranged along the shore, after which we took a nearer view, by going on board several of them.

This fleet, which consisted of forty sail, belonged to the little district of Tettaha, and were come to Oparree, to be reviewed before the king, as the former fleet had been, the manner of whose equipment we have already described, and as that of this fleet was exactly the same, a repetition must be here needless. On this fleet were attending some small double canoes, called Marais, having in their fore part a kind of double bed-place laid over with green leaves, each just sufficient to contain one person. These



they told us were to place their dead upon, their chiefs we suppose they meant, otherwise their slain must be very few. Otoo, at our request, ordered some of their troops to go through their exercise on shore. Two parties first began a battle with clubs; they then proceeded to single combat, and exhibited the various methods of fighting with surprising agility; parrying off the blows and pushes with great alertness and dexterity. Their arms are clubs and spears. In using the club, all blows aimed at the legs, were evaded by leaping over it, and those designed for the head, by crouching a little, and leaping on one side. The spear, which is used at times as a dart, was parried, by fixing the point of a spear in the ground right before them, holding it in an inclined position, more or less elevated, according as they saw to what part of the body their antagonist intended to make a push, or to throw his dart at; and by moving the hand a little to the right or left, either the one or the other was turned off with great ease. These combatants had no superfluous dress upon them. An unnecessary piece of cloth or two which they had on when they began the combat, were presently torn off by some of the spectators, and given to our gentlemen. This review being over, the fleet departed without any order, as fast as they could be got afloat; and Otoo conducted us to one of his dock-yards, where the two large pahies, or canoes, were building, each of which was an hundred and eight feet long. They were designed to form one joint double canoe, and were almost ready for launching. The king begged of the captain a grappling and rope, to which he added an English jack and pendant, and desired the Pallee might be called the *Britannia*. This he readily consented to, and she was immediately so named. When we came to the boat, we found in it a hog, and a turtle of about sixty pounds weight: this had been put in privately by Otoo's order, that the chiefs about him might not be offended by their being deprived of an entertainment. The king would likewise have presented to us a large shark they had prisoner in a creek (some of his fins being cut off

to prevent his escaping) but the excellent pork, and fish with which we were supplied at this Isle, had spoiled our palates for such rank food. We were accompanied on board by the king, and Tee, his prime minister, who after dinner took an affectionate farewell. Otoo had importuned us the whole day, and most earnestly requested of us, that we would return to Otaheite. When about to depart, he desired of the Captain to permit a youth, whom he took by the hand, to go in the ship to Amsterdam, in order to collect for him red feathers. The youth was very desirous of going, but as he could not return, the Captain, with the view of satisfying Otoo, promised him, that if any ship should be sent hither from Britain, the important article of red feathers should not be forgotten. The Captain, we believe, was disposed to have obliged the king; but it is to be remembered, we had resolved to carry no one from the Isles (except Oedidee, if he chose to go) and the Captain had just refused Mr. Forster the liberty of taking a boy with him, for reasons already mentioned. But if curiosity excited a desire in the youth of Otaheite to go with us, the treatment we had met with at this place had induced one of our gunner's mates to remain at it. To this end he had formed a plan, which he knew was not to be executed with success while we lay in the bay; and no sooner were we out, the sails set, and the boats out, than he took the opportunity, being a good swimmer, to slip overboard. He was discovered before he had got clear of the ship, and a boat being hoisted out, presently returned with the runaway. About midway between us and the shore, a canoe was observed coming after us, intended without doubt to take him up; for when the people in her saw our boat, they stood off at a greater distance. This we found was a preconcerted plan between the man and some of the natives, with which Otoo was acquainted, and had encouraged. The gunner's mate was an Irishman by birth, and we had picked him up at Batavia, in our first voyage. He had neither friends, nor connexions, to confine him to any particular part of the world,



where then could he be so happy as at one of these Isles? Here he might enjoy in ease and plenty, not only the necessaries, but the luxuries of life, which leads us, before we leave this celebrated Island of Otaheite, to give some account of its present state, especially as it differs much from what it was even eight months ago; and in order to give our subscribers, and numerous readers a more distant idea of its situation, general figure, extent, and the character of its inhabitants, we must beg of them to indulge us with the liberty of a recapitulation of several things, which have already appeared in the detached parts of this work; so that the whole may be brought into one view, and its distinct heads ranged in their proper order. We have already mentioned the improvements we found in the plains of Oparree and Matavia. The same was observed in every other part that came under our observation. It seemed to us almost incredible, that so many large canoes and houses could be built in so short a space as eight months; but the iron tools which they had got from the English, and other nations, who have lately touched at the Island, no doubt, had accelerated the work, and of hands they cannot be in want. The great increase in the number of their hogs no less excited our admiration; though, probably, they were not so scarce when we were here before, as we then imagined; as, not choosing to part with any, they might have conveyed them out of sight.

The situation of this isle is perhaps the best in the world, being exposed to none of those vicissitudes of heat and cold, which are observed to have so sensible an effect on the health and spirits of those who live in remoter regions. Its exact position is from latitude 17 deg. 28 min. to that of 17 deg. 53 min. S. and from longitude 149 deg. 10 min. to 149 deg. 40 min. W. It lies nearly N. W. and S. E. and is divided into two distinct principalities by an isthmus, or neck of land, and three miles over. The north-westerly division is, however, much larger, and more fertile, but by no means so well cultivated as the south-easterly division; which shews, that even the defects of

nature, if we may be allowed to call them so, have their use, in prompting men to industry and art, to supply their wants. The figure of the largest peninsula, is nearly circular, being from N. to S. about twenty miles, and from E. to W. about the same. The whole is surrounded with a reef of rocks. The lesser peninsula is rather of an oval form, and from the neck of land on the N. W. side, to the little Isle of Otooareitte on the S. E. is about twelve miles; but from the mouth of the river Omatea on the south, to that of Owahie on the north, not more than eight. The circumference of the largest peninsula is about sixty miles, of the smallest about twenty four; but in sailing round both, the line will be extended to nearly ninety.

For a particular account of the produce of the Island we are indebted no doubt to the indefatigable industry of Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander; in whose catalogue are the following particulars, namely, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, bananas of thirteen sorts; plantains, a fruit not unlike an apple, which when ripe is very pleasant; sweet potatoes, yams, cocoas, a kind of arum; a fruit called by the natives jambu, very delicious; sugar-cane; a root of the saloop kind, called pea; a plant called ethee, a fruit named ahee, not unlike a kidney bean, and which, when roasted, tastes like chesnuts; a tree called wharra, producing a fruit not unlike a pine apple; a shrub called nono; the morinda, which also produces fruit; a species of fern; and a plant called ava, of which the roots only are chewed; all these, which serve the natives for food, the earth produces spontaneously; besides which there are a great variety of shrubs and plants, which serve for various purposes of building houses, vessels, tools of different kinds, manufactures, dyes, &c. to enumerate which would be tedious. Of four footed animals the Island produces but few, none having been seen by the Europeans on their first landing, but hogs, dogs, and rats, of which last the inhabitants are very fond. Their wild fowl are ducks only, and the birds that haunt the wood, except small birds, are chiefly pigeons, and paroquets; but with fish the coast abounds,



of which the varieties are numberless. Poultry is not in plenty, nor is it so well flavoured as what we have in Europe. Here it may be proper to observe, that the two goats, which Capt. Furneaux gave to Otoo, when we were last here, seemed to promise fair for answering the end for which they were put on shore. The ewe soon after had two female kids, which were at this time ready to propagate their species; and the old ewe was again with kid. The natives seemed to be very fond of them, and they to like their situation; for they were in exceeding good condition. We may therefore reasonably hope from this circumstance, that, in a few years, they may be spread over all the Isles in this ocean. The sheep which we left, died in a short time after; but we understood one was yet alive. We also furnished them with a stock of cats, not less than twenty, besides what we left at Ulietea and Huahine.

The natives, particularly the chiefs, are in size, rather above the largest Europeans. Their food, which is of the simplest kind, is not such as to promote gluttony, nor their drink, which is chiefly water calculated to provoke intemperance. Their daily intercourse with the ocean accustoms them from their youth to exercise; and the business of fishing, which in northern countries is the most laborious of all employments, is by them practised as their amusement. They who have represented them as indolent, because nature supplies liberally all their wants, have mistaken their character. Even their chiefs are artists, and their houses public edifices, canoes, and manufactures, their utensils, instruments of war, working tools, their boats, and fishing tackle, are all proofs incontestible of their industry. Employments of this kind tend to banish sloth; and no person was ever known to languish with an incurable disease among them, though it does not appear, that the medical art has yet made any considerable progress. Much has been said, and in general with strict truth, of the gracefulness of their persons; yet if we were to judge of the whole by Autorou, and Omai, who were brought to England,

they might be thought to have little claim to that perfection; yet their chiefs have undoubtedly a comparative dignity; but that comparison is to be confined at home between prince and peasant, and not extended to European countries, where grace and dignity are leading characters. Their women differ from each other in personal charms as in all other countries; but in stature, those of superior rank take special care to preserve the family distinction. It is not uncommon for ladies of the first rank to single out a handsome well proportioned youth, to prevent degeneracy, when the stature of the family is in danger of being reduced; but they are otherwise scrupulous in nothing so much as in mixing with the canaille, and there is scarcely an instance of their cohabiting indiscriminately with the lower class of people. There is perhaps no nation where the pride of ancestry is carried to a greater height, and yet they have no means of recording their pedigree, but by oral tradition, nor any rule for continuing the line, but what nature has impressed upon the mother. Having no schools, nothing is to be acquired by education, example is their principal instructor and guide; the pattern set by the father is followed by the son, and what the mother does, that the daughter learns; but that is not to be understood to perpetuate husbandry and arts, as in China, in particular families; for in Otaheite husbandry and arts are not imposed as tasks, but are rather amusements to pass away time. None are compelled to work, yet all are employed; their several stations, chance seems to have allotted; and here is no murmuring against providence for not being more bountiful. One precaution observed among the great in order to give vigour to their chiefs, must not be omitted, and that is, they never suffer an intercourse between the sexes till both parties arrive at full maturity. The very reverse of this is practised by the multitude, who in general are as much below the common standard as their chiefs exceed it. They are almost all tattooed, women as well as men. In this there seems to be something mystical; the priest performs the



operation, and the very children are encouraged by example to endure the pain, than which nothing can be more acute. To have a thousand punctures all at once, with the blood starting at every puncture, is more, one would think, than a child could bear, yet they suffer it with a fortitude of which in Europe an instance cannot be found. Their hair is almost universally black. The men wear it long, waving in ringlets down their shoulders; but the women cut it short round their ears: both sexes suffer none to grow under their arms; and are very delicate in keeping every part about them sweet and clean. To this end they frequently bathe, seldom suffering a day to pass without going into the water more than once. Indeed they anoint their heads with an oil expressed from the coconut, which sometimes proves rancid, and emits a disagreeable smell; otherwise in their persons they are without a taint. Mr. Banks said, "that if our sailors quarrelled with these people, they would not agree with angels," which sufficiently denotes the goodness of their disposition. We have mentioned that Waheatoua is related to Otoo. The same may be said of the chiefs of Eimeo, Tapamannoo, Huaheine, Ulietea, Otaha, Bolabola, for these are all related to the royal family of Otaheite. It is a maxim with the Earees, and others of superior rank, as we have just observed, never to intermarry with the Toutous, or others of inferior rank; and probably this custom might give rise to the establishment of the class called Earecoies: it is certain these societies prevent greatly the increase of the superior classes of people, of which they are composed, and do not interfere with the lower or Tontous; for we never heard of one of these being an Earreoy; nor that a Toutou could rise in life above the rank in which he was placed by his birth.

The customs of these people observed in their eating, as our readers must have perceived from what has already been said on this subject are very singular, and they seem to entertain some superstitious notions, not easily discoverable by strangers. The women are not permitted to eat with the men;

not, as it should seem; to mark their inferiority, but in conformity to a custom which habit has established into a law; nor is it usual for any of them to eat in company, except upon certain days of festivity, when great numbers of them assemble together. A messenger from one of our English captains found Oberea, the then supposed queen of the Island, entertaining a company, which he supposed could not be less than a thousand. The messes were all brought to her by the servants, who had prepared them; the meat being put into the shells of coconuts, and the shells into wooden trays; and she distributed them with her own hands to the guests, who were seated in rows. This done she sat down herself upon a seat somewhat elevated above the rest, and two women placing themselves, one on each side, fed her like a child. When she saw the messenger, she ordered a mess for him. They have two ways of dressing their animal food, namely, broiling and baking. The first is performed over hot stones, without any other contrivance than that of placing the meat upon the clean stones, and when done enough on one side, they turn it, and broil the other. Their manner of baking is very singular and curious. They first dig a hole in the ground, in depth and dimensions proportioned to the thing they have to dress; they then place a layer of wood at the bottom, and over that a layer of stones, and so alternately a layer of wood and a layer of stones, till the hole is full; the fire is then kindled, and the stones made hot; this done they take out the fire, and placing the stones that are least heated one beside the other at the bottom of the hole, they cover them with fresh leaves; and on these they put the meat intended to be baked; then after laying another layer of green leaves, they fill up the hole with the remaining hot stones, and close the whole with the mould that was first dug out of the pit. In this situation the meat is suffered to remain for three or four hours; and when taken out is then so savoury, as not to be exceeded by the best European cookery. Almost all the flesh and fish eaten by the chiefs in the Island is dressed in one or the



other of the above two ways: the latter is most in use among the gentry; and the former among the commonalty, who sometimes indeed eat their fish without dressing. Tables they have none, and those of the highest quality dine on the ground under the shade of a spreading tree; fresh green leaves serve them for a cloth, and a basket which is set down by them holds their provision; these, and two cocoa-nuts, one filled with salt water, the other with fresh, complete the whole preparation for a meal. When this is done, they wash their hands and mouths, and then, if nothing calls them abroad, they usually lay themselves down to sleep. It was long before any of them could be persuaded to eat with Europeans, and they certainly, like the Jews, have some superstitious ceremonies to be observed in the preparation of the food they eat, which, if omitted, renders it unclean, or they would not have continued scrupulous so long. Even the food of their women is differently prepared from that of the men; and if touched by unhallowed hands, is accounted unfit for use. Some of the gentlemen, when invited to their houses, eat out of the same basket, and drank out of the same cup, with their hosts; but it was observed, that the elderly women were always offended with this liberty; and if they happened to touch the victuals of any of the ancient matrons, or even the basket that held it, they never failed to express their dislike, and to throw it away; nor could the women of fashion ever be persuaded to eat with the gentlemen, when dining in company: but what seems most strange, and hardly to be accounted for, they would go, five or six in a company, into the servants apartments, and eat heartily of what ever they could find; nor did they seem in the least disconcerted, if they were discovered; yet it was not easy to persuade any of them when alone, in private with a gentleman, to eat with him, nor would they ever do it but under the most solemn promises of secrecy.

Their amusements are various, such as music, dancing, wrestling, shooting with the bow, darting their lances, swimming,

rowing, and slinging of stones. Their music it must be confessed is very imperfect, consisting only of a flute and drum, yet with these, companies go about the country, and frequent their festivals, being in equal estimation with them as maudlin dancers were formerly with us, and the diversion they make is not unsimilar. In shooting the long bow, or in throwing the lance, they by no means excel; neither are they very dextrous at wrestling; but at throwing stones, and swimming, they are perhaps equal to any people upon earth. Among other diversions, they have their heivas, nearly corresponding with our English wakes. The young people meet together to dance and to make merry; and at these times their minstrels and players constantly attend, as formerly persons of the same character were wont to do all over England, and in some counties the vestiges of that ancient custom remain to this day. At these heivas, however, their female performers, in their dances, have no regard to decency; and though the same end was no doubt in view in the institution of the wake and heiva, yet what in England was concerted with the utmost secrecy, is publicly avowed and practised in Otaheite. But though the instrumental music of the Otaheiteans is much confined, their vocal music is by no means contemptible; yet in the sweetness of the voice consists all the melody, for they have no rules to regulate the tones. Their songs are accompanied with words of their own composing, which they can vary into long and short verses, sprightly or solemn, as occasion presents; and as their language is exceeding harmonious and musical, a stranger is no less delighted with the arrantest nonsense, than he would be with the most sublime composition. The heivas are indiscriminately frequented by all ranks of people; but there is still a more acceptable meeting held by those of high rank, to which such only are admitted who are properly initiated. These people form a distinct society, in which every woman is common to every man; and at their meetings, which are distinguished by the name of Arreoy, the sports they practise



are beyond imagination wonton. We may trace somewhat like this in the history of the ancient inhabitants of our own Island. Perhaps it would be no exaggeration to add, that in the city of London, there are as many men as the whole Island of Otaheite contains, who devote themselves entirely to the pleasures of sensuality, and who attach themselves to no one woman, but enjoy indiscriminately all they may; and that there are an equal number of women to be met with, who are at all times ready to gratify their desires.

Dress, among the ladies of Otaheite, seems to be as much studied, as in more civilized nations. However, neither the feet nor legs, even of the quality, have any covering, or any defence from the ground, or the scorching heat of the sun, which at some seasons is very intense: but they are very nice in ornamenting their heads, and in shading their faces. That part of their head-dress, in which they pride themselves most, is threads of human hair, so delicately plaited, that it is not unusual for them to have garlands of this manufacture wound round their heads; the plaits whereof being interwove with flowers have a very pretty effect, and are exceedingly becoming to young faces. In their ears they wear ornaments, which before the European beads, consisted of bone, tortoiseshell, or any thing shining and shewy. The other part of their dress is very simple; being a piece of cloth about a yard and a half wide, and between three and four yards long, having a hole cut in the middle, just big enough to let the head pass easily through; this flows round them, and covers them a little below the waist; from thence a large quantity of the same cloth is gathered in folds, and tied round them as we tie a cravat round the neck, which, being drawn into a large knot, is again spread out, and flows artlessly down before, nearly as low as the knees, while the greatest quantity of the cloth falls down behind, in appearance not unlike the dress of the Roman orators. This habit is far from being ungraceful, and there is little difference between that of the sexes, except that the lower garments of the men are

nearly of an equal length before and behind. The cloth they wear is of very different textures. What is worn in dry weather is no other than paper made of the rinds of trees; but that which they put on when it rains is more substantial, and is properly a kind of matting incomparably plaited. The shape of their clothing, like that of our own, is nearly the same from the prince to the peasant, the only distinctions being the quantity worn, and the colour; the lower class of people wearing only one single garment; the better sort as many as, were they made of broad cloth, would burden them to carry. One thing, however, appears singular. When they salute each other, they constantly unbare themselves from the waist upwards, throwing off their tunics, as we may call them, with the same ease, and for the same purpose, as we pull off our hats. This salutation is common to the women as well as the men, and is the universal practice. We have occasionally mentioned how fond the people of Otaheite are of red feathers, which they call Oora; and these are as highly valued here as jewels are in Europe; especially what they call Oravine, which grow on the head of the green paroquet and though all red feathers please, none are esteemed equally with these. They are such good judges as to know very well how to distinguish one sort from another; and many of our people attempted in vain to deceive them with other feathers dyed red. These ornaments of dress are made up in little bunches, consisting of eight or ten, and fixed to the end of a small cord about three or four inches long, which is made of the outside fibres of the cocoa-nut, twisted so hard that it is like a wire, and serves as a handle to the bunch. When composed in this manner, they are used as symbols of the Eatus, or divinities, in all their religious ceremonies. Sometimes they hold one of these bunches, and at others only two or three feathers between the fore-finger and thumb, and say a prayer, not one word of which we could understand. Whoever makes a voyage to this island, will do well to provide himself with red feathers, the finest and smallest that are to be got.



He must also have a good stock of axes and hatchets, spike-nails, files, knives, looking-glasses, beads, and especially sheets and shirts, which our gentlemen found the ladies very desirous of having.

The arts in the Island of Otaheite may be reduced to five, namely, architecture, carving, ship-building, navigation, and painting. Of their architecture there is one remarkable specimen existing in the greater Island, which is the Morai, or sepulchral monument of Oberea. It is a prodigious pile of stone two hundred and sixty-seven feet long, and eighty-seven wide at the base, raised by flights of steps to the height of forty-four feet. These steps are each four feet high, narrowing gradually, till they end in a small entablature, on which near the middle stands the figure of a bird carved in wood; and at some distance the broken fragments of a fish cut in stone. This pile makes a considerable part of one side of a square court, whose area is three hundred and sixty feet by three hundred and fifty-four, inclosed within a stone wall, and paved with the same materials through its whole extent. As this square is surrounded with trees, and has many growing within it of a particular kind, it forms at a distance the most delightful grove that imagination can paint. At what time it was erected could not be learnt, for they have no records of past transactions: but being constructed of coral stones, many of large dimensions, neatly squared and polished, and so nicely joined as hardly to discover a seam, it must fill the mind of a nice observer with admiration and rapture, while he examines all its parts. To think how such a mass of materials could be brought together in an Island wherein no quarries are to be found; how these materials could be cut with such exactness as to form a pile by rain, without cement, and that with tools little harder than the substance to which they were applied; and, lastly, how these enormous blocks of stone could afterwards be raised to the height of forty-four feet, to close and cover in the building, must surely excite the wonder of every ordinary beholder; but to mark the symmetry of the

whole, so justly proportioned in every part, as to display the most consummate judgment, must afford a feast to an enlightened mind, of which an ordinary seaman can have no relish. This noble structure, and strong proof of genius, will remain the admiration of all who have the pleasure of seeing it, perhaps, as long as the Island itself shall endure; for being solid, and without a cavity, no time, that will not equally affect the Island, can destroy it. Of their carving in stone there are very few specimens to be produced, and indeed, when their tools they have to work with are considered, it is more to be admired, that there are any, than that there are so few; but we have reason to hope, that now they are made acquainted with the use of iron, and have considerable quantities of that metal among them, that their improvements will speedily be proportioned to their advantages, and the acuteness of their understanding. But of their carving in wood, we saw not a tool, or ordinary utensil, that did not discover evident proofs of their expertness in this art. Their vessels for navigation are all adorned with it; and in some of their performances an excellence is discernable, which, with such tools as they have to work with, no European carver could exceed. With regard to their ship-building, they are upon a footing with their neighbours, if not at present superior to them. Their ordinary vessels are well adapted to the seas they have to navigate, and we never heard of a single instance of one of them being cast away. Most of them are elevated at the head and stern, for the purpose of defending the rowers from the surf, which on these Islands breaks upon the shore with uncommon violence. Those of Otaheite are in form not unlike the punt boats, with flat bottoms, such as are used by our fishermen on the river Thames, or rather like those used for the same purpose on the Severn: they are no where wider than three feet, though some of them are more than sixty feet long; nor are they an inch deeper in the body, though at the head and stern they rise with a curvature more than twelve feet. As it would be



impossible to navigate these vessels, so long, and so narrow without some contrivance to keep them upright, they place two of them as near as can be of the same dimensions along-side of each other; at three, four, or five feet distance, and with strong spars join them together; then raising a mast in each, they hoist a square sail, the yards of which are fastened above and below to the corresponding masts, and thus equipped, with a cabin erected between them to stow their provisions, they will keep the sea for several days. In rigging their double canoes, they have a rule for proportioning the height of the masts to the length of the keel, and of fitting the sail to the height of the mast; they likewise have a contrivance of sailing in single canoes by means of out-riggers, which project on the lee-side of the vessel, and prevents their over-setting: to this out-rigger one corner of the sail is made fast, which sail being wide at the bottom, and rounding to a point at the top, very much resembles what the boatmen call a shoulder of mutton sail, frequently seen on the river Thames. To those who have been told, that the mason can joint with so much nicety as to be impervious to water, it will not seem strange that their carpenters can do the same with respect to timber; yet it certainly must require much art, and incredible labour, first to fell the tree, then to cleave it out into planks, then to hollow it out into the intended shape; next to smooth and polish it, after that to joint it, and last of all to put it together, and saw it; for they were wholly ignorant of the art of bolting it with wooden bolts, or jointing it together by means of mortices, till the Europeans visited them. It is no wonder, therefore, that they dreaded nothing so much as the destruction of their boats, when threatened by the English for any offence, nor that they should be more careful in covering their boat-houses from the sun and rain, than they are in securing their dwellings from the same injury. As the whole art of navigation depends upon their minutely observing the motions of the heavenly bodies, it is astonishing with what exactness their navigators can describe the motions, and changes of those luminaries. There was not a star in the hemisphere, fixed, or erratic, but Tupia could give a name to, tell when, and where it would appear, and disappear; and what was still more wonderful, he could tell, from the aspect of the heavens, the changes of the wind, and the alterations of the weather, several days before they happened. By this intelligence he had been enabled to visit most of the Islands for many degrees round that of which he was a native. By the sun they steer in the day, and by the stars in the night; and by their skill in presaging the weather, they can, without danger, lengthen or shorten their voyages as appearances are for or against them. Having no medium wherewith to trade, their voyages seem wholly calculated for discovery, or to increase their acquaintance with other nations. Riches they do not seem solicitous to acquire. They certainly interchange their commodities among themselves, as well as with strangers; the fisherman barter his fish for the planter's bread-fruit, and so of the rest; yet every man seems to be a fisherman, and every man a planter: this shews, that we are still strangers to their civil economy. It had been good policy to have suffered two or three young persons, who were desirous of staying behind, to have settled among them, especially, as there was reason to believe, that the Island would again be visited, if for no other reason than to restore to them the natives who had voluntarily undertaken a voyage to Europe; but against this Capt. Cook seems to have been carefully guarded. With respect to the art of painting among these people, to us it appeared to be in a rude state, being chiefly confined to the figures represented on their bodies, and the ornaments on their canoes. The figures on their bodies are generally those of birds and fishes, sometimes after nature, and sometimes the effusions of fancy, but whatever is represented, the outline is traced with surprizing exactness. This art is solely confined to the priesthood, and is performed like baptism as a rite, without which, after a certain age, none are accounted worthy



of society. From twelve to fourteen is the period allotted for the performance of this rite, for before that age children are thought unable to endure the smart. The other sort of painting in use among these Islanders may be called daubing, consisting only in colouring the rude carvings in their pleasure-boats, &c. sometimes with one colour, sometimes with another, but most commonly with red. We shall close this head with a few remarks on their marine force, or war canoes, considered as their grand fleet. Capt. Cook when last at Otaheite conceived rather an unfavourable opinion of Otoo's capacity and talents; but the rapid improvements since made in the Island convinced us, that he must be a man of good parts; and it is certain that he has some judicious, sensible men about him, who have a great share in the government; but we cannot say how far his power extends as king, nor how far he can command the assistance of the other chiefs, or is controulable by them: this however is certain, that all have contributed towards bringing the Isle to its present flourishing state: yet we found it not without divisions among their great men. The king told us, that Towha, the admiral, and Poatatou, were not his friends. These being two leading chiefs, it is not to be wondered at that they must have been jealous of them on account of their great power; yet on every occasion he seemed to court their interest. We are inclined to think they raised by far the greatest number of vessels and men, to go against Eimeo, and were to be the two commanders in the expedition, which, according to common report, was to take place five days after our departure. Waheana, king of Tiarabou, was to join this fleet to that of Otoo, and that young prince was to be one of the commanders. One would think so small an Island as Eimeo, would have endeavoured to settle matters by negotiation rather than resist the united force of those two powerful nations: yet nothing was heard or talked of but fighting. Towha said more than once, that he should die in the action. Oedidee thought the battle would be fought at sea; but we thought it most probable, that the people

of Eimeo would remain at home on the defensive, as we were informed they did about five or six years ago, when attacked by the people of Tiarabou, whom they repulsed. We were told, that five general officers were to command in this expedition, of which number Otoo was one; and, if they named them in order according to the posts they held, Otoo was only the third in command; which seems probable enough; for he being but a young man he could not have sufficient experience to be commander in chief, where the greatest skill and judgment seemed to be necessary. Capt. Cook was disposed to have staid five or six days longer, had he been sure the expedition would have taken place in that time, but it seemed they wanted us to be gone first. It was sometimes reported that it would not be undertaken before ten moons; as if it was necessary to have that time to put every thing in order. For several days before we sailed, Otoo and the other chiefs had ceased to solicit our alliance and assistance which they were continually doing at first; and after Capt. Cook had assured Otoo, that if they got their fleet ready in time he would sail with them down to Eimeo, we heard no more of it. Probably they thought it more political to be without us, knowing it was in our power to bestow the victory on whom we pleased. Be this as it may, they undoubtedly wanted us to be gone before they undertook any thing; and thus we were deprived, much against our inclination, of seeing the whole fleet assembled on this occasion, and, perhaps of being spectators of a well conducted engagement at sea. What number of vessels were appointed for this grand expedition we could not learn. We heard of no more than two hundred and ten, besides a number of small canoes for transports, and the allied fleet of Tiarabou, the strength of which we could not gain the least intelligence: nor could we learn the number of men necessary to man this fleet. Whenever the question was asked, the answer was Warou, warou, warou te Tata, that is, many, many, men. Allowing forty to each war canoe, and four to each



of the others, which is a moderate computation, and the number will amount to nine thousand; an astonishing number, if we consider they were to be raised in only four districts, and one of them, namely, Matavia, did not equip a fourth part of the fleet. That of Tiarabou is not included in this account; and many other districts might be arming which we knew nothing of; yet we think the whole Island of Otahete did not arm on this occasion, for we saw not any preparations making at Oparree. We believe that the chief, or chiefs, of each district, superintended the equipping of the fleet belonging to that district; after which they must pass in review before the king, who by this means knows the state of the whole intended to go on service. The number of war canoes belonging to Attahourou and Ahopata is an hundred and sixty; to Tettaha forty; to Matavia ten; now if we suppose every district in the Island, of which there are forty-three, to raise and equip the same number of war canoes as Tettaha, according to this estimate, the whole Island can raise and equip one thousand seven hundred and twenty war canoes, and sixty-eight thousand able men, allowing forty to each canoe; and seeing these cannot amount to above one third part of the number of both sexes, children included, the whole Island cannot contain less than two hundred and four thousand inhabitants. This at first sight exceeded our belief; but when, upon a review of this calculation, we considered the vast swarms of natives which appeared wherever we went, we were convinced our estimate was not much, if at all too great. There cannot, in our opinion, be a stronger proof of the richness and fertility of Otahete (not forty leagues, or 120 miles, in circuit) than that of its supporting such a number of warriors and warlike inhabitants, all artists, and possessed of a fleet both their glory and defence. Such is the present state of the arts in this celebrated Island, which, had Tupia lived to have come to England, and to have returned again to his own country, would, no doubt, have received still more rapid improve-

ments; for he was a man of real genius, a priest of the first order, and an excellent artist. His boy Tayota was the darling of the Endeavour's crew, being of a mild and docile disposition, ready to do any kind of office for the meanest in the ship; never complaining, but always pleased. They both died much lamented at Batavia, the occasion of which has been related in its proper place.

The manufactures of Otahete are of various kinds; that of cloth is in the highest estimation among them. The material of which one sort is made is neither spun, nor woven in a loom, but in every respect is prepared after the first simple manner of making paper before mills were applied to facilitate the labour. The bark is first stripped from the tree and laid in the water, as we do flax, to soak; it is then divested of the rind by scraping, till only the fibres of the inside remain. When properly cleansed, it is placed upon leaves, one layer by the side of another, till it is of sufficient breadth; and in the same manner, it is extended to what length the manufacturer chuses, or the ground will admit: and to strengthen it, and increase its breadth, one layer is laid over another till it is of the substance required. This done, it is left to drain, and when just dry enough to be raised from the ground, it is placed upon a kind of stage made of smooth boards, and beat with a square beater about a foot long, and two or three inches broad. On each of the four sides of this beater parallel lines are cut lengthwise: these lines differ in fineness, in a proportion from small twine to a silken thread. They first begin with the coarsest side of the beater and finish with the finest. By the continual application of this beater, in which two people are continually employed, who stand opposite to each other, on each side of the stage, and regulate their strokes like smiths on an anvil, the cloth, if cloth it may be called, in its rough state thins apace, and as it thins, it of course increases in breadth. When it has undergone this process, it is then spread out to whiten, which when sufficiently done, it is delivered to the ladies, whose province is to look it carefully over,



and to remove all blemishes. Thus far completed it is coloured, generally red or yellow, after which it is rolled and laid for use. By this process the readers will readily comprehend in what manner the fabric may be varied into fine or coarse, according to the materials of which it is made, and the labour bestowed upon it. In Otaheite the bark of three different trees is made use of in this manufacture; the Chinese paper mulberry, the bread-fruit tree, and the wild fig-tree. Of the first and second the finest sorts are made; but of the last, the most durable. The first and second imbibe water like paper, but the latter will resist the rain. They have a method of washing this cloth, after it has been worn, and when washed it is again beaten; by this last process it is rendered very soft and pliable. Another considerable manufacture is that of matting, made likewise of the rinds of plants and shrubs, which are worked to a degree of fineness not to be equalled by any thing of the kind known in Europe. Of this manufacture are made their sails, the covering of their beds, and their clothing in rainy weather. Their cordage is another considerable article, which is made of the rind of a plant not unlike a wild nettle. In this manufacture they likewise excel, but we do not learn that any of it was purchased for the ship's use. Their lines made for fishing are much superior to any thing of the kind used in Europe, being stronger and infinitely more durable. Their fishing nets have the same advantages; but the cords made of human hair, which the ladies wind round their heads, and which like netting, is the chief amusement of the ladies there, is incomparably beyond any thing that can be conceived in twisting. Mr. Banks is said to have had in his possession a specimen of it, near two thousand yards in length, and as fine as our finest thread, not having one knot, or apparent joining, neither have they any engine to assist them in the performance, but all is done by the hand, and with a quickness that almost exceeds belief. They have likewise a manufacture of basket, or wicker work, of which every native is a proficient; and as

they have a kind of emulation in excelling in this kind of work, it is not to be wondered at, that there should be as many different forms, as there are different makers, some of them incomparably neat. But among the curiosities of this kind, that which was most admired by the Endeavour's people when at this Isle, was the figure of a man upwards of seven feet high, represented in basket work, which they imagined was a representation of one of their deities. This wicker skeleton was completely covered with feathers, white where the skin was to appear, and black in those parts which it is their custom to paint or stain, and upon the head, where there was to be a representation of hair. Upon the head were four protuberances, three in front, and one behind, which the natives called Tate-ete, or little men. Other manufactures of less account, yet not unworthy of notice, are their weapons of war, which seem to be the workmanship of the owners, their fishing tackle of various sorts, their working tools, and their jewelry; but in this last it cannot be expected, considering their tools, they should have any scope to display or exercise their ingenuity.

We come now to speak of their civil government, of which we have it not in our power to give our readers a distinct and perfect idea. This Island of Otaheite made formerly but one kingdom; how long it has been divided into two we cannot pretend to say, we believe not long. The kings of Tiarabou, are a branch of the family of Opoureonu; at present the two are nearly related, and we believe the former is in some measure, dependent on the latter. Otoo is styled Earee de hie of the whole Island: and we were told, that Wahatonu, the king of Tiarabou, must uncover before him, in the same manner as the lowest order of his subjects do. This homage is not only paid to Otoo, but to Tarevatou, his brother, and his second sister to the one as heir, and to the other as heir apparent. We have sometimes seen the Eowas and Whannos covered before the king, but whether by courtesy or by virtue



of their office, we could not learn. These men, who are the principal persons about the king, and form his court, are generally, if not always his relations. Tee, so often mentioned in this narrative, was one of them. The Eowas, who hold the first rank, attend in turns, a certain number each day, so that they may be called lords in waiting. We seldom found Tee absent, and his attendance was necessary, as being best able to negotiate matters between Capt. Cook and the chiefs; on this service he was always employed, and he executed the same, we have reason to believe, to the satisfaction of both parties. The Eowas and Whannos always eat with the king; nor do we know of any one being excluded from this privilege, but the Toutons; for as to the women, as we have already observed, they never eat with the men, let their rank be ever so much elevated. Notwithstanding these established orders, there was very little about Oteo's person or court, whereby a stranger could distinguish the king from the subject. We rarely saw him dressed in any thing but a common piece of cloth wrapped round his loins; so that he seemed to avoid all outward pomp, and even to demean himself more than any of his Earees around him. We have seen his majesty work at a paddle, in coming to and going from the ship, in common with others in the boat; and even when some of his Toutons sat looking on; and such is the untroubled liberty of this happy Isle, that every individual has free excess to him without the least ceremony; hence it is, that the Earees and other chiefs are more beloved than feared by the bulk of the people. We should think ourselves happy in knowing more of this mild and equal government, than the general outline; for as to the orders of the constituent parts, how constructed, disposed, and connected, so as to form one body politic, we can say but little. From what we have been able to discover, and gather from information, it seems very evidently to be of the feudal kind; and a remarkable conformity appears between the political establishments of Otaheite, and that of the ancient Britons which con-

sisted of several small nations, under several petty princes, or chiefs, who in cases of common danger united under one head. These chiefs had all of them their respective families, who multiplying, became a distinct class from the common people, and preserved by their personal courage, and lenity, a very great influence over them. Of these two classes, added to that of the priesthood, the whole body politic consisted; so that among them, what one class found necessary to command, the other was ready to execute. Hence it was that industry took place, and arts were invented; and this seems to be the present state of the Islanders of whom we are now speaking. Laws they had none, but such as arose from the idea of superiority and submission, such as excite parents to correct the faults of their children; neither have the Otaheiteans any other at this day. There is no crime among them that subjects a man to death, and when life is taken away, it is always in the heat of passion or resentment, and not the effect of formal accusation and deliberate punishment. The contention that arose among the chiefs became the quarrels of the whole community, and those quarrels necessarily led the parties to have recourse to arms, and in proportion as the contentions grew more frequent, the weapons that were contrived for defence, grew more desperate. It was not however, till after civilization took place, that contentions for liberty began to spread devastation among people of the same community. In their primary state of subjection, the people never entertained a thought that they were in slavery; they obeyed as children do their parents, from a principle originating in nature, which induces the weak to submit to the strong, and those of uninformed understanding to be governed by those whose wisdom and courage they readily acknowledge. This, in our opinion, is an impartial and just representation of the state of the civil government in Otaheite, wherein none think themselves slaves, yet few are free.

As to the religion of this people, we are as much at a loss for materials to form an opinion on this subject as former navigators.



The little information we have hitherto received is so vague and contradictory, that nothing with certainty can be said about it. We have said they have idols, yet they appear not to be idolaters; that they have places of worship, yet never assemble in congregations to pay adoration; that they acknowledge deities of several orders but that they have no forms of addressing them; and that they mutter somewhat like extemporary prayers, yet have no oratories, or forms of devotion, nor any set times for private or public worship. They have priests likewise of several orders who have different offices assigned; but few of those offices are particularized, except that they preside and pray at funerals, and are the principal attendants at their *Morais*, or burying places; though it does not appear that any ceremonies of devotion are performed there. The offices that have been observed as appertaining to the priesthood are three, namely, circumcising, tattowing, and praying at the funerals of the dead. That of circumcising is not performed after the manner of the Jews, but after a peculiar manner of their own, and has no doubt the purity of the circumcised for its object, in bringing every part about them into contact with the water, with which they constantly wash three times every day. Tattowing, whatever its object, is never omitted; and praying for the dead is a proof that they believe in the soul's existing in a separate state after death, which is confirmed by their placing meat and drink in their burying places. In this custom, they are far from being singular. Among the ancient Romans, in the infancy of their state, they placed meat upon the tombs of their deceased friends, that the ghosts might come out and eat, as they believed they would; and when they intended to express the most abject state of human wretchedness, they used to say, "such a creature gets his food from the tombs." The character of the *Tahowa* in *Otaheite*, very nearly corresponds with that of *Druid* among the antient Britons. He is the chief priest, and his erudition consists in learning the several traditional memorials of ancient times; in being made ac-

quainted with the opinion of their ancestors, concerning the origin of things; and in the repetition of short mysterious sentences, in a language which none but those of their own orders can understand. The *Bramins* of the east have their mystic, unknown tongue, as have also the followers of the great *Zoroaster*. The priests are superior also to the rest of the people in the knowledge of navigation and astronomy, and in all the liberal arts, of which these people have any idea. Thus far the character of the *Tahowa* agrees with that of *Druid*, in every particular. The *Druids* were the only persons of any sort of learning, which consisted in the observation of the heavens, knowledge of the stars, whereby they presaged future events: they had the care of all religious matters, and their authority was absolute. The chief of the *Druids*, was pontiff, or high priest, whose dignity was elective. Thus we might trace the conformity of the customs and manners of nations remote from each other, in their infant state, but we wave such an inquiry, as it might be thought foreign to our business in hand.

We shall conclude this historical sketch of *Otaheite* with a brief account of their funeral ceremonies, in which the priest and the people jointly assist. When a native is known to be dead, the house is filled with relations, who deplore their loss; some by loud lamentations, and some by less clamorous, but more genuine expressions of grief. Those who are the nearest degree of kindred, and most affected at this event, are silent; the rest are one moment uttering passionate expressions, or exclamations in a chorn, and the next laughing and talking, without the least appearance of concern, much like the manner of the wild *Irish*; but this solemnity is continued for a day and a night, whereas by the *Irish* it is continued several nights. On the next morning the body is shrouded, and conveyed to the sea side on a bier, upon the shoulders of the bearers, and attended by the priest, who having prayed over the body, repeats his sentences during the procession. When they arrive at the water's edge, it is set down on the beach; the priest renews his



prayers, and taking up some of the water in his hand, sprinkles it towards the body, but not upon it. It is then carried back forty or fifty yards, and soon after brought again to the beach, where the prayers and sprinkling are repeated. It is thus removed backwards and forwards several times; and during the performance of this ceremony, a house has been built, and a small piece of ground railed round, in the centre of which a stage is erected whereon they place the bier, and the body is left to putrify, till the flesh is wasted from the bones. As soon as the body is deposited in the Morai, the mourning is renewed. The women now assemble, and are led to the door by the nearest relation, who strikes a shark's tooth several times into the crown of her head; the blood copiously follows, and is carefully received upon pieces of cloth, or linen, which are thrown under the bier. The rest of the women follow this example, and the ceremony is repeated at the interval of two or three days, as long as the zeal and sorrow of the parties hold out. The tears also which are shed upon this occasion are received upon pieces of cloth, and offered as oblations to the dead. Some of the younger people cut off their hair, which is likewise thrown under the bier. This custom is founded on the notion, as some of our gentlemen thought, that the soul of the deceased is hovering about the place where the body is deposited; that it observes the actions of the survivors, and is gratified by such testimonies of their affection and grief; but whether this is part of the natives' faith is very problematical; neither, in our opinion, is it certain, that the priest is an attendant in the funeral procession down to the water's edge; for in the funerals at which Mr. Banks was one of the party no mention is made of a priest; and Tuberaï Tumai-de, who was chief mourner, performed the whole of the funeral service. The natives are all said to fly before these processions, and the reason assigned is, because the chief mourner carries in his hand a long flat stick, the edge of which is set with sharks teeth, and in a phrensy, which his grief is supposed to have inspired, he

runs at all he sees, and if any of them happen to be overtaken, he strikes them most unmercifully with his indented cudgel, which cannot fail to wound them in a most dangerous manner; but this reason, though a plausible one, does not, in our judgment, seem to come up to what is said in the course of the relation, by the compiler of Capt. Cook's voyage, who tells us, that while the corpse is carrying in procession, the people every where fly and hide themselves in the woods, and that none but those immediately concerned in it, if they can avoid it, come in sight. Were it only for fear of the cudgel that these people fled, they needed not to run so far as the woods, nor to quit their houses (as Mr. Banks observed they did when the corpse of an old woman, whose funeral he attended, came by in procession) to hide themselves in holes; it would have been sufficient for them to have kept out of the reach of the cudgel; but they must be awed by some secret motive: some superstitious dread of some misfortune happening to them, should they meet the corpse, either in an unlucky place, or in an ominous situation; as at this day many people in the northern parts of Britain get out of the way of a corpse when carrying to the grave, for these or the like reasons. The people of Otaheite, we think, are not intimidated by the apprehension of being beaten; but they may have a dread upon them of they know not what: yet it is such a dread as insensibly impels them to keep at a distance, and if they are by accident surprized, and meet a corpse at the corner of a street, or the rounding of a hill, they never fail to bless themselves, and turn the way the corpse is carrying, and walk in the same direction for several paces to avert the bad effects of the unlucky omen, which they always interpret against themselves. In an account of the funeral ceremonies of the Islanders in the South Seas, the writer, who judged from what he himself saw, and not from what was reported to him, tells us, that the priest, accompanied with two boys painted black, attend the Morai, or place where the corpse is deposited, to receive the



hogs, fish, and other provisions, which on these occasions are offered to the Ethoaa, or deity of the place, and to lay them upon an altar. This priest is also employed in strewing over the body of the defunct leaves, and flowers of bamboo; and for two or three days he occasionally ranges the adjacent fields and woods, from which every one retires on his approach. The relations, in the mean time, build a temporary house near the Morai, where they assemble, and the females mourn for the deceased, by singing songs of grief, howling, and wounding their bodies in different places with sharks teeth; after which they bathe their wounds in the next river or sea, and again return to howl and cut themselves, which they continue for three days. After the body is corrupted, and the bones are become bare, the skeleton is deposited in a sort of stone-pyramid built for that purpose. These Morais are frequented by two birds sacred to their gods, namely, the grey heron, and a blue and brown king-fisher; but whether these birds, or the priest and his attendants eat the offerings that are made to the presiding deity, or whether they are eaten at all, we are not informed, though we have spared no pains in making inquiries among our friends and fellow voyagers, concerning this and several other doubtful and questionable particulars. It is agreed, however, that the piety of the natives is in no instance so strongly expressed as in the profusion of covering they bestow upon the remains of their deceased friends, and in the ornaments with which they decorate their Morais, but these Morais are not the receptacles of the ordinary dead, but appropriated solely to the use of the principal families to which each respectively belongs: how it fares with the bodies of the common herd we could not learn, whether they are suffered to rot upon the ground, or under it; nor have our principals afforded us information concerning this particular; indeed, they seem to have been most intent upon what is striking in high life, without regarding the ordinary occurrences that daily pass among the multitude; these did not much attract their notice. We shall

just add to what has been said under this head, that the Otaheiteans have neither physicians nor surgeons, by profession, except the priest, whose relief consists in prayers and ceremonies, not in drugs or prescriptions; yet we must not conclude from hence, that they are deficient in the art of healing. Two or three instances occur in the relations of different voyagers, which, to say no more, are striking proofs of their knowledge in what is necessary to preserve life. Tupia was pierced through the body with a lance, headed with the jagged bone of the sting-ray: the weapons went in at his back, and came out just under his breast; yet he was perfectly cured, and never complained of any bad effects of his wound. One man had his head almost crushed, his face beat in, his nose flatted, and one eye beat out, the hollow of which would almost admit one's fist; yet this man, we are told, was cured, and to all appearance felt no remaining pain. A third had a stone through his head with a sling, in the time of action, and yet strange and improbable as it may seem, he like the others, we are informed, appeared to enjoy a good state of health. We will not vouch for the truth of all the circumstances in these relations, which we think are rather of the marvellous kind, yet we may be allowed to infer from the facts themselves, that they are incontestible proofs, that the natives of Otaheite have a knowledge of the virtues of balsams, of which we are either not possessed, or are ignorant of their healing qualities. From this narrative of the Island of Otaheite and its inhabitants, some will be ready to envy them their felicity; but it must be remembered as a soil to this, that they do not always sleep in security: they are frequently surprized by their warlike neighbours, and whole districts are depopulated; for if in the invasions of one another's territories they happen to prove successful, the victors spare neither man, woman, nor child. But it is time now to return to the ship, which on the 14th, of May we left under sail, and that night she cleared the reef.

On Sunday the 15th, we had an open sea, with a fine breeze in our favour, and



pursued our voyage to the N. W., and N. W. by W. The same night we made the Island of Huaheine, and anchored in the north entrance of O'Wharre harbour. Oree, the chief, and several of the natives paid us visits. Oree, among other articles, brought with him a hog; and the next day, being the 16th, Capt. Cook returned Oree's visit, presenting to him some red feathers, which he held in his hand, and muttered over them a prayer. This morning the people began to bring us fruit. The chief sent us two hogs, which were followed by himself and friends who came to dine with us. Oree asked for axes and nails, which were readily given him. These he distributed as he pleased, but bestowed the largest share upon a youth who appeared to be his grandson. After the distribution was over they all returned ashore. Mr. Forster, and a party with him, went up the country to examine its productions; which he continued as a daily task during the ship's continuance in this harbour. As a servant of Mr. Forster's was walking along the shore, without a companion, he was beset by several stout fellows, who would have stripped him, had not some of our people arrived to his assistance. One of the men made off with a hatchet. This day the number of natives that came about the ship was so great, that it was found necessary to place centinels in the gangways, to prevent the men from coming on board: but no opposition was made to the women, so that the ship was crowded with them.

On Tuesday the 17th, we found Oree and a great number of the principal people assembled in a house consulting together. We heard the late robbery mentioned by them several times; but the chief assured us neither himself nor his friends had any hand in the same, and desired Capt. Cook to kill with his guns those that had. We could not learn where the robbers were gone, and therefore, at present, took no more notice of the affair. In the evening a dramatic entertainment was exhibited. The subject of the piece was that of a girl running away with us from Otaheite. This was not wholly a fiction, for a girl had taken

her passage with us from Uhetea, and was at this time present when her own adventures were represented; she could hardly refrain from tears while the play was acting; and it was with much difficulty we persuaded her to stay out the entertainment. At the conclusion of the piece, the girl's return to her friends was represented; and the reception she met with was not a favourable one. It is very probable that this part of the comedy was designed to deter others from going away with us.

On Wednesday, the 18th, king Oree came and dined on board, and the Captain, at his desire, ordered the great guns to be shot, and fired into the water, by way of salute at his arrival and departure: indeed he had by Oedidee given us to understand that he expected the same honours to be paid to him, as had been shewn to the chiefs of Otaheite. A party of petty officers having obtained leave to amuse themselves in the country, they took with them some hatchets, nails, &c. in bags, which were carried by two natives, who went with them as their guides, to shew the way. These fellows made off with the trust reposed in them, and artfully enough effected their escape. The party had with them two muskets; and after it had rained some time, the natives pointed out some birds for them to shoot. One of the guns went off, and the other missed fire several times. At this instant, when the fellows saw themselves secure from both, they took the opportunity to run away, and not one of the party, being all much surprized, had presence of mind enough to pursue them. On the 19th, a report was current, that the natives intended to rise and attack the ship. The Captain, though he did not think them serious in such an attempt, yet was unwilling totally to disregard the intimation: he therefore ordered twenty stand of arms to be in readiness, in case any commotion should be observed among them; but though the rumour increased throughout the day, yet no preparations could be perceived to countenance such a report; and the king continued his visits as usual, never coming empty handed.



On Friday, the 20th, the first and second lieutenants with one of the mates, being out on a shooting party, they were beset by more than fifty of the natives, who first took from them their arms, and then robbed them of what articles they had carried with them to trade. In the scuffle the first lieutenant lost the skirt of his coat, and one of the other gentlemen received a severe blow. When the robbers had stripped them of their merchandizes, they restored to them their fowling pieces. When this transaction came to the knowledge of Capt. Cook, he went immediately with a boat's crew on shore and entered a large house wherein were two chiefs. This, with all their effects, he took possession of, and remained there, till he heard that the gentlemen had got safe on board, and had all their things restored to them. Oedidee informed us, Oree was so much affected with the relation of this, that he wept much. When on board, we learnt from the officers themselves, that a small insult on their part was the occasion of the affray; but some chiefs interfering, took the officers out of the crowd, and caused every thing which had been taken from them to be restored. On the 21th, we saw upwards of sixty canoes, most of the people in them being Eareeoies, steering for Ulietea, and we heard they were going to visit their brethren in the neighbouring Islands. It seems these people have customs among them peculiar to themselves; and assist each other when necessity requires: we may therefore call them the Free Masons of Huaheine. This day Oree sent a message to Capt. Cook, desiring he would come on shore, and bring twenty-two men with him, in order to search for and chastise the robbers. Oedidee brought with him twenty-two pieces of leaves to assist his memory, a custom very common among these people. This message seemed to us an extraordinary one, and therefore the captain went to the chief for better information. Oree informed him, that these fellows were a set of banditti, who had formed themselves into a body, and had resolved to rob all they met, for which purpose they were now assembled and armed. These rob-

bers Oree wanted us to attack, the Captain said they would fly to the mountains; but he assured us to the contrary, and desired we would destroy both them and their habitations, only sparing their canoes. This request seemed extraordinary, but the Captain was resolved to comply with it in part, lest these fellows should make more head, and become formidable; and also with a view of preventing the report from gaining ground in Ulietea, where we intended going, and we were apprehensive announcements might be formed in like manner, and the people might treat us in the same way, or worse, they being more numerous. Capt. Cook and his officers made ready to accompany king Oree in the expedition against the robbers; and having ordered fifty marines with some sailors to be well armed, they landed near the palace of the king, and having required him to conduct them according to his promise, he very readily consented, and they all set out together in very good order. The party increased as we proceeded; and Oedidee told us, that several of the banditti had joined us, with the view of decoying us into a place, where they might attack us to advantage. As we could place no confidence in any other person, we took his advice, and proceeded with caution. We marched several miles, when Capt. Cook declared he would proceed no farther: besides we were informed that the men had fled to the mountains. At this time we were about to cross a deep valley, with steep rocks on each side, where our retreat might have been rendered difficult, by a few men assailing us with stones. Oedidee persisted in his opinion; and we marched back in the same order as we came. As we went along, we observed several people coming down the sides of the hills with clubs, which they immediately hid when they found we saw them. This was some confirmation of Oedidee's suspicions; but we could not persuade ourselves that the chief had any such intention, whatever might be the designs of his people. In our return we halted at a convenient place, and wanting some refreshments, they were immediately brought us. When we arrived



at the landing place we discharged several volleys, to convince the natives, that we could support a continual fire: after which we returned on board, and the chief dined with us, having brought with him a hog ready dressed. After dinner we received a great number of presents as peace-offerings. Two chiefs brought each of them a pig, a dog, and some young plantain trees, and with due ceremony presented them singly to the captain. Another brought a very large hog, with which he had followed us to the ship. A quantity of fruit was brought us by others; so that we were likely to make more by this little excursion, than by all the presents we had made them; and the expedition had one good effect at least, for the people were convinced that muskets were more terrible things than they at first imagined. We were promised a larger supply of hogs and fruit the next day; but the chief was not so good as his word. We went ashore in the afternoon, and found him sitting down to dinner. The people about him immediately began chewing the pepper root; and a cup of the juice was presented to Capt. Cook, but he did not like the method of brewing it. Oedidee was not so nice, and immediately swallowed what the captain refused. The chief washed his mouth with cocoa-nut water after he had taken the juice of the pepper root, and ate a large quantity of plantain, repe, and mahee, and finished his dinner by eating and drinking a composition of plantains, bread-fruit, mahee, &c. of the consistence of a custard; of this he took about three pints. He dined in the open air, at the outside of his house, and during dinner time, a play was performing within the house.

On Monday the 23rd, we put to sea. The chief and Capt. Cook took an affectionate leave of each other. When Oree heard that we never intended coming there any more, he said, Let your sons come, we will treat them well. We did not get a sufficient supply of hogs at this Island, though they did not appear to be scarce; but we obtained more fruit than we well knew what to do with. Our stock in trade being nearly exhausted, we found it necessary to set the

smiths to work, in making different sorts of iron tools, that an influence might be kept up at the other Islands, and to enable us to procure refreshments.

On Tuesday the 24th, we anchored in Ulietea, and was visited by Oreo the chief, who brought with him a handsome present. A party of us went ashore to make the chief a present, and as we entered his house we were met by five old women, who lamented very bitterly, and cut their faces in a shocking manner. This was not the worst part of the story, for we were obliged to submit to their amiable embraces, and get ourselves covered with blood. After this ceremony was over, they washed themselves, and appeared as cheerful as any other person.

On Friday the 27th, Oreo paid us a visit, in company with his wife, son and daughter, and brought with them a very handsome present of all kinds of refreshments. We accompanied them on shore after dinner, and were entertained with a play which concluded with the representation of a woman in labour, performed by a set of brawny fellows; the child that was brought forth was at least six feet high. As soon as the child was delivered, they pressed his nose, which seemed to vindicate that they really take this method with all their children, which occasions that flatness which their noses generally have. On the 29th, several things were stolen out of our boats, which lay at the buoy; but on application to the chief, we had them all returned, except an iron tiller, and in lieu of that they brought us two large hogs. On Monday, the 30th, a party of us set out for Oedidee's estate on the 30th, instant, accompanied by the chief and his family. When we arrived there, we found that Oedidee could not command any thing, though he had promised us hogs and fruit in abundance; they were now in possession of his brother. We had here an opportunity of seeing them kill and dress a pig, which was done in the following manner: three men first strangled the hog; the hog was laid on his back, two men laid a stick across his throat, pressing at each end, the third man stuffed up his fundament with grass, and held his



hind legs. The hog was kept in this position for ten minutes, before he was dead. An oven, which was close by, was heated. They laid the hog on the fire as soon as he was dead, and singed off his hair; he was then carried to the sea-side and washed. The carcase was then laid on clean green leaves, that it might be opened. They first took out the lard, and laid it on a green leaf, the entrails were then taken out and carried away in a basket; the blood was put into a large leaf. The hog was then washed quite clean, and several hot stones were put into his body; it was then placed in the oven on his belly, the lard and fat were put in a vessel, with two or three hot stones, and placed along-side the hog; the blood was tied up in a leaf, with a hot stone and put into the oven; they covered the whole with leaves, on which were placed the remainder of the hot stones; they afterwards threw a great deal of rubbish in, and covered the whole with earth. A table was spread with green leaves, while the hog was baking, which took up little more than two hours. We sat down at one end of the table, and the natives, who dined with us, at the other; the fat and blood were placed before them, and the hog before us. We thought the pork exceeding good indeed, and every part of it was well done. The natives chiefly dined of the fat and blood, and said it was very good victuals. The whole of this cookery was conducted with remarkable cleanliness. This estate of Oedidee was small, but very pleasant; and the houses formed a pretty village. After we had dined, we returned to the ship. In our way we saw four wooden images, each two feet long. They stood on

a shelf, had a large piece of cloth round the middle, a turban on their heads, stuck with cock's feathers. They told us these were their servant's gods.

On Tuesday the 31st, the people hearing that we intended sailing, brought abundance of fruit on board, which continued on the 1st of June. We were informed that two ships had arrived at Huaheine. The person who brought the information described the persons of Capt. Furneaux and Mr. Banks so well, that we had no doubt of the truth of the assertion; we therefore thought of sending a boat over there, but a man came on board, and declared the whole to be a lye. We could not confront the fellow who brought the intelligence, for he was gone away, and the danger of sending the boat was put a stop to.

On Saturday the 4th, of June, the chief and his family came on board to take leave bringing a handsome present with them. These people denied that there were any ships at Huaheine. We were very much importuned to return to this place; when we told them we could not, their grief was bitter, and we believed it to be real. They desired Capt. Cook to acquaint them with his burial place, and said they would be buried with him. A strong proof of affection and attachment. We left Oedidee here, as we could not promise that more ships would be sent from England to those Islands: he left us with infinite regret. Oedidee did not leave us till we were out of the harbour, and staid to fire some guns, it being his Majesty's birth day. This youth was of a gentle docile, humane disposition, and would have been a better specimen of the natives than Omiah.



## CHAP. VI.

*Departure of the Resolution from Ulitea; Incidents at Savage Island; Instance of the ferocity of the natives; Description of this Island; Passage from hence to Rotterdam; Remarkable transactions at this place, and the insolence of the natives; An account of the people in Turtle Island; One called by the natives Ambrym, discovered; Transactions while here, and ferocious behaviour of the inhabitants; A particular description of these people; The Resolution continues her course from Port Sandwich; Passes Three-hill and Shepherd's Islands; Steers in a direction for Sandwich Island, in order to discover the Southern extremity of the Archipelago; Hostile behaviour of the natives of Sandwich Isle, and of several Islands, particularly Tanna, and Erromango; An account of a Volcano; Character of Paowang a great chief; A description of the country, &c.; Departure of the Resolution from the Island of Tanna: The natives described; Arrives at Erromango; The western coast of the New Hebrides explored; More new Islands discovered; Inhabitants and country about Cape Colnett described; The Island of Pines discovered, with an account of these and other trees.*

**T**HE day after we left Ulitea we saw land, which proved to be a low Island discovered by Capt. Wallis, and called by him Howe Island. We saw land again on the 16th, which we called Palmerston Island, in honour of lord Palmerston, one of the lords of the Admiralty. On the 20th, we discovered land again, and inhabitants appearing upon the shore; we equipped two boats, and as we approached, the inhabitants retired into the woods. When we landed, we took post on a high rock, to prevent a surprise, and the botanising party began collecting plants, with which the country seemed covered. Capt. Cook took two men with him and entered the woods, but on hearing the inhabitants approach they returned. We made every friendly sign in our power, but were answered by menaces; and one of the natives threw a stone, which struck one of our party. Two muskets were fired indiscriminately, and they all retreated into the woods. Having embarked, we proceeded along the coast till we came to a place where four canoes lay. In order to prevent being surprised, and to secure a retreat, the men were drawn up upon a rock, from whence they had a view of the heights. Capt. Cook and only four gentlemen with him went to look at the canoes. Very soon after the natives rushed out of the wood upon us, and we

endeavoured to no purpose to bring them to a parley; they threw their darts, and appeared very ferocious. We discharged some muskets in the air, but this did not intimidate them; for they still threw darts and stones. Capt. Cook's musket missed fire; otherwise he would certainly have killed the ring-leader of them. The men drawn upon the rock fired at some who appeared on the heights, which rather allayed the ardour of our antagonists, and we had an opportunity to join the marines. We do not think any of the natives were hurt, but they all retreated into the woods; and seeing we could make nothing of them, we returned to the ship. Capt. Cook named this place Savage Island, from the conduct and aspect of the Islanders; its situation is south latitude 19. deg. 1 min. west longitude 169 deg. 37 min. its form is circular, and is about 11 leagues in circumference. The country appears entirely covered with trees and shrubs. Nothing but coral rocks were to be seen along the shores. The inhabitants do not appear to be very numerous: they go entirely naked, except round the waist, and seem stout well made men. Some of the men had their thighs, breast, and faces painted black.

We steered for Rotterdam, and as we drew near it, several canoes laden with fruit came along-side of us, but we did not shorten sail.



The people on board them wanted as much to go towards their coast, telling us, as well as they were able, we might safely anchor there. They inquired for Capt. Cook by name. We came to anchor on the north-side of the Island on the 26th, instant. The inhabitants brought to us great quantities of yams and haddocks, for which we gave them old rags and nails. A party of us went ashore to look for water, and were civilly received by the natives. We got some water, but it was rather brackish. We got a plentiful supply of fruit and oats, as well as water, but happened to leave the surgeon on shore. He got a canoe to bring him off; but just as he was getting into it, one of the natives snatched away his musket and ran off with it, after which no person would bring him on board. He certainly would have been stripped, had he not presented a tooth-pick case to them, which they took for a little gun. When Capt. Cook heard of this transaction, he went ashore; but the natives fled at his approach. We did wrong in not taking any steps for the recovery of the gun, as it encouraged the inhabitants to make more depredations. A boat was sent ashore on the 28th, for some water, when the people behaved in a rude and daring manner: it was with difficulty they got their water-casks filled, and into the boats again. The lieutenant who commanded this party had his gun snatched from him, and most of the people had something or other taken away from them. This was the effect of ill timed lenity. Capt. Cook landed soon after, and resolved to have the gun restored. All the marines were ordered ashore armed. As the botanising party were in the country, three guns were fired from the ship to alarm them, as we did not know how the natives might behave to them. The natives knew well enough what we intended, and brought the musket long before the marines got ashore. When the lieutenant and the marines arrived, they all fled; Capt. Cook seized two double canoes in the cove, and threw a few small shot into a fellow's legs, who made some resistance. We very soon obtained the other musket, and then the canoes were restored.

When we returned to the cove, the people wanted to persuade us that the man Capt. Cook fired at was dead, which we thought very improbable. Capt. Cook desired a man to restore a cooper's adze which had been stolen that morning, and he went away, as we thought to fetch it; but we were mistaken, for he soon returned with the wounded man stretched out on a board apparently dead. The surgeon was sent to dress his wounds, which in his opinion were but slight, and of no consequence. Capt. Cook still insisted upon the adze, and with a great deal of difficulty obtained it. An old woman presented a young girl to Capt. Cook, giving him to understand that she was at his service. The girl was artful enough, and wanted to bargain for a shirt and a spike nail, neither of which the Captain had with him. He was then given to understand that he might retire with her upon credit, which he refused. The old procuress then abused him, saying he was insensible to her charms; the girl was very pretty, and wanted to go aboard a ship with the Captain; but he would not take her, as he had given orders no women should be admitted there.

On the 29th, we sailed, and a great many canoes came up with us, loaded with fruit, &c. which were exchanged for the usual commodities. The passion of our people for curiosities was as great as ever, and they were stripped of most of the clothes the ladies of Otaheite had left them. We stretched out for Amattafoa on the 30th, and several canoes came to us from all parts with the common articles; out of one of them we got two pigs, which in this part of the world are a scarce commodity.

On Friday the 1st of July we discovered land, the master and the boat were sent into the sound to find anchorage, four or five people were discovered on the shore, who retreated as the boat advanced, and they all fled to the woods when the boat landed. The master returned, and brought word there were no soundings without the reef; that he rowed in for the shore, intending to speak to the people, who were about twenty in number, armed with clubs and



spears; but they all returned into the woods on his approach. He left some trifles upon the rocks, which they certainly found, for several people were seen at the place soon afterwards. The number of inhabitants on this Island are supposed to be very few, and it is very probable that the few who are there only came to catch turtles, of which there are a great number here. This Island is situated S. latitude 19 deg. 48 min. W. longitude 178 deg. 2 min. We called it Turtle Island.

After a good deal of stormy weather we saw an Island, called by the natives Ambrym, on the 21st of July. We discovered a creek as we drew nearer the shore, which had the appearance of a good harbour; many people were assembled, who invited us on shore, but we did not choose to go, as they were armed with bows and arrows. We sent out two armed boats to discover a port about a league more to the south, where we anchored in eleven fathoms water. Several of the natives came off to us, but acted with great caution; at last they trusted themselves alongside, and exchanged arrows for pieces of cloth. The arrows were pointed with bone, and dipped in a green gummy substance, which we imagined to be poisonous. Presents were made to two men who ventured on board, and others came at night for the same purpose, but they were not admitted.

On the 22nd, in the morning, several natives came round us; some swam, and others came in canoes. We prevailed on one man with some difficulty to come on board, and he was followed by more than we wished. Various articles were given to four of them, which were taken into the cabin; these they shewed to others in the canoes, who were very well pleased with their reception. We were all put in confusion by an accident which happened while these were in the cabin. One of the natives who had been refused admittance into one of our boats bent his bow at the boat-keeper, to shoot a poisoned arrow at him: he was prevented by some of his countrymen, and Capt. Cook was acquainted with it. Capt. Cook went on deck, and saw a

man struggling with him, who had leaped out of the cabin window for this purpose. The fellow again pointed his arrow at the boat-keeper; and on Capt. Cook's calling out, he pointed the arrow at the Captain, who instantly fired a musket at him. This staggered him for a little while, but he again pointed his arrow; a second shot obliged him to desist. Several began to shoot arrows on the other side; but they were all sent off in the utmost confusion, by a four pound shot being discharged over their heads. They all to a man leaped overboard. We permitted them to come and take away their canoes, and some again came along-side the ship. We heard the beating of drums on shore as soon as the four pounder was fired, which we took for the signal for the country to assemble under arms. However we determined to go on shore and seek for wood and some refreshments, which we were very much in want of.

We landed in the face of five hundred men, armed with bows, arrows, spears, and clubs, but they made no opposition. Capt. Cook advanced alone, with nothing but a green branch in his hand: on seeing this, a person who seemed to be a chief gave his bow and arrows to another, and came to meet him in the water, took the Captain by the hand, and led him up to the crowd. The marines were at this time drawn up on the beach. Capt. Cook distributed several presents among them. We made signs that we wanted wood; for not one word of their language could we understand, and in return they made signs for us to cut down the trees. They brought a small pig for a peace-offering, and we flattered ourselves with the hopes of procuring more, but these were vain and delusive; for we only got a small quantity of water, and about half a dozen cocoa-nuts. They parted freely with their arrows, but we could not purchase of them any bows without a great deal of difficulty. They did not seem to set the least value upon any thing we presented them with, nor did they like we should proceed farther than the beach, and seemed very desirous of our returning on board: this we did after we had cut down some wood, and they all



retired into different parts of the country. In the afternoon we observed a man bringing along the buoy, which had been taken from the kedge anchor; and when we sent some of our crew ashore for it, he immediately delivered it. This was the only thing they had attempted to take from us. Capt. Cook and Mr. Forster went to examine some of their houses, which bore a resemblance to those on the other Isles. They saw a great number of fine yams, and several pigs and fowls. - They called this Island Mallicolæ, another near it Apee, and a third Paoom. We went in search of fresh water, but without success. The curiosity of these people was soon satisfied, for none of them came on board the ship. When they saw us under sail, they came off to us in a number of canoes, and gave us many proofs of their extreme honesty, which rather surprised us, as we had lately been among a most thievish race.

The people of this Island are very ugly and ill-proportioned, dark in their complexion, and of a diminutive size. Their heads are long, their faces flat, and their features very much resemble those of a baboon: their beards are of a dark colour, strong and bushy. The men go quite naked, except a wrapper round their waists. The women we saw were as ugly as the men. Their faces, heads, and shoulders were painted red. Some of them had a bag round their shoulders, in which they carry their children; and they wear a sort of red petticoat. We saw but few of them, as they generally kept at a distance when we were on shore. They wear bracelets, and ear-rings made of tortoise-shell, hogs tusks bent circular round the right wrist, and rings made of shells. They run a piece of white stone, an inch and a half long, through the bridge of their noses, which are pierced for that purpose. They sprinkle water over their heads, and present a green branch, as tokens of friendship. Their weapons are bows, arrows, clubs and spears. They seem unlike all the natives we have met with, and speak quite a different language. Their country must be fertile, but the fruits are not remarkably good. We left them a dog

and a bitch, they having none on the Island, and as they seemed very fond of them, we doubt not but they will take care to preserve them. The harbour is a very good one, and we named it Port Sandwich.

Continuing our course from hence, on the 24th, of July we discovered several small Islands, one of which we came very near. It is about twelve miles in circumference, and has three high peaked hills upon it. We therefore named it Three Hill Island. We then passed a group of small Islands, which we called Shepherd's Isles, in honour of Dr. Shepherd of Cambridge. We discerned people in every one of these Islands; but there were no soundings near them at one hundred and eighty fathoms. We found the southern lands to consist of one large Island, the extremities of which we could not see. On the north side of this extensive Island we saw three or more smaller ones.

One of these we called Montagne, another Hinchinbrook and the largest Sandwich, in honour of the earl of Sandwich, first lord of the admiralty. Several people came down as we passed Montagne Island, and seemed to invite us in a friendly manner on shore. We saw some likewise on Sandwich Island, the surface whereof appeared very delightful, being agreeably diversified with woods and lawns. As we could not approach it at this time, we steered more to the west, as there appeared a bay to run up in that quarter, and a good shelter from the winds. But as this was not so much our object as to discover the southern extremity of the Archipelago, we steered E. S. E. which was the direction of Sandwich Island.

On the 1st, of August, we gained the N. W. side of the Island, and saw several inhabitants, who invited us ashore by various signs. Here we should have anchored, but the wind obliged us to alter our design. Besides we wanted to explore the lands to the S. E. therefore ranged along the coast. As we continued our course, we saw a light ahead; and it being near evening we did not choose to proceed any farther, but stood off and on all night. When the sun rose next morning it disappeared, and we saw not any land but the coast we were near.



On the 3rd, we sent a boat on shore to get some wood if possible, being much in want of that article; but our people could not land on account of a high surf of the sea; and they saw not any natives on that part of the Isle. Having anchored in seventeen fathoms water, under the N. W. side of the head of the land, we saw several people on the shore, some endeavouring to swim off to us; but they all retired when they perceived our boat approach towards them. On the 14th, a party went out armed to find a proper landing place, and where we might gain a supply of wood and water. We gave the inhabitants some medals, &c. with which they appeared much pleased, and directed us to a bay fit for our purpose. As we went along the shore their numbers increased prodigiously. We tried several places to land, but did not approve of their situation. At length we came to a fine sandy beach, where Capt. Cook stepped out without wetting his foot. He took but one man with him out of the boat, and landed in the face of a large number of people, having only a green branch in his hand. The inhabitants received him with great politeness. One of them, who appeared to be a chief, made the natives form a semicircle round the head of the boat, and chastised such as attempted to prevent it. The Captain gave this person several articles, and by signs signified his want of fresh water; upon which a little was presently presented to him in a bamboo, and having made signs for something to eat, they brought him yams and cocoa-nuts. Their behaviour was in every respect agreeable, yet we did not much like their appearance, as they were all armed with bows, arrows, clubs, spears, and darts. On this account we kept a good look-out, and watched particularly the motions of the chief, who wanted us to haul the boat on shore. He renewed his signs for this to be done, and then held a conference with some of the natives. One circumstance appeared rather suspicious, he refused some spike nails that we offered him. Capt. Cook immediately returned to the boat, upon which they attempted by force to detain us. Very for-

tunately the gang board happened to be laid out for the Captain to return into the boat; this some of the natives unhooked from the stern as we were putting off; they then hooked it to the head of the boat, and attempted to haul her on shore. Some of them were daring enough to take the oars out of a few of our peoples hands. They in some measure desisted, on Capt. Cook's presenting a musket, but went on again in an instant, seemingly determined to haul the boat on shore, and to detain us. The chief was at the head of this party, and others stood at a small distance behind, with stones, darts, and other missile weapons, ready to support them. Our own safety was now become our only consideration, for signs and threats had not the effect we expected. The Captain therefore resolved to make the chief suffer alone a victim to his own treachery; but at this critical moment his piece did not go off. This increased their insolence, and they began to assault us with stones, darts, and arrows: We were now ordered to fire. The first discharge threw them into confusion; but they were very reluctantly driven off the beach by the second. After this they continued a kind of bush fight, by throwing stones from behind trees, and sometimes a dart or two. Four of them lay to all appearance dead on the shore, but two of them afterwards crawled in among the bushes. It was a fortunate circumstance for these assailants, that more than half our muskets missed fire, otherwise we should have done much more execution among them. One of our crew was wounded in the cheek with a dart, which entered near two inches; and an arrow struck Mr. Gilbert's breast, but it hardly penetrated the skin. Having returned after this skirmish was ended on board, the Captain ordered the anchor to be weighed, with a view of proceeding with the ship to the landing-place. While this was doing, several of the natives appeared on a low rocky point, displaying the two oars which they had taken from us in the late scuffle. We thought they were desirous of returning the oars, and that their manner of behaving



might be a token of submission: nevertheless, that they might understand the effect of our great guns, we fired a four pound shot at them, which, though it fell short, terrified them so much, that we saw no more of them, and when they went away they left the two oars standing up against the bushes. By this time our anchor was at the bow, when a breeze sprung up at N. upon which we set our sails, and plying out of the bay, for here we could not supply our wants with conveniency, and in case a better place could not be found to the S. we had it in our power at any time to return hither.

The natives of this Island are of a middle size, regular features, and pretty well made. They are of a different race from those of Mallicolæ, as well in their persons, as their language. Their complexions are naturally dark; yet they paint their faces, some with black, and some others with red pigment. Their hair is curly, but somewhat woolly. The women were not very inviting, being rather ugly. They wear a petticoat made of a plant like palm leaves; and the men go in a manner naked, having only a belt and wrapper round their waist. They live in houses covered with thatch, and their plantations are laid out by line, and fenced round. We saw no canoes in any part of the Island.

On Thursday the 4th, of August, at two o'clock P. M. we cleared the bay and steered for the south end of the Island. We discovered on the S. W. side of the head a pretty deep bay; its shores low, and the land appeared very fertile, but being exposed to the S. E. winds, until better known, we think that on the N. W. side preferable. The promontory or peninsula, which disjoins these two bays, we named Traitor's Head, from the treacherous behaviour of its inhabitants; it forms the N. E. point of the Island, and is situated in the latitude of 18 deg. 43 min. S. and in 169 deg. 28 min. E. longitude. It terminates in a saddle hill, which may be seen 16 or 18 leagues off at sea. We continued our course to the S. S. E. when the new Island we had before discovered, appeared over the S. E. point of one near us, distant about 10 leagues. Leaving

the last, we steered for the east end of the former, being directed by a great light we saw upon it. On the 5th, at sun-rise we came in sight of an Island, being high table land, bearing E. by S. and also discovered another little low Isle which we had passed in the night. Traitor's Head was still in sight, and the Island to the S. extended from S. 7 deg. W. to S. 87 deg. W. distant four miles. The light seen in the night we now found to have been a volcano. A rumbling noise was heard, and it threw up great quantities of smoke and fire. We now steered for the Island; and discovered a small inlet which had the appearance of a good harbour. Two armed boats, under the command of Lieut. Cooper, were sent off in order to sound, while the ship stood on and off, to be ready to follow or to afford any assistance that might be required. We observed a number of the natives on the east point of the entrance, also several canoes; and when our boats entered the harbour they launched some, but came not near. At this time Lieut. Cooper made the signal for anchorage, and we stood in with the ship. The wind having left us when we were within the entrance, we were obliged to drop anchor in four fathoms water. The boats were now sent out to find a better anchorage; and while we were thus employed, many of the natives came in parties to the sea-side all armed, some swam off to us, others came in canoes. At first they seemed afraid of us, and kept at a distance, but by degrees waxed bolder, and at length came under our stern, and made some exchanges. Those in one of the first canoes threw towards us some cocoa-nuts. The Captain went out in a boat, picked them up, and in return gave them several articles. Others were induced by this to come along-side, who behaved in a most insolent manner. They attempted to tear our flag from the staff, would have knocked the rings from the rudder, and we had no sooner thrown out the buoys of the anchor from the boats than they got hold of them. We fired a few muskets in the air, of which they took no notice, but a four pounder alarmed them so much, that they



quitted their canoes, and took to the water. But finding themselves unhurt, they got again into their canoes, flourished their weapons, hallooed in defiance, and went again to the buoys, but a few musketoon shot soon dispersed them. They all retired in haste to the shore, and we sat down to dinner, unmolested. In the interval of those transactions, an old man, who seemed to be amicably disposed, came several times in a small canoe between us and the shore, bringing off each time cocoa-nuts and yams, for which he took in exchange whatever we offered him. Another was in the gangway when the great gun was fired, after which we could not prevail on him to stay. In the evening we landed at the head of the harbour, with a party of men well armed. The natives made not the least opposition, though we had one body on our right, and another on our left, all armed. We distributed among the old people some presents of cloth and medals, and filled two casks with fresh water, an article we gave them to understand we much wanted. We got in return plenty of cocoa-nuts, but could not prevail on them to part with their weapons, which they held constantly in a posture of defence. The old man was in one of these parties but by his behaviour, we judged his temper to be pacific. We thought by their pressing so much, in spite of all our endeavours to keep them at a distance, that little would be wanting to induce them to attack us; but we re-embarked very soon, and thus, probably, their scheme was disconcerted.

Saturday the 6th, we brought the ship as near the landing place as possible, that we might overawe the natives, and cover the party on shore, who were to get a supply of wood and water, which we much wanted. While we were upon this business, we observed the natives assembling from all parts, all armed, to the amount of some thousands who formed themselves into two divisions, as they did the preceding evening, on each side the landing place. At intervals a canoe came off, at times conducted by one, two, or three men, bringing us cocoa-nuts, &c. for which they did not require any

thing in return, though we took care they should always have something: but their principal intention seemed to be, to invite us ashore. The old man before mentioned, came off to us several times, and the Captain, with a view of making him understand that he wanted to establish a friendly intercourse, took his weapons that were in the canoe, and threw them overboard, and made him a present of a piece of cloth. He understood the meaning of this, for we saw him frequently in conversation with his countrymen, to whom he made our request known, going first to one party, then to another, nor did we afterwards see him with his weapons, or in a warlike manner. Soon after a canoe in which were three men, came under our stern, one of whom behaved very outrageously brandishing his club, and striking with it the ship's side; at last he offered to exchange his weapon for a string of beads, and other trifles; these we sent down to him by a line of which he had no sooner got possession, than he made off, without delivering his club. We were not sorry for this, as it afforded us an opportunity of shewing the people on shore the effect of our fire arms. We therefore, without hesitation, complimented this fellow with the contents of a fowling piece, loaded with small shot, and when the others were out of the reach of musket shot, we fired some musketoons, or wall pieces at them, which made them take to the water. But all this seemed to make very little impression on the people ashore, who began to halloo, and seemingly made a joke of it. Having moored the ship, with her broad-side to the landing place, and scarcely musket shot off, we planted our artillery in such a manner as to command the whole harbour, and then embarked with a party of seamen, supported by the marines, and rowed to the landing place, where we have before observed the natives were drawn up in two divisions. The intermediate space between them was about forty yards, in which were laid a few plantains, two or three roots, and a yam. Between these and the water, four small reeds were stuck upright in the sand in a line at right



angles to the shore, for what purpose we could not learn. They remained here for some days. By these the old man stood, and two companions, who by various signs invited us to land, but we thought these a decoy, and looked something like the trap we had like to have been caught in at the last Island. We made signs for the divisions to retire back, but to these they paid not the least regard, their number every moment was augmented, and, except two or three old men, not one unarmed. From all these circumstances we concluded they meant to attack us as soon as we landed; but this we wished to avoid, as many of them must have been killed or wounded, and we could not expect to come off without some damage. We thought it therefore better to frighten them into a more peaceable behaviour, and therefore a musket was fired over the party on our right, which for about a minute had the desired effect, but they soon returned to their daring behaviour. The ship was then ordered, by signal, to fire two or three great guns, which presently dispersed them. We immediately landed and marked out the limits on the right and left by a line. Our old friend, who stood his ground, we rewarded with a present. Some of the natives returned, with a more friendly aspect. Many came without their weapons, but the greatest part with them. We made signs that they should lay them down, and they gave us to understand, that we must lay down ours first. Thus both sides stood under arms, and the presents we made to the old people had little influence on their conduct. Many were afraid to touch what belonged to us, and climbing the cocoa-nut trees, they threw us down the nuts, but they seemed to have no notion of exchanging one thing for another, though we always took care they should have a compensation. We took the old man (whose name we now found to be Paowang) to the woods, and made him understand we wanted to cut down some trees, to which he readily consented, provided fruit trees were not of the number. At the same time we cut down some trees, which we put into our boats, and a few small casks of water, with

a view of letting the natives see what we chiefly wanted. Thus far matters were pretty well settled; we returned on board to dinner, and they all dispersed. In the afternoon a fishing party went out. We loaded the launch with water, and having made three hauls with the seine, caught upwards of three hundred pounds of mullet and other fish. During this time not above thirty of the natives appeared, among whom was our trusty friend Paowang, who made us a present of a pig, the only one we got at this place. Throughout the night the volcano, which was about four miles to the west of us, emitted vast quantities of fire and smoke, attended by a violent rumbling noise: this was increased by a heavy shower of rain, which fell at this time. The noise was like that of thunder, or the blowing up of mines; the flames were seen to rise above the hills: and the air was loaded with ashes with which every thing was covered. They resembled a kind of fine sand, or rather stone ground to powder, and the dust was not a little troublesome to the eyes.

On Sunday the 7th, the natives began to assemble again, early in the morning, with their weapons, as before, but not in such numbers: notwithstanding this, we landed in order to get water, and cut wood. We found most of the old people disposed to be our friends, but the younger being daring and insolent, obliged us to stand to our arms. Mr. Edgecumbe, one of the lieutenants who commanded the party, fired, and wounded a man with a swan-shot, after which the others behaved better, and when our people embarked they all retired in a peaceable manner. While we were at dinner an old man came on board, and after having examined several parts of the ship, returned to his friends on shore. We were now on a tolerable footing with such of the natives who lived in the neighbourhood, who only made their appearance, so that a sergeant's guard was thought sufficient for the protection of the wood and water parties. Some of our people had left an axe on the beach; or in the woods, which Paowang returned to us; also a few other articles which had been lost through negligence.



The natives invited some of our people to go home with them, on condition that they would strip themselves naked as they were; a proof of their not harbouring a design of robbing them, whatever other they might have. On the 8th, early in the morning, the launch was sent under the protection of a party of marines in another boat, to take in wood, water, and ballast, when the natives seemed pretty well reconciled to us. On the 9th, our people were employed about the same business, and Capt. Cook was received very courteously by the natives, though armed, insomuch that there was no longer any occasion to mark out the limits by a line, seeing they observed them without this precaution. He prevailed on a young man, named Wha-a-gou to accompany him on board, but nothing in the ship seemed to engage his attention. The goats, dogs, and cats, he called by the same name, which in his language signifies hogs. He seemed more fond of a dog and bitch than of any other animals, and we presented him with one of each. He sat down to dinner with us, but would only just taste our salt pork; however he eat pretty heartily of yam, and drank a glass of wine. Some of this young man's friends were probably doubtful of his safety, and therefore followed him in a canoe, but on his speaking to them out of the cabin window, they went on shore and soon returned with a cock, some coconuts, and a sugar cane. After dinner he was conducted ashore loaded with presents. Upon landing, some of his friends took Capt. Cook by the hand, and, as we understood would have led him to their habitations, but on the way, they made a sudden stop, and were unwilling he should proceed. The captain was desired to sit down. During this interval several of our gentlemen passed us, at which they expressed great uneasiness, and importuned the Captain so much to order them back, that he was obliged to comply. Indeed they were not only jealous of our going up the country, but even along the shore of the harbour. While we were waiting here, our friend Paowang brought us a present of fruit and roots, by a party of twenty men, though

they might all have been carried by two, perhaps this might be done with the view of making the present appear the greater; for one had a bunch of plantains, another a yam, a third a cocoa-nut, &c. The Captain paid these porters, though the present was in return for one he had made in the morning. Wha-a-gou and his friends were still for detaining us, and seemed to wait with impatience for something to give us in return for the dogs, but night approaching we desired to depart; and they complied with our solicitations. We now learnt, by means of Mr. Forster's inquiries, that the proper name of this Island is Tanna. The natives also told us the names of other neighboring Isles. That we touched at last is called Erromango; the small one which we saw the morning we landed here Immer; the table Island to the east discovered at the same time, Erranan, or Foottoona: and one that lies to the S. E. Annatom; all which Islands are to be seen from Tanna. It is a little remarkable that the natives of this Island were more scrupulous in taking any thing from the sailors, than those of any other nation, and never would touch with their bare hands what was given them, but always received it between green leaves, which they afterwards tied up and carried upon the ends of their clubs; and if any of our seamen touched their skin, they always rubbed the part with a green leaf. When these people make a wonder at any thing, they cry He-bow, and shake their right-hands. They wear bracelets, like as the Indians of Venomus Bay, in which they stick their hair pricker, and likewise their slings, with which they throw their javelins: and it is astonishing with what dexterity and force some of them will hit a mark. One of them, in the presence of the first lieutenant, shot a fish as it swam along in the sea, at the distance of twenty six yards, with a bow and arrow, which fish the lieutenant carried on board with the arrow sticking in his body, as a proof of what he had seen performed. But notwithstanding their delicacy and skill as marksmen, they gave us to understand that they eat one another's;



and one day when the inhabitants about the bay, had marched forth, armed, on an expedition to a distant part of the Island, those that remained invited us to feast upon a man whom they had barbiqued, which invitation our gentlemen refused with the utmost disgust. It has been said, that no nation could be cannibals, had they other flesh besides human to eat, or did not want food; but we cannot ascribe the savage custom of these people to necessity, since the Island abounds with plenty of hogs, fowls, vegetables, and fruit. While some of our people were employed in searching for ballast, they discovered water issuing from the crevices of a rock, hot enough to draw tea; which circumstance led to the discovery of some hot springs, at the foot of the cliff, below high water mark. In one place the waters were so hot, that there was no bearing the finger in them: in another they were just hot enough to bear to plunge the whole body, but not remain long therein. Two of the ship's company, who had been troubled with rheumatic complaints at times, throughout the voyage, went accompanied with the surgeon, to one of these springs, but found the stones so hot that they could not stand upon them, without first plunging in some of their cold garments to keep the soles of their feet from touching them; but the effect of these waters was found to be only a temporary relief.

On Wednesday the 10th, Mr. Wales, accompanied by some of the officers, proceeded for the first time into the country, and met with civil treatment from the natives. They saw in the course of this and another excursion, several fine plantations of plantains, sugar-canes, &c. and by this time, the natives in our neighbourhood, appeared so well reconciled to us, that they expressed no marks of displeasure at our rambling shooting parties. But after we had been several days taking in wood and water, they began again to be troublesome, watching every opportunity to level their arrows at the guard, and seemed to be restrained only by the fear of their muskets from proceeding to extremity. It is more

than probable, however, that an act of violence on the part of our men, might, by a wanton use of their fire-arms, have caused their resentment; for in the afternoon of this day, a few boys, having thrown two or three stones at the wood-cutters, they were fired at by the petty officers present on duty. Having occasion for some large timber to repair the decays of the ship, orders had been given a few days before, to cut down a tree of vast growth; and for the convenience of getting it aboard, to saw it into three pieces. This tree so divided, the natives eyed with pleasure, not suspecting our men intended to carry it off, but to leave it in compliment to them, as it suited exactly their ideas of constructing just double the number of canoes. To the cutting down and sawing the trees the natives made no opposition; but when they saw the sailors employed in rolling down the body of the tree to the water's edge, they could not help looking surly; and one of them, probably more interested than the rest, was frequently seen to offer his spear at the labourers, but was restrained for fear of the guard: at length he watched his opportunity, and starting from behind a bush, was levelling an arrow at the commanding officer, when he was discovered, and shot dead. The ball tore his arm to pieces, and entered his side. His companions instantly carried off the body, and laid it in the wood, where the ship's surgeon went to examine it, but found the man totally deprived of life. Capt. Cook was much displeased with the conduct of these officers, and took measures to prevent a wanton use of fire-arms for the future. The ship's company were now permitted to go ashore only by turns, for the preservation of their health; and the Captain knowing the natives wanted nothing so much as an opportunity to revenge the death of their companions, strictly enjoined them never to walk alone; nor to stray more than an hundred yards from the guard.

On Thursday the 11th, during the night, the volcano was very troublesome, and threw out great quantities of fire and smoke, with a most tremendous noise; and



sometimes we saw great stones thrown into the air. In several parts of the harbour, places were found from whence a sulphurous smell issued, and the ground about these was very hot. Mr. Forster and his botanizing party, on one side of the harbour, fell in with our friend Paowang's house. Most of the articles he had received from us were seen hanging about the bushes, and trees near his dwelling. On the 12th, the volcano was more furious than ever, and we were much molested with the ashes. Some of our gentlemen attempted to ascend a hill at some distance, with an intent of observing the volcano more distinctly; but they were obliged to retreat precipitately, the ground under them being so hot, that they might as well have walked over an oven: the smell too of the air was intolerably sulphurous, which was occasioned by a smoke that issued from the fissures of the earth; yet in this smoke the natives seek a remedy for cutaneous disorders. Mr. Forster observing a man holding a child over the smoke, had the curiosity to inquire the reason, who made him understand, by shewing the child's eruptions, that it was troubled with the itch. The rain that fell this day was a mixture of water, sand, and earth; so that we had, properly speaking, showers of mire. The natives pretended to be unwilling that we should this day go far up the country by ourselves, and offered their services to conduct us to the mouth of the volcano. We readily accepted their offer, but instead of shewing us the way to the place, we found ourselves near the harbour before we discovered the trick.

On Saturday the 13th, Paowang came on board to dine with us. We took this opportunity of shewing him every part of the ship, and a variety of trading articles, hoping he might see something that he liked, and so a traffic be carried on with the natives for refreshments, of which, what we had hitherto obtained, were very trifling. But Paowang beheld every thing with the greatest indifference, except a wooden sand-box, of which he took some notice. On the 14th, a party of us endeavoured to get a nearer view of the volcano, and took our

route by the way of one of those hot places already mentioned. In the way we dug a hole, into which was put a thermometer of Fahrenheit's construction. The mercury rose to an hundred degrees; but the instrument remained in the hole near three minutes without its rising or falling. At this place the earth was a kind of white clay, and had a sulphurous smell. It was soft and moist under the surface, over which was a thin dry crust, having upon it some sulphur and a vitriolic substance, tasting like alum. The place effected most by the heat, and where we made the experiment, was not above eight or ten yards square. Near this was a fig-tree which seemed to like its situation. We proceeded up the hill through a country entirely covered with plants, shrubs, and trees, insomuch that the bread-fruit, and cocoa-nut trees, were in a manner choked up. Here and there we met with a few people, a house or two, and some plantations in different states, one appearing of long standing; another lately cleared; and several just ready for planting. The clearing a piece of ground must be a work of much time and labour, seeing their working tools, though the same as those used in the Society Isles, are inferior to them; nevertheless their method is judicious, and as expeditious as it well can be. They dig under the roots of the large trees, and there burn the branches, plants, and small shrubs. In some parts, the soil is a rich black mould; in others a kind of compost formed of decayed vegetables, and the ashes of the volcano. We now came to a plantation, where we saw a man at work, who offered to be our guide. We had not walked far before we came to the junction of two roads, in one of which stood a man with a sling and stone, which he would not lay down till a musket was pointed at him; he seemed however, determined to dispute the road with us, and partly gained his point, for our guide led us another way. The other man followed, hallooing, as we supposed for a reinforcement, and indeed, we were presently joined by others of the natives, among whom was a young woman with a club in her hand. These people



conducted us to the brow of a hill, and pointed to a road leading down to the harbour. But not choosing to take this, we returned to that we had left, and here our guide refused to go any farther with us. Having ascended another ridge, we saw other hills between us and the volcano, which seemed as far off as at our first setting out. We therefore resolved to return, and just as we were about so doing, we were met by twenty or thirty people, assembled as we thought to oppose our advancing into the country, for when they saw us returning, they suffered us to go on unmolested, and by the way regaled us with a variety of fruits. What we did not eat on the spot, they brought down the hill with us. Thus we found these people courteous and hospitable, when not prompted to a contrary conduct by jealousy; for which they were not to blame, if we consider their rude state, and ignorance of our real design. This indeed was to pay them a friendly visit, but considering all the circumstances attending this, might they not reasonably suppose, notwithstanding fair appearances, that we came to invade their country? Did we not enter their ports, without their daring to oppose? Did we not effect a landing by a superiority of our arms? Would they not therefore be jealous of such intruding strangers? When we endeavoured to advance into their country they might naturally form unfavourable notions of us; especially if we consider how often they are at war both among themselves and with their neighbours. We must here observe, that some of our gentlemen were of opinion, that these people were addicted to an unnatural passion, Mr. Forster's man, who carried his plant bag, having been once or twice attempted: but as the carrying of bundles is the office of the women of this country, others thought, the natives might mistake him for a woman. This man was to day one of our party, and as he followed the Captain down the hill, having his bag as usual, we plainly understood by the conversation and actions of the natives, that they considered him as a female; and when by some means they discovered their mistake,

they exclaimed, with much surprise, Erramange! Erramange! It is a man! It is a man? Every one now perceived, and was well assured, they had before mistaken his sex; and hence it is plain, how liable we are to form false conjectures and opinions of a people, with whose language we are not much acquainted: for had we not now been undeceived, it is not to be doubted but that these people would have been charged with the odious practice of which they had through ignorance been suspected.

In the evening, a party of us again walked into the country on the other side of the harbour, where we met from the natives, among whom was Paowang, friendly treatment. They discovered a readiness to oblige us in every thing in their power. We entered the village we had visited on the 9th, instant, containing about twenty houses, built like the roof of our thatched dwellings in England, with the walls taken away, and open at both ends; but others are partly closed with reeds, and all were covered with palm thatch. Some are forty feet long, and sixteen in breadth. Besides these, we saw other mean hovels. One of these was separated from the others by a reed fence, and we understood a corpse was deposited therein. At one end of the hut hung a basket, with a piece of roasted yam, and some leaves quite fresh. We had a strong inclination to see the inside, but the man peremptorily refused our request. He would neither remove the mats with which one end of the hut was closed up, nor suffer us to do it; and shewed an unwillingness to permit us to look into the basket. He had two or three locks of human hair tied by a string round his neck, and a woman present had several about her neck. We would have purchased them, but they gave us to understand by signs, that they were a part of the hair of the deceased, and on that account they could not part with them. This custom is similar to that among the natives of Otaheite and New Zealand, the former make Taman of the hair of their departed friends, and the latter ear-rings and necklaces of their teeth. Not far from most of the large houses, the stems of four



cocoa-nut trees were fixed upright in the ground, in a square, about three feet from each other, for the purpose of hanging coeoa-nuts to dry. Near most of them is also a large tree or two, whose branches afford an agreeable retreat from the heat of the scorching sun. This part of the Island is well cultivated, abounding with plantains, roots, and fruit trees. One of our people weighed a yam which exceeded fifty five pounds. The trees too are of an extraordinary size: but a wide circle in the interior part of the Island, discovered nothing to the eye but a dreary waste, covered with cinders, and tainting the air with sulphur. Other surrounding Islands looked pleasant to the eye; but according to the report of the natives of Tanna, abounding in nothing of which they themselves could want.

On Monday the 15th, preparations were continued on board to set sail, the ship was smoked above and below: the hold fresh stowed; the ballast shifted; the wooding and watering were finished; the rigging setting up; and a few hands only were on shore making brooms; in short every thing was placed in such order, as if the ship had been but just fitted out at home for a long voyage. One of the botanical party this day shot a pigeon, in the claw of which was a wild nutmeg. Mr. Forster endeavoured, without success, to find the tree. During their excursion, they observed in most of the sugar plantations deep holes dug, four feet deep, and five in diameter, which, on inquiry, we found were designed as traps to catch rats in. These animals, so destructive to sugar-canes, are here in great plenty. Round the edge of these pits, as a decoy, and that the rats may be more liable to tumble in, the canes are planted as thick as possible. On the 16th, we found our tiller very much damaged, and by neglect, we had not a spare one aboard. We knew of but one tree in the neighbourhood that would do for our purpose. The carpenter was sent ashore to examine it, and upon his report a party of men were directed to cut it down, after the consent of the natives had been obtained. They did not make the least objection, and our men went in-

stantly to work. Much time was necessary to cut it down, as the tree was large; and before they had finished their work, word was brought to the Captain, that our friend Paowang was not pleased. Paowang was sent for, and our necessity explained to him. We then made him a present of a piece of cloth and a dog, which readily obtained his consent, and the voices of those who were with him in our favour. Having thus obtained our point, we conducted our friend on board to dinner; after which we went with him ashore to pay a visit to an old chief, who was said to be the king of the Island; though as Paowang took little notice of him, we doubted the fact. His name was Geogy. He had a cheerful open countenance, though he was old, and wore round his waist a broad red and white chequered belt. His son was with him, who could not be less than fifty years old. At this time a great concourse of people from distant parts were assembled near the watering place. The behaviour of many was friendly; of others daring and insolent; which we did not think prudent to resent, as our stay was nearly at an end.

On Wednesday, the 17th, Old Geogy, and his son, with several of his friends, dined with us on board the ship, every part of which they viewed with uncommon attention and surprise. They made a hearty dinner on a pudding made of plantains and greens; but would hardly taste our salt beef and pork. In the afternoon they were conducted ashore by the Captain, after he had presented them with a hatchet, some medals and a spike nail. On the 18th, the Captain and Mr. Forster tried, with Fahrenheit's thermometer, when the tide was out, the heat of one of the hot springs, and where the water bubbled out of the sand from under the rock, at the S. W. corner of the harbour the mercury rose to 202 deg. It is an opinion with philosophers, that volcanos must be on the summits of the highest hills; yet, this volcano is not on the highest part of the ridge, but on the S. E. side of it; and some of the hills on this Island are more than double the height of that on which the volcano is, and close to it.



Nor is it less remarkable, that in wet or moist weather, the volcano is more violent in its eruptions. We must here content ourselves with stating facts: the philosophical reasoning on these phenomena, we leave to men of more abilities, whose talents may lay in this line. On Friday the 19th, we prepared for sailing, as the tiller was finished; but the wind being unfavourable, the guard and a party of men were sent ashore, to bring off the remainder of the tree from which we had cut the tiller. The Captain went with them, and found a good number of the natives collected together near the landing-place, among whom various articles were distributed. At the time our people were getting some large logs into the boat, the centry presented his piece at one of the natives, and, without the least apparent cause, fired at, and killed him. A few of the natives had just before advanced within the limits, to see what we were about, but upon being ordered back, they readily obeyed. The fellow of a centry pretended, that a man had laid his arrow across his bow, so that he apprehended himself in danger; but this had been frequently done, out of a bravado, to shew they were armed, and prepared equally with ourselves. Capt. Cook was highly exasperated at this rascal's rash conduct; and most of the people fled with the utmost precipitation. As they ran off, we observed one man to fall; and the Captain went with the surgeon, who was sent for to the man, whom they found expiring. His left arm was much shattered, and from hence the ball had entered his body by the short ribs, one of which was broken. What rendered this incident the more affecting was, that the man who bent the bow was not shot, but one who stood by him. The natives were thrown into such consternation, that they brought abundance of fruit, which they laid down at our feet. They all retired when we returned aboard to dinner, and only a few appeared in the afternoon, among whom were Paowang and Wha-a-gou.

On Saturday the 20th, the wind was favourable for getting out of the harbour; for during the night it had veered round to

the S. E. At four o'clock A. M. we therefore began to unmoor, and, having weighed our anchor, put to sea. As we sailed we heard a noise, not unlike psalm singing. It was now too late to inquire into the cause; probably the natives were performing some religious acts. We thought that the east point of the harbour was sacred to religion, for some of our people had attempted to go to this point, and were prevented by the natives. They were always jealous of our proceeding into the country beyond certain limits: they might be apprehensive of an invasion, and that we meant to take their country from them. All we can say is, that no part of our conduct justified such a conclusion. We never gave them the least molestation; nor did we touch any part of their property, not even their wood and water, without having first obtained their consent. Even the cocoa-nuts hanging over the heads of the workmen, were as safe as those in the middle of the Island. We caught a large quantity of fish, and were tolerably well supplied by the natives with fruit and roots; and should certainly have obtained more refreshments, had we had any thing on board that suited their taste. Our cloth was of no use to those who go naked, and they had not any knowledge of the utility of iron. Though the people of this Island, after feeling the effects of the European fire-arms, were peaceable, they were not in general friendly; nor were they like the Indians in the Society Isles, fond of iron: they wished for some of the tools with which they saw our seamen cut down wood; but, except an adze or two, they never attempted to steal any thing. The coopers left their casks during the night unguarded; nor were they under any apprehensions about their clothes, which they suffered to lie carelessly here and there while they were at work. These people discovered none of that disposition to thievery which it has been said every Indian inherits naturally. In their course of trade, they totally disregarded beads and baubles, and seemed to prefer Rotterdam fish hooks, and turtle-shell, to every thing else that was offered them. They would not permit the



sailors to have any communications with their wives; nor where they easily persuaded to part with their arms on any account. The produce of the Island they freely parted with, nor requiring any thing in return; but on whatever was bestowed labour in the construction, they set a high value.

This Island of Tanna produces abundance of plantains, cocoa-nuts, bread fruit, yams, a kind of potatoe, a fruit like a nectarine, wild figs, sugar-cane, and a fruit not unlike an orange, but which is never eaten. The bread fruit, cocoa-nuts, and plantains, are neither so plentiful, nor so good, as at Otahite; but sugar-canes, and yams are of superior quality, and much larger. We saw here a few fowls, and a great number of hogs, but the latter did not fall to our lot; and we did not see in all our excursions any other domestic animals. We met with some small birds, with a most beautiful plumage, which we had never seen before. Our botanists found many curious plants and trees; as great a variety as at any Island we had visited. The inhabitants appear to subsist chiefly on the productions of the land, and are not much indebted to the sea, though there are plenty of fish on the coast. We never found any fishing tackle among them, nor saw any one out a fishing, except on the shoals, or along the shores of the harbour, where they would strike with a dart such fish as came within their reach, and in this art they were very expert. They were surprized at our method of catching fish with the seine, and, we believe, were not well pleased with our success. The small Isle of Immer was chiefly inhabited by fishermen, and the canoes we saw pass to and from the Isle, and the east point of the harbour, we observed were fishing canoes. These were of unequal sizes, and composed of several pieces of wood clumsily sewed together. The joints are covered on the outside by a thin batten chamfered off at the edges, over which the bandages pass. The sail is latteen, extended to a yard and boom, and hoisted to a short mast. Some of the large canoes have two sails, and all of them out-riggers. They are navigated either by paddles or sails.

These people have little resemblance or affinity to those of the Friendly Islands, and those of Mallicollo, except in their hair which is much like what the people of the latter Island have. The colours are black and brown, growing to a tolerable length and curly. They part it into small locks, which they curl round with the rind of a slender plant, down to about an inch of the ends. Each of these locks is somewhat thicker than the common whip-cord; and they appear like a parcel of small strings hanging down from the crowns of their heads. Their beards are generally short, strong and bushy. The women wear their hair cropped, as do the boys, till they approach manhood.

We took some pains to discover how far their geographical knowledge extended, and found it not to exceed the limits of their horizon. To Erronan we may ascribe one of the two languages they speak, which is nearly, if not exactly, the same as that spoke at the Friendly Islands. It is therefore probable, that by a long intercourse with Tanna, and the other neighbouring Islands, each hath learnt the other's language, which they speak indiscriminately. The other language which the people of Tanna, Erromango, and Annatom speak, is properly their own. It is different from any we had before met with, and bears no affinity to that of Mallicollo; from whence we conclude, that the natives of these Islands are a distinct nation of themselves. Mallicollo, Apee, &c. were names unknown to them; they even knew nothing of Sandwich Island, which is much the nearer. These people are rather slender made, and of the middle size. They have agreeable countenances, good features, and are very active and nimble, like the other tropical inhabitants. The females are put to all laborious work; and the men walk unconcerned by their side, when they are loaded with heavy burdens, besides a child at the back. Perhaps the men think, that their carrying their arms, and defending them, is sufficient. We often saw large parties of women carrying various kinds of articles, and a party of men armed with clubs and spears to



defend them, though now and then we have seen a man carry a burden at the same time, but not often. The women of Tanna are not very beautiful, yet they are certainly handsome enough for the men, who put them to all kinds of drudgery. Though both men and women are dark coloured, they are not black; nor do they bear any resemblance to negroes. They make themselves blacker than they really are by painting their faces of the colour of black-lead. They use also a sort of pigment which is red, and a third sort brown, all these, especially the first, they lay on with a liberal hand, not only on the face, but on the neck, shoulders, and breast. The women wear a petticoat made of leaves, and the men nothing but a belt and wrapper. Bracelets, ear-rings and amulets, are indiscriminately worn by both sexes. The amulets are made of the green stone of Zealand; the bracelets of sea-shells or cocoa-nuts; and the necklaces, chiefly worn by the women, mostly of sea shells. The valuable ear-rings are made of tortoiseshell. Some of our people having got some at the Friendly Islands, brought it to a good market here, where it was more esteemed than any thing we offered to sale. Hence we concluded these people caught but few turtle, though one was seen just as we got under sail. Towards the time of our departure, the natives began to inquire after hatchets and large nails; from which we concluded, that they had found iron to be of more value and use than stone, shells, or bones, of which their tools are made. Their stone hatchets are not shaped like an adze, as in the other Islands, but more like an axe; and in the helve, which is pretty thick, is made a hole, into which the stone is fixed.

If we except the cultivation of the ground these people have few arts worth mentioning. They make a coarse kind of matting, and cloth of the bark of a tree, used chiefly for belts. The workmanship of their canoes is very clumsy; and their arms come far short of others we had seen. Their weapons are bows, arrows, stones, clubs, spears, and darts. On the last they place most dependence, and these are pointed with

three bearded edges. In throwing them, they make use of a becket, that is, a piece of stiff plaited cord about six inches long, with an eye at one end, and a knot at the other. The eye is fixed on the fore finger of the right hand, and the other end is hitched round the dart, where it is nearly on an equipoise. They hold the dart between the thumb and remaining fingers, which serve only to give it direction, the velocity being communicated by the becket and fore finger. The former flies off from the dart the instant its velocity becomes greater than that of the hand, but it remains on the finger ready to be used again. They kill both birds and fish with darts, and are pretty certain of hitting the mark, within the compass of a crown of a hat, suppose the object to be distant eight or ten yards; but if twice that distance, it is chance if they hit a mark the size of a man's body, though they will throw the weapon sixty or seventy yards; for they always throw with all their might, let the distance be what it may. Their arrows are made of reeds pointed with hard wood. Some are bearded; some not; and those for shooting birds have two, three, and four points. The stones in general, are branches of coral rocks, from eight to fourteen inches long, and from an inch to an inch and a half diameter. These are generally kept in their belts. Every one carries a club, and besides that, either darts or a bow and arrows, but never both. One of our gentlemen on board, made the following remarks on the arms of these people, which we shall here insert in his own words. "I must confess, I have often been led to think the feats which Homer represents his heroes as performing with their spears a little too much of the marvellous to be admitted into an heroic poem; I mean when confined within the strait stays of Aristotle. Nay, even so great an advocate for him as Mr. Pope, acknowledges them to be surprising. But since I have seen what these people can do with their wooden spears, and those badly pointed, and not of a very hard nature, I have not the least exception to any one passage in that great poet on this account. But if I see fewer exceptions,



I can find infinitely more beauties in him ; as he has, I think, scarcely an action, circumstance, or description of any kind whatever, relating to a spear, which I have not seen and recognised among these people ; as the whirling motion, and whistling noise as the spears fly ; their quivering motion as they stick in the ground ; the warriors meditating their aim, when they are going to throw ; and their shaking them in their hand, or brandishing them, as they advance to the attack, &c."

As to the religion and government of these people we are little acquainted with the last, and to the first are utter strangers. Chiefs they seem to have among them ; at least some were announced to us as such, but they appeared to have very little authority over the rest of the people. Old Geogy was the only one to whom we saw a particular respect paid ; but whether this was owing to his rank or age, we cannot say. On many occasions we have seen the old men respected and obeyed. Prowang was so, yet we never heard him called chief, nor could we perceive he had any more power than his neighbours, and we may say the same of every other person in our neighbourhood.

The Resolution being the first ship that ever entered this harbour, Capt. Cook named it Port Resolution. It is situated on the north side of the most eastern point of the Island, and about E. N. E. from the volcano, in latitude 19 deg. 32 min. 25 sec. and half south, and in 169 deg. 44 min. 35 sec. east longitude. It is but a small creek, running in S. by W. half W. three quarters of a mile, and is about half that in breadth. The depth of water in the harbour is about six to three fathoms, the bottom, sand and mud. The landing place is exceeding convenient for taking in wood and water, both of these necessary articles being near the shore. After the water had been a few days on board it stunk, but turned sweet again ; and when at the worst the tin machine would, in a few hours, recover a whole cask. We now stretched, with a fresh gale, to the eastward, in order to have a nearer view of Erronam. Having passed this Is-

land at midnight, we tacked, and on Sunday the 21st, steered S. W. intending to get to the south of Tanna, and nearer Annatom ; for though the morning was clear, we had made no discovery of any Islands to the east. At noon, in latitude 20 deg. 32 min. 30 sec. Port Resolution bore north, 86 deg. west, distant about 18 miles : Tanna extended from south, 88 deg. W. to N. 64 deg. W. Traitors Head north 58 deg. W. distant 60 miles ; the Island of Erronam, north, 86 deg. E. distant 15 miles ; and Annatom from S, half E. to S. half W. distant 30 miles. At two o'clock P. M. seeing no more land ahead of us, we bore up round the S. E. end of Tanna, and ran along the south coast at one league from shore. It seemed to be a bold one unguarded by rocks, and the country made a fine appearance, full as fertile as that in the vicinity of the harbour. At six o'clock we saw over the west end of Tanna, in the direction of north 16 deg. W. the high land of Erromango. We passed the Island at eight, and shaped our course for Sandwich Isle, in order to complete our observations on that, and of the Isles to the N. W. At four o'clock P. M. we approached the S. E. end. We found it to trend in the direction of W. N. W. In the middle of this range, very near the shore, we discovered three or four small Isles, behind which appeared a safe anchorage. We continued our run along the coast to its western extremity and then steered N. N. W. from the S. E. end of Mallicollo.

On the 23rd, we came in sight of the Islands Pa-oom, Apee, and Ambrym. The first of these appeared now to be two Islands. We continued our course to within half a league of Mallicollo on the S. W. side, which we ranged at that distance. The direction of the land from the S. E. point is W. by S. for about six leagues, and then N. W. by W. for three leagues, terminating in a high point or head land, in latitude 16 deg. 29 min. to which the name was given of S. W. Cape. The coast is low, indented with creeks, and projecting points ; but, probably, these points might be little Isles under shore. One we know to be such, lying between two and three leagues of the



cape. A round rock, or Islot, which by an elbow in the coast, forms a fine bay, lies close to the west side, or point of the cape, connected with it by breakers. We were agreeably surprised with the beauty of the forests in Mallicollo, from whence we saw smoke ascend in various places, a plain indication of their being inhabited: the circumjacent land appeared very fertile and populous. We observed troops of natives on several parts of the shore; and two canoes put off to us, but as we did not shorten sail, they could not overtake the ship. The most advanced land from the S. W. cape, bore N. W. by N. at which it seemed to terminate. At noon we were two miles from the coast, and by observation we found our latitude to be 16 deg. 22 min. 30 sec. S. and our never failing watch shewed, that we were 26 min. W. of it. At this time the S. W. cape bore S. 26 deg. E. and the most advanced point of land for which we steered, bore N. W. by N. We had run the length of it by three o'clock P. M. and found the land trending more and more to the north. We reached its utmost extremity after dark, when we were near enough to the shore to hear the voices of the people, who were assembled round a fire they had made on the beach. We now hauled round the point, stood again to the north, and spent the night in Bougainville's passage, being assured of our situation before sun-set.

On Wednesday, the 24th, we had advanced nearly to the middle of the passage, and the N. W. end of Mallicollo extended from S. 30 deg. E. to S. 58 deg. W. We now steered N. by E. then north along the east coast of the northern land. At first this coast appeared continued, but we found it was composed of several low woody Isles, most of them of small extent, except the southernmost, which in honour to the day, was named St. Bartholomew. It is near 7 leagues in circumference, and forms the N. E. point of Bougainville's passage. We continued our course N. N. W. along a fine coast covered with woods; in some places were white patches which we judged to be chalk. On the 25th, at day break, we were

on the north side of the Island, and steered west along the low land under it, for the bluff-head; beyond which, at sun-rise, we saw an elevated coast, stretching to the north, as far as N. W. by W. Having doubled the head, we perceived the land to trend south, a little easterly, and to form a large deep bay, bounded on the west by the above mentioned coast. It was our opinion and every thing conspired to make us conclude, that this was the bay of St. Philip and St. Jago, discovered by Quiros in 1606. In order to determine this point, we stretched over to the west shore, from which we were 1 league at noon, and in latitude 14 deg. 55 min. 30 sec. S. and in 167 deg. 3 min. E. At half past four o'clock P. M. we were only two miles from the west shore, to which we had been drove by a N. E. swell. Here we saw large bodies of the natives collected together. Some ventured off in canoes; but they took a sudden fright at something, nor could all our signs of friendship induce them to come along-side. Their nakedness was covered with some flag-grass, fastened to a belt, and which hung down, nearly as low as their knees: this was their only covering. Their complexion was very dark, and their hair woolly, or cut short. The calm continued till near eight o'clock, and in the interval of time, we were drove into eighty-five fathoms water, so that we were under the apprehensions of being obliged to anchor on a lee shore in a great depth, and in a gloomy dark night; but contrary to our expectations our fears were removed; for a breeze sprung up at E. S. E. and when we had hardly room to veer, the ship came about; our sails filled on the starboard tack; and we (such was the kind interposition of an invisible agent) stood off N. E. On the 26th, we were about eight miles from the head of the bay that is terminated by a low beach; behind which is an extensive flat covered with wood, and bounded on each side by a ridge of mountains. We found our latitude at noon to be 15 deg. 5 min. S. and at one o'clock, having a breeze at N. by W. we steered up to within two miles of the head of the bay, Mr. Cooper and Mr. Gilbert



were sent out to sound and reconnoitre, while we stood off and on with the ship. By this, time and opportunity were afforded for three sailing canoes to come up, which had been following us. They would not come along-side but advanced near enough to receive such things as were thrown out to them, fastened to a rope. They appeared to be of the same colour as the inhabitants of Mallicollo, but were stouter made, and taller: their beards were frizzled and their hair woolly: yet several circumstances concurred to make us think they were of another nation. The numerals, as far as six, they expressed in the language, Anamocha, and called the adjacent lands by the same names. Some had their hair long, tied upon the crown of the head, and ornamented with feathers like the New Zealanders. Others wore a white shell tied on their foreheads. They wore bracelets on their arms, and a belt round their waists. Some were painted with a blackish pigment. They had prongs with them, which looked like instruments to catch fish, and the only arms we saw among them were gigs and darts. Their canoes were most like those of Tanna, and navigated in much the same manner. They gave us the names of such parts as we pointed to; but the name of the Island we could not get from them. On the return of the boats we were informed by Mr. Cooper and others, that they had landed at the head of the bay, near a fine stream of fresh water. We steered down the bay, being not in want of any thing, and the wind having shifted to S. S. E. Throughout the fore part of the night, on the west-side of the shore, the country was illuminated with fires, from the sea shore to the summit of the mountains. On Saturday the 27th, at day-break, we found ourselves two thirds down the bay, and at noon we were the length of the N. W. point, which bore N. 82 deg. W. distant five miles; and by observation our latitude was 14 deg. 39 min. 30 sec. Some of our gentlemen were doubtful of this being the bay of St. Philip and St. Jago, because no place answered to the port of Vera Cruz; but the Captain gave very good reasons for a contrary

opinion. A port is a very vague term, like many others in geography; and what Quiros calls the port of Vera Cruz, might be the whole haven or harbour, or the anchorage at the head of the bay, which in some places may extend farther off than where our boats landed. The river was probably one of those mentioned by Quiros, and, if we were not deceived, we saw the other.

The bay is every where free from danger, and of an unfathomable depth, except near the shores, which are for the most part low. It hath sixty miles sea coast; eighteen on the east side, which lies in the direction of S. half W. and N half E. six at the head; and thirty-six on the west side, the direction of which is S. by E. and N. by W. from the head down to two thirds of its length, and then N. W. by N. to the N. W. point. The two points which form the entrance of the bay, are in the direction of S. 53. deg. E. and N. 53 deg. W. distant from each other thirty miles. The bay, as well as the flat land at the head of it, is bounded by a ridge of hills: one to the west is very high, and extends the whole length of the Island. Upon this appeared a luxuriant vegetation wherever the eye turned. Rich plantations adorned the sides of the hills, forests reared their towered heads; and every valley was watered with a running stream; but of all the productions of nature, the cocoa-nut trees were the most conspicuous. Capt. Cook named the east point of the bay Cape Quiros, in memory of its first discoverer. It is in latitude 14 deg. 56 min. S. and in 167 deg. 13 min. E. longitude. The N. W. point he named Cape Cumberland, in honour of his royal highness the duke. This lies in latitude of 14 deg. 38 min. 45 sec. S. and in longitude 166 deg. 49 min. 30 sec. E. It is the N. W. extremity of this Archipelago. On the 28th, and 29th, we took every opportunity when the horizon was clear to look out for more land, but none was seen: it is probable that there is none nearer than Queen Charlotte's Island, discovered by Capt. Carteret, about 90 leagues N. N. W. from Cape Cumberland, and the Captain thought this to be the same with Quiros's



**Santa Cruz.** On Tuesday the 30th, we plyed up the coast with a fresh breeze.

On Wednesday the 31st, we weathered the S. W. point of the Island. The coast which trends east, northerly, is low, and seemed to form some creeks or coves; and as we got farther into the passage, we perceived some small low Isles lying along it, which seemed to extend behind St. Bartholomew Island. Having now explored the whole Archipelago, the season of the year made it necessary to return to the south; but we had yet some time left to make observations on any land we might discover between this and New Zealand; at which last place the Captain intended to touch, in order to recruit our stock of wood and water for another southern course. To this end, at five o'clock P. M. we tacked, and hauled to the southward, with a fresh gale at S. E. At this time the S. W. point of the Island Tierra del Espiritu Santo, the only remains of Quiros's continent, bore north 82 deg. W. which Capt. Cook named Cape Lishourne. It lies in latitude 15 deg. 40 min. and in 165 deg. 59 min. east longitude. It may perhaps be pleasing to our readers to give a summary and more accurate view of the Islands in this Archipelago, as the foregoing account, being given journalwise, may not be thought perspicuous, or plain enough, either as to situation or description.

The Islands which compose this Archipelago are not easily numbered. We counted upwards of seventy in sight at one time; and they seem to be inhabited by people of very different natures and complexions. Some we saw were woolly headed, and of the African race; others were of a copper colour, not unlike the New Zealanders; some were of the mulatto colour, and not a few like the natives of Rotterdam, of a brownish black, with long hair and shorn beards. The high notions, however, that were entertained of the vast riches of these Islands, of their abounding in pearls, silver ore, and precious stones, do not seem well founded; neither does the Island of Manicola answer by any means, the pompous description given of it by the Spanish writers, who

found their report on the relation of an Indian chief, and on that of a captive, whom Quiros seized, and carried to Mexico. From the former Quiros learned, that to the N. W. of his country (Taumaco) there were more than sixty Islands, and a large country, which he called Manicola; that to explain which were small, he made circles, and pointed to the sea with his finger, and made signs that it surrounded the land; and for the larger he made greater circles, and the same signs; and for that large country he opened both his arms, without joining them again, thereby intimating, that it extended without end; and by signs he shewed which people were whites, negroes, Indians, and mulattoes, and which were mixed; that in some Islands they eat human flesh; and for this he made signs by biting his arm, shewing clearly thereby his abhorrence of such people. He also gave them to understand, that in the great country, there were cows or buffaloes. From the captive Quiros learnt, that in some of those Islands, there were pearls as large as small pebbles; that the pearls were white and shining; and that when they looked at them against the sun, the shining lustre dazzled their eyes; that, at five days of their sailing from a country which he named, lay that great country Manicola inhabited by many people, dun-coloured, and mulattoes, who lived in large towns; that the country was high and mountainous, with many large rivers; that he with many others, had gone to it in one of their embarkations, in quest of the trunk of a great tree, of the many that are in it, to make a pariagua; and that he saw there a port larger, and the entrance narrower, than that of St. Philip and St. Jago, and that the bottom was sand, and the shore shingle: he added, that the inhabitants had warlike instruments pointed with silver. This captive, after he had learnt the Spanish tongue, confirmed what he had said of the Great Country, and what the chief had said of the many Islands, and of the different nations with which they were peopled; some lusty, having their bodies punctuated; others not so, of various colours, long hair,



red, black, curled, and woolly. And being shewn some stones impregnated with silver, he said, in the great country he had seen such kind of stones, and likewise at *Taumaco*, where the natives used some to punctuate themselves, and others for ornament. From these intimations, several Navigators have inferred, that if *Quiros* had stood to the southward, that course would have undoubtedly discovered to him the great Southern Continent, or as *Quiros* emphatically expresses it, "the mother of so many Islands." Yet after all, **THIS VOYAGE** has shewn all these questionless affirmations, and probable conjectures, to be no other than mere assumptions founded on a false hypothesis. The course which *Tasman* pursued in 1722, joined to that of *Capt. Cook's*, has demonstrated the non-existence of a Southern Continent, in the direction in which *Mr. Dalrymple* so positively asserts, *Quiros* might have found it; and indeed every other direction from the line to 50 deg. of southern latitude, between which he has given it a place.

The Islands of this Archipelago towards the north, were first discovered by that able navigator *Quiros*, a Spanish Captain, in 1606, and was considered as part of the Southern Continent, which at that time, was supposed to exist. They were next visited (for the French are very ready to reap the fruits of other people's labours) by *M. de Bougainville* in 1768, who except landing on the Isle of *Lepers*, discovered no more than that the land was not connected, but composed of Islands, which he called the *Great Cyclades*. But our great navigator, and experienced commander, *Capt. Cook*, left no room for conjecture, respecting the great objects he had in view; for besides ascertaining the extent and situation of these Islands, he has added to them several new ones; and having explored the whole with mathematical precision, we think he had a right to name them, as he did, the *New Hebrides*; by which name we shall in the remaining parts of our narrative distinguish them. Their situation is between the latitude of 14 deg. 29 min. and 20 deg. 4 min. S. and between 166 deg.

41 min. and 170 deg. 21 min. E. longitude, extending 125 leagues, or 375 miles; in the direction of N. N. W. half W. and S. S. E. half E. We shall describe them for the sake of perspicuity in the following numerical order:

I. The Peak of the *Etoile*, as it was named by *M. de Bougainville*. This is the most northern Isle, and, according to his reckoning, lies N. by W. eight leagues from *Aurora*, in latitude 14 deg. 29 min. longitude 168 deg. 9 min.

II. *Tierra del Espiritu Santo*, which lies farthest north, and was discovered by *Quiros* in 1606. This is the most western and largest of all the *Hebrides*. It lies in the direction of N. N. W. half W. and S. S. E. half E. and is 66 miles long, 36 broad, and 180 in circumference. The land is exceeding high and mountainous; and the hills in many parts rise directly from the sea. Every place, except the cliffs, is beautifully adorned with woods and regular plantations. The bay of *St. Philip* and *St. Jago*, forms an excellent harbour, and we doubt not of there being good bays along the south and east coasts of other smaller Islands.

III. *Mallicollo* is the next considerable Island, extending N. W. and S. E. In this direction it is 54 miles long. Its greatest breadth is at the S. E. which is 24 miles. The N. W. end is 16 miles broad; and nearer the middle one third of that breadth. These unequal measurements, particularly near the centre, are caused by a wide and pretty deep bay, on the S. W. side. If we may form a judgment of the whole of this Island from what we saw of it, we must conclude it is very fertile and populous. The hills are in the centre of the Island, from which the land descends, with an easy slope to the sea coast, where it is rather low.

IV. *St. Bartholomew*, situated between the S. E. end of *Tierra del Espiritu Santo*, and the north end of *Mallicollo*; the distance between which latter Island and *St. Bartholomew* is eight miles. The middle of it is in latitude 15 deg. 48. min. Between this Island and that of *Mallicollo*, is the passage through which *M. de Bou-*



gamville went? whose descriptions have very little pretensions to accuracy.

V. The Isle of Lepers is situated between Espiritu Santo and Anrora, being distant from the former eight leagues, and from the latter three. It lies nearly under the same meridian as the S. E. end of Mallicollo, in latitude 15 deg. 22 min. Its figure approaches nearest to an oval; and it is near 60 miles in circumference. We determined its bounds by several bearings; but the lines of the shore were traced out by inspection, except the N. E. part, where there is an anchorage half a mile from the land. We must here observe, that Aurora, Whitsuntide, Ambrym, Paoom, and its neighbours Apee, Three-hills, and Sandwich Islands, lie all under the same meridian of 167 deg. 20 min. E. extending from the latitude of 14 deg. 51 min. 30 sec. to 17 deg. 53. min. 30 sec.

VI. Aurora Island lies N. by W. and S. by E. in which direction it is 33 miles in length; but in breadth, we think, it scarcely exceeds seven miles; except where the natives have their plantations; its surface is hilly and every where covered with wood.

VII. Whitsuntide Island, one league and a half to the south of Anrora, of which it is the same length, but somewhat broader; and lies in the direction of north and south. Except such parts that seemed to be cultivated, and which are pretty numerous, it appeared considerably high, and covered with wood.

VIII. Ambrym, from the north side to the south end of Whitsuntide Island, is two leagues and a half. In circumference this Island is about 17 leagues. The shore is rather low, and the land rises with an unequal ascent to a high mountain. We judged it to be well inhabited from the quantity of smoke which we perceived to ascend out of the woods, in such parts of the Island as passed under our observation; for the whole of it we did not see.

IX. Paoom, of this and its neighbourhood we saw but little, and therefore can only say of this Island, that it soars up to a great height in the form of a hay-cock. The extent of this and the adjoining Isle (if they

are two) do not exceed three or four leagues in any direction; for the distance between Ambrym and Apee is scarcely five leagues, and they are situated in this space, and east from Port Sandwich, distant about eight leagues.

X. Apee. The direction of this Island is about 24 miles N. W. and S. E. and it is not less than 60 miles in circumference. It has a hilly surface, rising to a considerable height, and is diversified with woods and lawns: we speak here only of the west and south parts, for the others we did not see.

XI. Shepherd's Isles, which are a cluster of small ones, of different dimensions, in the direction of S. E. and extending off from the S. E. point of Apee, about five leagues.

XII. Three-hills. This Island lies four leagues south from the coast of Apee, and is distant 17 leagues S. E. half S. from Port Sandwich. A reef of rocks, on which the sea continually beats, lies W. by N, five miles from the west point.

XIII. Sandwich Island is situated nine leagues, in the direction of south from Three-hills. To the east and west of which line are,

XIV. Two-hill's Island.

XV. The Monument.

XVI. Montagu Islands.

XVII. Hinchinbrook.

XVIII. Two or three small Isles lying between Hinchinbrook and Sandwich Island, to which they are connected by breakers. Sandwich Island is 75 miles in circumference, and its greatest extent is 30 miles. It lies in the direction of N. W. by W. and S. E. by E. We viewed the N. W. coast of this Island only at a distance. From the south end of Mallicollo, to the N. W. end of Sandwich Isle, the distance, in the direction of S. S. E. is 22 leagues.

XIX. Erramango lies in the same direction; and is situated 18 leagues from Sandwich Island. It is about 75 miles in circumference. The middle of it is in latitude 18 deg. 54 min. longitude 169 deg. 19 min. E. From the distance we were off when we first saw it, it appeared of a good height,



**XX. Tanna.** This Island is situated six leagues from the south side of Erromango, extending S. E. by S. and N. W. by N. It is about 24 miles long in that direction, and every where about nine or twelve miles broad.

**XXI. Annatom.** This is the southernmost Island, and lies in latitude 20 deg. 3 min. longitude 170 deg. 4 min. and 12 leagues from Port Resolution, south 20 deg. E. Its surface is hilly, and of a tolerable height; more we cannot say of it.

**XXII. Immer,** which is in the direction of N. by E. half E. four leagues from Port Resolution in Tanna; and,

**XXIII. Erronan, or Footoona,** east, lies in the same dissection, distant 11 leagues. This Island is the most eastern of all the Hebrides, and appeared to be more than five leagues in circumference. It is high, and on the top flat. A small peak, seemingly disjoined from the Isle, though we thought it was connected by low land, lies on the N. E. side. This is an accurate description of the principal Islands in the Archipelago, to which our commander gave the name of the Hebrides; but, as we have before observed, there are many others of lesser note, of which we had only a transient view, and therefore cannot pretend to describe.

To this account, in order to render it complete, we shall annex the lunar observations, made by our astronomer, Mr. Wales, for ascertaining the longitude of these Islands, concerning which Capt. Cook observes, "That each set of observations, consisting of between six and ten observed distances of the sun and moon, or moon and stars, the whole number amounts to several hundreds; and these, by means of the watch, have been reduced to all the Islands; so that the longitude of each is as well determined as that of the two ports under-mentioned, namely, Sandwich and Resolution. To prove this we need only observe, that the longitude of the two ports, as pointed out by the watch and by the observations did not differ two miles. This shews likewise, what degree of accuracy these observations are capable of, when multiplied to a considerable number, made with different

instruments, and with the sun and stars, or both sides of the moon. By this last method, the errors which may be either in the instruments or lunar tables, destroy each other, as also those that may arise from the observer himself; for some are more critical, and closer observers than others. If we consider the number of observations that may be obtained in the course of a month, (supposing the weather to be favourable) we shall perhaps find this method of ascertaining the longitude of places as accurate as most others; at least it is the most easy and attended with the least expence. Every ship bound to foreign parts is, or may be, supplied upon easy terms, with a sufficient number of good quadrants, proper for making the solar or lunar observations; and the difference of the price between a good and bad quadrant, can never be an object with an officer. The most expensive article and what is in some measure necessary, in order to arrive at the utmost accuracy, is a good watch; but for common use, and where that strict accuracy is not required, this may be dispensed with; and it is to be observed, that the ordinary way of finding the longitude by a quadrant, is not so difficult but that any man with proper application, and a little practice, may soon learn to make observations as well as the astronomers. Indeed, not any material difference has seldom occurred, between the observations made by Mr. Wales, and those made by the officers at the same time.

Lunar Observations made by Mr. WALES,

For ascertaining the longitude of the Hebrides, reduced by the watch to Port Sandwich in Mallicollo, and Port Resolution in Tanna.

#### I. PORT SANDWICH.

Mean of 10 sets of observ. before	167° 56' 33 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
2 ditto, at	168 2 37 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
20 ditto,	167 52 57

Mean of these means	E. long. 167 57 22
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#### II. PORT RESOLUTION.

Mean of 20 sets of observ. before	169° 37' 35 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
5 ditto, at	169 48 48
20 ditto, after	169 47 22 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>

Mean of these means	169 44 35
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## CHAP. VII.

*New Caledonia discovered; incidents; The country described; An account of the customs, manners, and arts of the natives; Observations on the coast and some low Islands; Remarkable incidents while exploring these; The Resolution is obliged to depart from New Caledonia; This in Capt. Cook's opinion, is the largest Island in the South Pacific Ocean, except New Zealand; Remarks upon it; Continues her voyage to New Zealand; Observations respecting the discovery of Norfolk Island; She arrives at Queen Charlotte's Sound; An account of incidents while the ship lay there.*

ON September the 1st. being Thursday, we were out of sight of land, and no more was to be seen. We continued our course to the S. W. and on the 3rd, at five o'clock, found ourselves in 19 deg. 49 min. and in 165 deg. E. longitude. On the 4th, at eight o'clock A. M. we discovered land, which at noon extended from S. S. E. to W. by S. distant six leagues. At five P. M. we were six leagues off when we were stopped by a calm. At this time the land extended from S. E. by S. to W. by N. round by the S. W. but as some openings were seen in the west, we could not determine whether it was one connected land, or a cluster of Islands. The coast to the S. E. seemed to terminate to the S. E. in a high promontory, which was named Cape Colnet, after one of our midshipmen, who first discovered this land. We saw two or three canoes under sail, and we thought they had come off to us, but they struck their sails a little before sun-set, and we saw them no more. On the 5th, we observed the coast extended to the S. E. of Cape Colnet, and round by the S. W. to N. W. by W. We bore down to N. W. and came before an opening, that had the appearance of a good channel. We desired to enter it, in order to have an opportunity of observing an eclipse of the sun, which was soon to happen. We therefore sent out two armed boats to sound the channel; and at the same time we saw twelve large sailing canoes near us. All the morning we had observed them in motion, and coming off from different parts; but some were lying on the reef fishing as we imagined. When we hoisted

out our boats they were pretty near us; but upon seeing this, they returned, and our boats followed them. We now were convinced, that what we had taken for openings in the coast was low land, all connected, except the western extremity, which, as we afterwards learnt, was an Island, called Balabea. The boats having made a signal for a channel, we stood in with the ship. The commanding officer of the boats reported, that there was good anchorage, and that the natives were very civil and obliging. He gave them some medals, and in return, they presented him with some fish. Having got within the reef, we hauled up S. half E. for a small low sandy Isle, lying under the shore, being followed by all the canoes. We proceeded up the bay more than two miles, and at length anchored in five fathoms water, the bottom a fine sand mixed with mud, and we were well sheltered from the wind and sea. At this time the low sandy Isle bore E. by S. distant three quarters of a mile, and from the shore of the main we were one mile. The Island of Balabea bore N. W. by N. and the channel through which we came north, distant four miles. A great number of the natives surrounded us before we had well got to anchor, in sixteen or eighteen canoes, without any sort of weapons, and we prevailed upon one boat to come near enough to receive some presents. In return, they tied two fish to the rope, that stunk intolerably. An intercourse being thus opened by mutual exchanges, two of the natives ventured on board the ship, and presently after she was filled with them. Some dined with us, but



they would not eat our salt beef, pork, or pease soup: we happened to have some yams left which they were very fond of. These they called Oobee, a name not unlike Oofee by which they are called at most of the Islands, except Mallicollo; nevertheless we found these people spoke a language to which we were entire strangers. They were quite naked, except the belt and wrapper, which they used as the inhabitants of the other Islands. They had no knowledge of our dogs, cats, and goats, &c. not having even a name for them, but they shewed a remarkable attachment to pieces of red cloth and spike nails. After dinner time, a party of us went ashore with two armed boats, and landed amidst a great number of people, who were induced by curiosity alone to see us, for they had not so much as a stick in their hands, and received us with great courtesy. They expressed a natural surprise at seeing men and things so new to them as we were. Presents were made to such as a man, (who had attached himself to Capt. Cook,) pointed out; but he would not suffer the Captain to give the women, who stood behind, any beads or medals. We saw a chief whose name was Teabooma, who called for silence soon after we landed. Every person instantly obeyed him, and listened with extraordinary attention. When he had finished his harangue, another spoke, who was no less respectfully attended to. Their speeches were composed of short sentences. We thought ourselves to be the subject of them, though we could not understand them. Having by signs inquired for fresh water, some pointed to the east, others to the west; but our friend undertook to conduct us to it, and for that purpose embarked with us. The ground we passed was beautifully cultivated, laid out in several plantations, and well watered. We rowed near two miles to the east, where we observed the shore to be mostly covered with mangroves. We entered among these by a narrow creek or river, which brought us to a little straggling village where we were shewn fresh water. Near this spot the land was richly adorned with plantations of sugar-canes, yams, &c. and watered with

little rills, conducted by art from the main springs, whose source was in the hills. We saw several cocoa nut trees which had not much fruit on them, and heard the crowing of cocks, but saw none. Some roots were baking on a fire, in an earthen jar, which would hold six gallons, and we did not doubt, but that this was of their own manufacture. Mr. Forster shot a duck as it flew over our heads, and explained to the Captain's friend how it was killed. He desired to have the duck, and informed his countrymen in what manner it was shot. The tide not permitting us to stay longer in the creek, we took leave of these amicable people, from whom we had nothing to expect but good nature, and the privilege of visiting their country without molestation, as it was easy to see these were all they could bestow. Though this did not satisfy our demands, it gave us much ease and satisfaction, for they certainly excelled all the natives we had hitherto met with in friendly civility.

On Tuesday, the 6th, in the morning, hundreds of the natives came to visit us: some swam, and others came in canoes. Before ten o'clock our decks, and other parts of the ship, were quite full of them. The captain's friend brought some fruit and a few roots: the rest had with them only their clubs and darts, which they exchanged readily for nails, pieces of cloth, and other trifling articles. Texabooma came with them, but went out of the ship imperceptibly, and by that means lost the present that was intended for him. After breakfast lieutenant Pickersgill was sent with two armed boats in search after fresh water, for what was found the preceding day could not conveniently be got on board. Mr. Wales also, and lieutenant Clerk, went to the little Island, to make preparations for observing the eclipse of the sun, which was expected to be in the afternoon. Mr. Pickersgill having succeeded, soon returned. The launch was therefore ordered out to complete our water, and the Captain repaired to the Isle, to assist in the observation. The eclipse came on about one o'clock P. M. We lost the first contact by intervening



clouds, but were more fortunate in the end; and by observations taken with different instruments, by Capt. Cook, Mr. Wales and Mr. Clerke, the latitude of the Isle, at the place of observation, was found to be 20 deg. 17 min. 39 sec. S. The longitude by the distance of the sun and moon, and moon and stars, 48 sets, 164 deg. 41 min. 21 sec. E. The same by the watch 163 deg. 58 min. Mr. Wales measured the quantity eclipsed by Hadley's quadrant, a method never before thought of. The Captain was of opinion, that it answers the purpose of a micrometer to a great degree of certainty: if so, it is a great addition to the use of this valuable instrument. In the evening we visited the watering place, which was a fine stream, at the head of a small creek. The casks were conveyed by a small boat down the creek to the beach, over which they were rolled, and then put into the launch. The boat could enter the creek only at high water. Near this watering place was plenty of excellent wood for fuel, an article we did not at present want. In the evening of this day, about seven o'clock, died Simon Monk, our butcher. His death was occasioned by a fall down the fore hatchway, the preceding night. We could not but lament the loss of so useful a hand, especially as he was well respected and much esteemed on board the ship.

On Wednesday, the 7th, we made a party to take a view of the country. When we had landed, two of the natives undertook to be our guides. We ascended the hills by a pretty good path; and in the way met several people, who accompanied us, so that in a short time our train became numerous. From the summit of one of the hills we saw the sea in two places, whereby we could determine the breadth of this country, which does not exceed thirty miles. A large valley lay between the ridge we were upon, and the advanced hills, through which glided a serpentine river, and on the sides of the hills were several straggling villages. The valley appeared rather romantic, by the villages, interspersed with woods, winding streams, and beautiful plantations, which much improved the scene. The other parts

of the Island were mostly rocky and barren. The little soil that is upon the mountains and high places is burnt up by the sun; yet it is coated with coarse grass and plants, and here and there trees and shrubs. There is a great similitude between this country and New Holland, under the same parallel of latitude, obvious to every one who had seen both places. We returned by a different road to that we came by, and passed through some of the plantations in the plains, which were laid out with great judgment, and appeared to be well cultivated. All the nations in these seas recruit their land by letting it lay in fallow, but they seem not to have any idea of manuring it, except by setting fire to the grass with which it is over-run. Having finished our excursion by noon, we returned on board to dinner, with one of our guides with us, whose attention and fidelity were rewarded at a very trifling expence. In the afternoon, the Captain's clerk, being ashore, purchased a fish which one of the natives had struck. It had a large, long, ugly head, and bore some resemblance to the sun-fish. It was ordered for supper, as we had no suspicion of its being poisonous. Providentially, the time the draughtsman took up in portraying this fish, made it too late for us to have it dressed: but the Captain, and the two Messrs. Forsters tasted of the liver and row; and in the middle of the night, they found themselves seized with a weakness and stupor, which affected their whole frame. The Captain had almost lost his sense of feeling, not being able to distinguish between light and heavy bodies; a quart pot and a feather seemed the same in his hand. An emetic, and after that a sweat, were taken by these gentlemen, which proved an efficacious remedy. When they rose in the morning, they found one of the pigs dead, who had eaten the entrails; and when the natives came on board, and saw the fish hang up, they expressed their abhorrence, signifying it was not wholesome food. It is a little remarkable they did not do this when the fish was to be sold, nor after it was purchased. On the 8th in the afternoon, Teabooma, the chief, brought a present to the Captain, consisting of a few



yams, and sugar canes. In return for which among other articles, a dog and bitch was sent him, nearly full grown. The dog was red and white, but the bitch was the colour of an English fox. This was done with the view of stocking the country with this species of animals. It was some time before Teabooma could believe the present was intended for him; but when he was convinced of this, he sent them immediately away, and seemed lost in excess of joy. On the 9th, lieutenant Pickersgill and Mr. Gilbert were dispatched in the launch and cutter to explore the coast to the west, which could not be so well effected by the ship, on account of the reefs. A party of men was also sent ashore to cut brooms; but Capt. Cook and Messrs. Forsters were confined aboard, though much better. On the 10th, Mr. Forster was so well recovered as to go into the country in search of plants. On Sunday, the 11th, in the evening, the boats returned, and we were informed by the commanding officers, that having reached an elevation the morning they had set out, they had from thence a view of the coast; and both Mr. Gilbert and Mr. Pickersgill were of opinion, that there was no passage for the ship to the west. From this place, accompanied by two of the natives, they went to Balabea. They were received by Teabi, the chief of the Island, and the people who came in great numbers to see them, with strong intimations of friendship. Our people, that they might not be crowded, drew a line between them and the natives, who understood and complied with the restriction. One of these had a few cocoa-nuts, which a sailor would have bought, but the man being unwilling to part with them, walked off, and, being followed by the sailor, he sat down on the sand, made a circle round him, as he had seen our people do, and signified that the other was not to come within it, and the injunction was strictly observed. This excursion to Balabea was rather a fruitless one; for they did not reach the Isle till near sunset, and left it again before sun-rise, the next morning: and the two following days were spent in getting up to the ship. In

going down to the Isle, they saw a great number of turtles, but could not strike any, the wind and sea being rather tempestuous. The cutter sprung a leak, and suddenly filled with water, so that they were obliged to throw several things over-board, to prevent her being lost, and by lightening her, to stop the leak. From a fishing canoe they met, they got as much fish as they could eat.

On Monday, the 12th, early in the morning, the carpenter was ordered to repair the cutter. The Captain being desirous of stocking this country with hogs as well as dogs, the former being the most useful of the two, he took with him in the boat a young boar and sow, and went up the mangrove creek in search of his friend, the chief, in order to give them to him. We were informed by the natives, that he lived at some distance but they would send for him; but he not coming as soon as we expected, Capt. Cook, resolved to give them to the first man of consequence he might meet with. In consequence of this determination, they were offered to a grave old man, who shook his head, and made signs for us to take them into the boat again. On our refusing to comply, they seemed to hold a consultation what was to be done. After this, our guide offered to conduct us to the chief, (or Areekee) and he accordingly led us to a house, where eight or ten middle aged persons were seated in a circle. To these the Captain and his pigs were formally introduced. They desired the Captain with great courtesy to be seated, who began to expatiate on the merits of his two pigs, explaining to them their nature and use, and how they would multiply: in short he enhanced their value as much as possible, that they might take the more care of them. In return for our present we had six yams brought us, after which we went on board. In the afternoon we made a trip to the shore, and on a tree near the watering place, an inscription was cut, setting forth the ship's name, date, &c. as a memorial and proof that we were the first discoverers of this country. Much the same had been done in other places, we had



touched at. Near this place is a little village, which we now found to be much larger than we expected. It was surrounded with good cultivated land, regularly laid out, planted, or planting, with taro or eddy root, yams, &c. small rills, in pleasing meanders, continually watered the taro plantations. These roots are planted, some in square or oblong patches, which lie horizontal, and are sunk below the level of the adjacent land, by which means they can let into them, as much water as they think requisite. Others are planted in ridges, about four feet broad, and three high. On the top of the ridge is a narrow gutter, for conveying the little rills to the roots. The plantations are laid out with such judgment, that the same stream waters several ridges. These are sometimes the boundaries to the horizontal plantations, and where this method is used, which is frequently done for the benefit of a path-way, not an inch of ground is lost. Some of the roots are better tasted than others; nor are they all of the same colour; but they are all wholesome food. The tops are eaten by the natives, and we thought them good greens. The whole family, men, women and children, work in these plantations. Having now fully satisfied our curiosity for the present, we returned on board, when the Captain ordered all the boats to be hoisted in, that we might be ready to set sail, and put to sea.

The inhabitants of this country are strong, robust, active, friendly, courteous, and not addicted to pilfering, as all other nations are in this sea. They have in general better features than the natives of Tanna, and are a much stouter race; but in some we saw a resemblance of the negroes, having thick lips, flat noses, and full cheeks. Their hair and beards are black. The former is very rough and frizzled; and frequently wants scratching, for which they have a well contrived instrument, wearing it always in their rough mop heads. It is a kind of comb made of sticks of hard wood, from seven to nine inches long, and about the thickness of a knitting needle. Twenty of these, sometimes fewer, are fastened together at one

end, parallel to, and nearly one tenth of an inch from each other. The other ends, that are a little pointed, spread out like the sticks of a fan. Some have their hair tied up in clubs, and others, as well as the women, wear it cropped short. They also wear their beards cropped in the same manner. They are much subject to swelled and ulcerated legs, particularly the men, as also to a swelling of the scrotum. When they go out in their canoes, and when unemployed, they wear a coarse kind of matting, of their own manufacture, and the men of note have a stiff, cylindrical black cap, which appeared to be a capital ornament, and mark of distinction among them. The dress of their women is a short petticoat, made of the leaves of the plantain tree, fastened by a cord round their waists. This is at least six inches thick, but not one longer than necessary for the use designed. The outer filaments are dyed black, and the right side is ornamented with pearl oyster-shells. Both sexes are adorned with ear-rings, necklaces, amulets, and bracelets, made of large shells, which are placed above the elbow. Various parts of their bodies are punctured. They appear to be a race between the natives of Tanna, and those of the Friendly Islands, and they bear some resemblance to those of New Zealand; their language, in some respects, appear to be collected from these three countries. In honesty and a friendly disposition, they certainly excel all others. However, notwithstanding this, they must sometimes be engaged in war, otherwise they would not be so well provided as they are, with weapons of various sorts. Their clubs are near three feet in length, and variously formed, some with heads like an hawk, others with round heads. They are all made very neatly. Their darts and spears are ornamented with carvings. They take some pains to shape the stones for their slings, which are in the form of an egg, only pointed alike at both ends. In striking fish with a dart they are very dextrous, which we believe is the only method they have of catching them, for we saw neither hooks nor lines in their possession. Their tools are much



the same as in the other Islands. They build their houses circular, resembling a bee-hive, and full as close and warm; into which they enter by a square opening, just big enough to admit a man upon his knees. The roof is lofty and brought to a point at top; the side walls are five feet and a half high; both roof and sides are covered with thatch, made of coarse long grass. On the top of most of their dwellings is a wooden post, which is generally ornamented either with carving, or shells, or both. Within are platforms for the conveniency of laying any thing on, and in some houses are two floors, one above the other. On the floors dry grass is laid, and mats are spread for the principal people to sleep, or set on. In most of them we found a fire burning, and in some two fire places, but they are very smoky and hot, having no chimney, nor vent for the smoke but the door; an atmosphere which to Europeans must be very disagreeable, and as to ourselves we could scarcely endure it a moment; but with respect to the natives, the smoke is a necessary evil, as it prevents the moschetto from molesting them, and these are very numerous. Their houses are better calculated for a cold than a hot climate; and it is owing to their internal heat, that these people are so chilly when in the open air, and without exercise. We often saw them make little fires at different places, and squat down round them, only to warm themselves. In some particulars their houses are very neat; for besides the ornaments at top, we saw some with carved door-posts. There are not any partitions in them, consequently they cannot have any of our ideas that make privacy necessary. They cook their victuals in the open air, without doors; and the earthen jar, before mentioned, seems to be the only article of their household utensils worth notice. In this they bake their roots and fish. They use three or five stones, in the form of a sugar-loaf, to keep the jars from resting on the fire, and that it may burn the better. On these the jars lie inclined on their sides; and three stones are for one jar, five for two. The stones are fixed in the ground, and their pointed ends are about half a foot above the surface.

Water is their only liquor, and their subsistence is on fish, roots, and the bark of a certain tree, which last they roast before they chew it. Some of our people seemed to relish the taste of it, which is sweet and insipid. Their fruit trees do not yield much fruit. Plantains are not in abundance; sugar canes and bread-fruit are very scarce; and the cocoa-nuts are but thinly planted. Notwithstanding nature has been rather scanty in her favours to the Island, it is not thinly peopled on the sea coast, and in the valleys that are capable of cultivation. We saw, it is true, great numbers of the natives every day, but we believe they came from all parts on our account. Down the coast, to the west, there are but few inhabitants, but from the east, they came daily in large bodies, over the mountains, to visit us. We must, however, confess, that what parts of this country we saw, are not fit to support many inhabitants, most of these being barren rocky mountains, the grass growing on which is useless to people who have no cattle. The sea, perhaps, may compensate for the sterility of the land. A coast encircled with reefs and shoals, cannot fail of affording a plentiful supply of fish. Our botanical party did not complain for want of employment. They observed several plants, common to the eastern and northern Islands; and, among other productions, discovered the tree, the bark of which, being easily peeled off, is used in the East-Indies for caulking of ships. The bark is soft, white, and rugged; the wood very hard; the leaves long and narrow, in colour of a pale dead green, and in smell, a fine aromatic. They found also a species of the passion flower, which we are informed has never before been known to grow wild any where but in America. Of the land birds, which are very numerous, we saw several to us unknown, as a kind of turtle doves, very beautiful, many small birds, and one resembling a crow, though much smaller, and its feathers are tinged with blue. We endeavoured, but in vain, to obtain the name of the whole Island; but we got the names of several districts, with those of their chiefs. Balade was the name of the district we



were at, and Tea Booma the chief. Tea is a title prefixed to the names of all, or most of their great men. The Captain's friend, by way of distinction, called him Tea Cook. Their canoes are very clumsy, though somewhat like those of the Friendly Isles. Most of them are double canoes. They are navigated by one or two latteen sails. The sail is made of pieces of matting; the ropes of the coarse filaments of the plantain tree. They sail well, but are not calculated for rowing or paddling. They are about thirty feet long, and the deck or platform, about twenty-four in length and ten in breadth. In our traffic with these people, small nails were of little value, nor did they admire beads, looking glasses, &c. and even a hatchet was not so valuable as a spike nail. Their women here as well as at Tanna, are very chaste, and we never heard, that one of our people ever obtained the least favour from any one of them. Indeed their ladies would sometimes divert themselves by going a little aside with our gentlemen, as if they meant to be kind, and then would in a moment run away laughing at them. These people deposit their dead in the ground. Some of our gentlemen saw a grave, resembling one of Roman tumuli, in which, they were informed, lay the remains of a chief slain in battle. Round his grave spears, darts, and paddles, were stuck upright in the ground.

On Tuesday, the 13th, of September, at sun-rise we weighed, and stood for the same channel we came in by. At half past seven we were in the middle of it, when the Isle of Balabea bore W. N. W. As soon as we were clear of the reef, we bore up along the outside of it, steering N. W. by W. as it trended. At noon the Island of Balabea bore S. by W. distant about four leagues; and at three o'clock P. M. it bore S. by E. half E. From this place the reef inclined to the N. and then to N. W. Advancing to N. W. we raised more land, so that Mr. Gilbert was mistaken, and did not see the extremity of the coast. At five this land bore W. by N. half N. distant near seven leagues. On the 14th. the reef still trended N. W. along which we steered, with a light

breeze, at E. S. E. At noon we had lost sight of Balabea, and at three o'clock, we run by a low sandy Isle, the space between which, and the north-westernmost land was strewed with shoals. At sun-set, we could but just see the land, which bore S. W. by S. about ten leagues distant. No land was seen to the westward of this direction; the reef too trended away W. by N. and from the mast-head seemed to terminate in a point; so that every appearance flattered our expectations, and induced us to believe, that we should soon get round the shoals. On the 15th, seeing neither land nor breakers, we bore away N. W. by W. but the shoals still continuing, we plied up for a clear sea to the S. E. by doing which, we did but just weather the point of the reef we had passed the preceding evening. To render our situation the more dangerous, the wind began to fail us; in the afternoon it fell a calm; and we were left to the mercy of a great swell, setting directly for the reef, which was not more than a league from us. The pinnace and cutter were hoisted out to tow the ship, but they were of little service. At seven o'clock, a light air at N. N. E. kept her head to the sea; and on the 16th, at eleven o'clock A. M. we hoisted in the boats, and made sail to S. E. A tide or current had been in our favour all night and was the cause (under God) of our getting so unexpectedly clear of the shoals. On Tuesday the 20th, at noon, Cape Colnet bore N 78 deg. W. distant six leagues. From hence the land extended round by the S. to E. S. E. till it was lost in the horizon, and the country appeared variegated with many hills and valleys. We stood in shore till sun-set, when we were about three leagues off. Two small Islets lay distant from us five miles, and others lay between us and the shore. The country was mountainous, and had much the same aspect as about Balabea. On the 21st, we found ourselves about six leagues from the coast. On the 22nd, we stood in for the land, which at noon extended from N. 78 deg. W. to S. 31 deg. half E. round by the S. The coast in this last direction seemed to trend more to the S. in a lofty promontory,



which, in honour of the day, was named Cape Coronation, in latitude 22 deg. 2 min. and in 167 deg. 7 min. 30 sec. E. longitude. On the 23rd, at day-break, a high point appeared in sight, beyond the Cape, which proved to be the S. E. extremity of the coast to which we gave the name of Queen Charlotte's Foreland. It lies in latitude 22 deg. 16 min. S. and in 167 deg. 14 min. E. longitude. At noon, as we drew near Cape Coronation, we saw in a valley to the south a vast number of elevated objects, from whence a great deal of smoke kept rising all the day. Capt. Cook was of opinion these were a singular sort of trees, being as he thought, too numerous to resemble any thing else. Some low land under the Foreland was entirely covered with them. The wind having veered round to the south, we tacked, and stood off, not thinking it safe to approach the shore in the dark. We stood in again at day-break, on the 24th, and at noon observed in latitude 21 deg. 59 min. 30 sec. Cape Coronation bearing west, southerly, distant seven leagues, and the North Foreland South, 38 deg. W. At sun-set we discovered a low land, lying S. S. E. about seven miles from the Foreland, surrounded with shoals and breakers.

Sunday the 25th, we stood to S. S. W. with a view of getting round the Foreland, but as we advanced, we perceived more low Isles, beyond the one already mentioned. We therefore stood to the south, to look for a passage without these. We got a light breeze at seven o'clock, which enabled us to steer out E. S. E. and to spend the night with less anxiety. On the 26th, we stretched to the S. E. for an Island distant six leagues; and on the 27th, we tacked and stood to S. W. with the hopes of weathering it, but we fell two miles short, which obliged us to tack about a mile from the east side of the Island, the extremes bearing from N. W. by N. to S. W. the hill W. and some low Isles, lying off the S. E. point, S. by W. These last seemed to be connected with the large Island by breakers. The skirts of this Island were covered with the elevations before mentioned, which had much the appearance of tall pines, and

therefore the Captain named the Island from them. The round hill on the S. W. side may be seen fourteen leagues off. This Isle of Pines is about a mile in circuit, in latitude 22 deg. 38. min. S. and in 167 deg. 40 min. E. Having made two attempts to weather the Island before sun-set, with no better success than before, we stretched off till midnight. On the 28th, at day break, we found ourselves several leagues to windward of the Isle of Pines. The coast from the S. E. round by the south to the west, we saw was strewed with sand banks, breakers, and small low Isles. We ranged the outside of these at nearly a league distance, and as we passed some others appeared; so that they seemed to form a chain extending to the Isles that lie off the Foreland. In the afternoon we steered N. W. by W. with a fine gale at east, with a view of falling in with the land; but we discovered two low Islots, bearing W. by S. They were connected by breakers, which seemed to join those on our starboard; on which account we found it necessary to haul off S. W. to get clear of them all. At three o'clock P. M. more breakers appeared, which from the mast head were seen to extend as far as east south; and from the smoothness of the sea, we conjectured, that they might also extend to the north-east; so that we were in a manner surrounded with them. Having made a short trip to N. N. E. we stood again to the south, and again had the alarming sight of a sea full of shoals, which we could only clear by returning in the track we came before. We tacked again nearly in the same place, and then anchored in a strong gale, in a bottom of fine sand having a chain of breakers to the leeward. We spent the night in making short boards over the known space we had traversed in the day; but under the uneasy apprehensions of being in the most imminent danger. This was very evident on the 29th, at day-light which shewed our fears were not ill-founded, having had breakers continually under our lee, and at a very little distance from us. The people on the fore-castle and lower gangway, saw breakers under the lee bow,



which we avoided by quickly tacking. We now kept a good look-out and managed the ship briskly, but after all the most prudent endeavours on our part, we must ascribe glory to God, being fully convinced, that we owed our safety and preservation, to the interposition of a Divine Providence. Capt. Cook was now inclined to quit this dangerous coast, but, however he resolved first to see what those trees were, which had been the subject of our speculations, and concerning which many contrary opinions had been maintained. Besides, he thought the discovery might be useful to future navigators. Being now but a few miles distant from the low Islands lying off the Foreland, mentioned in our journal on the 25th, instant, we bore down to that which was nearest to us. As we approached, we perceived it was unconnected with the neighbouring shoals, and thought we might get to anchor under its west and lee side. Having hauled therefore round the point of the reef, we attempted to ply to windward; but another reef to the north, which formed a narrow channel, through which ran a current against us, rendered this attempt fruitless. We therefore anchored in thirty-nine fathoms water, about a mile from the Island, and having hoisted out the boat, sent a party on shore, accompanied by the botanists, who found the trees to be a sort of spruce pines, very proper for spars, of which we were very much in want. The carpenter and his crew, after dinner, were sent ashore, to cut down such trees as would best answer our purpose. While this work was doing, Capt. Cook took down the bearings of the several circumjacent lands, &c. The hill on the Isle of Pines bore S. 59 deg. 30 min. E. the low point of Queen Charlotte's Foreland north 14 deg. 30 min. W. the high land above it, seen over two low Isles, north 20 deg. W. and the most advanced point of land to the west, bore W. half a point S. distant seven leagues. This point the Captain named the Prince of Wales's Foreland. It lies in latitude 22 deg. 29 min. S. and in 166 deg. 57 min. E. longitude: when first seen above the horizon, by reason of its height, it looks

like an Island. The true direction of the coast from the Foreland to this point, had been ascertained from several bearings.

On this small Isle, which is not quite a mile in circumference, grew, besides the pines, a variety of other trees, shrubs, and plants; and these having sufficiently employed the botanists during our stay, on this account the Captain named the little Island Botany Isle. We saw here several pigeons, doves, and water-snakes, different from any we had seen; likewise a hawk of the same kind as our English fishing hawks. A number of fire-places, and some remains of turtle, were signs of people having lately visited this place. In the sand lay the wreck of a canoe, exactly of the same make as those we had seen at Balade; and we now were convinced, that of these pines they made their canoes. Some of these trees measured twenty inches in diameter, were seventy feet long, and would have served very well for a foremast, had we wanted one. As trees of so large a size are the produce of so small a spot, it is reasonable to suppose that larger ones are the growth of the main. This discovery may be valuable to future navigators; for except New Zealand, we know of no Island in the Pacific ocean, where a ship can be supplied with a mast or yard, where she ever so much distressed for want of one. This was the opinion of our carpenter, who was both mast-maker, and shipwright in Deptford-yard. These trees shoot out their branches smaller and shorter than other pines, so then when wrought for use their knots disappear. We observed that the largest had the shortest branches, and were crowned at the top with a head like a bush. The wood is white, close grained, tough, yet light. Turpentine had oozed out of most of the trees, which the sun had formed into rosin. This was found adhering to the trunks, and laying about the roots. The seeds are produced in cones. We found here another small tree or shrub, of the spruce fir kind: also a kind of scurvy-grass, and a plant, which when boiled, eat like spinnage. The purpose being answered for which we landed on this Island, the



Captain determined not to hazard the ship down to lee-ward, but to try to get to the southward of the shoals. The extent of this S. W. coast had been already pretty well determined; a more accurate survey might be attended with great risk and many dangers; it was too late to set up and employ the frame of the little vessel we had on board; and should the Resolution be hemmed in, we might by that means lose the proper season for getting to the south; these reasons induced the Captain to make some trips to weather the shoals to the lee-ward of Botany Isle. But when this was thought to be effected,

On Friday the 30th, at three o'clock P. M. it fell calm, the swell, assisted by the current, set us fast towards the breakers, which were yet in sight to the S. W. but at ten o'clock a breeze springing up, we steered E. S. E. not venturing farther south till day light.

On Saturday, October the 1st we had a very strong wind at S. S. W. attended by a great sea, so that we had reason to rejoice at having got clear of the shoals before this gale overtook us. We were now obliged to stretch to the S. E. and at noon were out of sight of land.

On the 2nd, in the afternoon, we had little wind and a great swell; but at eleven, a fresh breeze springing up, we stood to the south. We were now in the latitude of 23 deg. 18 min. and in 169 deg. 49 min E. longitude.

On the 3rd, at eight o'clock A. M. we had a strong gale with squalls from the S. W. and the Captain laid aside all thoughts of returning to the land we had left. Nor could such an attempt be thought a prudent one, when we consider, that we had a vast ocean yet to explore to the south; that the ship was already in want of necessary stores; that summer was approaching very fast, and that any considerable accident might detain us from pursuing the great object of this voyage another year. Thus necessity compelled us to leave a coast, for the first time, which we had discovered, but not fully explored. The Captain named it New Caledonia, and in his opinion, it is,

next to New Zealand, the largest Island in the South Pacific Ocean. The extent is from latitude 19 deg. 37 min. to 22 deg. 30 min. S. and from longitude 163 deg. 37 min. to 167 deg. 14 min. E. It lies nearly N. W. half W. and S. E. half E. and is about 87 leagues long, but its breadth does not any where exceed 10 leagues. It here must be noted, that in the extent given to this Island, is included the broken or unconnected lands to the N. W.

On Thursday the 6th, we continued our course to New Zealand, with this view we sailed S. S. E. having a blowing fresh gale, but at noon it fell calm. At this time we found ourselves by observation, in latitude 27 deg. 50 min. S. and in 171 deg. 43 min. E. longitude. During the calm, which continued all this day, the carpenters were employed in caulking the decks. This was done with varnish of pine, covered with coral sand, as they had neither pitch, tar, nor rosin left. The experiment with respect to the cement, far exceeded their expectations. In the afternoon, two albatrosses were shot, which, at this time, we thought equally as good as geese.

On the 7th, a breeze sprung up, and fixed at S. E. by S. The day following we had a gentle gale, attended with fine weather. On the 9th, we were in latitude 28 deg. 25 min. and in 170 deg. 26 min. E. longitude. In the evening, Mr. Cooper struck a porpoise. It was six feet long, and a female, called by naturalists the dolphin of the ancients, and which differs from the common porpoise in the head and jaw, which are long and pointed. This had eighty eight teeth in each jaw. It was first soaked in water, then roasted, broiled and fried. To us who had long subsisted on salt meat, it was more than palatable; and we thought the haslet, and lean flesh, a delicious feast.

On the 10th, we discovered land, situated in latitude 29 deg. 2 min. 30 sec. S. and in 168 deg. 16 min. E. longitude. Capt. Cook called it Norfolk Island, in honour of the Howard's family, who have the title of the duke of Norfolk. We anchored here, in twenty-two fathoms water, on a



bank of coral sand, mixed with broken shells. After dinner, a party of us embarked in two boats, and landed on the Island behind some large rocks. It was uninhabited, and we were undoubtedly the first who ever set foot upon it. We observed many trees and plants common to New Zealand, particularly the flax plant, which grows very luxuriant here. We found in great abundance the spruce pine trees, straight and tall, and many of them as thick as two men could fathom. The soil of this Island is rich and deep, the woods perfectly clear from underwood, and for about two hundred yards from the shore, the ground is covered with shrubs and plants. We found here many sea and land fowl, of the same kind as in New Zealand; likewise cabbage-palm, wood-sorrel, sow-thistle, and samphire. The cabbage-trees were not thicker than a man's leg, and from 10 to 20 feet high. The cabbage, each tree producing but one, is at the top, inclosed in the stem. This vegetable is not only wholesome, but exceedingly palatable; and some excellent fish we caught made a luxurious entertainment.

On Tuesday the 11th, we sailed from Norfolk Island, which we weathered, having stretched to S. S. W. We found the coast bounded with rocky cliffs and banks of coral sand. On the south side lie two Isles, which serve as roosting and breeding places, for white boobies, gulls, tern, &c. A bank of coral sand and shells, surrounds the Isle, and extends, especially southward, seven leagues off. Our intention at this time was to refresh the crew, and repair the ship in Queen Charlotte's Sound.

On Monday the 17th, we had in view mount Egmont, perpetually covered with snow, bearing S. E. half E. distant about eight leagues. The wind now blew a fresh gale, with which we steered S. S. E. for Queen Charlotte's Sound. The wind at last increased in such a manner, that we could carry no more sail than the two courses, and two close-reefed topsails: under these we steered for Cape Stevens, which we made at 11 o'clock at night.

On the 18th, we made a trip to the north,  
No. 21. T t

and bore away for the sound. We hauled round Point Jackson, at nine A. M. and at 11 o'clock anchored before Ship Cove, the wind and tide not permitting us to get in. Capt. Cook in the afternoon went ashore, and looked for the bottle, with the memorandum, which he left when last here, but it was taken away by some person or other. The seine was hauled twice and only four fish caught: but several birds were shot, and the nests of some shags were robbed of their young ones.

On the 19th, the ship was warped into the cove, and moored. The sails were un-bent, several of them having been much damaged in the late gale. The main and fore courses were condemned, and the top-masts were struck and unrigged. The forge was set up, and tents erected on shore for the reception of a guard, &c. Plenty of vegetables were gathered for the refreshment of the crew, which were boiled every morning with oatmeal and portable broth for breakfast. From some circumstances, as cutting down trees with saws and axes, and a place found where an observatory had been set up in our absence, we had no doubt but the Adventure had been in this cove since we left it.

On the 20th, our men began to caulk the ship's sides, and on Saturday the 22nd, the Captain accompanied by the botanists went to visit our gardens in Motuara, which we found had been wholly neglected by those of the natives to whom we had given them in charge; nor had any care or cultivation been bestowed on them. Nevertheless, the soil seemed to agree well with the plants, for many of them were in a flourishing condition. Not having hitherto seen any of the natives, we made a fire on the land, hoping this would induce them to come down to us.

On the 24th, we saw two canoes coming down the sound, which, when the ship was seen by the people retired behind a point on the west-side. After breakfast we went in search of them, and having fired at several birds, the report of our pieces gave notice of our being near, and they discovered themselves by hallooing to us in Shag



Cove; but when we landed, and drew near to their habitations, they all fled, except two or three men, who maintained their ground, with their weapons in their hands. The moment we landed they knew us, and their fears subsided. Those who had fled returned from the woods, embraced us over and over again, and expressed their joy at seeing us, by jumping and dancing in a frantic manner; but the men would not suffer some women we saw at a distance to come near us. We made them presents of hatchets and knives, and in return they gave us a quantity of fish they had just caught. The next morning they brought us more fish, which they bartered for Otahitean cloth. We asked them on what account they were afraid of us, and also what was become of our old friends? To these questions we got no satisfactory answers; but they talked much about killing, which was variously understood by us.

On Wednesday the 26th, some of the natives went to the tents, and told our people, that a ship like ours had lately been lost; that some of the men landed at Vanna Aroa, near Terrawhitte, on the other side the strait; that a dispute happened between them and the natives; that several of the latter were shot; and that the natives got the better of them when they could fire no longer, and both killed and ate them. One of the relaters of this strange tale, said it was twenty or thirty days ago; but another said it was two moons since, and described, as well as he could, in what manner the ship was beat to pieces. The following day they told the same story to others, which made the Captain, and indeed all of us, very uneasy about the Adventure; but when the Captain inquired himself, and endeavoured to come at the truth of these reports, the very people who raised them, denied every syllable of what they had said, and seemed wholly ignorant of the matter; so that we began to think the whole relation had reference only to their own people and boats. On the 28th, we again went on shore, but found no appearance of the hogs and fowls we had left behind. Having been a shooting to the west bay, in our return

we got some fish from the natives for a few trifling presents. As we came back, some of the party thought they heard a pig squeak in the woods. We shot this day a good many wild fowl and small birds. On the 31st, it was somewhat remarkable that all the natives left us.

Tuesday, the 1st of November, we were visited by a number of strangers, who came from up the sound. The principal article of trade they brought with them was green stone, some of which were the largest pieces we had ever seen. On the 3rd, a large black sow was seen by the botanizing party, which we discovered to be the same that Capt. Furneaux left behind him. Supposing it to be a boar, we carried over to Long Island a sow, but seeing our mistake, we brought her back. This incident afforded us some hopes, that this Island in time will be stocked with such useful animals. Lieutenant Pickersgill was told the same story by one of the natives, of a ship having been lost, but the man declared though many people were killed, it was not by them. On the 5th, we obtained a seasonable and plentiful supply of fish from our old friends. Early in the morning Capt. Cook, accompanied by Mr. Sparrman, and the Messrs. Forsters, embarked in the pinnace, and proceeded up the sound in order to discover a passage that way out to sea by the S. E. We were met by some fishermen, who all declared, there was no passage by the head of the sound; and soon after four men in a canoe concurred in the same opinion, confirming what the others had said, but they gave us to understand, that there was such a passage to the east. We therefore laid aside our first design of going to the head of the sound, and proceeded to this arm of the sea, on the S. E. side, which is about five leagues above the Isle of Mortuara. Within the entrance, at a place called Kotieghenooee, we came to a large settlement of the natives. Their chief, Tringo-bohee, and some of his attendants had lately been on board the ship by whom we were received with great civility and these people encouraged us to pursue the object we had in view. We therefore



continued our course down this arm of the sea, E. N. E. and E. by N. having a view of several fine coves, which we passed, and at length we found it open, by a channel about a mile wide, into the strait. A strong tide ran out, and we had observed another setting down the arm. Near four o'clock P. M. this tide ceased, and was succeeded by the flood. The outlet lies S. E. by E. and N. W. by W. from Terrawhitte. A little within the entrance, we found thirteen fathoms water; but, from its situation, it seemed necessary to have a trading wind either to go in or out of this channel; but having determined to return on board before night, we had not time to make other necessary observations. We saw a Hippah, or strong hold, about two miles within the entrance, built on the north side, which we omitted visiting, though the inhabitants made signs for us to come on shore; but, without paying any regard to them, we made the best of our way for the ship, and returned on board about ten o'clock, bringing with us a few fish and birds; among which last were some ducks we had shot, of the same kind as those in Dusky Bay. The natives knew these, and several other sorts, by the drawings, and had a particular name for each.

On Sunday, the 6th, our old friends returned, and took up their abode near the tents. An old man, named Pederó, made Capt. Cook a present of a staff of honour, such as the chiefs carry; and in return, the Captain dressed him up in a suit of old clothes, which made him very happy. He had a fine person, and his colour only distinguished him from an European. We inquired of him and his companion, if the Adventure had been there during our absence; and they gave us to understand, that she arrived a little time after our departure; that she staid about twenty days, and had been gone ten moons; and that neither she, nor any other ship, had been stranded on the coast. This account made us easy respecting the Adventure, but did not wholly remove our suspicions of some misfortune having happened to strangers. This day we went with a number of hands, in order

to catch the sow and put her to boar, but we returned without seeing her. Pederó dined with us, partook heartily of every thing set before him, and drank more wine than any one at table, without being in the least intoxicated. On the 8th, we put a boar, a sow, and two pigs on shore, near Cannibal Cove; so that we hope all our repeated endeavours to stock this country will not prove fruitless. We found a hen's egg a few days ago, and therefore believe, that some of the cocks and hens we left here are still in being. On the 9th, we unmoored, and shifted our station farther out the cove, for the more ready getting to sea; but at present, the caulkers had not finished the sides of the ship; and we could not sail till this work was completed. Our friends brought us a large supply of fish, and, in return, we gave Pederó a large empty oil jar, with which he seemed highly delighted. We never saw any of our presents after they received them, and cannot say whether they gave them away, or what they did with them; but we observed, every time we visited them, they were as much in want of hatchets, nails, &c. as if we had not bestowed any upon them. Notwithstanding these people are cannibals, they are of a good disposition, and have not a little humanity. We have before observed the inconveniencies attending them for a want of union among themselves; and we are persuaded, though upon the whole very numerous, they are under no form of government. The head of each tribe, or family is respected; respect may command obedience; but we are inclined to think, not one among them has either a right or power to enforce it. Very few, we observed, paid any regard to the words or actions of Tringo-bolice, though he was represented to us as a chief of some note. In the afternoon we went into one of the coves; where, upon landing, we found two families employed in different manners: some were making mats, others were sleeping; some were roasting fish and roots; and one girl was employed in heating stones, which she took out of the fire as soon as they were hot, and gave them to an old woman, who



sat in the hut. The old woman placed them one upon another, laid over them some green celery, and over all a coarse mat; she then squatted herself down on the top of the heap, and sat very close. Probably

this operation might be intended as a cure for some disorder, to be effected by the steams arising from the green celery, and we perceived the woman seemed very sickly.

## CHAP. VIII.

*The Departure of the Resolution from New Zealand; Her passage from hence to Terra del Fuego; The run from Cape Deseada to Christmas Sound; The coast described; Incidents and transactions in the Sound; A description of the country, and an historical account of the inhabitants; The Resolution departs from Christmas Sound; Doubles Cape Horn; Her passage through strait Le Maire, and round Staten Island; A harbour in this Isle discovered; The coasts described; Geographical observations; Remarks on Islands, and the animals found in them, near Staten Land; Departure from Staten Island; Nautical observations; The Island of Georgia discovered, and a descriptive account of the same.*

**T**HURSDAY, November 10th, at day-break, we weighed and sailed from Queen Charlotte's Sound, in New Zealand, having a fine breeze at W. N. W. All our sails being set, we got round the Two Brothers, and stretched for Cape Campbell, at the S. W. entrance of the strait. We passed this at four o'clock P. M. distant five leagues, and then steered S. S. E. half E. On the 11th, at seven o'clock P. M. Cape Palliser bore N. half W. distant sixteen leagues, from which Cape, for the third time, we took our departure. We now steered S. by E. in order to get into the latitude of 54 or 55 deg. Capt. Cook's intention being to cross this vast ocean in these parallels, hoping by this course to pass over those parts, which the preceeding summer, were left unexplored. On the 12th, A. M. we were in latitude 43 deg. 13 min 30 sec. S. and in 176 deg. 41 min. E. longitude, when we saw an uncommon fish of the whale kind; and, in the afternoon, the Pintado Peterels began to appear. On the 13th, at seven in the evening, we hauled up towards a fog bank, which we took for land; after which we steered S. E. by S. and saw a seal. At noon, by observation,

we found our latitude to be 44 deg. 25 min. S. longitude 177 deg. 31 min. E. On the 14th, we saw another seal in latitude 45 deg. 54 min. and 179 deg. 29 min E. longitude. On the 15th, having passed the great meridian of 180 deg. E. which divides the globe into two equal parts, we began to reckon our longitude west of Greenwich. At noon our latitude observed was 49 deg. 33 min. longitude, 175 deg. 31 min. W. On Thursday the 17th, we saw a seal, some penguins, and pieces of sea weed. On the 19th, we were in latitude 53 deg. 43 min. and on the 20th, at noon, in latitude 54 deg. 8 min. longitude 162 deg. 18 min. W. Monday the 21st, we steered S. E. by S. and at noon we saw abundance of blue peterels, in latitude 55 deg. 31 min. longitude 160 deg. 29 min. On the 22nd, at noon our latitude by observation was 55 deg. 48 min. longitude 156. deg. 56 min W. In the afternoon, having a light breeze at S. S. E. we steered east, northerly; and, in the night, was a faint appearance of the Amrora Australis. On the 23rd, we were in latitude 55 deg. 46 min. S longitude 156 deg. 13 min W. when a fresh gale blew from the west, and we steered now E. half



N. On the 26th, we were in latitude 55 deg. 8 min S. and in 148 deg. 10 min. W. longitude.

On Sunday, the 27th, we steered east, having a steady fresh gale; and at noon were in latitude 55 deg. 6 min. S. and in 138 deg. 56 min. W. longitude. In this parallel, not a hope remained of finding any more land in the southern Pacific Ocean. We resolved therefore to steer for the west entrance of the straits of Maghellan, with a view of coasting the south side of Terra del Fuego, round Cape Horn, to the Strait Le Maire. We thought this track might be an advantage to navigation and geography, as the world is little acquainted with that shore. In the afternoon we had squally weather, which carried away our top-gallant mast. On the 28th. A. M. the bolt rope of the main top sail broke, whereby the sail was split. The ropes to our square sails especially, are not of a size and strength sufficient to wear out the canvass. At noon we were in latitude 55 deg. 20 min. S. and in 134 deg. 16 min. W. longitude. On the 29th, the wind abated; and on the 30th, at 8 o'clock P. M. the wind veering to N. E. we tacked, and stood to E. S. E. We were now in latitude 55 deg. 22 min. S. and in 128 deg. 45 min. W. longitude. Several albatrosses and peterels were seen.

On Thursday, the 1st of December at three o'clock P. M. it fell a calm, but at about seven, we got a wind at S. E. with which we stood N. E. On the 5th, a fine gale at south, enabled us to steer east, with very little deviation to the north; and the wind now altering to S. W. and blowing a steady gale, we continued to steer east, inclining a little to south. At six o'clock in the evening, we were in latitude 53 deg. 8 min. and in 115 deg. 58 min. W. longitude. On the 6th, we had some snow showers; and on Wednesday the 7th, a fine pleasant gale, with showers of rain. On the 9th, at noon, we found ourselves by observation, in latitude 53 deg. 37 min. and in 103 deg. 44 min. west longitude. The wind veered now to N. E. and afterwards came insensibly round to the south by the E. and S. E. On the 10th, we passed a small bed of sea

weed, in latitude 54 deg. longitude 102 deg. 7 min. W. On the 11th, we steered E. half a point N. and on the 12th, at six in the evening, we were in latitude 53 deg. 35 min. longitude 95 deg. 52 min. W. Many and various sorts of albatrosses were hovering about the ship. On Monday, the 12th, we had a calm which continued till mid-night when a breeze from the south fixing at west we steered east. On the 14th, in the morning, we found the variation of the compass to be 13 deg. 25 min E. in latitude 53 deg. 25 min. longitude 87 deg. 53 min. W. which increased in such a manner, that on the 15th, in the latitude of 53 deg. 30 min. longitude 82 deg. 23 min. W. it was 170 E. This day we saw a penguin; and on the 16th, a seal, and some diving peterels. On Saturday the 17th, the variation increased to 21 deg. 33 min. being in latitude 53 deg. 16 min. S. and in 75 deg. 9 min. west longitude. All this day we steered east by north, and east half north, under all the sails we could carry, in hopes of seeing the land before night; but not making it till ten o'clock, we steered east, in order to make sure of falling in with Cape Deseada. At midnight we made the land, extending from N. E. by N to E. by S. about six leagues distant; upon seeing which we brought to with the ship's head to the south. Having sounded, we found seventy-five fathoms water, the bottom good. The land before us we concluded to be the west coast of Terra del Fuego, near the west entrance of the straits of Maghellan. This being the first run made by Capt. Cook in a high southern latitude, we have been very particular in noting all the material circumstances we could collect together. In this course the weather had been neither unusually stormy, nor cold. Before we arrived in the latitude of 50 deg. the mercury in the thermometer fell gradually from sixty to fifty; and in the latitude of 55 deg. it was generally between forty-seven and forty-five; once or twice it fell to forty-three. These observations were made at noon. We had now entirely left the southern Pacific Ocean, and we trust the world will give our Captain some credit for having



well explored the same; nor could, in our opinion, more have been done towards obtaining that end, in one voyage, than has been effected in this. We must not omit to observe, that soon after we left New Zealand Mr. Wales contrived, and fixed up an instrument, which measured with great accuracy, the angle the ship rolled in, when sailing large, and in a great sea; and that in which she lay down, or heeled, when sailing upon a wind. The greatest angle he observed the *Resolution* to roll, the sea at the time not being unusually high was 38 degrees.

On Sunday, the 18th, we made sail, and steered S. E. by E. along the coast. Near a league from the main is a high ragged Isle, which we called Landfall. At four o'clock. A. M. we were N. and S. of the high land of Cape Deseada, distant nine leagues; but saw none of the low rocks said to lie off it. This cape lies in latitude 53 deg. S. and in 74 deg. 40 min. W. longitude. We continued to range the coast, and at eleven o'clock, we passed a projecting point, having a round surface, and of considerable height, to which we gave the name of Cape Gloucester. It has the appearance of an Island, and is situated S. S. E. half E. seventeen leagues from the Isle of Landfall. Between these the coast forms two bays; strewed with rocky Islets, rocks, and breakers. The coast appeared unconnected, as if formed of a number of Islands. The land is very mountainous, rocky, and barren, but in some places, covered with tufts of wood, and patches of snow. From Cape Gloucester, the direction of the coast is nearly S. E. but to Cape Noir, for which we steered, the course is S. S. E. At noon Cape Gloucester bore north, distant eight miles, and the most advanced point of land bore S. E. by S. distant seven leagues. At three o'clock we passed Cape Noir, situated in latitude 54 deg. 30 min. S. and in 73 deg. 33 min. W. longitude. When at a distance, the land of the Cape appeared to be an Island disjoined, but upon a nearer approach we found it connected by a low neck of land. Two rocks lie at the point of the Cape, the one pointed like a sugar-loaf, the

other not so high, with a rounder surface; and two leagues from the Cape are two rocky Islets, S. by E. After passing these last, we crossed the great bay of St. Barbara, steering E. S. E. The land at the bottom of it, which we just perceived, could not be less than seven leagues off. We observed a space in the direction of E. N. E. from Cape Noir, where not any land was to be seen: this may be the channel of St. Barbara, which opens into the straits of Magellan, as mentioned by Frazier; with whose description we found the cape to agree very well.

On the 19th, at two o'clock A. M. we passed the S. E. point of the bay of St. Barbara, which the Captain called Cape Desolation, on account of the country near it being the most desolate and barren that ever was seen. It lies in latitude 54 deg. 55 min. S. and in 72 deg. 12 min. W. longitude. To the east of the Cape about four leagues, and at the mouth of a deep inlet, is a pretty large Island, and some others less considerable. In latitude 55 deg. 20 min. S. we were three leagues from an Island, which Capt. Cook named Gilbert Isle, after his master. Its surface is composed of several unequal peaked rocks, nearly of the same height with the rest of the coast. S. E. of this Isle are breakers, and some smaller Islands. Scarcely any prospect can appear with a more barren and savage aspect, than the whole of this country; which is composed of rocky mountains, without a single trace of vegetation to enliven or vary the scene. The mountains of the coast terminate in horrible precipices, whose craggy summits tower to a vast height; and those that are inland are covered with snow; but the former are not. The first we judged to belong to the main of Terra del Fuego, and the last to be Islands, which to appearance formed a coast. Having made a short trip to the south, we stood in for land, the nearest point of which in sight bore east ten leagues. It is a lofty promontory, E. S. E. from Gilbert Isle, in latitude 55 deg. 26 min. S. and in 70 deg. 25 min. W. longitude. From our present point of view it terminated in two high towers, and within



them, a hill shaped like a sugar loaf. To this rock we gave the name of York Munster. To the westward of this head land, about two leagues, we discovered a large inlet, the west point of which we fetched in with; and tacked in forty-one fathoms water, not more than half a league from the shore. To the westward of this inlet we saw another, with several Islands at its entrance.

On Tuesday the 20th, we perceived the ship to drive off the shore out to sea; which we attributed to a current; for by the melting of the snow, the inland waters will occasion a stream to run out of most of these inlets. In the evening, a breeze springing up at E. by S. we stood in for the land, being desirous of entering one of the many ports, in order to take a view of the country, and to recruit our stock of wood and water. In standing in for an opening, apparently on the east side of York Munster, we sounded in forty and sixty fathoms water. Our last soundings were nearly between the two points that form the entrance to the inlet, which we observed to branch out into two arms. We stood for that to the east, as being clear of Islets; but upon sounding, found no bottom with a line of one hundred and twenty fathoms. In this disagreeable situation a breeze springing up, our Captain resolved to stand up the inlet; but night approaching, our safety depended on casting anchor, we therefore continued sounding, but always, to our mortification, in an unfathomable depth. We now hauled up under the east-side of the land, and seeing a small cove, sent the boat a-head to sound, while we kept with the ship as near the shore as possible. The boat soon returned with the information we wished for, and we thought ourselves happy, when we had anchored in thirty fathoms, in a bottom of sand and broken shells.

On the 21st. a party was sent out with two boats, to look for a more secure station. They found a cove above the point under which the ship lay, in which was exceeding good anchorage. At the head of it was a stony beach, a valley covered with wood, and a stream of fresh water; conve-

niencies more favourable than we could expect would be found in such a place. Here also they shot three geese out of four. Orders were now dispatched by Lient. Clerke to remove the ship into this place, and we proceeded with Capt. Cook in the other boat farther up the inlet. We now discovered, that the land we were under, which disjoined the two arms, as mentioned before, was an Island, at the north end of which the two channels united. We returned on board, and found every thing in readiness to weigh; which was done, and all the boats sent out to tow the ship round the point; but a light breeze springing up, we were obliged to drop the anchor again, lest the ship should fall upon the point. However, we soon after got round this under our stay-sails, and anchored in twenty fathoms water. We were now shut in from the sea by the point above mentioned, which was in one with the extremity of the inlet to the east. Our distance from shore was not more than a third of a mile; and Islets off the next point above us, covered the ship from the N. W. from which quarter the wind had the greatest force. All hands were immediately employed; some to clear a place to fill water; some to cut wood, and others to pitch a tent, for the reception of a guard, and Mr. Wales could find no better station for his observatory than the top of a rock, not exceeding nine feet over.

On Thursday the 22nd, two parties were sent out, one to examine and draw a sketch of the channel, on the other side of the Island, and the Captain, attended by the botanists, to survey the northern side of the sound. In our way to this latter place, we landed on the point of a low Isle covered with herbage, several spots of which had been lately burnt; these, with a hut we discovered, were signs that people were in the neighbourhood. From hence we proceeded round the east end of Burnt Island, over to what we supposed to be the main land of Terra del Fuego, where we discovered a fine harbour, surrounded by high rocks, down which glided many purling streams, and at their feet were some tufts



of trees, very fit for fuel. Capt. Cook named this harbour the Devil's Bason. It is divided into two parts, an inner and an outer one; and the communication between them is by a narrow channel five fathoms deep. We found at one time seventeen in the outer bason, and twenty-three in the inner one. This last is shaded from the sun in his meridian splendor, and, though very secure, is intolerably gloomy. The outer harbour has not so much of this inconvenience, is equally safe, and rather more commodious. It lies about a mile distant from the east end of Burat Island, in the direction north. We discovered other harbours to the west of this, and found wood for fuel and fresh water, in or near them all. Before one was a stream of fresh water, which came out of a large lake, continually supplied by a falling cascade. The whole country is a barren rock, except the fire wood which grows here, and what we saw of it, affords no other vegetation of any kind. But to compensate for this dreary scene of sterility, about the sea coast, the all-bountiful God of nature has scattered many large and small, but fruitful low Islands, the soil of which is a black rotten turf, composed of decayed vegetables. On one of these we saw several huts that had lately been inhabited. Near them was a good deal of celery; we put as much as we could conveniently stow in our boat, and at seven o'clock in the evening we returned on board. During our absence a fatal accident had befallen one of our marines, who had not been seen since 11 o'clock the preceding night. We supposed he had fallen overboard, and was drowned. In this excursion we shot only one duck, three shags, and about the same number of rails or sea-pies. The other party, among whom were Lieutenants, Clerke and Pickersgill, returned on board some hours before us. On the west side of the other channel, they discovered a large harbour and one smaller, of both which they took sketches.

On the 23rd, Lient. Pickersgill went out to examine the east side of the sound, while the Captain proceeded in the pinnace to the west-side, with a view of going round

the Island under which the ship lay, which he called Shag Island; and in order to take a survey of the passage leading to the harbours our two lieutenants had discovered the day before. If coming from sea it is necessary to leave all the rocks and Islands, lying off and within York Minister, on the larboard-side, and the black rock, off the south-end of Shag Island, on the starboard. When abreast of the south-end of that Island, we hauled over for the west shore, taking care to avoid the beds of weeds, indications of rocks, some of which were twelve fathoms under water; but we thought it the safest way always to keep clear of them. The entrance into the large harbour, which we called Port Clerk, is to the north of some low rocks, lying off a point on Shag Island. This harbour lies in W. by S. a mile and a half. It hath wood and fresh water, and from twelve to twenty-four fathoms deep. To the southward of Port Clerk, seemed to be another harbour, formed by a large Island; without this, between it and York Minister, the whole sea appeared strewn with Islets, rocks, and breakers. At the south end of Shag Island the shags breed in vast numbers, in the cliffs of the rocks. We shot some of the old ones, but could not come at the young ones, which are by much the best eating. We likewise brought down three wild geese, a valuable acquisition at this time. We returned and got on board at seven o'clock in the evening. Mr. Pickersgill, who had just before arrived informed us that the land opposite to our station is an Island; that on another more to the north, he found many terns eggs; and in a cove between that and the East Head, he had shot one goose, and got some young goslings.

On Saturday the 24th, two sporting parties went over, one on the N. E. side of the Island above mentioned, which was named Goose Island; and the other, accompanied by Capt. Cook, went by the S. W. side. When under the Island we had plenty of sport, having shot as many geese as served for a Christmas meal for our men, which proved much more agreeable to them than salt beef and pork. We all



returned heartily tired, by climbing over the rocks, when we had landed, in pursuit of our game. In the south of the Island were abundance of geese, it being their moulting season, when most of them come on shore, and are not disposed to fly. Our party got sixty-two, and Mr. Pickersgill with his associates fourteen. Plenty of shags were seen in the cove, but we proceeded without spending time or shot upon them. We were informed by our people on board, that a number of natives, in nine canoes, had been along-side, and some of them in the ship: they seemed well acquainted with Europeans, and had several of their knives among them.

On the 25th, being Christmas day, we had another visit from them. They appeared to be of the same nation, we had formerly seen in Success Bay; and which M. de Bougainville calls Pecharas, because they continually used this word. They are a diminutive, ugly, half-starved, beardless race almost naked, being only slightly covered with a seal-skin or two joined together, so as to make a cloak, which reached to their knees; but the greatest part of them had but one skin, which scarcely covered their shoulders, and all their lower parts were quite naked. The women are clothed no better than the men except that they cover their nakedness with a seal skin flap. They are inured from their infancy to cold and hardships, for we saw two young children at the breast entirely naked. They remained all the time in their canoes, having their bows and arrows with them, and harpoons, made of bone, with which we imagined, they strike and kill fish. Both they and their clothes smelt most intolerably of train oil. We threw them some biscuit, but they seemed much better pleased with our presents of medals, knives, &c. Their canoes were made of bark, and on each of them was a fire. They had also large seal hides, which may serve as covering to their huts, on shore in foul weather. They all departed before dinner, nor did we believe, any one invited them to partake of our Christmas cheer, which consisted of geese, roast

and boiled, goose-pye, &c. a treat little known to us; and which was heightened by Madeira wine, the only article of our provisions that was mended by keeping. Perhaps our friends in England did not celebrate Christmas more cheerfully than we did: and, with such fare it would have been a real disappointment to have had our appetites spoiled, by the dirty persons of those filthy people, and by the stench they always carried about them. We called this place Christmas Sound, in honour of the day, and the joyful festival we had celebrated here. On the 26th, we were again visited by some of the natives, and as it was very cold in the evening, and they stood shivering on the deck, the Captain from an impulse of humanity, gave them some old canvass and baize for covering.

On Tuesday the 27th, every thing on shore was ordered on board. The weather being fine and pleasant a party of us went round by the south side of Goose Island, and picked up thirty-one of these kind of birds. On the east-side of the Island, to the north of the east point, is a good place for ships to lay in that are bound for the west. When we returned on board, we found all the work done, and the launch in, so that we now only waited for a fair wind to put to sea. The entrance of Christmas Sound, which we expected soon to leave, is three leagues wide, and situated in latitude 55 deg 27 min S and in 70 deg. 16 min. W. longitude; in the direction of north 37 deg. W. from St. Ildefonso Isles, distant ten leagues. We think these Isles to be the best land mark for finding the sound. It is adviseable for no one to anchor very near the shore, for we generally found there a rocky bottom. The refreshments to be procured at this place are wild fowl; very good celery, and plenty of muscues, not large, but well tasted. The geese are smaller than our English tame ones, but eat as well as the best of them. The gander is all white; the female spotted with black and white; with a large white spot on each wing. Here is also a kind of duck, which our people called the race-horse, on account of its swiftness on the water, for the wings



being too short to support the body in the air, it cannot fly. We believe, from certain circumstances, the people do not live here throughout the whole of the winter-season, but retire to parts where the weather is less severe. To appearance, they are the most wretched of all the natives we had seen. They live in an inhospitable clime, and do not seem to have sagacity enough to provide themselves with the comforts of life, particularly in the article of clothing. Barren as this country is, our botanists found therein many unknown plants. In the woods is the tree which produceth the winter's bark; also the holly-leaved barberry; and plenty of berries, which we called cranberry; with many other sorts common in these straits.

On Wednesday the 28th, we sailed from this sound, with a light breeze at N. W. At noon Point Nativity, being the east part of the sound, bore N. half W. distant one league and a half. We steered S. E. by E. and E. S. E. till four o'clock, P. M. when we hauled to the south, for the sake of a nearer view of St. Ildefonso. The coast appeared indented as usual, and at this time we were abreast of an inlet lying E. S. E. At the west point of this are two high peaked hills, and below them, to the east, two round ones, or small Isles, in the direction of N. E. and S. W. from each other. At half past five o'clock, we had a good sight of Ildefonso Isles. These are situated about six leagues from the main, in latitude 55 deg. 53 min. S. and in 69 deg. 41 min. W. longitude. We now resumed and continued our course to the east. At sun-set the nearest land bore S. E. by E. three fourths E. and the west point of Nassau Bay, discovered by Admiral Hermite in 1624, bore north 80 deg. E. six leagues distant. This point, in some charts, is called False Cape Horn, as being the southern point of Terra del Fuego. It lies in latitude 55 deg. 39 min. S. From the above mentioned inlet to this false Cape, the direction of the coast is nearly E. half a point S. distant fourteen or fifteen leagues.

On the 29th, at three o'clock A. M. we steered S. E. by S. at four Cape Horn, for which we now made sail, bore E. by S. at

a distance it is known by a round high hill over it; and though to the W. N. W. there is a point not unlike this, yet their situations will always be sufficient to distinguish the one from the other. At half past seven we passed this cape, and entered the Southern Atlantic Ocean. Two peaked rocks are on the N. W. side of the Cape, resembling sugar loaves; also other low straggling rocks to the west, and one south of it. From Christmas Sound to this Cape, the course is E. S. E. one fourth E. distant thirty-one leagues. The rocky point three leagues from Cape Horn, in the direction E. N. E. we called Mistaken Cape. It is the southern point of the easternmost of Hermite Isles. There seemed to be a passage between these two Capes into Nassau Bay. In this passage some Isles were seen, and on the west side, the coast had the appearance of forming good bays and harbours. In some charts Cape Horn is laid down as part of a small Island, which we had not in our power to confirm or contradict as the hazy weather rendered every object indistinct. From hence we steered E. by N. half N. without the rocks that lie off Mistaken Cape. Having passed these, we steered N. E. half E. and N. E. for Strait le Maire. At eight o'clock in the evening, finding ourselves near the strait, we shortened sail, and hauled the wind. The sugar-loaf on Terra del Fuego bore north 33 deg. W. the point of Success Bay just open of the Cape of the same name, bearing north 20 deg. E.

On the 30th, during the calm, we were driven by the current over to Staten Land; but a light breeze springing up at N. N. W. we stood over for Success Bay. We hoisted our colours, and, having before fired two guns, we perceived a smoke rise out of the woods, made by the natives above the south point of the bay, which was the place where they resided when we were here in 1769. A party was now sent into Success Bay, in order to discover if any traces of the Adventure were to be seen there; but they returned without having found any. Our ship's name, &c. were written on a card, and nailed to a tree which stood near the



place where it was likely the Adventure would water, should she be behind us, and put into this place. When Mr. Pickersgill landed, the natives received him and his associates with great courtesy. They were clothed in seal skins, had bracelets on their arms, and appeared to be the same kind of people we had seen in Christmas Sound. The bracelets were made of silver wire, wrought somewhat like the hilt of a sword, and no doubt, the workmanship of an European. According to Mr. Pickersgill's report, the bay was full of whales and seals, and we had observed the same in the strait, particularly on the Terra del Fuego side, where the whales are exceeding numerous. Having now explored the south coast of Terra del Fuego, we resolved to do the same by Staten Land. At nine o'clock the wind veering to N. W. we tacked, and stood to S. W.

On Saturday the 31st, in the morning, we bore up for the east end of Staten Land; which at half past four bore south 60 deg. E. the west end south 2 deg. E. and Terra del Fuego south 40 deg. W. The weather being hazy, we could only now and then get sight of the coast; but as we advanced to the east, several Islands were seen of unequal extent. We were abreast of the most eastern one at eight o'clock. A. M. when we waited some time for clear weather: but as it did not clear up as we wished, we hauled round the east end of the Island, for the sake of anchorage, if we should think it necessary. We were now distant from the Isle two miles, and sounding found only twenty-nine fathoms water. As we continued our course, we saw on this Island a great number of seals and birds; a strong temptation to our people who were in want of fresh provisions; and in hauling round it, we had a strong race of a current like unbroken water. At length, after fishing for the best ground, we cast anchor in twenty-one fathoms water, about a mile from the Island, which extended from north 18 deg. E. to N. 55 deg. and half W. The weather having soon after cleared up, we had a sight of Cape St. John, or the east end of Staten Land, bearing south 75 deg.

E. distant four leagues. The Island sheltered us from the north wind, and Staten Land from the south. The other Isles lay to the west, and secured us from the north wind; yet we were not only open to the N. E. and E. but to the N. W. winds. We might have avoided this situation, by anchoring more to the west, but the Captain was desirous of being near the Island, and of having it in his power to get to sea with any wind. In the afternoon a large party of us landed, some to kill seals, and others, birds or fish. The Island was so stocked with the former, which made such a continual bleating, that we might have thought ourselves in Essex, or any other country where cows and calves are in abundance. Upon examination we found these animals different from seals, though they resembled them in shape and motion. The male having a great likeness to a lion, we called them on that account lions. We also found some of the same kind as the New Zealand seals, and these we named sea-bears. We shot some of the large ones, not thinking it safe to go near them; though, in general, they were so tame, that we knocked some down with our sticks. Here were a few geese and ducks, and abundance of penguins and shags; the latter of which had young ones almost fledged, consequently just to our taste. In the evening our party returned sufficiently laden with provisions of various sorts.

On the 1st, of January, 1775, being Sunday, Mr. Gilbert was sent out to Staten Land, in search of a good harbour, nothing more being wanting, in the opinion of Capt. Cook, to make this place a good port for ships to touch at for refreshments. Another party went to bring on board the beasts we had killed the preceding day: The old lions and bears were good for nothing but their blubber, of which we made oil; but the flesh of the young ones we liked very well: even the flesh of the old lioness was not much amiss; but that of the males was abominable. Capt. Cook took an observation of the sun's meridian altitude (his height at noon) at the N. E. end of this Island, which determined



its latitude at 54 deg. 40 min. 5 sec. S. Having shot a few geese, some other birds, and supplied ourselves plentifully with young shags, we returned on board in the evening. About ten o'clock the party returned from Staten Land, where they found a good port, in the direction of north, a little easterly, from the N. E. end of the Eastern Island, and distant three leagues to the westward of Cape St. John. The marks whereby it may be known, are some small Islands lying in the entrance. The channel, which is on the east side of these Islands, is half a mile broad. The course is in S. W. by S. turning gradually to W. by S. and W. The harbour is almost two miles long, and near one broad. The bottom is a mixture of mud and sand, and hath in it from ten to fifty fathoms water. Here are several streams of fresh water, with good wood for fuel. On this Island are an innumerable number of sea-gulls, the air was quite darkened with them, upon being disturbed by our people: and when they rose up, we were almost suffocated with their dung, which they seemed to emit by way of defence; and it stunk worse than what is vulgarly called Devil's-dung. This port was named New-Year's Harbour, from the day on which it was discovered, and is certainly a very convenient one for shipping, bound to the west, or round Cape Horn. It is true, ships cannot put to sea with an easterly or northerly wind; but these winds are never known to be of long continuance, and those from the south or west quarters are the most prevailing.

On Tuesday the 3rd, we weighed and stood for Cape St. John, which in the evening, bore N. by E. distant four miles. This Cape, being the eastern point of Staten Land, is a rock of considerable height, situated in latitude 54 deg. 46 min S. and in 64 deg. 7 min. W. longitude, having a rocky Islet lying close under the north point of it. To the westward of the Cape is an inlet, which seemed to communicate with the sea to the south; and between this and the Cape is a bay. Having doubled the Cape, we hauled up along the south coast. At noon Cape St. John bore

north 20 deg. E. distant about three leagues, Capt St. Bartholomew, or the S. W. point of Staten Land, south 83 deg. W. two high detached rocks north 80 deg. W. By observation our latitude was found to be 54 deg. 56 min. S. We now judged this land to have been sufficiently explored; but before we leave it, think it necessary to make a few observations on this and its neighbouring Islands.

The S. W. coast of Terra del Fuego, with respect to inlets and Islands, may be compared to the coast of Norway; for we believe within the extent of three leagues there is an inlet or harbour, which will receive and shelter the first rate ships; but, till these are better known, every navigator must, as it were, fish for anchorage: add to this, there are several rocks on the coast; though as none lie far from land, the approach to them may be known by sounding, if they cannot be seen; so that upon the whole, we cannot think this the dangerous coast which has been represented by other voyagers. Staten Land is thirty miles in length, and nearly twelve broad. Its surface consists of craggy hills, towering up to a vast height, especially near the west end, and the coast is rocky. The greatest part of the hills, their summits excepted, is covered with trees, shrubs, and herbage. We cannot say any thing, that navigators may depend on, concerning the tides and currents on these coasts; but we observed that in Strait Le Maire, the southerly tide, or current, begins to act at the new and full moon about four o'clock. It may also be of use to our commanders to remark, that if bound round Cape Horn to the west, and not in want of any thing that might make it necessary to put into port, in this case, we would advise them not to come near the land; as by keeping out to sea, they would avoid the currents, which, we are convinced, lose their force at twelve leagues from land; and at a greater distance they would find none to impede their course. We would just add to these nautical observations, that all the time of our being upon the coast, we had more calms than storms: the winds were variable, nor did we experience any



severe cold weather. The mercury in the thermometer, at noon, was never below 46 deg. and during our stay in Christmas Sound, it was generally above temperate.

The Island we landed on, and the same may be said of the neighbouring Isles, is very unlike Staten Land. Its surface is of equal height, having an elevation of thirty or forty feet above the sea, from which it is secured by a rocky coast. It is covered with sword grass, of a beautiful verdure, and of great length, growing in tufts, on little hillocks. Among these are the tracks of sea bears and penguins, by which they retire into the centre of the Isle. These paths rendered our excursions rather disagreeable, for we were sometimes up to our knees in mire. Indeed the whole surface is moist and wet. The animals on this little spot are sea lions, sea bears, a variety of sea fowls, and some land birds. The largest lion we saw was fourteen feet long, and eight or ten in circumference. The back of the head, the neck and shoulders, are covered with long hair, like those of the lion; the other parts of the body with short hair, like that of the horse; the colour of both is a dark brown. The female is of a light dun colour, and about half the size of the male. They live in herds near the sea-shore, and on the rocks. As this was the time for engendering, and bringing forth their young, we saw a male with twenty or thirty females about him, and he seemed very desirous of keeping them all to himself, biting off every other male who attempted to approach the flock. The sea bears are smaller than the lions, but rather larger than a common seal. All their hairs are of an equal length, something like an otter's, and the general colour is that of an iron-grey. This kind the French call sea wolves, and the English seals. They are however, different from those in Europe and North America. The lions too may be called overgrown seals; for they are all of the same species. The hairs of the sea bears are much finer than those of lions. They permitted us to approach very near; but it was dangerous to go between them and the sea, for if they happened to take

fright, they would come down in vast numbers, and run over those who could not get out of their way. They are sluggish, sleepy animals, and downright bullies; for if waked out of their sleep they would raise up their heads, snort, snarl, and look very fierce; but when we advanced to attack them, they always ran away. This place abounds with penguins, which are amphibious birds, and so stupid, that we could knock down as many as we pleased with a stick. They are not very good eating, though we thought them so when in want of better fare. This was probably not their breeding season, for we saw neither eggs nor young ones. Here are great numbers of shags, who build their nests near the edge of the cliffs on little hillocks; and a smaller kind, which we saw build in the cliffs of the rocks. The geese are of the same sort as those in Christmas Sound, but not in such plenty. They make a noise exactly like a duck. Here are several ducks of the sort we called race-horses: some we shot weighed thirty-pounds. The sea fowls are curlews, gulls, tern, Port Egmont hens; and large brown birds, pretty good eating, which we called Molary's geese. The land birds were eagles, hawks, thrushes, and bald-headed vultures, which our sailors named Turkey buzzards. Two new species of birds were here discovered by our naturalists. One is the size of a pigeon, with a plumage white as milk, but not web-footed. When we first saw these kind of birds we took them for snow peterels, but they resemble them only in size and colour. They have a very bad smell, owing probably to their food being shell-fish and carrion, which they pick up along shore. The other sort, almost as big as a heron, resemble nearest curlews. Their plumage is variegated, their bills long and crooked, and their principal colours are light grey. All the animals of this little spot live in perfect harmony, and seem careful not to disturb each other's tranquillity. The sea lions possess most of the sea-coast; the bears take up their quarters within the Isle; the shags lodge in the highest cliffs; the penguins have their separate abode where there is



the most easy communication to and from the sea; and the other birds have their places of retirement; yet we have observed them all, with mutual reconciliation, mix together like domestic cattle and poultry in a farm-yard: nay we have seen the eagles and vultures sitting together among the shags on their hillocks, without the latter, either young or old, being disturbed at their presence.

It will be remembered, that we left Staten Island on the 3rd, and this day, being Wednesday the 4th, we saw the land again, at three o'clock A. M. and at six o'clock in the afternoon a heavy squall came so suddenly upon us, that it carried away a top-gallant-mast, a studding-sail boom, and a fore studding-sail. This ended in a heavy shower of rain; and we now steered S. W. in order to discover the gulph of St. Sebastian, if such a coast existed, in which that gulph has been represented, for of this we entertain a doubt; however, this appeared to be the best course to clear it up, and to explore the southern part of this ocean. On the 5th, by observation, we were in latitude 57 deg. 9 min. and 5 deg. 2 min. E. longitude from Cape St. John. On the 6th, at eight o'clock in the evening, we were in latitude 58 deg. 9 min. S. and 53 deg. 14 min. W. the situation nearly assigned for the S. W. point of the gulph of St. Sebastian: but seeing no signs of land, we were still doubtful of its existence; and being also fearful that by keeping to the south, we might miss the land said to be discovered by La Roche in 1675, and by the ship *Lion*, in 1756; for these reasons we hauled to the north, in order to get into the parallel laid down by Dalrymple as soon as possible. On the 7th, we were, near midnight, in the latitude of 56 deg. 4 min. S. longitude 53 deg. 36 min. W. On the 8th, at noon, a bed of sea-weed passed the ship; and in the afternoon we were in latitude 55 deg. 4 min. longitude 51 deg. 45 min. On Monday the 9th, we saw a seal, and sea-weed. On the 10th, at two o'clock A. M. we bore away east, and at eight E. N. E. At noon, by observation, we were in latitude 54 deg. 35 min. S. and in 47

deg. 56 min. W. longitude. We had at this time a great number of albatrosses and blue peterels about the ship. We now steered due east: and on the 11th, were in latitude 54 deg. 38 min. longitude 45 deg. 10 min. W. On the 12th, being Thursday, we steered east northerly; and at noon observed in latitude 54 deg. 28 min. S. and in 42 deg. 8 min. W. longitude, which is near 3 deg. E. of the situation, laid down by Mr. Dalrymple for the N. E. point of the gulph of St. Sebastian; but we had no other intimations of land, than seeing a seal, and a few penguins; and we had a swell from E. S. E. which we think would not have been, had any extensive track of land lay in that direction. On Friday the 13th, we stood to the south till noon, when finding ourselves in latitude 55 deg. 7 min. we stretched to the north. We now saw several penguins, and a snow peterel, which we judged to denote the vicinity of ice. We also found the air much colder than we had felt it since we left New Zealand. In the night we stood to the N. E. On Saturday the 14th, at two o'clock, P. M. in latitude 53 deg. 56 min 30 sec. S. and in longitude 59 deg. 24 min. W. we discovered land, in a manner wholly covered with snow. We sounded in one hundred and seventy-five fathoms, muddy bottom. The land bore E. by S. distant twelve leagues. On the 15th, the wind blew in squalls, attended with snow and sleet, and we had a great sea to encounter. At past four P. M. we stood to the S. W. under two courses; but at midnight the storm abated, so that we could carry our top-sails double reefed. On the 16th, at four o'clock, A. M. we stood to the east, with a moderate breeze, and at eight saw the land extending from E. by N. to N. E. by N. At noon, by observation, we were in latitude 54 deg. 25 min. 30 sec. and in 38 deg. 18 min. W. longitude. The land was now about eight leagues distant. It proved to be an Island, and we called it Willis Island, from the name of the person who first discovered it from the mast-head. It is a high rock of no great extent. We bore up to it with a view of exploring the northern coast; and as we



advanced perceived another Isle to the north, between that and the main. Observing a clear passage between both, we steered for the same, and in the midway found it to be two miles broad. Willis's Isle is in the latitude of 54 deg. S. and in 38 deg. 23 min. W. longitude. The other which was named Bird Island, a number of fowls being seen upon the coast, is not so high, but more extensive; and is near the N. E. point of the main land, which Capt. Cook named Cape North. We saw several masses of snow, or ice, in the bottoms of some bays on the S. E. coast of this land, particularly in one which lies about three leagues to the S. S. E. of Bird Isle. On Monday the 16th, having got through the passage, we observed the north coast trended E. by N. for about three leagues, and then E. and E. by S. to Cape Buller, which is eleven miles. We ranged the coast till near night, at one league distance, when on sounding we found fifty fathoms, and a muddy bottom. On the 17th, at two o'clock, A. M. we made for the land. We now steered along shore till seven, when, seeing the appearance of an inlet, we hauled in for it. The Captain accompanied by Mr. Forster and others, went off in a boat, to reconnoitre the bay before we ventured in with the ship. They landed in three different places, displayed our colours, and took possession of the country in his majesty's name. The head of the bay was terminated by ice cliffs of considerable height; pieces of which were continually breaking off, which made a noise like a cannon. Nor were the interior parts of the country less horrible. The savage rocks raised their lofty summits till lost in the clouds, and valleys were covered with seemingly perpetual snow. Not a tree, nor a shrub of any size were to be seen. The only signs of vegetation were a strong bladed grass, growing in tufts, wild burnet, and a plant like moss, seen on the rocks. Sea bears, or seals, were numerous; the shores swarmed with young cubs. Here were also the largest penguins we had yet seen. Some we brought aboard weighed above thirty pounds. We found the same sea-fowls as at the last Island; also divers,

the new white birds, and small-ones, resembling those at the Cape of Good Hope called the yellow birds, which, having shot two, we found most delicious morsels. We saw no other land birds than a few small larks, nor did we meet with any quadrupeds. The rocks bordering on the sea were not covered with snow like the inland parts; and they seemed to contain iron ore. When the party returned aboard, they brought with them a quantity of seals and penguins. Not that we wanted provisions; but any kind of fresh meat was acceptable to the crew; and even Capt. Cook acknowledged that he was now, for the first time, heartily tired of salt diet of every kind; and that though the flesh of penguins could scarcely be compared to bullock's liver, yet its being fresh was sufficient to make it palatable. The Captain named the bay he had surveyed, Possession Bay; though according to his account of it, we think it to be no desirable appendage to his majesty's new possessions. It lies in latitude 54 deg. 5 min. S. and in 37 deg. 18 min. W. eleven leagues to the east of Cape North. To the west of Possession Bay, and between that and Cape Buller, lies the Bay of Isles, so called from the number of small Isles lying before and in it.

On Tuesday, the 17th, we made sail to the east along the coast: the direction of which from Cape Buller, is 72 deg. 30 min. E. for the space of twelve leagues, to a projecting point, which was named Cape Saunders. Beyond this is a pretty large bay, which obtained the name of Cumberland Bay. At the bottom of this, as also in some other smaller ones, were vast tracks of frozen ice, or snow, not yet broken loose. Being now just past Cumberland Bay, we hauled off the coast, from whence we were distant about four miles. On the 18th, at noon, by observation, we were in latitude 54 deg. 30 min. S. and about three leagues from the coast, which stretched from N. 59 deg. W. to S. 13 deg. W. In this direction the land was an Isle, which seemed to be the extremity of the coast to the east. At this time the nearest land was a projecting point, terminating in a round hillock, which,



on account of the day, was called Cape Charlotte; on the west side of which lies a bay, and it was named Royal Bay, and the west point we called Cape George. This is the east point of Cumberland Bay, in the direction of S. E. by E. from Cape Saunders, distant seven leagues. The Capes Charlotte and George lie in the direction of south 37 deg. E. and north 37 deg. W. six leagues distant from each other. The Isle above mentioned was named Cooper's after our lieutenant. It is in the direction of S. by E. and eight leagues from Cape Charlotte. The coast between them forms a large bay, which we named Sandwich Bay. On the 19th, at sun-rise, new land was discovered, which bore S. E. half E. At the first sight it had the appearance of a single hill, in the form of a sugar-loaf; but soon after, other detached parts were visible above the horizon near the hill. We observed at noon in latitude 54 deg. 42 min. 30 sec. S. A lurking rock that lies off Sandwich Bay, five miles from the land, bore W. half N. distant one mile. In the afternoon we had a view of a ridge of mountains, behind Sandwich Bay, whose icy tops were elevated high above the clouds. At six o'clock, Cape Charlotte bore north 31 deg. W. and Cooper's Island W. S. W.

On Friday the 20th, at two o'clock, A. M. we made sail to the S. W. round Cooper's Island, which is one rock considerably high, about five miles in circuit, and one distant from the main. Here the main coast takes a S. W. direction for five leagues to a point, which we called Cape Disappointment, off of which are three small Isles. The most southern one is a league from the Cape, green, low, and flat. From the point as we continued our course S. W. land was seen to open in the direction of north 60. deg. W. distant beyond it nine leagues. It proved to be an Isle, and was named Pickersgill Island. A point of what we had hitherto supposed to be the main, beyond this Island, soon after came in sight in the direction of north 55 deg. W. which united the coast at the very point we had seen, and taken the bearing of, the day we first came in with it, and left us not a single doubt,

that this land which we had taken for part of a great continent, was no more than an Island, two hundred and ten miles in circuit. We thought it very extraordinary, that an Island between the latitude of 54 and 55 degrees, should in the very height of summer, be almost wholly covered with frozen snow, in some places many fathoms deep; but more especially the S. W. coast. Nay, the very sides of the lofty mountains were cased with ice; but the quantity of ice and snow that lay in the valleys is incredible, and the bottoms of the bays were bounded with walls of ice of a considerable height. We are of opinion, that a great deal of the ice formed here in winter, is broken off in spring, and floats into the sea; but we question whether a tenthousandth part of what we saw is produced in this Island; from whence we are led to conclude, that the land we had seen the day before might belong to a more extensive track; and we still had hopes of discovering a continent. As to our present disappointment, we were not much affected thereby; for, were we to judge of the whole by this sample, whatever its extent might be, it would be an acquisition scarcely worth notice. This inhospitable, and dreary land, lies between the latitudes of 53 deg. 57 min. and 54 deg. 57 min. S. and between 38 deg. 13 min. and 35 deg. 34 min. W. longitude. We named this the Isle of Georgia, in honour of his majesty. It extends S. E. by E. and N. W. by W. and is ninety-three miles long, and about ten broad. The N. E. coast appears to have a number of bays, but the ice must prevent access to them the greatest part of the year; and at any time they will be dangerous harbours, on account of the continual breaking away of the ice cliffs. We are inclined to think, that the interior parts, on account of their elevation, never enjoy heat enough to melt the snow in such quantities as to produce a river; nor did we find even a stream of fresh water on the whole coast; and the N. E. side of this, only receives sufficient warmth to melt the snow. We now quitted this coast, and directed our course to the E. S. E. for the land we had seen the preceding day. A



strong gale overtook us, and we thought ourselves very fortunate in having got clear of the land before this came on.

On the 21st, the storm was succeeded by a thick fog, attended with rain; but having got a southerly breeze, we stood to the east till three in the afternoon; and then steered north in search of the land. On the 22nd, we had thick foggy weather; but in the evening it was so clear, that we could see two leagues round us; and thinking we might be to the east of the land, we steered west.

On the 23rd, a thick fog at six o'clock, A. M. once more compelled us to haul the wind to the south; but at eleven, we were favoured with a view of three or four rocky Islets, extending from S. E. to E. N. E. about one league distant; and this, being the extent of our horizon, might be the reason why we did not see the sugar-loaf peak before mentioned. We were well assured this was the land we had seen before, and which we had now circumnavigated; consisting of only a few detached rocks,

the receptacles for birds. They are situated in latitude 55 deg. S. twelve leagues from Cooper's Isle, and we named them Clerk's Rocks. Mr. Clerk, one of our lieutenants, having first discovered them. This interval of clear weather was succeeded by as thick a fog as ever, on which we stood to the north. Thus we were continually involved in thick mists, and the shags with frequent soundings were our best pilots; but on the 23rd, we stood a few miles to the north, when we got clear of rocks, out of soundings, and saw not any shags.

On the 24th, we saw the rocks bearing S. S. W. half W. distant four miles, but we did not still see the sugar-loaf peak. At four o'clock P. M. judging ourselves to be three or four leagues E. and W. of them, we steered south, being quite tired with cruising in thick fogs, only to have a sight of a few straggling rocks. Having at intervals a clear sky to the west, at seven o'clock we saw the Isle of Georgia, bearing W. N. W. distant eight leagues: at eight we steered S. E. by S. and at ten S. E. by E.

## CHAP. IX.

*The Resolution continues her course; Newland and Saunder's Isles discovered; Conjectures, and some reasons that there may be land about the South Pole; The Resolution alters her course south to the east; Endeavours to find Cape Circumcision; Observation on what she had done in the voyage; Proceedings till her arrival at the Cape of Good Hope; Sails for the Isle of Fayal; And returns to England; Capt. Furneaux's narrative, from the time the Adventure was separated from the Resolution, to her arrival in England, including the report of Lieut. Burney, concerning the untimely death of the boat's crew, who were murdered by some of the natives of Queen Charlotte's Sound, in New Zealand.*

ON Wednesday the 25th, we steered E. S. E. We had a fresh gale at N. N. E. but the weather still continued foggy, till towards the evening, at which time it cleared up. On the 26th, we held on our course with a fine gale from the N. N. W. but at day-light, seeing no land to the east, and being in latitude 56 deg. 33 min. S.

and in 31 deg. 10 min. W. longitude, we steered south. On the 27th, at noon, we were in the latitude of 59 deg. 46 min. S. and had so thick a fog that we could not see a ship's length. We expected soon to fall in with the ice, and on this account, it being no longer safe to sail before the wind, we hauled to the east with a gentle



gale at N. N. E. When the fog cleared away, we resumed our course to the south : but it returned again, which obliged us to haul upon a wind. By our reckoning we were now in the latitude of 60 deg. S. and unless we discovered some certain signs of soon falling in with land, the Captain determined to make this the limit of his voyage to the south. Indeed it would not have been prudent to have squandered away time in proceeding farther to the south, when there was a great probability of finding a large track of land near Cape Circumcision. Besides it was an irksome task to traverse in high southern latitudes, where nothing was to be discovered but ice. At this time a long hollow swell from the west, indicated that no land was to be expected in such a direction ; and upon the whole, we may venture to assert, that the extensive coast laid down by Mr. Dalrymple, and his Gulph of St. Sebastian, do not exist. The fog having receded from us a little, at seven o'clock in the evening, we saw an ice island, penguins, and snow peterels. In the night, being visited with a return of the fog, we were obliged to go over again that space which we had, in some degree, made ourselves acquainted with in the day.

On the 28th, at eight o'clock, A. M. we stood to the east, with a gentle breeze at north. The weather cleared away, and we perceived the sea strewed with large and small bodies of ice. Some whales, penguins, snow peterels, and other birds were seen. We had now sun-shine, but the air was cold. At noon, by observation, we were in 60 deg. 4 min. S. and in 29 deg. 23 min. W. longitude. At half past two o'clock, having continued our course to the east, we suddenly fell in with a vast number of large ice-islands, and a sea strewed with loose ice, and the weather becoming hazy, made it dangerous to stand in among them. We therefore tacked, and stood back to the west, with the wind at north. We were now surrounded with ice-islands, all nearly of an equal height, with a flat level surface : but of various extent. The

loose ice, with which the sea appeared strewed, had broke from these Isles.

On Sunday the 19th. having little wind, we were obliged to traverse in such courses, as were most likely to carry us clear of them, so that we hardly made any progress, one way or other, throughout the whole day. The weather was fair, but remarkably gloomy, and we were visited by penguins and whales in abundance. On the 30th, we tacked and stood to the N. E. and almost throughout the day it was foggy, with either sleet or snow. At noon we were in latitude 59 deg. 30 min. S. and in 29 deg. 24 min. W. At two o'clock, passed one of the largest ice-islands we had seen during our voyage ; and some time after two smaller ones. We now stood to N. E. over a sea strewed with ice. On the 31st, we discovered land a-head, distant about one league. We hauled the wind to the north ; but not being able to weather it, we tacked in one hundred and seventy-five fathoms water, a league from the shore, and about half a one from some breakers. This land consisted of three rocky Islots of considerable height. The utmost terminated in a lofty peak, like a sugar-loaf, to which we gave the name of Freezeland Peak, after the man who first discovered it. The latitude is 59 deg. S. and 27 deg. W. longitude. To the east of this peak, was seen an elevated coast, whose snow-cap'd summits were above the clouds. It extended from N. by E. to E. S. E. and we named it Cape Bristol, in honour of the noble family of Harvey. Also in latitude 59 deg. 13 min. 30 sec. S. and in 27 deg. 45 min. W. another elevated coast appeared in sight, bearing S. W. by S. at noon, it extended from S. E. to S. S. W. distant from four to eight leagues. This land we called Southern Thule, because the most southern that has yet been discovered. Its surface rises high, and is every where covered with snow. There were those of our company, who thought they saw land in the space between Thule and Cape Bristol. We judged it more than probable that these two lands are connected, and the space is a deep bay,



which, though these are mere suppositions, was called Forster's Bay. Being not able to weather Southern Thule, we tacked and stood to the north, at one o'clock, and at four, Freezeland Peak was distant four leagues. Soon after the wind fell, and we were left to the mercy of a great westerly swell, which set right upon the shore; but at eight o'clock, the weather clearing up, we saw Cape Bristol, which bore E. S. E. ending in a point to the north, beyond which we could see no land. Thus we were relieved from the fear of being carried away by the swell, and cast on the most horrible coast in the world. We continued our course to the north all night, with a light breeze at west.

On Wednesday the 1st, of February, at four o'clock in the morning, we had a view of a new coast. At six it bore north 60 deg. E. and being a high promontory, we named it Cape Montague. It is situated in latitude 58 deg. 27. min. S. and in 26 deg. 44 min. W. longitude; eight leagues to the north of Cape Bristol. We saw land in several places between them, whence we concluded the whole might be connected. We wish it had been in our power to have determined this with greater certainty, but prudence would not permit the attempt, nor to venture near a coast, the dangers of which have been already sufficiently pointed out. One ice-island, among many others on this coast, particularly attracted our notice. It was level in surface, of great extent both in height and circuit, and its sides were perpendicular, on which the waves of the sea had not made the least impression. We thought it might have come out from some bay in the coast. At noon we were east and west of the northern part of Cape Montague, distant five leagues. Freezeland Peak was twelve leagues, and bore south 16 deg. E. By observation we found our latitude to be 58 deg. 25 min. In the afternoon, at two o'clock, when standing to the north we saw land, which bore north 25 deg. E. It extended from north 40 deg. to 52 deg. E. and it was imagined more land lay beyond it to the east. Cape Montague at this time bore

south 66 deg. E. at eight 40 deg. and Cape Bristol S. by E.

On the 2nd, at six o'clock, A. M. having steered to the north during the night, new land was discovered, bearing north 12 deg. E. distant ten leagues. We saw two hummocks just above the horizon; of which we soon lost sight. We now stood, having a fresh breeze at N. N. E. for the northernmost land we had seen the preceding day, which at this time, bore E. S. E. By ten o'clock we fetched in with it, but not having it in our power to weather the same, we tacked at three miles from the coast. This extended from E. by S. to S. E. and appeared to be an Island of about ten leagues circuit. The surface was high, and its summit lost in the clouds. Like all the neighbouring lands, it was covered with a sheet of snow and ice, except on a point on the north side, and on two hills seen over it, which probably were two Islands. These were not only clear of snow, but seemed covered with green turf. We saw also large ice-islands to the south, and others to the N. E. At noon we tacked for the land again, in order if possible to determine whether it was an Island; but a thick fog soon prevented the discovery, by making it unsafe to stand in for the shore; so that having returned, we tacked and stood to N. W. to make the land we had seen in the morning. We left the other under the supposition of its being an Island, and named it Saunder's Isle, after Capt. Cook's honourable friend Sir Charles Saunders. It lies in latitude 57 deg. 49 min. S. and in 26 deg. 44 min. W. longitude, distant thirteen leagues from Cape Montague. The wind having shifted at six o'clock, we stood to the north: and at eight we saw Saunder's Island, extending from S. E. by S. to E. S. E. We were still in doubt if it were an Island, and could not at this time clear it up, as we found it necessary to take a view of the land to the north, before we proceeded any farther to the east. With this intent we stood to the north, and on the 3rd, at two o'clock A. M. we came in sight of the land we were searching after, which proved to be two Isles. On account of the day



on which they were discovered, we called them Candlemas Isles. They lie in latitude 57 deg. 11 min. S. and in 27 deg. 6 min. W. longitude. Between these we observed a small rock; there may perhaps be others; for the weather being hazy, occasioned us to lose sight of the Islands, and we did not see them again till noon, at which time they were three or four leagues off. We were now obliged, by reason of the wind having veered to the south, to stand to the N. E. and at midnight came suddenly into water uncommonly white, at which appearance the officer on watch was so much alarmed, that he immediately ordered the ship to be put about, and we accordingly tacked instantly. There were various opinions aboard concerning this matter; probably it might be a shoal of fish; but some said it was a shoal of ice; and others thought it was shallow water.

On Sunday the 4th, at two o'clock A. M. we resumed our course to the east, and at six tried if there were any current, but found none. At this time some whales were playing, and numbers of penguins flying about us; of the latter we shot a few, different from those on Staten Land, and at the Isle of Georgia. We had not seen a seal since we left that coast, which is somewhat remarkable. By observation at noon, we found ourselves in latitude 56 deg. 44 min. S. and in longitude 25 deg. 33 min. W. We now having a breeze at east, stood to the south, intending to regain the coast we had lost; but the wind at eight o'clock in the evening, obliged us to stand to the east, in which run we saw many ice-islands, and some loose ice. As the formation of ice-islands has not been fully investigated, we will here offer a few hints and observations respecting them. We do not think, as some others do, that they are formed by the water at the mouths of great cataracts, or large rivers, which, when accumulated, break off, owing to their ponderous weight; because we never found any of the ice, which we took up, in the least incorporated, or connected with earth, which must necessarily adhere to it, were this conjecture true. Furthermore, we are not certain whether there

are any rivers in these countries, as we saw neither rivers nor streams of fresh water there. The ice-islands, at least in those parts, must be formed from snow and sleet consolidated, which gathers by degrees, and are drifted from the mountains. In the winter, the seas or the ice cliffs must fill up the bays, if they are ever so large. The continual fall of snow occasions the accumulation of these cliffs, till they can support their weight no longer, and large pieces break off from these ice-islands. We are inclined to believe, that these ice cliffs, where they are sheltered from the violence of the winds, extend a great way into the sea.

On the 5th, having seen no penguins, we thought that we were leaving land behind us, and that we had passed its northern extremity. At noon we were 3 deg. of longitude to the east of Saunder's Isle; and by observation in the latitude of 57 deg. 8 min. S. and in 23 deg. 34 min. W. longitude. In the afternoon we again stretched to the south, in order that we might again fall in with the land, if it took an east direction.

On Monday the 6th, we held on our course till the 7th at noon, when we found our latitude to be 58 deg. 15 min. S. and longitude 21 deg. 34 min. W. and not seeing any signs of land, we concluded, that what had been denominated Sandwich Land, was either a group of Islands, or a point of the continent; for in Capt. Cook's opinion, the ice that is spread over this vast Southern Ocean, must originate in a track of land, which he firmly believes lies near the pole, and extends farthest to the north, opposite the Southern Atlantic and Indian Oceans; for ice being found in these farther to the north, than any where else, induced the Captain to conclude, that land of considerable extent must exist near the south. Upon a contrary supposition, it will follow, that we ought to see ice every where under the same parallel; but few ships have met with ice going round Cape Horn; and for our part, we saw but little below the sixtieth degree of latitude in the Southern Pacific Ocean; on the other hand in this sea, between the meridian of 40 deg. W. and 50 or 60 degrees east, we found ice as far



north as 51 deg. Others have seen it in a much lower latitude. Let us now suppose there is a Southern Continent within the polar circle. The question which readily occurs, will be : What end can be answered in discovering or exploring such a coast ? Or what use can the same be either to navigation, geography, or any other science ? And what benefits can result therefrom to a commercial state ? Consider for a moment, what thick fogs, snow, storms, intense cold, and every thing dangerous to navigation, must be encountered with by every hardy adventurer ; behold the horrid aspect of a country impenetrable by the animating heat of the sun's rays ; a country doomed to be immersed in everlasting snow. See the Islands and floats on the coast, and the continual falls of the ice cliffs in the ports : these difficulties, which might be heightened by others not less dangerous, are sufficient to deter every one from the rash attempts of proceeding farther to the south, than our expert and brave commander has done, in search of an unknown country, which when discovered, would answer no valuable purpose whatever. By this time we had traversed the Southern Ocean, in such a manner, as to have no doubt in determining that there is no continent, unless near the pole, and out of the reach of navigation. We have made many new discoveries, and ascertained the exact situations of several old ones. Thus was the end of our voyage fully answered, a southern hemisphere sufficiently explored, and the necessity of a search after a southern continent put an end to. We should have proceeded to farther discoveries, but our Captain thought it cruel to detain the people who sailed with him any longer without the necessary refreshments, especially, as their behaviour merited every indulgence ; for neither officers nor men ever once repined at any hardship, nor expressed any uneasiness, or additional fear of danger, on account of our separation from the Adventure. It was now high time to think of returning home ; and could we have continued longer, we should have been in great danger of the scurvy breaking out among us, and we do

not know any good purpose farther discoveries would have answered : we therefore steered for the Cape of Good Hope, intending to look for Burvet's discovery, Cape Circumcision, and the Isles of Denia and Marseveen. But before we continue the narrative of this voyage, it may not be thought improper to collect a few observations from our most eminent writers, on Terra Magellanica, Patagonia, part of which coast lies within the straits, the Island of Terra del Feugo, and Falkland's Islands.

Terra Magellanica received its name from Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese officer ; who likewise gave names to those straits which lead from the south to the north sea, he being the first who sailed through them. The appellation of Patagonia was derived from a principal tribe of its inhabitants, called Patagons. The whole country, which goes under the name of Patagonia, extends from Chili and Paraguay to the utmost extremity of South America, that is, from 35 almost to 54 degrees of south latitude, being seven hundred miles long, and three hundred broad where widest. The northern parts contain an almost inexhaustible stock of large timber, but in the southern districts there is scarcely a tree to be seen fit for any mechanical purpose. The lofty mountains, called the Andes, traverse the whole country from north to south.

Here are incredible numbers of wild horned cattle and horses, which were first brought hither by the Spaniards, and have increased amazingly ; the pasturage also is good. Some writers tell us that fresh water is scarce ; but were that the case, we cannot see how the present inhabitants, and such multitudes of cattle could subsist. The east coast is chiefly low-land, with few or no good harbours ; that called St. Julian is one of the best.

The inhabitants of Patagonia consist of several Indian tribes, as the Patagons, Pampas, Cossares, &c. They are a savage, barbarous people, of a copper colour, like the rest of the Americans, with coarse black hair, and no beards. They are mightily addicted to painting themselves, and make streaks on their faces and bodies. They go



almost stark naked, having only a square garment, in the form of a blanket, made of the skins of several animals, and sewed together, which they sometimes wrapt round them in extreme cold weather; and they have also a cap of the skins of fowls on their heads. Former voyagers represented them as monstrous giants of eleven feet high, whereas they are no taller than the other Americans. The women, as in other places, are very fond of necklaces and bracelets, which they make of sea shells. The natives chiefly live on fish and game, and what the earth produces spontaneously. This country abounds with an animal called camel-sleep by some authors, but their true name is guanacoës. They partake of the nature of a camel, though they have no bunch on the back, and they were formerly made use of to carry burdens. They have also a bird called an ostrich, but not so large, and they differ from the African ostriches in having three toes, whereas those have but two. A great number of Islands, or clusters of Islands, lie on the coasts of Patagonia.

The Island of Terra del Feugo, or the Land of Fires, as it was called by the first discoverers, on account of their having observed some great fires upon it (supposed to be volcanoes) as they passed it in the night, is separated from the continent by the Magellanic Straits; has a rough appearance, being very mountainous, but is intersected with deep narrow valleys, and is well watered. The natives of this country are short in their persons, not exceeding five feet six inches at most, their heads large, their faces broad, their cheek bones very prominent, and their noses very flat. They have little brown eyes, without life; their hair is black and lank, hanging about their heads in disorder, and besmeared with train oil. On the chin they have a few straggling short hairs instead of a beard, and from their nose there is a constant discharge of mucus into their ugly open mouth. The whole assemblage of their features forms the most loathsome picture of misery and wretchedness to which human nature can possibly be reduced. They had no other

clothing than a small piece of seal-skin, which hung from their shoulders to the middle of the back, being fastened round the neck with a string. The rest of their body was perfectly naked, not the least regard being paid to decency. Their natural colour seems to be an olive-brown, with a kind of gloss resembling that of copper; but many of them disguise themselves with streaks of red paint, and sometimes, though seldom, with white. Their whole character is the strongest compound of stupidity, indifference, and inactivity. They have no other arms than bows and arrows, and their instruments for fishing, a kind of fish-gags. They live chiefly on seals flesh, and like the fat oily part best. There is no appearance of any subordination among them, and their mode of living approaches nearer to that of brutes, than that of any other nation. The children go naked, and the only weapon of the men is a long stick generally hooked, and pointed at the end like a lance. They live in huts made of boughs, and covered with mud, branches, &c. One side is open, and the fire-place is in the middle; and a whole family herd together in one of these miserable hovels.

The above-mentioned Islands are all very barren and mountainous; but from what Mr. Forster says, in his Voyage to the South Sea, the climate would not appear to be so rigorous and tempestuous as it is represented in Anson's Voyage. Upon the lower grounds and Islands that were sheltered by the high mountains, several sorts of trees and plants, and a variety of birds were found. Among the trees was Winter's bark-tree, and a species of arbutus, loaded with red fruit of the size of small cherries, which were very well tasted. In some places there is also plenty of celery. Among the birds was a species of duck, of the size of a goose, which ran along the sea with amazing velocity, beating the water with its wings and feet; it had a grey plumage, with a yellow bill and feet, and a few white quill feathers. At the Falkland Islands it is called a loggerhead duck. Among the birds are also plenty of geese and falcons. The rocks of some of the Islands are covered with



large muscle-shells, the fish of which is said to be more delicate than oysters.

Faulkland's Islands were first discovered in 1594, by Sir Richard Hawkins, who named the principal of them Hawkins' Maidenland, in honour of queen Elizabeth. The present name Faulkland was probably given them by Capt. Strong, in 1689, and afterwards adopted by Halley.

The late lord Egmont, first lord of the admiralty in 1764, then revived the scheme of a settlement in the South Seas, and commodore Byron was sent to take possession of Faulkland's Islands in the name of his Britannic majesty, and in his journal represents them as a valuable acquisition. On the other hand, they are represented by Capt. M<sup>r</sup> Bride, who in 1766, succeeded that gentleman, as the outcasts of nature. "We found (says he) a map of Islands and broken lands, of which the soil was nothing but a bog, with no better prospect than that of barren mountains, beaten by storms almost perpetual. Yet this is summer; and if the winds of winter hold their natural proportion, those who lie but two cables' length from the shore, must pass weeks without any communication with it." The herbs and vegetables which were planted by Mr. Byron's people; and the fir tree, a native of rugged and cold climates had withered. In the summer months, wild celery and sorrel are the natural luxuries of these Islands. Goats, sheep, and hogs, that were carried hither, were found to increase and thrive as in other places. Geese of a fishy taste, snipes, penguins, foxes, and sea lions, are also found here, and plenty of good water.

Though the soil be barren, and the sea tempestuous, an English settlement was made here, of which we were dispossessed by the Spaniards in 1770. That violence was, however, disavowed by the Spanish ambassador, and some concessions were made to the court of Great Britain; but in order to avoid giving umbrage to the court of Spain, the settlement was afterwards abandoned.

On Tuesday the 7th, we resumed our course to the east, and this day only three

ice-islands were seen. At eight o'clock in the evening, we hauled the wind to the S. E. for the night. On the 8th, at day-light, we continued our course to the east, being in latitude 58 deg. 30 min. S. and in 15 deg. 14 min. W. longitude. In the afternoon passed three ice-islands. On the 9th, we had a calm most part of the day; the weather fair, except at times a snow shower. We saw several ice-islands, but not the least intimation that could induce us to think that any land was near us. We stood now to N. E. with a breeze which sprung up at S. E. On the 10th, we had showers of sleet and snow; the weather was piercing cold, insomuch that the water on deck was frozen. The ice-islands were continually in sight. On the 11th, we continued to steer east. In the morning we had heavy showers of snow; but as the day advanced, we had clear and serene weather. At noon we were in latitude 58 deg. 11 min. and in 7 deg. 55 min. W. longitude. On the 12th, we had ice-islands continually in sight, but most of them were small and breaking to pieces. On Monday the 13th, we had a heavy fall of snow; but the sky clearing up, we had a fair night, and so sharp a frost, that the water in all our vessels on deck, was next morning covered with a sheet of ice. On the 14th, we continued to steer east, inclining to the north, and in the afternoon crossed the first meridian, or that of Greenwich, in the latitude of 57 deg. 50 min. S. At eight o'clock we had a hard gale at S. S. W. and a high sea from the same quarter. On the 15th, we steered E. N. E. till noon, when by observation, we were in latitude 56 deg. 37 min. S. and in 4 deg. 11 min. E. longitude. We now sailed N. E. with a view of getting into the latitude of Cape Circumcision. We had some large ice-islands in sight, and the air was nearly as cold as the preceding day. The night was foggy, with snow showers, and a smart frost. On Thursday the 16th, we continued our course N. E. and at noon we observed in latitude 55 deg. 26 min. S. and in 5 deg. 52 min. E. longitude, in which situation we had a great swell from the south, but no ice in sight. At one o'clock we stood



to S. E. till six, when we tacked, and stood to the north. At this time we had a heavy fall of snow and sleet, which fixed to the masts and rigging as it fell, and coated the whole with ice. On the 17th, we had a great high sea from the south, from whence we concluded no land was near in that direction. At this time were in latitude 54 deg. 20 min. S. and in 6 deg. 33 min. E. longitude. On the 18th, the weather was fair and clear. We now kept a look-out for Cape Circumcision; for if the land had ever so little extent in the direction of N. and S. we could not miss seeing it, as the northern point is said to lie in 54 deg. On the 19th, at eight o'clock in the morning, land appeared in the direction E. by S. but it proved a mere fog bank. We now steered E. by S. and S. E. till seven o'clock in the evening, when we were in latitude 54 deg. 42 min. S. and in 13 deg. 3 min. E. longitude. We now stood to N. W. having a very strong gale, attended with snow showers. On Monday the 20th, we tacked and stretched to N. E. and had a fresh gale attended with snow showers and sleet. At noon we were in latitude 54 deg. 8 min. S. longitude 12 deg. 59 min. E. but had not the least sign of land. On the 21st, we were 5 deg. to the east of the longitude in which Cape Circumcision is said to lie, and continued our course east, inclining a little to the south, till the 22nd, when, at noon, by observation we were in latitude 54 deg. 24 min. S. and in 19 deg. 18 min. E. longitude. We had now measured in the latitude laid down for Bouvet's land, 13 deg. of longitude; a course in which it is hardly possible we could have missed it; we therefore began to doubt its existence; and concluded, that what the Frenchman had seen, could be nothing more than a deception, or an Island of ice: for after we had left the southern Isles, to the present time, not the least vestige of land had been discovered. We saw, it is true, some seals and penguins; but these are to be found in all parts of the southern ocean, and we believe shags, gannets, boobies, and men of war birds, are the most indubitable signs that denote the vicinity of lands, as they seldom go very far

out to sea. Being at this time only 2 degrees of longitude from our route to the south, when we took our departure from the Cape of Good Hope, it was in vain for us to continue our course to the east, under this parallel; but thinking we might have seen land farther to the south, for this reason, and to clear up some doubts, we steered S. E. in order to get into the situation in which it was supposed to lie. On the 23rd, from observations on several distances of the sun and moon, we found ourselves in the latitude of 55 deg. 25 min. S. and in 23 deg. 22 min. E. longitude; and having run over the track in which the land was supposed to lie, without seeing any, we now were well assured the ice-islands had deceived M. Bonvet; as at times they had deceived us. During the night the wind veered to N. W. which enabled us to steer more north; for we had now laid aside all thoughts of searching farther after the French discoveries, and were determined to direct our course for the Cape of Good Hope, intending only by the way to look for the Isles of Denia, and Marseveen, which by Dr. Halley are laid down in the latitude of 41 deg. 5 min. and 4 deg. E. longitude from the meridian of the Cape of Good Hope. On Friday the 25th, we steered N. E. and were at noon in latitude 52 deg. 52 min. S. longitude 26 deg. 31 min. E. This day we saw the last ice-island.

On Wednesday the 1st of March, we were in latitude 46 deg. 44. min. S. and in 23 deg. 36 min. W. longitude; and we took notice, that the whole time the wind blew regular and constant northerly, which included several days, the weather was always cloudy and very hazy; but as soon as it came south of west, it cleared up. We also observed, that the barometer began to rise several days before this change happened. On the 3rd, in the afternoon, we had intervals of clear weather, but at night the wind blew a heavy squall from S. W. whereby several of our sails were split, and a middle stay-sail was wholly lost. Our latitude was 45 deg. 8 min. S. longitude 30 deg. 50 min. E. On Wednesday the 8th, the thermometer rose to 61 deg. and we



were obliged to put on lighter clothes. We were now in latitude 41 deg. 30 min. S. longitude 26 deg. 51 min. E. We had not yet seen any signs of land, but albatrosses, peterels, and other sea birds, were our daily visitors. On the 11th, the wind shifted suddenly from N. W. to S. W. which occasioned the mercury to fall as suddenly from 62 to 52 deg. so different was the state of the air between a northerly and southerly wind. Our latitude this day was 40 deg. 40 min. S. longitude 23 deg. 47 min. E.

On Sunday the 12th, some albatrosses and peterels were shot, which proved an acceptable treat. This day we were nearly in the situation, in which the Isles of Denia and Marseveen are said to lie, and not the least hope of finding them remained. On the 13th, we stood to N. N. W. and at noon by observation, were in latitude 38 deg. 51 min. S. which was above thirty miles more than our log gave us; to what this difference was owing, we could not determine. The watch also shewed that we had been set to the east. At this time we were 2 degrees north of the parallel in which the Isles are laid down, but found not any encouragement to persevere in our endeavours to find them. This must have consumed more time, we think, in a fruitless search; and every one, all having been confined a long time to stale and salt provisions, was impatient to get into port. We therefore in compliance with the general wish, resolved to make the best of our way to the Cape of Good Hope. We were now in latitude 38 deg. 38 min. S. and in 23 deg. 37 min. E. longitude.

On Thursday the 16th, at day-break, we descried in the N. W. quarter, standing to the westward, two sail, one of which shewed Dutch colours. At ten o'clock we stood to the west also, and were now in the latitude of 35 deg. 9 min. S. and in longitude 22 deg. 38 min. E. About this time a quarrel arose between three officers, and the ship's cooks, which was not reconciled without serious consequences. Those three gentlemen, upon some occasion or other, entered the cook-room with naked knives, and with oaths, unbecoming their character,

swore they would take away the lives of the first who dared to affront them. It seems they had formerly met with some rebuffs for too much frequenting the cooks' apartments, which had hitherto passed in joke; but now a regular complaint was laid before the Captain, of their unwarrantable behaviour, and of the danger the men were in of their lives; into which complaint the Captain was under a necessity of inquiring; and upon finding it just, of confining the offenders in irons. While they were in this situation, the articles of war being read, it was found that the offence was of such a nature as hardly to be determined without a reference to a court martial, in order to which the two who appeared most culpable, were continued prisoners upon parole, and the third was cleared. After this business had engrossed the Captain's attention, he called the ship's crew together, and after recounting the particulars of the voyage, the hardships they had met with, the fatigues they had undergone, and the cheerfulness they had constantly shewn in the discharge of their duty, he gave them to understand, how much it would still more recommend them to the lords of the admiralty, if they would preserve a profound silence in the ports they had yet to pass and might enter; with regard to the courses, the discoveries they had made, and every particular relative to this voyage; and likewise, after their return home, till they had their lordships' permission to the contrary; requiring, at the same time, all those officers who had kept journals, to deliver them into his custody, to be sealed up, and not to be opened till delivered to their lordships at the proper office. In the interim they were to be locked up safely in a chest. This request was cheerfully complied with by every commissioned officer.

On Friday, the 17th, we observed at noon in the latitude of 34 deg. 49 min. S. in the evening we saw land, about six leagues distant, in the direction of E. N. E. And there was a great fire or light upon it, throughout the first part of the night. On the 18th, at day-break, we saw, at the same distance, the land again, bearing N. N. W.



At nine o'clock, we sent out a boat to get up with one of the two ships before noticed ; we were so desirous of hearing news, that we paid no attention to the distance, though the ships were at least two leagues from us. Soon after we stood to the south, a breeze springing up at west. At this time three more sail were seen to windward, one of which shewed English colours. The boat returned at one o'clock P. M. and our people in it had been on board a Dutch Indiaman, coming home from Bengal ; the ship was the Bownkerk Polder, the Captain Cornelius Bosch. The Captain very politely made us a tender of sugar, arrack, and of any thing that could be spared out of the ship. By some English mariners on board her, our people were informed, that our consort had arrived at the Cape of Good Hope twelve months ago ; adding, that a boat's crew had been murdered and eaten by the natives of New Zealand. This intelligence sufficiently explained the mysterious accounts we had received from our old friends, in Queen Charlotte's Sound.

On the 19th, at ten o'clock in the morning, the English ship bore down to us. She was the *True Briton*, Capt. Broadly, on her return from China. A letter to the secretary of the admiralty was committed to the care of the Captain, who generously sent us fresh provisions, tea, and other articles. In the afternoon, the *True Briton* stood out to sea, and we in for land. At six o'clock, we tacked within five miles of the shore, distant, as we conjectured, about six leagues from Cape Aquilas. On the 20th, we stood along shore to the west ; and on the 21st, at noon, the Table Mountain, over the Cape Town, bore N. E. by E. distant ten leagues. The next morning we anchored in Table Bay ; with us, in our reckoning, it was Wednesday the 22nd, but with the people here, Tuesday the 21st, we having gained a day by running to the east. In the bay we found ships of different nations, among which was an English East Indiaman, from China, bound directly to England. In this ship Capt. Cook sent a copy of his journal, together with some charts and drawings to the admiralty. We saluted the garrison

with thirteen guns, and the compliment was returned with an equal number. We now heard the deplorable story of the Adventure's boat's crew confirmed, with the addition of a false report, concerning the loss of a French ship upon the same island, with the total destruction of the captain and his crew, propagated, no doubt, by the Adventure's people, to render an act of savage barbarity, that would scarcely admit of aggravation, still more horrible. But, which gave us full satisfaction about this matter, Capt. Furneaux had left a letter for our commander, in which he mentions the loss of the boat, and ten of his men, in Queen Charlotte's Sound. The day after our arrival at this place, Capt. Cook, accompanied by our gentlemen, waited on Baron Plettenberg, the Dutch Governor, by whom, and his principal officers, they were treated with the greatest politeness ; and as at this place refreshments of all kinds may be procured in great abundance, we now, after the numerous fatigues of a long voyage, began to taste, and enjoy the sweets of repose. It is a custom here for all the officers to reside on shore ; in compliance with which, the Captain, the two Forsters, and Mr. Sparrman took up their abode with Mr. Brandt, well known to our countrymen for his obliging readiness to serve them. Our people on board were not neglected : and being provided daily with fresh baked bread, fresh meat, greens, wine, &c. they were soon restored to their usual strength, and as soon forgot all past hardships and dangers.

All hands were employed now to supply all our defects. Almost every thing except the standing rigging was to be replaced anew ; and it is well known the charges here for naval stores are most exorbitant ; for the Dutch both at the Cape and Batavia, take a scandalous advantage of the distress of foreigners. That our casks, rigging, sails, &c. should be in a shattered condition, is easily accounted for. In circumnavigating the globe, we mean, from leaving this place to our return to it again, we had sailed no less than sixty thousand miles, equal nearly to three times the equatorial circumference



of the earth; but in all this run, which had been made in all latitudes, between 9 and 71 deg. we sprung neither low-masts nor top-mast; nor broke so much as a lower, or top-mast shroud. At the Cape, the curiosity of all nations was excited, to learn the success of our discoveries, and in proportion to the earnestness of the solicitations, wherewith the common men were pressed, by foreign inquisitors, they took care to gratify them with wonderful relations. Hence many strange stories were circulated abroad, before it was known by the people at large at home, whether the Resolution had perished at sea, or was upon her return to Europe. During our stay here, several foreign ships put in and went out, bound to and from India, namely, English, French, Danes, and three Spanish ships, frigates, two going to, and one returning from Manilla. We believe it is but lately, that ships of this nation have touched here; and these were the first to whom were allowed the same privileges as other European states. We now lost no time in putting all things in readiness to complete our voyage; but we were obliged to unhang our rudder, and were also delayed for want of caulkers; and it was absolutely necessary to caulk the ship before we put to sea.

On Wednesday, the 26th of April, this work was finished, and having got on board a fresh supply of provisions, and all necessary stores, we took leave of the governor, and his principal officers. On the 27th, we went on board, and soon after, the wind coming fair, we weighed, and put to sea. When under sail, we saluted the garrison, as is customary, and they returned the compliment. When clear of the bay we parted company with some of the ships who sailed out with us: the Danish ship steered for the East Indies, the Spanish frigate, Juno, for Europe, and we and the Dutton Indiaman, for St. Helena. Depending on the goodness of Mr Kendal's watch, we determined to attempt to make the island by a direct course. The wind, in general, blew faint all the passage, which made it longer than common.

On Monday, the 15th of May, at day-

break, we saw the Island, distant fourteen leagues, and anchored at midnight, before the town, on the N. W. side of the Island. Governor Skettowe, and the gentlemen of the Island, treated us, while we continued here, with the greatest courtesy. In our narrative of Capt. Cook's former voyage, we have given a full description of this Island; to which we shall only add, that the inhabitants are far from exercising a wanton cruelty towards their slaves. We are informed also, that wheel carriages, and porters knots have been in use among them for many years. Within these three years a new church has been built; some other new buildings are erecting, a commodious landing-place for boats has been made, and other improvements, which add both strength and beauty to the place. Here we finished some necessary repairs, which we had not time to complete during our stay at the Cape. Our empty water casks were also filled, and the ship's company had fresh beef, at five-pence per pound. This article of refreshment is exceeding good, and the only one to be procured, worth mentioning. On the 21st, in the evening, we took leave of the governor, and then repaired on board. The Dutton Indiaman, in company with us, was ordered not to fall in with Ascension, for which we steered, on account of an illicit trade, carried on between the company's ships, and some vessels from North America; who, of late years, had visited the island, on pretence of fishing, when their real design was to wait the coming of the India ships. The Dutton was therefore ordered to steer N. W. by W. or N. W. till to the northward of Ascension. With this ship we were in company till the 24th, when we parted. A packet for the admiralty was put on board, and she continued her course N. W. On Sunday, the 28th, we made the Island of Ascension, and on the evening anchored in Cross Bay, on the N. W. side, half a mile from the shore, in ten fathoms water. The Cross-hill, so called on account of a flag staff erected upon it in form of a cross, bore S. 38 deg. E. and the two extreme points of the bay extended from N. E. to S. W. We had several fishing parties out every night, and got about



twenty-four turtles weighing between four and five hundred weight each. This was our principal object, though we might have had a plentiful supply of fish in general. We have no where seen old wives in such abundance; also cavalies, conger eels, and various other sorts.

This island lies in the direction N. W. and S. E. and is ten miles broad, and five or six long. Its surface is very barren, and scarcely produces a shrub, plant, or any kind of vegetation, in the space of many miles; instead of which we saw only stones and sand, or rather flags and ashes: hence from the general appearance of the face of this island, it is more than probable, that, at some time, of which we have no account, it has been destroyed by a volcano. We met with in our excursions a smooth even surface in the intervals between the heaps of stones: but as one of our people observed, you may as easily walk over broken glass bottles as over the stones; for if you slip, or make a false step, you are sure to be cut or lamed. At the S. E. end of the isle is a high mountain, which seems to have been left in its original state; for it is covered with a kind of white marl, producing purslain, spurge, and one or two sorts of grass. On these the goats feed, which are to be found in this part of the isle. Here are good land crabs, and the sea abounds with turtle from January to June. They always come on shore to lay their eggs in the night, when they are caught by turning them on their backs, in which position they are left on the beach till the next morning when the turtle-catchers fetch them away. We are inclined to think, that the turtles come to this island merely for the purpose of laying their eggs, as we found none but females; nor had those we caught any food in their stomachs. We saw also near this place abundance of aquatic birds, such as tropic birds, men of war, boobies, &c. On the N. E. side we found the remains of a wreck; she seemed to have been a vessel of one hundred and fifty tons burthen. We were informed, that there is a fine spring in a valley between two hills, on the top of the mountain above-mentioned; besides great

quantities of fresh water in holes in the rocks. While the Resolution lay in the road, a sloop belonging to New-York anchored by her. She had been to the coast of Guinea with a cargo of goods, and came here under a pretence to take in turtle; but her real intention was, we believe, to traffic with the officers of our homeward bound East Indiamen; for she had lain here near a week, and had got on board only twenty turtles; whereas a sloop from Bermuda, had sailed but a few days before, with one hundred and five on board, which were as many as she could take in; but having turned several more on different beaches, they inhumanly ripped open their bellies, for the sake of the eggs, and left the carcasses to putrify. The centre of this island of Ascension is situated in the latitude of 8 deg. S. and 14 deg. 28 min. 30 sec. W. longitude.

On Wednesday, the 31st of May, we departed from the island of Ascension, and steered, with a fine gale at S. E. by E. for that of Fernando de Noronha, on the coast of Brasil, in order to determine its longitude. In our passage for this place we had very good weather, and fine moon-light nights, which afforded us many opportunities of making lunar observations. On the 9th of June we made the Island, which had the appearance of several detached hills; the largest of which very much resembled the steeple of a church. As we advanced, and drew near it, we found the sea broke in a violent surf on some sunken rocks, which lay about a league from the shore. We now hoisted English colours, and bore up round the north end of the isle, which is a group of little islots; for we perceived plainly that the land was unconnected, and divided by narrow channels. On one of these, next the main, are several strong forts, rendered so by the nature of their situation, which is such as to command all the anchoring and landing-places about the island. We continued to sail round the northern point, till the sandy beaches before which is the road for shipping, and the forts were open to the westward of the said point. As the Resolution advanced, a gun was fired, and immediately the Portuguese colours were



displayed on all the forts; but not intending to stop here, we fired a gun to the leeward, and stood away to the northward, with a fresh breeze at E. S. E. The hill, which appears like a church tower, bore S. 27 deg. W. five miles distant; and from our present point of view it appeared to lean, or overhang to the east. Fernando de Noronha is in no part more than six leagues in extent, and exhibits an unequal surface, well clothed with wood and herbage. Its latitude is 3 deg. 53 min. S. and its longitude carried on by the watch, from St. Helena, is 32 deg. 34 min. W. Don Antonio d'Ulloa, in his account of this island, says, "that it hath two harbours, capable of receiving ships of the greatest burden; one is on the north side, and the other on the N. W. The former is, in every respect, the principal, both for shelter and capaciousness, and the goodness of its bottom; but both are exposed to the north and west, though these winds, particularly the north, are periodical, and of no long continuance. You anchor in the north harbour (which Capt. Cook called a road) in thirteen fathoms water, one third of a league from the shore, bottom of fine sand; the peaked hills bearing S. W. 3 deg. southerly." This road, or, (as Ulloa terms it) harbour, is very secure for shipping, being sheltered from the south and east winds. A mariner in our ship, had been aboard a Dutch East Indiaman, who, on account of her crew being sickly, and in want of refreshments, put into this isle. By him we were informed, that the Portuguese supplied them with some buffaloes; and that they got their water behind one of the beaches, from a small pool, scarcely big enough to dip a bucket in.

On Sunday, the 11th of June, at three o'clock P. M. in longitude 32 deg. 14 min. we crossed the line. We had squally weather from the E. S. E. with showers of rain, which continued, at times, till the 12th, and on the 13th the wind became variable. At noon we were in the latitude of 3 deg. 49 min. N. and in 31 deg. 47 min. W. longitude. We had now for most part of the day, dark, gloomy weather, till the evening of the 15th, at which time we were in latitude

5 deg. 47 min. N. and in 31 deg. W. longitude. After this we had three successive calm days, in which we had fair weather and rains alternately; and sometimes the sky was obscured by dense clouds, which broke in very heavy showers of rain. On Sunday the 18th, we had a breeze at east, which fixed at N. E. and we stretched to N. W. As we advanced to the north, the gale increased. On Wednesday, the 21st, Capt. Cook ordered the still to be set to work, with a view of making the greatest quantity possible of fresh water. To try this experiment, the still was fitted to the largest copper we had, which held about sixty-four gallons of salt water. At four o'clock, A. M. the fire was lighted, and at six the still began to run. The operation was continued till six in the evening: at which time we had obtained thirty-two gallons of fresh water, and consumed one bushel and a half of coals. At noon, the mercury in the thermometer was eighty-four and a half, as high as it is generally found to rise at sea. Had it been lower more water would have been procured; for it is well known, that the colder the air is, the cooler the still may be kept, whereby the steam will be condensed faster. This invention, upon the whole, is a useful one, but it would not be prudent for a navigator to trust wholly to it; for though, with plenty of fuel, and good coppers, as much water may be obtained, as will be necessary to support life, yet the utmost efforts that can be employed in this work, will not procure a sufficiency to support health, especially in hot climates, where fresh water is most wanted; and in the opinion of Capt. Cook, founded on experience, the best judge of this matter, nothing can contribute more to the health of seamen than their having plenty of sweet fresh water.

On Sunday the 25th, we were in latitude 16 deg. 12 min. N. and in 37 deg. 20 min. W. longitude. Observing a ship to windward, bearing down upon us, we shortened sail; but, on her approaching, we found by her colours she was Dutch; we therefore made sail again, and left her to pursue her course. On the 28th, we observed in the



latitude of 21 deg. 21 min. N. longitude 40 deg. 6 min. W. and our course made good was N. by W. On the 30th, a ship passed us within hale, but she was presently out of sight, and we judged her to be English. We were now in the latitude of 24 deg. 20 min. N. longitude 40 deg. 47 min. W. In latitude 29 deg. 30 min. we saw some sea-plants, commonly called gulph-weed, because it is supposed to come from the gulph of Florida; it may be so, and yet it certainly vegetates at sea. We continued to see this plant in small pieces, till in the latitude of 36 deg. N. beyond which parallel we saw no more of it. On Wednesday, the 5th of July, the wind veered to the east; and the next day it was a calm. On the 7th, and 8th, we had variable light airs; but on the 9th, the wind fixed at S. S. W. after which we had a fresh gale, and steered first N. E. and then E. N. E. our intention being to make some of the Azores, or Western Isles. On Tuesday the 11th, we were in latitude 36 deg. 45 min. N. and in 36 deg. 45 min. W. longitude, when we descried a sail steering to the west; and on the 12th, we came in sight of three more.

On Thursday the 13th, we made the isle of Fayal, and on the 14th, at day-break, we entered the bay of De Horta, and at eight o'clock anchored in twenty fathoms water, about half a mile from the shore. Our design in touching at this place, was to make observations, from whence might be determined with accuracy the longitude of the Azores. We were directed by the master of the port, who came on board before we cast anchor, to moor N. E. and S. W. in this station, the S. W. point of the bay bore S. 16 deg. W. and the N. E. point, N. 33 deg. E. The church at the N. E. end of the town N. 38 deg. W. the west point of St. George's island N. 42 deg. E. distant eight leagues; and the isle of Pico extending from N. 74 deg. E. to S. 46 deg. E. distant five miles. In the bay we found the *Pourvoyeur*, a large French frigate, an American sloop, and a brig belonging to Fayal. On the 14th, the Captain sent to the English consul, and notified our arrival to the governor, begging his

permission to grant Mr. Wales an opportunity to make his observations on shore. This was readily granted, and Mr. Dent, who acted as consul, in the absence of Mr. Gathorne, not only procured this permission, but accommodated Mr. Wales with a convenient place in his garden, to set up his instruments; and in several other particulars, this gentleman discovered a friendly readiness to oblige us: even his house was always at our command, both night and day; and the entertainment we met with there was liberal and hospitable. All the time we staid at this place, the crew of our ship were supplied with plenty of fresh beef, and we purchased about fifty tons of water, at the rate of about three shillings per ton. To hire shore boats is the most general custom here, though ships are allowed, if they prefer many inconveniencies to a trifling expence, to water with their own boats. Fresh provisions may be got, and hogs, sheep, and poultry, for sea-stock, at reasonable rates. The sheep are not only small, they are also very poor; but the bullocks and hogs are exceeding good. Here is plenty of wine to be had.

Before we proceed with our own observations, made during our abode at Fayal, it may be agreeable to our readers, to give them a brief account and description of all the Azores, or Western Islands. These have by different geographers, been variously deemed parts of America, Africa, and Europe, as they are almost in a central point: but we apprehend they may with more propriety be considered as belonging to the latter. They are a group of islands, situated in the Atlantic ocean, between 25 and 32 deg. of west longitude, and between 37 and 40 north latitude, nine hundred miles west of Portugal, and as many east of Newfoundland. They are nine in number, viz. St. Maria, St. Miguel, or St. Michael, Terceira, St. George, Graciosa, Fayal, Pico, Flores, and Corvo.

These islands were first discovered by some Flemish ships in 1439, and afterwards by the Portuguese in 1447, to whom they now belong. The two westernmost were named Flores and Corvo, from the abundance



of flowers on the one, and crows on the other. They are all fertile, and subject to a governor-general, who resides at Angra in Terceira, which is also the seat of the bishop, whose diocese extends over all the Azores. The income of the latter, which is paid in wheat, amounts to about two hundred pounds sterling a year. On every Island there is a deputy-governor, who directs the police, militia, and revenue; and a juiz, or judge, is at the head of the law department, from whom lies an appeal to a higher court at Terceira, and from thence to the supreme court at Lisbon. The natives of these islands are said to be very litigious.

St. Miguel, the largest, is one hundred miles in circumference, contains about twenty-nine thousand inhabitants, and is very fertile in wheat and flax. Its chief town is Ponta del Gado. This island was twice ravaged by the English in the time of queen Elizabeth.

Terceira, is reckoned the chief Island, on account of its having the best harbour; and its chief town, named Angra, being the residence of the governor-general and the bishop. The town contains a cathedral, five other churches, eight convents, several courts of offices, &c. and is defended by two forts.

The Island of Pico, so called from a mountain of vast height, produces excellent wine, cedar, and a valuable wood, called teixos. On the south of the Island is the principal harbour, called Villa das Lagenas.

The inhabitants of Flores having been many years ago infected with the venereal disease, by the crew of a Spanish man of war, that was wrecked upon their coast, the evil, it is said, still maintains its ground there, none of the inhabitants being free from it, as in Pern, and some parts of Siberia.

Travellers relate, that no poisonous or venomous animal is to be found in the Azores, and that if carried thither, it will expire in a few hours. One tenth of all their productions belong to the king, and the article of tobacco brings in a considerable sum. The wine, called Fayal wine, is chiefly raised in the island of Pico, which lies opposite to

Fayal. From eighteen to twenty thousand pipes of that wine are made there yearly. All of these islands enjoy a salubrious air, but are exposed to violent earthquakes, from which they have frequently suffered.

Villa de Horta, the chief town of Fayal, like all the towns belonging to the Portuguese, is crowded with religious buildings; there being no less, in this little city, than three convents for men, and two for women. Here are also eight churches, including those belonging to the convents, and that in the Jesuits college. This college is a noble structure, and seated on an elevation, in the pleasantest part of the city. Since the expulsion of that order, it has been suffered to go to decay, and, in a few years, by the all-consuming hand of time, may be reduced to a heap of ruins. The principal produce of Fayal is wheat and Indian corn, with which the inhabitants supply Pico, which, in return, sends them wine more than sufficient for their consumption, great quantities being annually shipped from De Horta, (for at Pico there is no road for shipping) for America, whence it has obtained the name of Fayal wine. The Villa de Horta is situated in the bottom of a bay, close to the edge of the sea. It is defended by two castles, one at each end of the town, and a stone work, extending along the sea shore, from the one to the other. But these works serve more for shew than defence; but it is a pity they should be suffered to run to decay; seeing they heighten greatly the prospect of the city, which is very beautiful from the road; but, setting aside the religious houses and churches, we saw not another edifice, that has any thing, either within or without, to recommend it. It is not the custom, in these parts, among the Portuguese or Spaniards, to have glass windows, but in this town the churches, and a country-house, lately belonging to the English consul, have their windows glazed; all others latticed, which gave them in our eyes, the appearance of prisons. Before this Villa, at the east end of the island, is the bay or road of Fayal, which faces the west end of Pico. It is a semi-circle about two miles in diameter; and its depth, or semi-diameter, is



three-fourths of a mile. The bottom is sandy, and the depth of water from six to twenty fathoms; but, near the shore, particularly at the S. W. head, the bottom is rocky; as it also is without the line that connects the two points of the bay; on which account it is not safe to anchor too far out. The bearings which we have laid down, when moored in this road, are sufficient to direct any steersman to the best ground. The winds to which this road lies most exposed are those that blow from between the S. S. W. and S. E. but as you can always get to sea with the latter, this is not so dangerous as the former; and we were told, there is a small cove round the S. W. point, called Porto Piere, where small vessels are heaved down, and wherein a ship may lay tolerably safe. Upon the whole, we by no means think this road of Fayal a bad one. We were informed, by a Portuguese Captain of the following particulars, which, if true, are not unworthy of notice. However, his account may be attended to by Captains of ships, though not entirely relied on. This Portuguese told us, that in the direction of S. E. about half a league from the road, and in a line between that and the south side of Pico, lies a concealed sunken rock, covered with twenty-two fathoms water, on which the sea breaks from the south. He also gave us to understand, that of all the shoals about these isles that are laid down in our charts, and pilot books, only one has any existence, which lies between the islands of St. Mary and St. Michael, called Hormingan. He further informed us, that the distance between Fayal and the island of Flores, is forty-five leagues; and that there runs a strong tide between Fayal and Pico, the flood setting on the N. E. and the ebb to the S. W. but out at sea, the direction is E. and W. By various observations, the true longitude of this bay was found to be 28 deg. 39 min. 18 sec. and an half.

On Wednesday, the 19th, at four o'clock, A. M. we sailed out of the bay, and steered for the west end of St. George's Island. Having passed this, we shaped our course E. half S. for the Island of Terceira; and

after a run of fourteen leagues, we found ourselves not more than one league from the west end. We now proceeded as expeditiously as the wind would permit, for England; and on Saturday the 29th, we made the land near Plymouth. On the following day, the 30th, we cast anchor at Spithead, when Capt. Cook, in company with Messrs. Wales, Forsters, and Hodges, landed at Portsmouth, and from thence set out for London. The whole time of our absence from England was three years and eighteen days; and, owing to the unbounded goodness of an Almighty Preserver, who indulgently favoured our attempt, and seconded our endeavours, notwithstanding the various changes of climates (and they were as various as can be experienced) we lost only one man by sickness, and three by other causes. Even the single circumstance of keeping the ship's company in health, by means of the greatest care and attention, will make this voyage remarkable, in the opinion of every humane person; and we trust the grand end of this expedition, and the purposes for which we were sent into the southern hemisphere, were diligently and sufficiently pursued. The Resolution made the circuit of the southern ocean, in a high latitude, and Capt. Cook traversed it in such a manner, as to leave no room for a mere possibility of there being a continent, unless near the pole, and consequently out of the reach of navigation. However, by having twice explored the tropical sea, the situation of old discoveries were determined, and a number of new ones made; so that, we flatter ourselves, upon the whole, the intention of the voyage has, though not in every respect, yet upon the whole, been sufficiently answered; and by having explored so minutely the southern hemisphere, a final end may, perhaps, be put to searching after a continent, in that part of the globe, which has of late years, and, indeed, at times, for the two last centuries, engrossed the attention of some of the maritime powers, and been a favourite theory among geographers of all ages. The probability of there being a continent, or large track of land, near the Pole, has been already granted; and we may have seen



part of it. The extreme cold, the numberless Islands, and the vast floats of ice, give strength to this conjecture, and all tend to prove, that there must be main land to the south; but, that this must extend farthest to the north, opposite to the southern Atlantic and Indian oceans, we have already assigned several reasons; of which one is, the greater degree of cold in these seas than in the southern Pacific Ocean, under the same parallels of latitude; for in this last ocean, the mercury in the thermometer, seldom fell so low as the freezing point, till we were in latitude 60 deg. and upwards; whereas, in the other oceans, it fell as low in the latitude of 54 deg. the cause whereof we attributed to a greater quantity of ice, which extended farther north in the Atlantic and Indian oceans, than in the south Pacific Sea; and supposing the ice to be first formed at, or near land, of which we are fully persuaded, it will be an undeniable consequence, that the land extends farther north. But what benefit can accrue from lands thus situated, should they be discovered? lands doomed to everlasting frigidness; and whose horrible and savage aspect no language or words can describe. Will any one venture farther in search after such a country, than our brave and skilful commander has done; Let him proceed, and may the God of universal nature be his guide. We heartily wish him success, nor will we envy him the honour of his discovery. In behalf of ourselves, the Editors who have the honour of submitting to the judgment of the public, this New, and Complete History of Capt. Cook's Second Voyage, we must not say much, as by that judgment we stand or fall; thus much, however, we will venture to say, that this narrative is not defective in point of intelligence, that the facts are true, and that the whole is expressed in an easy style, which we flatter ourselves will not be displeasing to our numerous friends, whose favours we here take the opportunity of gratefully acknowledging. It has been observed, that the principal officers of the Resolution delivered their journals into the custody of Capt. Cook; and, on his arrival in England, Capt. Furneaux also put into his hands a

narrative of what happened in the Adventure after her final separation from the Resolution. But it is here necessary to remark further, that some officers, in both ships reserved their private journals, and certain ingenious memorials, to gratify the curiosity of their friends. From such materials these sheets are composed; nor have we had recourse to any printed authorities, but from the sole view of correcting errors in some places, and rendering this undertaking, a full, comprehensive, and perfect work. This premised, we shall now lay before our readers, a complete narrative of Capt. Furneaux's proceedings in the Adventure; to which we shall subjoin the improvements that have been made, respecting the means of preserving the health of our seamen, and particularly those that were used by Capt. Cook in his voyages.

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*An accurate, concise, and complete Account of Capt. Furneaux's proceedings in the Adventure, from the time he was separated from the Resolution, to his arrival in England; wherein is comprised a faithful relation respecting the boat's crew, who were murdered, and eaten by the Cannibals of Queen Charlotte's Sound in New Zealand.*

In October, 1773, we made the coast of New Zealand, after a passage of fourteen days, from Amsterdam, and stood along shore till we reached Cape Turnagain, when a heavy storm blew us off the coast for three days successively, in which time we were separated from our consort, the Resolution, and saw her not afterwards, in the course of her voyage. On Thursday, the 4th of November, we regained the shore, near to Cape Palliser. Some of the natives brought us in their canoes abundance of cray-fish and fruit, which they exchanged for our Otaheite cloth, nails, &c. On the 5th, the storm again returned, and we were driven off the shore a second time by a violent gale of wind, accompanied with heavy falls of



decks began to leak, our beds and bedding were wet, which gave many of our people colds; and now we were most of us complaining, and all began to despair of ever getting into the sound, or, which we had most at heart, or joining the Resolution. We combated the storm till Saturday, the 6th, when, being to the north of the Cape, and having a hard gale from S. W. we bore away for some bay, in order to complete our wood and water, of both which articles we were at present in great want. For some days past we had been at the allowance of one quart of water, and it was thought six or seven days more would deprive us even of that scanty pittance. On Tuesday, the 9th, in latitude 38 deg. 21 min. S. and in 178 deg. 37 min. E. longitude, we came abreast of Tolaga bay, and in the forenoon anchored in eleven fathoms water, stiff, muddy ground, which lays across the bay for about two miles. This harbour is open from N. N. E. to E. S. E. nevertheless, it affords good riding with a westerly wind; and here are regular soundings from five to twelve fathoms. Wood and water are easily procured, except when the winds blow hard easterly, and then, at such times, which are but seldom, they throw in a great sea. The natives about this bay are the same as those at Queen Charlotte's Sound, but more numerous, and have regular plantations of sweet potatoes, and other roots. They have plenty of fish of all sorts, which we purchased with nails, beads, and other trifles. In one of their canoes, we saw the head of a woman lying in state, adorned with feathers, and other ornaments. It had all the appearance of life, but, upon a nearer view we found it had been dried: yet, every feature was in due preservation and perfect. We judged it to have been the head of some deceased relative, kept as a relic. It was at an island in this bay, where the Endeavour's people observed the largest canoe they met with during their whole voyage. It was, according to account, no less than sixty eight feet and a half long, five broad, and three feet six inches high: it had a sharp bottom, consisting of three trunks of trees hollowed, of which that in the middle was longest:

the side planks were sixty-two feet long, in one piece, and were ornamented with carvings, not unlike fillagree work, in spirals of very curious workmanship, the extremities whereof were closed with a figure that formed the head of the vessel, in which were two monstrous eyes of mother of pearl, and a large shaped tongue; and, as it descended, it still retained the figure of a monster, with hands and feet carved upon it very neatly, and painted red. It had also a high peaked stern, wrought in fillagree, and adorned with feathers, from the top of which two long streamers depended, made of the same materials, which almost reached the water. From this description we might be tempted to suppose, these canoes to be the vessels, and this to be the country, lying to the south, of which Quiros received intelligence at Tauniao and where Toabia said they ate men, and had such large ships as he could not describe. On Friday, 12th, having taken aboard ten tons of water, and some wood, we set sail for the Sound; but we were scarcely out when the wind began to blow dead hard on the shore, so that, not being able to clear the land, on either tack, we were obliged to return to the bay, where we arrived the next morning, the 13th, and, having anchored, we rode out a heavy gale of wind, at E by S. attended with a very great sea. We now began to fear the weather had put it out of our power to join our consort, having reason to believe she was in Charlotte Sound, the appointed place of rendezvous, and by this time ready for sea. Part of the crew were now employed in stopping leaks, and repairing our rigging, which was in a most shattered condition.

On the 14th, and 15th, we hoisted out our boats, and sent them to increase our stock of wood and water; but on the last day the surf rose so high, that they could not make the land. On Tuesday the 16th, having made the ship as snug as possible, we unmoored at three o'clock, A. M. and before six got under way. From this time, to the twenty-eighth, we had nothing but tempestuous weather, in which our rigging was almost blown to pieces, and our men quite wore down with fatigue. On Monday, the



20th; our water being nearly expended, we were again reduced to the scanty allowance of a quart a man per diem. We continued beating backward and forward till the 30th, when the weather became more moderate; and having got a favourable wind, we were so happy at last as to gain with safety our desired port. After getting through Cook's Straits, we cast anchor at three o'clock, P. M. in Queen Charlotte's Sound. We saw nothing of the Resolution, and began to doubt her safety; but, upon having landed, we discovered the place where she had pitched her tents; and, upon further examination, on an old stump of a tree, we read these words, cut out, "Look underneath." We complied instantly with these instructions, and, digging, soon found a bottle, corked and waxed down, wherein was a letter from Capt. Cook, informing us of their arrival at this place, on the 3rd instant, and departure on the 24th, and that they intended spending a few days in the entrance of the Straits, to look for us. We immediately set about the necessary repairs of the ship, with an intention of getting her to sea as soon as possible. On the 1st of December, the tents were carried on shore, the armourer's forge put up, and every preparation made for the recovery of the sick. The coopers were dispatched on shore, to mend the casks, and we began to unstow the hold to get at the bread; but, upon opening the casks we found a great quantity of it entirely spoiled, and most part so damaged, that we were obliged to bake it over again, which unavoidably delayed us some time. At intervals, during our stay here, the natives came on board as usual, with great familiarity. They generally brought fish, or whatever they had, to barter with us, and seemed to behave with great civility; though twice, in one night, they came to the tents, with an intention of stealing, but were discovered before they had accomplished their design. A party also came down in the night of the 13th, and robbed the astronomer's tent of every thing they could carry away. This they did so quietly, that they were not so much as heard, or suspected, till the astronomer getting up to make an observation,

missed his instruments, and charged the centinel with the robbery. This brought on a pretty severe altercation, during which they spied an Indian creeping from the tent, at whom Mr. Bailey fired, and wounded him; nevertheless he made a shift to retreat into the woods. The report of the gun had alarmed his confederates, who, instead of putting off from the shore, fled into the woods, leaving their canoe, with most of the things that had been stolen, a-ground on the beach. This petty larceny, it is probable, laid the foundation of that dreadful catastrophe which soon after happened.

On Friday, the 17th, at which time we were preparing for our departure, we sent out our large cutter, manned with seven seamen, under the command of Mr. John Rowe, the first mate, accompanied by Mr. Woodhouse, midshipman, and James Tobias Swilley, the carpenter's servant. They were to proceed up the Sound to Grass Cove, to gather greens and celery for the ship's company, with orders to return that evening; for the tents had been struck at two in the afternoon, and the ship made ready for sailing the next day. Night coming on, and no cutter appearing, the Captain and others began to express great uneasiness. They sat up all night, in expectation of their arrival, but to no purpose. At day-break, therefore, the Captain ordered the launch to be hoisted out. She was double manned, and under the command of our second lieutenant, Mr. Burney, accompanied by Mr. Freeman, master, the corporal of marines, with five private men, all well armed, and having plenty of ammunition, two wall pieces, and three days provision. They were ordered first to look into East Bay, then to proceed to Grass Cove, and, if nothing was to be seen or heard of the cutter there, they were to go further up the Cove, and return by the west shore. Mr. Row having left the ship an hour before the time proposed for his departure, we thought his curiosity might have carried him into East Bay, none of our people having ever been there, or that some accident might have happened to the boat; for not the least suspicion was entertained of the natives, our boats having been higher



up, and worse provided. Mr. Burney returned about eleven o'clock the same night, and gave us a pointed description of a most horrible scene indeed! the substance, and every material particular of whose report, are contained in the following relation, which includes the remarks of those who attended Mr. Burney.

On Saturday the 18th, pursuant to our orders, we left the ship, about nine o'clock in the morning. Having a light breeze in our favour, we soon got round Long Island and Long Point. We continued sailing and rowing for East Bay, keeping close in shore, and examining with our glasses every cove on the larboard side, till near two o'clock in the afternoon, at which time we stopped at a beach on our left, going up East Bay, to dress our dinner. While we were cooking we saw an Indian on the opposite shore, running along a beach to the head of the bay; and when our meat was just done, we perceived a company of the natives, seemingly very busy; upon seeing which, we got immediately into the boat, put off, and rowed quickly to the place where the savages were assembled, which was at the head of this beach; and here, while approaching, we discerned one of their settlements. As we drew near some of the Indians came down upon the rocks, and waved for us to depart; but perceiving we disregarded them, they altered their gestures, and wild notes. At this place we observed six large canoes hauled upon the beach, most of them being double ones; but the number of people were in proportion neither to the size of these canoes, nor the number of houses. Our little company, consisting of the corporal, and his five marines, headed by Mr. Burney, now landed, leaving the boat's crew to guard it. Upon our approach, the natives fled with great precipitation. We followed them closely to a little town, which we found deserted; but while we were employed in searching their huts, the natives returned, making a shew of resistance; but some trifling presents being made to their chiefs, they were very soon appeased. However, on our return to the boat, the savages again followed us, and some of them

threw stones. As we came down to the beach, one of the Indians had brought a bundle of Hepatoos, or long spears, but seeing Mr. Burney looked very earnestly at him, he walked about with seeming unconcern. Some of his companions appearing to be terrified, a few trifles were given to each of them. From the place where we now landed, the bay seemed to run a full mile, N. N. W. where it ended in a long sandy beach. After dinner we took a view of the country near the coast, with our glasses, but saw not a canoe, or signs of inhabitants, after which we fired the wall-pieces, as signals to the cutter, if any of the people should happen to be within hearing. We now renewed our search along the east shore; and came to another settlement, where the Indians invited us ashore. We inquired of them about the cutter, but they pretended ignorance. They seemed very friendly, and sold us some fish.

At about five o'clock in the afternoon, and within an hour after we had left this place, we opened a small bay adjoining to Grass Cove, and here we saw a large double canoe, just hauled upon the beach, with two men and a dog. The two savages, on seeing us approach, instantly fled, which made us suspect, it was here we should have some tidings of the cutter. On landing, and examining the canoe, the first thing we saw therein was one of our cutter's rullock ports, and some shoes, one of which, among the latter, was known to belong to Mr. Woodhouse. A piece of flesh was found by one of our people, which at first was thought to be some of the salt meat belonging to the cutter's men, but, upon examination, we supposed it to be dog's flesh; a most horrid and undeniable proof soon cleared up our doubts, and convinced us we were among no other than cannibals; for, advancing further on the beach, we saw about twenty baskets tied up, and a dog eating a piece of broiled flesh, which, upon examining, we suspected to be human. We cut open the baskets, some of which were full of roasted flesh, and others of fern-root, which serves them for bread. Searching others, we found more shoes, and a hand, which was



immediately known to have belonged to Thomas Hill, one of our fore-castle men, it having been tatowed with the initials of his name. We now proceeded a little way in the woods, but saw nothing else. Our next design was to launch the canoe, intending to destroy her; but seeing a great smoke ascending over the nearest hill, we made all possible haste to be with them before sun-set.

At half after six we opened Grass Cove, where we saw one single, and three double canoes, and a great many natives assembled on the beach, who retreated to a small hill, within a ship's length of the water-side, where they stood talking to us. On the top of the high land, beyond the woods, was a large fire, from whence all the way down the hill, the place was thronged like a fair. When we entered the cove, a musketoon was fired at one of the canoes, as we imagined they might be full of men lying down; for they were all afloat, but no one was seen in them. Being doubtful whether their retreat proceeded from fear, or a desire to decoy us into an ambuscade, we were determined not to be surprised, and therefore running close in shore, we dropped the grappling near enough to reach them with our guns; but at too great a distance to be under any apprehensions from their treachery. The savages on the little hill, kept their ground, hallooing, and making signs for us to land. At these we now took aim, resolving to kill as many of them as our bullets would reach; yet it was some time before we could dislodge them. The first volley did not seem to affect them much; but, on the second, they began to scramble away as fast as they could, some howling and others limping. We continued to fire as long as we could see the least glimpse of any of them, through the bushes. Among these were two very robust men, who maintained their ground without moving an inch, till they found themselves forsaken by all their companions, and then, disdaining to run, they marched off, with great composure and deliberation. One of them, however, got a fall, and either lay there, or crawled away on his hands and feet; but the other

escaped without any apparent hurt. Mr. Barney now improved their panic, and, supported by the marines, leapt on shore, and pursued the fugitives. We had not advanced far from the water-side, on the beach, before we met with two bunches of celery, which had been gathered by the cutter's crew. A broken oar was stuck upright in the ground, to which the natives had tied their canoes; whereby we were convinced this was the spot where the attack had been made. We now searched all along at the back of the beach, to see if the cutter was there, but, instead of her, the most horrible scene was presented to our view, that was ever beheld by any European; for here lay the hearts, heads, and lungs, of several of our people, with hands and limbs, in a mangled condition, some broiled, and some raw; but no other parts of their bodies, which made us suspect, that the cannibals had feasted upon, and devoured the rest. To complete this shocking view of carnage and barbarity, at a little distance we saw the dogs gnawing their entrails. We observed a large body of the natives collected together on a hill, about two miles off; but, as night drew on apace, we could not advance to such a distance; neither did we think it safe to attack them, or even to quit the shore, to take an account of the number killed, our troop being a very small one, and the savages were both numerous, fierce, and much irritated. While we remained almost stupified on the spot, Mr. Fannen said, that he heard the cannibals assembling in the woods; on which we returned to our boat, and, having hauled alongside the canoes, we demolished three of them. During this transaction, the fire on the top of the hill disappeared, and we could hear the savages in the woods at high words; quarrelling, perhaps, on account of their different opinions, whether they should attack us, and try to save their canoes. They were armed with long lances, and weapons, not unlike a serjeant's halbert in shape, made of hard wood, and mounted with bone instead of iron. We suspected, that the dead bodies of our people had been divided among those different parties of



cannibals, who had been concerned in the massacre; and it was not improbable, that the group we saw at a distance by the fire, were feasting upon some of them, as those on shore had been, where the remains were found, before they had been disturbed by our unexpected visit; be that as it may, we could discover no traces of more than four of our friends' bodies, nor could we find the place where the cutter was concealed. It now grew dark, on which account, we collected carefully the remains of our mangled friends, and putting off, made the best of our way from this polluted place, not without a few execrations bestowed on the blood-thirsty inhabitants. When we opened the upper part of the sound, we saw a very large fire about three or four miles higher up, which formed a complete oval, reaching from the top of a hill down almost to the water side; the middle space being inclosed all round by the fire, like a hedge. Mr. Burney and Mr. Fannen having consulted together, they were both of opinion, that we could, by an attempt, reap no other advantage than the poor satisfaction of killing some more of the savages. Upon leaving Grass Cove, we had fired a volley towards where we heard the Indians talking; but by going in and out of the boat, our pieces had got wet, and four of them missed fire. What rendered our situation more critical was, it began to rain, and our ammunition was more than half expended. We, for these reasons, without spending time where nothing could be hoped for but revenge, proceeded for the ship, and arrived safe aboard before midnight. Such is the account of this tragical event; the poor victims were far enough out of hearing, and in all probability every man of them must have been butchered on the spot.

It may be proper here to mention, that the whole number of men in the cutter were ten, namely, Mr. Rowe, our first mate, Mr. Woodhouse, a midshipman, Francis Murphy, quarter-master, James Sevilley, the Captain's servant, John Lavenaugh, and Thomas Milton, belonging to the after-guard; William Facey, Thomas Hill, Michael Bell, and Edward Jones, forecastle-

men. Most of these were the stoutest and most healthy people in the ship, having been selected from our best seamen. Mr. Burney's party brought on board the head of the Captain's servant, with two hands, one belonging to Mr. Rowe, known by a hurt it had received; and the other to Thomas Hill, being marked with T. H. as before mentioned. These, with other mangled remains, were inclosed in a hammock, and with the usual ceremony observed on board ships, were committed to the sea. Not any of their arms were found; nor any of their clothes, except six shoes, no two of which were fellows, a frock, and a pair of trowsers. We do not think this melancholy catastrophe was the effect of a premeditated plan, formed by the savages; for two canoes came down, and continued all the forenoon in Ship Cove, and these Mr. Rowe met, and bartered with the natives for some fish. We are rather inclined to believe, that the bloody transaction originated in a quarrel with some of the Indians, which was decided on the spot; or, our people rambling about too secure, and incautious, the fairness of the opportunity might tempt them to commit the bloody deed; and what might encourage them was, they had found out, that our guns were not infallible; they had seen them miss fire; and they knew, that when discharged, they must be loaded before they could again do any execution, which interval of time they could take proper advantage of. From some circumstances we concluded, that after their success, there was a general meeting on the east side of the Sound. We knew the Indians of Shag Cove were there, by a long single canoe, which some of our people with Mr. Rowe had seen four days in Shag Cove. After this shocking affair, we were detained four days in the Sound by contrary winds, in which time we saw none of the inhabitants. It is a little remarkable, that Capt. Furneaux had been several times up Grass Cove with Capt. Cook, where they saw no inhabitants, and no other signs of any, but a few deserted villages, which appeared as if they had not been occupied for many years; and yet, in Mr. Burney's opinion, when he



entered the same cove, there could not be less than fifteen hundred, or two thousand people. Had they been apprized of his coming, we doubt not they would have attacked him; and seeing not a probability remained of any of our people being alive, from these considerations, we thought it would be imprudent to renew the search, and send a boat up again.

On Thursday, the 23rd of December, we departed from, and made sail out of the Sound, heartily vexed at the unavoidable delays we had experienced, so contrary to our sanguine wishes. We stood to the eastward, to clear the straits, which we happily effected the same evening, but we were baffled for two or three days with light winds before we could clear the coast. In this interval of time, the chests and effects of the ten men who had been murdered, were sold before the mast, according to an old sea custom. We now steered S. S. E. till we got into the latitude of 56 deg. S. At this time we had a great swell from the southward, the winds blew strong from S. W. the weather began to be very cold; the sea made a continual breach over the ship, which was low and deep laden, and by her continual straining, very few of our seamen were dry either on deck or in bed. In the latitude of 58 deg. S. and in 213 deg. E. longitude, we fell in with some ice, and standing to the east, saw every day more or less. We saw also the birds common in this vast ocean, our only companions, and at times we met with a whale or porpoise, a seal or two, and a few penguins.

On the 10th of January 1774, we arrived abreast of Cape Horn, in the latitude of 61 deg. S. and in the run from Cape Paliser in New Zealand to this Cape we were little more than a month, which is 121 deg. of longitude in that short time. The winds were continually westerly, with a great sea. Having opened some casks of pease and flour, we found them very much damaged; for which reason we thought it most prudent to make for the Cape of Good Hope, intending first to get into the latitude and longitude of Cape Circumcision. When to the eastward of Cape Horn, we found the

winds came more from the north, and not so strong and frequent from the westward, as usual, which brought on thick foggy weather; so that for several days together, we were not able to make an observation, the sun all the time not being visible. This weather lasted above a month, in which time we were among a great many Islands of ice, which kept us constantly on the look out, for fear of running foul of them. Our people now began to complain of colds and pains in their limbs, on account of which we hauled to the northward, making the latitude of 54 deg. S. We then steered to the east, with an intention of finding the land laid down by M. Bouvet. As we advanced to the east, the nights began to be dark, and Islands of ice became more numerous and dangerous.

On the 3rd of March, we were in the latitude of Bouvet's discovery, and half a league to eastward of it; but not perceiving the least sign of land, either now, or since we obtained this parallel, we gave over a further search after it, and hauled away to the northward. In our last track to the southward, we were within a few degrees of the longitude assigned for Bouvet's discovery, and about 3 deg. to the southward; if therefore there should be any land thereabout, it must be a very inconsiderable Island; or, rather we are inclined to think, a mere deception from the ice; for, in our first setting out, we concluded we had made discoveries of land several times, which proved to be only high Islands of ice, at the back of large fields, which M. Bouvet might easily mistake for land, especially as it was thick foggy weather.

On the 17th, in the latitude 48 deg. 30 min. S. and in 14 deg. 26 min. E longitude, we saw two large Islands of ice. On the 18th, we made the land of the Cape of Good Hope, and on the 19th, anchored in Table Bay. Here we found Commodore Sir Edward Hughes, with his majesty's ships Salisbury, and Sea Horse. We saluted the garrison with thirteen guns, and the Commodore with an equal number; the latter returned the full compliment, and the former, as usual, saluted us with two guns.



less. At this place Capt. Furneaux left a letter for Capt. Cook; and here we remained to refit the ship, refresh the people, &c. &c. till the 16th of April, when we hoisted sail for England; and on the 14th of July, to the great joy of all our sailors, anchored at Spithead.

From a review of the whole, our readers must see, how much this nation is indebted to that able circumnavigator Capt. Cook. If they only compare the course the Resolution steered, and the valuable discoveries she made, with that pursued by the Adventure, after she parted company, the contrast will be sufficiently striking. How meritorious also must that person appear in our judgment, who hath not only discovered, but surveyed vast tracks of new coasts; who has dispelled the illusion of a terra australis incognita, and fixed the bounds of the habitable earth, as well as those of the navigable ocean, in the southern hemisphere. No proposition was ever more clearly demonstrated, that there is no continent undiscovered in the southern hemisphere, between the equator and the 50th deg. of southern latitude, in which space all who have contended for its existence have included, if not the whole, at least the most considerable part. But, at the same time that we declare ourselves thus clearly convinced of the non-existence of a continent within the limits just mentioned, we cannot help acknowledging our ready belief, that the land our navigators have discovered, to the S. E. of Staten Land, is part of a continent, projecting from the north, in a narrow neck, and expanding to the southward and westward, in like manner as the South American Continent takes its rise in the south, and enlarges as it advances northward, more particularly towards the east. In this belief we are strengthened by the strong representation of land seen at a distance by our navigators, in latitude 72 deg. and 252 deg. longitude, and by the report of Theodore Gerrards, who, after passing the straits of Magellen, being driven by tempests into the latitude of 64 deg. S. in that height came in sight of a mountainous country, covered with snow, looking like Norway, and seem-

ingly extending from east to west. These facts, and the observations made by Capt. Cook, corroborate each other; and, though they do not reduce the question to an absolute certainty, yet the probability is greatly in favour of the supposed discovery. To conclude these reflections, and to place the character of our judicious navigator in the most striking point of view, we need only add, as proposed, an incontestable account of the means, by which, under the divine favour, Capt. Cook, with a company of one hundred and eighteen men, performed a voyage of three years and eighteen days, throughout all the climates, from 52 deg. N. to 71 deg. S. with the loss only of one man by sickness; and even this one began so early to complain of a cough, and other consumptive symptoms, which had never left him, that his lungs must have been affected before he came on board to go the voyage. Did any, most conversant in the bills of mortality, whether in the most healthful climate, and in the best condition of life, ever find so small a list of deaths, among such a number of men within that space? How agreeable then must our surprise be, to find, by the assiduity and unremitting exertions of a single skilful navigator, the air of the sea acquitted of all malignity, and that a voyage round the world has been undertaken with less danger, perhaps, to health, than a common tour in Europe! Surely distinguished merit is here conspicuous, though praise and glory belong to God only!

*Rules for preserving the Health of Seamen in long Voyages; and the Means employed by Capt. Cook, to that End, during his Voyage Round the World, in his Majesty's Ship the Resolution.*

Before we enter upon this subject, which hath for its object the saving the lives of men, it will be necessary to say something on that disorder to which seamen are peculiarly subject; and to consider, how many have perished by marine diseases, before any considerable improvements were made



the means either of their prevention or cure. The sickness most destructive to mariners, and against the dreadful attacks of which preservatives have been contrived, is the scurvy. This is not that distemper erroneously so called, among landmen; but belongs to a class of diseases totally different from it. So far is the common received opinion from being true, which affirms, "there are few constitutions altogether free from a scorbutic taint," that, unless among sailors, and others, circumstanced like them, more particularly with respect to those who use a salt and putrid diet, and especially if they live in foul air and uncleanness, we are inclined to think there are few disorders less frequent. Nor do we believe, which is another vulgar notion, that the sea-air is the cause of the scurvy; since, on board a ship, cleanliness, ventilation, and fresh provisions would preserve from it, and upon the sea-coast, free from marshes, the inhabitants are not liable to that disorder, though frequently breathing the air from the sea. We should, for these reasons, rather ascribe the scurvy to other causes; and we believe it to be a beginning corruption of the whole habit, similar to that of every animal substance when deprived of life. This has been verified by the symptoms in the scorbutic sick, and by the appearances in their bodies after death. With respect to the putrifying quality of sea-salt, we may remark, that salted meats, after some time, become in reality putrid, though they may continue long palatable, by means of the salt; and common salt, supposed to be one of the strongest preservatives from corruption, is, at best, but an indifferent one, even in a large quantity; and is a small one, so far from impeding putrefaction, it rather promotes that process in the body. Some are of opinion, that the scurvy is much owing to intense cold, which checks perspiration; and hence, say they, arises the endemic distemper of the northern nations, particularly of those around the Baltic. The fact is partly true; but we are doubtful about the cause. In these countries, by reason of long and severe winters, the cattle, being destitute of pasture, can barely live, and are

therefore unfit for use; so that the people, for their provisions, during that season, are obliged to kill them by the end of autumn, and to salt them for above half the year.

This putrid diet then, on which they must so long subsist, seems to be the chief source from whence the disease originates. And if we consider, that the lowest class of people in the north, have few or no greens nor fruit, in winter, little or no fermented liquors, and often live in damp, foul, and ill-aired houses, it is easy to conceive, how they should become liable to the same disorder with seamen; whereas, others, who live in as high a latitude, but in a different manner, are free from it. Thus we are informed by Linnæus, that the Laplanders are unacquainted with the scurvy; for which no other reason can be assigned, than their never eating salted meats, nor indeed salt with any thing, but their using all the fresh flesh of their rein-deer. And this exemption of the hyperborean nations from the general distemper of the north, is the more remarkable, as they seldom taste vegetables, and bread never. Yet in the very provinces bordering on Lapland, where they use bread, but scarcely any vegetables, and eat salted meats, they are as much troubled with the scurvy as in any other country. But here we may properly observe, that the late improvements in agriculture, gardening, and husbandry, by extending their salubrious influence to the remotest parts of Europe, and to the lowest class of people, begin sensibly to lessen the frequency of that complaint, even in those climates wherein it has been most brief and fatal. Again, it has been asserted, that those who live on shore, or landmen, will be affected with the scurvy, though they may have never been confined to salt meats: but of this we have not met with any instances, except among such who have breathed a marshy air, or what was otherwise putrid; or among those who wanted exercise, fruits, and the common vegetables; under which particular circumstances we grant, that the humours will corrupt in the same manner, though not in the same degree, with those of seamen. In the war, when Sisinghurst Castle in Kent, was



filled with French prisoners, the scurvy broke out among them, notwithstanding they had never been served with salted victuals in England, but had daily an allowance of fresh meat, and bread in proportion, though without vegetables. And besides the want of this necessary supply of greens, the wards were crowded and foul, the house damp, by reason of a circumambient moat, and the bounds allotted for taking the air were so small, and in wet weather so swampish, that the men seldom were disposed to quit the house. A representation having been made of these deficiencies, in consequence thereof the prisoners were supplied with roots and greens for boiling in their broth, the sick were quartered out in a dry situation, where they had the liberty of air and exercise; and by these means they all quickly recovered. We think it probable that the scurvy sooner appeared among these strangers, from their having been taken at sea, and therefore, from their diet, they were more disposed to the disease. Such is the nature and cause of that sickness most destructive to sailors.

Let us now take a transient view of its dreadful ravages; and by a contrast between the old and present time, we shall see, more evidently, the importance and value of the means proposed, and which have been most successfully employed by Capt. Cook, for its prevention and cure. In the first voyage for the establishment of the East-India Company, a squadron was fitted out, and under the command of Lancaster (who was then styled general) in the year 1601. The equipment consisted of four ships, with four hundred and eighty men on board. Three of those vessels were so weakened by the scurvy, when they had got only 3 deg. beyond the equinoctial line, that the merchants, who had embarked on this adventure, were obliged to do duty as common sailors. At sea, on shore, and at Soldania, the then place of refreshment on this side the Cape of Good Hope, there died in all, nearly a fourth part of their complement, and that before they had proceeded half way to the place of their destination. Sir William Hawkins, who lived in that age, an intelligent

and brave sea-officer, has left it upon record, "that in twenty years, during which he had used the sea, he could give an account of ten thousand mariners who had been consumed by the scurvy alone." If then, in the very infancy of the naval power of England, so many were destroyed by that bane of seafaring men, what must have been the havoc made since that early date, while our fleet has been gradually increasing, new ports for commerce opening, and yet so little advancement made in the nautical part of medicine. And within our own remembrance, when it might have been expected, that whatever tended to aggrandize the naval power of Great Britain, and to extend her commerce, would have received the highest improvement: yet, even at these latter dates, we shall find few measures were adopted to preserve the health of seamen, more than had been known to our uninformed ancestors. The successful but mournful expedition of Commodore Anson, afterwards an admiral, and lord, affords a melancholy proof of the truth of this assertion. After having passed the straits of Lemaire, the scurvy began to rage violently in this little squadron; and by the time the *Centurion* had advanced but a little way into the South Sea, forty-seven sailors died of it in that ship; nor were there scarcely any on board, who had not, in some degree, been touched with the distemper, though they had not at that time been quite eight months from England. In the ninth month, when abreast of the island of Juan Fernandez, the *Centurion* lost double that number; and such an amazing swift progress did the mortality make in this single ship, that before they landed on that Island she had buried two hundred of her hands; not being able to muster any more in a watch, capable of doing duty, than two quarter masters, and six foremast-men. This was the condition of one of the three ships which reached that Island; and the other two suffered in proportion. Nor did the destroyer stop here his cruel ravages, but, after a few months respite, renewed his attacks; for the same disease broke out afresh, making such havoc, that before the *Centurion*



(in which were the whole surviving crews of the three ships) had reached the Island of Tinian, there died sometimes eight or ten in a day, so that when they had been only two years on their voyage, they had lost a larger proportion than of four in five of their original number, and all of them after having entered the South Sea, of the scurvy; but we apprehended this was not strictly the case; but that the cause of so great a mortality was a pestilential kind of distemper, distinguished on land by the name of the jail, or hospital fever; and indeed, in the observations made by two of Commodore Anson's surgeons, it is affirmed, that the scurvy at that time was accompanied with putrid fevers; however, it is not material, whether the scurvy, or fever combined with it, were the cause of the destructive mortality in Lord Anson's fleet, since it must be acknowledged both arose from foul air, and other sources of putrefaction; and which may now, in a great measure, be obviated, by the various means fallen upon since the time of that expedition: and this naturally leads us, in due order, to take a view of the principal articles of provision, and other methods employed by that prudent, as well as brave commander, Capt. Cook. We shall mention all such articles as were found the most useful; and in this list of preservative stores, shall begin with

1. Sweet wort. This was distributed, from one to three pints a day, or in such proportion as the surgeon judged necessary, not only to those men who had manifest symptoms of the scurvy, but to such also as were judged to be most liable to it. Beer hath always been esteemed one of the best antiscorbutics; but as that, derived all its fixed air from the malt of which it was made, this was thought to be preferable in long voyages, as it would take up less room than the beer, and keep longer sound. Experience has since verified the theory; and in the medical journal of Mr. Patten, surgeon to the Resolution, we find the following passage, which fully corroborates the testimony of Capt. Cook and others, in favour of sweet wort, as being the best antiscorbutic medicine yet known. "I have found (observes

this gentleman) the wort of the utmost service in all scorbutic cases during the voyage. As many took it by way of prevention, few cases occurred where it had a fair trial; but these, however, I flatter myself, will be sufficient to convince every impartial person, it is the best remedy hitherto found out for the cure of the sea scurvy; and I am well convinced, from what I have seen the wort perform, and from its mode of operation, that if aided by portable soup, sour kroust, sugar, sago, and currants, the scurvy, that maritime pestilence will seldom, or never make its appearance among a ship's crew, on the longest voyages; proper care with regard to cleanliness and provisions being observed." It hath been constantly observed by our sea-surgeons, that in long cruizes, or distant voyages, the scurvy never make its alarming appearance, so long as the men have their full allowance of small beer; but that when it is all expended, the disorder soon prevails; it were therefore to be wished, that our ships would afford sufficient room for this wholesome beverage. But, we are informed, the Russians both on board, as well as on land, make the following middle quality between wort and small beer. They take ground malt and rye meal in a certain proportion, which they knead into small loaves, and bake in the oven. These they infuse occasionally in a proper quantity of warm water, which begins so soon to ferment, that in the space of twenty-four hours their brewage is completed, and a small, brisk, acetous liquor produced, to which they have given the name of quas. Dr. Mounsey, who lived long in Russia, in writing to his friends in England, observes, that the quas is the common and salutary drink both of the fleets and armies of that empire, and that it was peculiarly good. The same gentleman having visited the several prisons in the city of Moscow, was surprised to find it full of malefactors, but more so when he could discover no fever among them, nor learn that any acute distemper, peculiar to jails, had ever been known there. He observed that some of those places for confinement had a yard for the use of the prisoners, but in others without that advantage, they were not sickly: so



that he could assign no other reason for the healthful condition of those men, than their kind of diet, which was the same with that of the common people of the country, who live mostly on rye-bread (a strong acescent) and drink quas. Upon his return to St. Petersburg, he had made the same inquiry there, and with the same result. From this account it should seem, that the rye-meal both quickens the fermentation, and adds more fixed air, since the malt alone could not so readily produce such a tart, brisk liquor. And there is little doubt, but that whenever the other grains can be brought to a proper degree of fermentation, they will more or less in the same way become useful. That oats will, we are convinced from an experiment made by Capt. Cook. When on a cruise in the *Essex*, a 74 gun ship, and the scurvy breaking out among his crew, he recollected a kind of food most proper on that occasion, which he had seen used in some parts of the north, called sooins. This is made by putting some oat-meal into a wooden vessel; then pouring hot water upon it, let the infusion continue until the liquor begins to taste sourish, that is, till a fermentation comes on, which, in a place moderately warm, may be produced in about two days. The water must then be poured off from the grounds, and boiled down to the consistence of a jelly. This the Captain ordered to be made and dealt out in messes, being first sweetened with sugar and seasoned with some prize French wine, which, though turned sour, improved the taste. This diet chiefly, not less palatable then medicinal, and by abstaining from salt meats, quite recovered his scorbutic sick, not only in this, but in subsequent cruizes, without his being obliged to send one of them on shore because they could not recover at sea. Before the power of the fixed air in subduing putrefaction was known, the efficacy of fruits, greens, and fermented liquors was commonly ascribed to the acid in their composition; and we have still reason to believe, that the acid concurs in operating that effect. In case of a scarcity in these articles, or a deficiency of malt, or when the grain should be spoiled, other

substitutes may be found very serviceable; as distilled water, acidulated with the spirit of sea salt, in the proportion of only ten drops to a quart; or with the weak spirit of vitriol, thirteen drops to the same measure, which may be given to those who are threatened with the scurvy, at least three quarts of this liquor daily, to be drank with discretion, as they shall think proper. The fixed air abounds in wine, and perhaps no vegetable substance is more replete with it than the juice of the grape. If we join the grateful taste of wine, we must rank it the first in the list of antiscorbutic liquors. Cider is also excellent, with other vinous productions of fruit; indeed this salutary fixed air is contained more or less in all fermentable liquors, and begins to oppose putrefaction as soon as the working, or intestine motion commences.

II. The next article of extensive use, was sour-kROUT, (sour-cabbage) a food of universal repute in Germany. Its spontaneous fermentation produces that acidity which makes it agreeable to the taste of all who eat it. The *Resolution* had a large quantity of this wholesome vegetable food on board, and it spoils not by keeping: in the judgment of Capt. Cook, sour-kROUT is highly antiscorbutic. The allowance for each man, when at sea, was a pound, served twice a week, or oftener, as was thought necessary. Some of the distinguished medical writers of our times, have disapproved of the use of cabbage as an anti-scorbutic; notwithstanding the high encomiums bestowed upon it by the ancients, (witness what Cato the elder, and Pliny the naturalist, say on the subject) and although it hath had the sanction of the experience of nations, for many past ages; and by experiments laid before the royal society, by some of our most eminent physicians, it has been demonstrated that this vegetable, with the rest of the supposed alcalescents, are really acescents; and that the scurvy is never owing to acidity, but to a species of putrefaction; that very cause of which the ill-grounded class of alcalescents was supposed to be a promoter.

III. Portable soup was another article with which the *Resolution* was plentifully



supplied. An ounce to each man, or such other quantity as circumstances pointed out, was boiled in their pease daily, three days in every week; and when vegetables were to be had it was boiled with them. Of this were made several nourishing messes, which occasioned the crew to eat a greater quantity of vegetables than they would otherwise have done. This broth being freed from all fat, and having by long boiling evaporated the most putrescent parts of the meat, is reduced to the consistence of a glue, which in effect it is, and will, like other glues, in a dry place keep sound for many years.

IV. The rob of oranges and lemons, which the surgeon made use of in many cases, with great success. Capt. Cook, it has been observed, did not much rely on these acids as a preservative against the scurvy; for which the following reason has been assigned by one of our most eminent physical professors. These preparations being only sent out upon trial, the surgeon of the ship was told how much he might give for a dose without strictly limiting the quantum. The experiment was made with the quantity specified, but with so little success, that judging it not prudent to lose more time, he set about the cure with the wort alone, of the efficacy of which he was fully convinced; while he reserved the robs for other purposes; more particularly for colds, when to a large draught of warm water, with some spirits and sugar, he added a spoonful of one of them, and with these ingredients made a grateful sudorific that answered his intention. To which we may add, as worthy of notice, that as they had been reduced to a small proportion of their bulk by evaporation, it is probable they were much weakened, and that with their aqueous particles they had, by the fire, lost not a little of their aerial. If therefore a further trial of these juices were to be made, they should be sent to sea purified and entire in casks, agreeable to a proposal sent into the admiralty some years ago, by an experienced surgeon of the navy. Upon the whole, the testimonies in favour of the salutary qualities of these acids are so numerous, and so strong, that we should look upon some fail-

ures, even in cases where their want of success cannot so well be accounted for as in this voyage, not a sufficient reason for striking them out of this list of preservatives against the consuming malady to which seamen are particularly subject. Nor must we omit observing under this head, that Capt. Cook says not more in praise of vinegar than of the robs, as appears from an extract of a letter which he wrote to the president of the royal society, dated Plymouth Sound, July 7th, 1776. "I entirely agree with you, (says the Captain) that the dearness of the rob of lemons and of oranges, will hinder them from being purchased in large quantities; but I do not think these so necessary; for though they may assist other things, I have no great opinion of them alone. Nor have I a higher opinion of vinegar. My people had it very sparingly during the late voyage; and towards the latter part, none at all; and yet we experienced no ill effects from the want of it. The custom of washing the inside of the ship with vinegar I seldom observed, thinking fire and smoke answered the purpose much better." We will not controvert the position here laid down by Capt. Cook, nor would we infer from hence, that he thought vinegar of little service to a ship's company, but only that as he happened in this voyage to be sparingly provided with it, and yet did well, he could not therefore consider a large store of vinegar to be so material an article of provisions, as was commonly imagined; but notwithstanding the Captain supplied its place with sour-kROUT, and trusted chiefly to fire for purifying his decks, yet it is to be hoped future navigators will not wholly omit such a refreshing and useful article. It is at least a wholesome variety in seasoning, very proper for cleansing the receptacles of the sick, and may be used at times, successfully as a medicine. The physician himself will smile to vinegar, to prevent infection from contagious diseases, and the smell is certainly agreeable to the sick, especially to such who may be confined to a foul and crowded ward. Thus much for the salutary articles that have of late been added to the naval



stores of all the king's ships on long voyages, which Capt. Cook ordered to be dispensed as occasion might require, in a bountiful manner; to which he added the following regulations, either wholly new, or hints from Sir Hugh Palliser, Captains Campbell, Wallis, and other experienced friends: and as from these he formed a plan, to which all his ship's company were to conform, he made them his own, and we may therefore justly place the merit to our skilful commander's account.

V. Captain Cook put his crew at three watches, instead of two; that is, he formed his whole crew into three divisions, each of which was ordered upon the watch by the boatswain four hours at a time; so that every man had eight hours free, for four of duty: whereas, at watch and watch, the half of the men being on duty at once, with returns of it every four hours, they can have but broken sleep, and, when exposed to wet, they cannot have time to get dry, before the whistle calls them up, or they may lie down to rest themselves. When service requires, hardships must be endured, and no men in the world encounter them so readily, and with such alacrity, as our thorough bred English seamen do; nevertheless, when there is no pressing call, ought not our brave, hardy mariners to be indulged with as much uninterrupted rest as our common labourers? Indeed it is the practice of all good officers to expose their men as little to wet weather as possible; and we doubt not but they will pay attention to what was made an essential point with our humane commander. In the torrid zone he shaded his people from the scorching rays of the sun, by an awning over his deck; and in his course under the southern polar circle, he provided for each man what the sailors called their Maghellan jacket, made of a substantial woollen stuff, with the addition of a hood for covering their heads; and this garb they found most comfortable for working in rain and snow, and among the loose ice in high southern latitudes. If Rome decreed a civic crown to him who saved the life of a single citizen, what honorary rewards, what praises are due to that hero, who contrived, and employed,

such new means to save many: means whereby Britannia will no more lament, on the return of her ships from distant voyages, the loss of her bold sons, her intrepid mariners, who by braving every danger, have so liberally contributed to the prosperity, opulence, and glory, of her maritime empire!

VI. Unremitted care was taken to guard against putrefaction, and a variety of measures pursued, in order to procure and maintain a purity of air in the ship. To this end, some wood, and that not sparingly, being put into a proper stove, was lighted, and carried successively to every part below deck. Wherever fire is, the air nearest to it, being heated, becomes specifically lighter, and, by being lighter, rises, and passes through the hatchways into the atmosphere. The partial vacuum is filled with the cold air around, and that being heated in its turn, in like manner ascends, and is replaced with other air as before. Thus, by continuing the fire for some time, in any of the lower apartments, the foul air is in a great measure driven out, and the fresh admitted. Besides, the acid steams of the wood, in burning, act probably here as an antiseptic, and correct the corrupted air that remains. The ship was generally thus aired with fires once or twice a week. It has been observed by an officer of distinguished rank, that all the old twenty gun ships were remarkably less sickly than those equal in dimensions, but of modern construction; which circumstance he could no otherwise account for, than by the former having their fire-place or kitchen in the fore part of the deck immediately above the hold, where the flue vented so ill, that, when the wind was a-stern, every part was filled with smoke. This was a nuisance for the time, but which was abundantly compensated by the good health of the several crews: for those fire-places dried the lower decks, much more when placed below, than they can now under the fore-castle upon the upper deck. But the most beneficial end answered by these portable stoves was, their drying up the damp, and foul moisture, especially in those places where the air was most likely to be corrupted for the want of a free circulation. This foul moisture is formed of the



breath, and perspirable matter of a multitude of men, of the animals or live stock, and of the steams of the bilge water from the well, where the stagnated corruption is the greatest. This putrid humidity, being one of the principal sources of the scorbutic disease, was, in order to its removal, particularly attended to; and, while the fires were burning, some of the hands were employed in rubbing hard, with canvass or oakum, every part of the ship that was damp and accessible. But the advantage of these means for preserving the health of mariners, appeared nowhere so conspicuous, as in purifying the well; which, being situated in the lowest part of the hold, the whole leakage runs into it, whether of the ship itself, or the casks of spoiled meat, or corrupted water. Yet this place was rendered both safe and sweet, by means of an iron pot filled with fire, and let down to burn therein; we say safe, because the noxious vapours, from this sink alone, have often been the cause of instantaneous death to those who have unwarily approached to clean it; and not to one only, but to several successively, when they have gone down to succour their unfortunate assistants. When this wholesome process could not take place, by reason of stormy weather, the ship was fumigated with gunpowder, mixed with vinegar or water. The smoke could have little effect in drying, but it might correct the putrid air, by means of the acid spirits from the sulphur and nitre, assisted perhaps, by the aerial fluid, then disengaged from the fuel, to counteract putrefaction. These purifications by gunpowder, by burning tar, and other resinous substances, are sufficiently known. We wish the same could be said of the ventilator, invented by Dr. Hales, the credit of which, though we are convinced of its excellence, is far from being established in the navy. Perhaps Capt. Cook had not time to examine it, and therefore would not encumber his ship with a machine he had possibly never seen worked, and of which, he had, at best received but a doubtful character; and we find he was not altogether unprovided with an apparatus for ventilation. He had the windsails, which he found very serviceable, particularly between

the tropics. They take up little room, require no labour in working, and the invention is so simple, that they can fail in no hands; but yet their powers are small, in comparison with those of Hales's ventilator; add to which, they cannot be put up in hard gales of wind, and they are of no use in dead calms, when a circulation of air is chiefly necessary, and required.

VII. The attention of Capt. Cook was directed not only to the ship, but to the persons, hammocks, bedding, clothes, &c. of the crew, and even to the utensils they used, that the whole might be constantly kept clean and dry. Proper attention was paid to the ship's coppers; and the fat which boiled out of the salt beef and pork, the Captain never suffered to be given to the people, being of opinion that it promotes the scurvy. Cleanliness is not only conducive to health, it also tends to regularity, and is the patron of other virtues. If you can persuade those who are to be under command, to be more cleanly than they are disposed to be of themselves, they will become more sober, more orderly, and more attentive to their duty. The practice in the army verifies this observation; yet we confess, a mariner has indifferent means to keep himself clean, had he the inclination to do it; but, in our opinion, sea-officers might avail themselves of the still for providing fresh water for the purpose of washing; seeing it is well known that salt water will not mix with soap, and linen wet with brine, seldom thoroughly dries. As for Capt. Cook, one morning, in every week, he passed his ship's company in review, and saw that every man had changed his linen, and was in other points, as clean as circumstances would permit: and the frequent opportunities he had of taking in fresh water among the Islands in the South Sea, enabled him to allow his crew a sufficient quantity of this wholesome article for every use; and this brings us to another useful means conducive to the health of seamen.

VIII. Capt. Cook thought fresh water from the shore preferable to that which had been kept some time on board a ship, and therefore he was careful to procure a supply of this essential article wherever it was to be



obtained, even though his company were not in want of it: nor were they ever at an allowance, but had always sufficient for every necessary purpose. Nor was the Captain without an apparatus for distilling fresh water; but, though he availed himself sometimes of the invention, he did not rely on it, finding by experiments, that he could not obtain by this means near so much as was expected. This was no disappointment to him, since within the southern tropic, in the Pacific Ocean, he discovered so many Islands, all well stored with wholesome springs; and when in the high latitudes, far from a single fountain, he found the hardships and dangers inseparable from the frigid zone, in some degree compensated by the singular felicity he enjoyed, of extracting inexhaustible supplies of fresh water from an ocean strewed with ice. Those very shoals, fields, and floating mountains of ice, among which he steered his perilous course, and which presented such terrifying objects of destruction, were the very means of his support, by supplying him abundantly with what he most wanted. That all frozen water would thaw into fresh, was a paradox that had been asserted, but met with little credit: even Capt. Cook himself expected no such transmutation; and therefore was agreeably surprised to find he had one difficulty less to encounter, namely, that of preserving the health of his men so long on salt and putrid provisions, with a scanty allowance of, perhaps, foul water, or only what he could obtain by the use of the still. An ancient writer, of great authority, no less than one of the Pliny's, had assigned, from theory, bad qualities to melted snow; but our judicious commander affirms, that melted ice of the sea is not only fresh, but soft, and so wholesome as to shew the fallacy of human reason, unsupported by experiments. And what is very remarkable, though in the midst of sleets, falls of snow, thick fogs, and much moist weather, the *Resolution* enjoyed nearly the same state of health, she had experienced in the temperate and torrid zones. Indeed, towards the end of the several courses, some of the mariners began to complain of the scurvy, but this disease made little progress; nor were other disorders, as colds, diarrhœas,

intermittents, and continued fevers, either numerous, alarming, or fatal. Nor, must we omit here, the remark of a celebrated physician, who justly observes, "that much commendation is due to the attention and abilities of Mr. Patten, the surgeon of the *Resolution*, for having so well seconded his Captain in the discharge of his duty. For it must be allowed, that in despite of the best regulations, and the best provisions, there will always be, among a numerous crew, during a long voyage, some casualties, more or less productive of sickness, and unless there be an intelligent medical assistant on board, many under the wisest commander, will perish, that otherwise might have been saved. We shall observe, once more,

IX. That Capt. Cook was not only careful to replenish whenever opportunity permitted, his casks with water; but he provided his men with all kinds of refreshments, both animal and vegetable, that he could meet with, and by every means in his power: these, even if not pleasing to the palate, he obliged his people to use, both by example and authority; but the benefits arising from refreshments of any kind, soon became so obvious, that he had little occasion to recommend the one, or exert the other. Thus did this expert and humane navigator employ all the means and regulations, which the art of man suggested, or the God of nature provided for the most benevolent purpose, even that of preserving the health and lives of those intrusted to his care. Here is greater merit than a discovery of frozen, unknown countries could have claimed; and which will exist, in the opinion of every benevolent mind, a subject of admiration and praise, when the disputes about a southern continent, shall no longer engage the attention, or divide the judgment of philosophical inquirers. This is a memorial more lasting than the mimic bust or the emblazoned medal; for this can never perish, but will remain engraven on the hearts of Englishmen to their latest posterity. May future navigators spring out of this bright example, not only to perpetuate his justly acquired fame, but to imitate his labours for the advancement of natural knowledge, the good of society, and the true glory of Great Britain.



# THIRD AND LAST VOYAGE

ROUND THE

# WORLD,

IN HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS,

## THE RESOLUTION AND DISCOVERY.

*Containing an Account of the death of Captain Cook, who was killed and eaten by the natives of a new discovered Island in the South Sea, on the 14th, of February 1779.*

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### INTRODUCTION.

**W**E are now about to enter a new field for discovery and improvement ; no less than to fix the boundaries of the two continents that form the grand divisions, which, though separated to all human appearances connect the Globe : and in order to shew the importance of the present voyage, and to furnish our numerous friends, subscribers, and readers, with an idea of the magnitude of the undertaking, we shall take a cursory view of that untrodden ground, which former enterprising discoverers visited, and whereon the principal scenes of their operations were exhibited. A brief recapitulation of their expeditions, will evince plainly, how much we are indebted to those intrepid naval officers of our own country, who have extended our acquaintance with the contents of the Globe, opened new channels to an increase of knowledge, and afforded us fresh materials, equally interesting, as they are uncommon, for the study of human

nature in various situations. Columbus and Magellan, two illustrious foreigners, rendered their names immortal, at an early period. The former, by a perseverance, of which there was no precedent, very providentially surmounted every obstacle that opposed his progress, and astonished Europe with the production of a New Earth, since called America ; while much about the same time, the latter, inspired by a like spirit of enterprise, and animated by a magnanimity that despised danger, opened a passage to a new sea, to which he gave the name of Pacific.

In the year 1520, on the 6th, of November, Magellan entered the straits, that have ever since been called by his name, and on the 27th, of the same month beheld the wished-for object of his pursuit, the Great Southern Ocean. For one hundred and thirteen days, he continued steering to the north west, and having in that time crossed the line, he fell in with those Islands, to



which he gave the name of *Ladrones*: and proceeding from hence in search of the *Moluccas*, he found in his way many little Islands, where he was hospitably received, and where a friendly correspondence was established. These Islands were situated between the *Ladrones*, and what are now known by the name of the *Philippines*, in one of which, called *Nathan*, *Magellan*, with sixty men, encountering a whole army, was first wounded with a poisoned arrow, and then pierced with a bearded lance. His little squadron, now reduced to two ships, and not more than eighty men, departed hastily, but one only, the *Victory*, returned by the *Cape of Good Hope*, and was the first ship that ever went round the world. Other adventurers were not now wanting to follow the steps of this intrepid navigator.

In 1567, *Alvarez de Mendana*, another Spaniard, was sent from *Lima*, on purpose for discovery. He sailed eight hundred leagues westward from the coast of *Peru*, and fell in with certain Islands in the latitude of 11 deg. S. and *Capt. Cook* inclines to the opinion, that they are the cluster which comprises what has since been called *New Britain*, &c. *Mendana* was also said to have discovered, in 1575, the Island of *St. Christoval*, and not far from hence, the Archipelago, called the Islands of *Solomon*, of which great and small he counted thirty three.

In 1577, *Sir Francis Drake*, who was the first Englishman that passed the straits of *Magellan*, discovered the Island of *California*, which he named *New Albion*. He also discovered other small Islands in his route to the 43rd deg. of N. latitude, but as his sole view was to return with his booty, he paid no regard to objects of less concern. He arrived in England, by the *Cape of Good Hope*, in the year 1580. To him succeeded *Sir Thomas Cavendish*, who likewise passed the straits of *Magellan* in 1580, and returned nearly by the same route pointed out by his predecessor, touching at the *Ladrones*, and making some stay at the *Philippine Isles*, of which, on his return, he gave an entertaining description.

In 1595, the Spaniards, intent more on

discovery than plunder, fitted out four ships, and gave the command to *Alvaro Mendana de Neyra*; whose discoveries were the *Marquesas*, *Solitary Island*, and *Santa Cruz*: but most of those who embarked on this expedition either died miserably, or were shipwrecked. One of the fleet was afterwards found with all her sails set, and the people rotten.

In 1598, *Oliver Van Noort* passed the straits. He made no discoveries: but in this year the *Sebaldine Islands* were discovered by *Sebald de Wert*, the same known now by the name of *Falkland's Isles*.

In 1605 *Pedro Fernando de Quiros* conceived the design of discovering a southern continent. He is supposed by *Mr. Dalrymple* and others, to have been the first into whose mind the existence of such a continent had ever entered. On the 31st of December, he sailed from *Calloa* with two ships and a tender. *Luis Paz de Torres* was entrusted with the command, and *Quiros*, from zeal for the success of the undertaking, was contented to act in the inferior station of pilot.

*Quiros*, soon after his return, presented a memorial to *Philip II.* of Spain, in which he enumerates twenty-three Islands that he had discovered, among which was the Island of the *Virgin Mary*, and adjoining to it three parts of the country called *Australia del Espiritu Santo*, in which land were found the bay of *St. Philip* and *St. Jago*.

In 1614 *George Spitzbergen* with a strong squadron of Dutch ships passed the straits of *Magellan*; and in 1615 *Schouten* and *Le Maire*, in the *Unity* of 360 tons, and the *Hoorn* of 110 sailed from the *Texel*, on the 14th of June professedly for the discovery of a new passage to the South Sea. The *Hoorn* was burnt, in careening, at *King's Island*, on the coast of *Brazil*, and the other left singly to pursue her voyage. In latitude 54 deg. 56 min. they came in sight of an opening, to which, (having happily passed it) they gave the name of *Strait le Maire*. Having soon after weathered the southernmost point of the American continent, they called that promontory *Cape Horn*, or more properly *Hoorn*, after the town in *Holland*



where the project was first secretly concerted; and two Islands which they had passed, they named *Bernevelt*. They also discovered several others, and coasted the north side of *New Britain*.

In 1642 *Abel Tasman* sailed from *Batavia* in the *Heemskirk*, accompanied by the *Zee Haan* pink, with a design of discovering the Southern Continent. The first land he made was the eastern point of *New Holland*, since known by the name of *Van Dieman's land*. Proceeding in a high latitude to the eastward, he fell in with the westernmost coast of *New Zealand*, where the greatest part of the crew of the *Zee Haan* were murdered by the savages of a bay, to which he gave the name of *Murderer's Bay*, called by our late navigators *Queen Charlotte's Sound*. In his passage he fell in with the *Isles of Pylstaert*, *Amsterdam*, *Middleburg*, and *Rotterdam*. Then directing his course to the N. W. he discovered eighteen or twenty small Islands, in latitude 17 deg. 19 min. S. longitude 201 deg. 35 min. to which he gave the name of *Prince William's Islands*, and *Heemskirk's Banks*. From thence *Tasman* pursued his course to *New Guinea*, without discovering the supposed continent; and returned to *Batavia* on the 15th of June 1643.

In 1681 *Dampier* passed the *Magellanic Straits*, and in 1699 he made a second voyage on discovery, which was chiefly confined to *New Holland*, *New Guinea*, *New Britain*, and the Islands adjacent. In 1703, he performed a third voyage, but without making any new discoveries. He was accompanied in this voyage by *Mr. Funnel*, to whom the circumnavigation of the globe is ascribed.

In 1721, the *Dutch East-India Company*, at the instance of *Capt. Roggewein*, fitted out a respectable fleet, for the discovery of that continent, which lay hitherto unknown, though believed universally to exist. Three stout ships were appointed, and were well provided for this service; the *Eagle* of 36 guns and 111 men, on board of which embarked *Roggewein* as commodore, having under him *Captain Coster*, an experienced navigator; the *Tienhoven* of 28 guns, and 100 men, of which *Capt. Bowman* was com-

mander; and the *African Galley*, commanded by *Captain Rosenthal*. From these experienced navigators every thing was hoped. They found the straits of *Magellan* impracticable, and entered the *Southern Ocean*, after having endured a variety of difficulties and hardships, by the strait *le Maire*. *Roggewein* pursued nearly the same track as *Schonten* had pointed out, till, veering more to the north, he fell in with the Islands at which commodore *Byron* first landed, and where some of the wreck of the *African Galley*, as we have mentioned in the history of his voyage, was actually found. Pursuing their course to the westward, they discovered a cluster of Islands, undoubtedly the same now called the *Friendly Isles*, to which they gave the name of the *Labyrinth*, because it was with difficulty they could clear them. They continued their course towards *New Britain*, and *New Guinea*; and thence by the way of the *Moluccas* to the *East Indies*; and thus ended, like all the former voyages, one of which was expected at least to have solved the question, but, in fact determined nothing: yet they who argued from the harmony observable in the works of nature, insisted that something was wanting to give one side of the globe a resemblance to the other; while those who reasoned from experience, pronounced the whole system the creature of the fertile brain.

In 1738 *Lazier Bonvet* was sent by the *East India Company*, upon discovery in the *Southern Atlantic Ocean*. He sailed from *Port l'Orient* on the 19th of July, on board the *Eagle*, accompanied by the *Mary*, and on the 1st of January following, it was thought he had discovered land in latitude 54 deg. south, longitude 11 min. east. But this having been diligently sought for by *Capt. Cook*, without effect, there is good reason to doubt if any such exists; or, if it does, it is too remote from any known tract to be of use to trade or navigation. In 1742 *Commodore Anson* traversed the *Great Pacific Ocean*; but he made no discoveries within the limits of our review.

We come now to that interesting æra, when the spirit of discovery recovered new



strength, under the cherishing influence and munificent encouragement of his present Majesty, George III. who having put a period to the destructive operations of war, he turned his attention to enterprises more adapted to the season of returning peace. His Majesty formed the grand design of exploring the Southern Hemisphere; and in the prosecution of an object so well adapted to the views of a great commerical people, one voyage followed another in close succession.

In 1764, Captain, now admiral Byron, having under his command the *Dolphin* and *Tamar*, passed through the straits of Magellan, into the Pacific Ocean; where he discovered several Islands, and returned to England in May, 1766. In the month of August following, the *Dolphin* was again sent out under the command of Captain Wallis, with the *Swallow* sloop, commanded by Capt. Carteret. They proceeded together till they came to the west end of the straits of Magellan, and in sight of the Great South Sea, where they were separated. Capt. Wallis directed his course more westerly than any navigator had done before in so high a latitude; discovered not less than fourteen new Islands; and returned to England with the *Dolphin*, in May 1768. His companion Capt. Carteret kept a different route, made other discoveries, among which was the strait between New Britain and New Ireland. He returned with the *Swallow* to England, after having encountered innumerable difficulties, in March 1769. In the same year and month, commodore Bougainville, having circumnavigated the globe, arrived in France.

In 1769, the Spaniards sent out a ship to trace the discoveries of the English and French commanders, which arrived at Otaheite in 1771. This ship touched at Easter Island, but whether she returned to New or Old Spain remains undecided. In the same year 1769, the French also fitted out another ship from the Mauritius, under the command of Capt. Kergulen, who, having discovered a few barren Islands, contented himself with leaving some memorials that were found by Capt. Cook. To this dis-

tinguished navigator was reserved the honour of being the first, who from a series of the most satisfactory observations, beginning at the west entrance of the strait of Magellan, and carried on with unwearied perseverance round Terra del Fuego, through the strait of Le Maire, has constructed a chart of the southern extremity of America, from which it will appear, what advantages will now be enjoyed by those who shall hereafter sail round Cape Horn. Captain Cook sailed from Plymouth, in August 1768, and returned home by the Cape of Good Hope in July 1771. This experienced circumnavigator performed his second voyage in the *Resolution* and *Adventure*. These two ships sailed from England in July 1772, and returned on the 30th of the same month, in 1775. The general object of this and the preceding voyage round the world, undertaken by the command of his Majesty, was to search for unknown tracts of land that might exist within the bosom of the immense expanse of ocean that occupies the whole southern hemisphere; and, particularly to determine to a certainty, the existence or non-existence of a Southern Continent: and these voyages have facilitated the access of ships into the Pacific Ocean, and also greatly enlarged our knowledge of its contents. Our late navigators, besides perfecting many of the discoveries of their predecessors, have added to them a long catalogue of their own. The several lands, of which any account had been given by the Spaniards or Dutch, have been carefully looked for, and most of them found, visited, and accurately surveyed. The boasted *Tierra Australia del Espiritu Santo* of Quiros, as being a part of a southern continent, could not withstand Capt Cook's examination, who sailed round it, and assigned its true position, and moderate bounds, in the Archipelago of the New Hebrides. Bougainville did no more than discover, that the land here was not connected; but Capt. Cook found it to be composed of Islands, and explored the whole group. Byron, Wallis, and Carteret, had each of them contributed towards increasing our knowledge of the amazing profusion of Islands



that exist in the Pacific Ocean, within the limits of the southern tropic: but how far that ocean reached to the west, what lands bounded it on that side, and the connection of those lands with the discoveries of former navigators, remained absolutely unknown, till Capt. Cook decided the question, and brought home such ample accounts of them and their inhabitants, as have left little more to be done in that part of the globe. It was a favourite conjectural opinion among geographers, that New Zealand was a part of a southern continent; but Capt. Cook's voyage in the Endeavour has proved it to be a mere supposition; for he spent near six months upon its coasts, circumnavigated it completely, and ascertained its extent and divisions into two Islands. Whether New Holland did or did not join to New Guinea was another question, which Capt. Cook decided, by sailing between them through Endeavour strait. He, therefore, in this part of his voyage, has established a fact of essential service to navigation, by opening, if not a new, at least an unfrequented and forgotten communication between the Southern Pacific and Indian oceans. To Capt. Carteret we are indebted for a new discovery, in the strictest sense of the word. St. George's channel, through which his ship found a way, between New Britain and New Ireland, is a much better and shorter passage, whether eastward or westward, than round all the Islands and lands to the northward. Thus far, therefore, the late voyages of our own countrymen, to disclose new tracks of navigation, and to reform old defects in geography, appear to have been prosecuted with a satisfactory degree of success.

But something was still wanting to complete the great plan of discovery. The utmost accessible extremities of the southern hemisphere had been repeatedly visited and surveyed: yet great variety of opinion prevailed concerning the navigable boundaries of our own hemisphere; particularly, as to the existence, or at least as to the practicability of a northern passage between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, either by sailing eastward round Asia, or westward round North America; by which passage, could it

be found, voyages to the East Indies in general would be much shortened, and, consequently become more profitable, than by making the tedious circuit of the Cape of Good Hope. This favourite object of the English, as early as the fifteenth century, appeared so certain to the Cabots, that the younger Sebastian made the original attempt to discover a N. W. passage in 1497, which ended in the discovery of Newfoundland, and the Labradore coast. He returned by the way of Newfoundland, bringing home with him two Esquimeaux. In 1576, Sir Martin Forbisher undertook a second expedition, and found a strait on the southernmost point of Greenland, but after repeated trials, he relinquished his hope of seeing the object he held in contemplation, and had been pursuing. Sir Humphry Gilbert was mortified with the same disappointment. He coasted along the American continent from the 60th degree of northern latitude, till he fell in with the Gulph of St. Lawrence; took possession, in his Sovereign's name, of that land, since called by the French, Canada; and was the first who projected and promoted the establishment of the fishery in Newfoundland. Captain John Davis made three trials for a passage N. W. each of which proved unfortunate and unsuccessful. In his progress he passed the strait that still bears his name, and advanced as high as the latitude of 66 deg. Mr. Henry Hudson in the year 1610, projected a new course towards the N. W. which brought him to the mouth of the bay that now bears his name. But the adventure ended by the mutiny of his crew, in the tragical death of the Captain, and seven of his sick followers. The year following Sir Henry Button undertook the task, but with no better success than his predecessor. He was followed by James Hall and William Baffin. Hall in this fruitless expedition fell by the hands of a savage; and Baffin, who renewed the pursuit in 1615, examined a sea that communicates with Davis's strait, which he found to be no other than a great bay, and called it after his own name: an inlet to the north, in latitude 78 deg. he called Smith's sound. In 1631 Luke Fox made a voyage in search of the



same supposed passage, but to as little purpose as the rest. He was followed by Capt. James, who, after the most elaborate search, changed his opinion, and declared that no such passage existed. Thus our countrymen and the Dutch have been equally unsuccessful in various attempts to find this passage in an eastern direction. Wood's failure in 1676 seemed to have closed the long list of unfortunate northern expeditions in that century; and the discovery, if not absolutely despaired of, by having been missed so often, ceased, for near another century, to be sought after: but Mr. Dobbs once more recalled the attention of this country to the probability of a N. W. passage through Hudson's Bay: in consequence of which Capt. Middleton was sent out by government in 1741, and Captains Smith and Moore, by a private society, in 1746, each encouraged by an act of parliament passed in the preceding year, that annexed a reward of twenty thousand pounds to the discovery of a passage: however, they all returned from Hudson's Bay with reports of their proceedings, that left the attainment of the great object in view, at as great a distance as ever.

But it was not yet certain, that such a passage might not be found on the western side of America; and researches of this kind were no longer left to the solicitation, or to the subscriptions of private adventurers; they engaged royal attention, and, in the present reign, were warmly promoted by the minister at the head of the naval department: and hence it was, that while Capt. Cook was prosecuting his voyage towards the South Pole, in 1773, Lord Mulgrave sailed with two ships, to determine how far navigation was practicable towards the North Pole. And that nothing might be left unattempted, though much had been already done, Capt. Cook, whose professional knowledge could only be equalled by the persevering diligence with which he had employed it in the course of his former researches was called upon once more to resume, or rather to complete his survey of the globe. This brave and experienced commander might have spent the remainder of his days

in the command to which he had been appointed in Greenwich hospital; but he cheerfully relinquished this honourable station, and, in 1766, undertook for the service of his country another voyage, which, in one respect, was less fortunate than any former expeditions, being performed at the expence of the precious and most valuable life of its conductor. Former circumnavigators had returned to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope; the arduous task was now assigned to Capt. Cook of attempting it by reaching the high northern latitudes between Asia and America. He was ordered to proceed to Otaheite, or the Society Islands, and then having crossed the equator into the northern tropic, to hold such a course as might most probably give success to the attempt of finding out a northern passage: but that our readers may be enabled to judge with precision of the great out-lines of the present important voyage; of the various objects it has in view, and how far they have been carried into execution, we shall here insert a true copy of the instructions to Capt. Cook, from the commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, Ireland, &c. and which in substance were as follow.

"Whereas the Earl of Sandwich has signified to us his Majesty's pleasure, that an attempt should be made to find out a northern passage by sea from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean; and whereas we have in pursuance thereof, caused his Majesty's sloops, *Resolution* and *Discovery* to be fitted, in all respects, proper to proceed upon a voyage, for the purpose above mentioned, and from the experience we have had of your abilities and good conduct in your late voyages, have thought fit to intrust you with the conduct of the present intended voyage, and with that view appointed you to command the first mentioned sloop, and directed Capt. Clerke, who commands the other, to follow your orders for his further proceedings; you are hereby required and directed to proceed with the said two sloops directly to the Cape of Good Hope, unless you shall judge it necessary to stop at Madeira, the Cape de Verd, or Canary Islands, to take in



wine for the use of their companies; in which case you are at liberty so to do, taking care to remain there no longer than may be necessary for that purpose; and on your arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, you are to refresh the sloop's companies with as much provision and water as can be conveniently stowed.

"If possible, you are to leave the Cape of Good Hope by the end of October, or beginning of November next, and proceed to the southward in search of some Islands said to have been lately seen by the French, in the latitude 48 deg. south, and under, or near the meridian of Mauritius. In case you find those Islands, you are to examine them thoroughly for a good harbour; and upon discovering one, make the necessary observations to facilitate the finding it again; as a good port, in that situation, may hereafter prove very useful, although it should afford little or nothing more than shelter, wood, and water. You are not, however, to spend too much time in looking out for those Islands, or in the examination of them, if found, but to proceed to Otaheite, or the Society Isles (touching at New Zealand in your way thither, if you should judge it necessary and convenient) and taking care to arrive there time enough to admit of your giving the sloop's companies the refreshment they may stand in need of, before you prosecute the farther object of these instructions. Upon your arrival at Otaheite, or the Society Isles, you are to land Omiah at such of them as he may choose, and to leave him there.

"You are to distribute among the chiefs of those Islands such part of the presents with which you have been supplied, as you shall judge proper, reserving the remainder to distribute among the natives of the countries you may discover in the northern hemisphere: and having refreshed the people belonging to the sloop's under your command, and taken on board such wood and water as they may respectively stand in need of, you are to leave those Islands in the beginning of February, or sooner if you shall judge it necessary, and then proceed in as direct a course as you can to the coast of

New Albion, endeavouring to fall in with it in the latitude of 45 deg. N: and taking care in your way thither, not to lose any time in search of new lands, or to stop at any you may fall in with, unless you find it necessary to recruit your wood and water.

"You are also in your way thither, strictly enjoined not to touch upon any part of the Spanish dominions on the western continent of America, unless driven thither by some unavoidable accident; in which case you are to stay no longer there than shall be absolutely necessary, and to be very careful not to give umbrage or offence to any of the inhabitants or subjects of his catholic majesty. And if, in your farther progress to the northward, as hereafter directed, you find any subjects of any European prince or state upon any part of the coast you may think proper to visit, you are not to disturb them, or give them any just cause of offence, but on the contrary, to treat them with civility and friendship.

"Upon your arrival on the coast of New Albion, you are to put into the first convenient port to recruit your wood and water, and procure refreshments, and then to proceed northward along the coast, as far as the latitude of 65 deg. or farther, if you are not obstructed by lands or ice; taking care not to lose any time in exploring rivers or inlets, or upon any other account, until you get into the before-mentioned latitude of 65 deg. where we could wish to arrive in the month of June next. When you get that length, you are very carefully to search for, and to explore such rivers, or inlets, as may appear to be of considerable extent, and pointing towards Hudson's, or Baffin's bays, and if, from your own observations, or from any information you may receive from the natives (who, there is reason to believe are the same race of people, and speak the same language, of which you are furnished with a vocabulary, as the Esquimeaux) there shall appear to be a certainty, or even a probability of a water passage into the afore-mentioned bays, or either of them, you are, in such case, to use your utmost endeavours to pass through with one or



both of the sloops, unless you shall be of opinion that the passage may be effected with more certainty, or with greater probability by smaller vessels; in which case you are to set up the frames of one or both the small vessels with which you are provided, and, when they are put together, and are properly fitted, stored, and victualled, you are to dispatch one or both of them, under the care of proper officers, with a sufficient number of petty officers, men, and boats, in order to attempt the said passage; with such instructions for rejoining you, if they should fail, or for their farther proceedings, if they should fail, or for their farther proceedings, if they should succeed in the attempt, as you shall judge most proper. But, nevertheless, if you shall find it more eligible to pursue any other measures than those above pointed out, in order to make a discovery of the before-mentioned passage (if any such there be) you are at liberty; and we leave it to your discretion, to pursue such measures accordingly.

“But, should you be satisfied, that there is no passage through the bays, sufficient for the purposes of navigation, you are, at the proper season of the year, to repair to the port of St. Peter and St. Paul in Kamtschatka, or wherever else you shall judge more proper; in order to refresh your people and pass the winter; and in the spring of the ensuing year, 1778, to proceed from thence to the northward, as far as in your prudence, you may think proper, in further search of a north-east, or north-west passage, from the Pacific Ocean, into the Atlantic, or north sea: and if, from your own observation, or any information you may receive, there shall appear to be a probability of such a passage, you are to proceed as above directed; and having discovered such a passage, or failed in the attempt, make the best of your way back to England, by such route as you may think best for the improvement of geography and navigation; repairing to Spithead with both sloops, where they are to remain till further orders.

“And at whatever places you may touch in the course of your voyage, where accurate

observations of the nature hereafter mentioned have not already been made, you are, as far as your time will allow, very carefully to observe the situation of such places, both in latitude and longitude; the variation of the needle; bearings of head-lands; height, direction, and course of the tides and currents; depths, and soundings of the sea; shoals, rocks, &c. and also to survey, make charts, and take views of such bays, harbours, and different parts of the coast, and to make such notations thereon, as may be useful either to navigation or commerce. You are also carefully to observe the nature of the soil and the produce thereof; the animals and fowls that inhabit or frequent it; the fishes that are to be found in the rivers or upon the coasts, and in what plenty; and in case there are any peculiar to such places, to describe them minutely, and to make as accurate drawings of them as you can: and, if you find any metals, minerals, or valuable stones, or any extraneous fossils, you are to bring home specimens of each; as also of the seeds of such trees, shrubs, plants, fruits and grains, peculiar to those places, as you may be able to collect, and to transmit them to our secretary, that proper experiments and examination may be made of them. You are likewise to examine the genius, temper, disposition, and number of the natives and inhabitants, where you find any; and to endeavour, by all proper means, to cultivate a friendship with them, making them presents of such trinkets as you may have on board, and they may like best; inviting them to traffic and shewing them every kind of civility and regard; but taking care, nevertheless, not to suffer yourself to be surprised by them, but to be always on your guard against any accidents.

“You are also, with the consent of the natives, to take possession, in the name of the King of Great Britain of convenient situations in such countries as you may discover, that have already not been discovered or visited by any other European power; and to distribute among the inhabitants such things as will remain as traces and testimonies of your having been there; but if you find the countries so discovered are uninha-



bited, you are to take possession of them for his Majesty, by setting up proper marks and inscriptions, as first discoverers and possessors.

“But forasmuch as, in undertakings of this nature, several emergencies may arise not to be foreseen, and therefore not particularly to be provided for by instructions before-hand; you are, in such cases, to proceed as you shall judge most advantageous to the service on which you are employed: and you are, by all opportunities, to send to our secretary, for our information, accounts of your proceedings, and copies of the surveys and drawings you shall have made; and upon your arrival in England, you are immediately to repair to this office, in order to lay before us a full account of your proceedings in the whole course of your voyage; taking care before you leave the sloop, to demand from the officers and petty officers, the log-books and journals they may have kept, and to seal them up for our inspection; and enjoining them and the whole crew, not to divulge where they have been, until they have permission so to do: and you are to direct Capt. Clerke to do the same, with respect to the officers, petty officers, and crew of the *Discovery*.

“Should any accident happen to the *Resolution*, in the course of the voyage, so as to disable her from proceeding any farther, you are, in such case to remove yourself and her crew into the *Discovery*, and to prosecute your voyage in her; her commander being hereby strictly required to receive you on board, and to obey your orders, the same, in every respect, as when you were actually on board the *Resolution*: and, in case of your inability, by sickness or otherwise, to carry these instructions into execution, you are to be careful to leave them with the next officer in command, who is hereby required to execute them in the best manner he can.

“The above instructions were given July the 6th, 1776, under the hands of the Earl of Sandwich, Lord C. Spencer, Sir H. Palliser; and, by command of their Lordships, signed Philip Stephens, secretary of the admiralty.”

In order to carry this noble and extensive plan into execution, on February the 14th, 1776, the *Resolution* and *Discovery*, having been completely equipped in the dock at Deptford, were put into commission. Capt. Cook hoisted his pendant on board the former sloop; and the command of the *Discovery*, of three hundred tons burthen, which had been purchased into the service, was given to Capt. Clerke, who had been Capt. Cook's second lieutenant, on board the *Resolution*, in his second voyage round the world. Both ships were well fitted out, and supplied abundantly with every article necessary for a long voyage: and on the 8th of June, while they lay in long-reach, we had the satisfaction of a visit from the earl of Sandwich, Sir Hugh Palliser, and others of the board of admiralty, to examine whether every thing had been completed pursuant to their orders, and to the convenience of those who were to embark. They honoured Capt. Cook with their company to dinner on that day; and were saluted, on their coming on board, and on their going on shore, with seventeen guns and three cheers. To convey some permanent benefit to the inhabitants of Otaheite, and of the other Islands which we might happen to visit, his Majesty ordered us a supply of some useful animals, and we took on board a bull, two cows, with their calves, and some sheep; with hay and corn for their support. We were also furnished with a sufficient quantity of our valuable European garden seeds, which might add fresh supplies of food to the vegetable productions of our newly discovered Islands. We had also an extensive assortment of iron tools and trinkets, to facilitate a friendly commerce and intercourse with the inhabitants of such new countries as we might discover. With respect to our wants, nothing was refused us that might be conducive to health, comfort or convenience. Those at the head of the naval department were equally solicitous to render our voyage of public utility; to this end we received a variety of astronomical and nautical instruments which the board of longitude intrusted to Capt. Cook and Mr. King, his second lieutenant; they



having engaged to supply the place of a professed observator. The board, likewise, put into their possession the time-keeper which Capt. Cook had carried out in his last voyage, and which had performed so well. It was constructed by Mr. Kendal, and was a copy of Mr Harrison's. Another time-piece, and the same assortment of astronomical and other instruments, were put on board the *Discovery*, for the use of Mr. William Bailey, who was engaged as an observator on board that sloop. Though several young men, among the sea officers, were capable of being employed in constructing charts, drawing plans, and taking views of the coasts, and head-lands, nevertheless, Mr. Webber was engaged to embark with Capt. Cook, for the purpose of supplying the defects of written accounts; by taking accurate and masterly drawings of the most memorable scenes of our transactions. Mr. Anderson, likewise, surgeon to Capt. Cook, added to his professional abilities a great proficiency in natural history. He had already visited the South Sea Islands in the same ship, and enabled the Captain to enrich his relation of his voyage with useful and valuable remarks. The vocabularies of the Friendly and Sandwich Islands, and of the natives of Nootka had been furnished to our commander, by this his most useful associate, Mr. Anderson: and a fourth, in which the language of the Esquimaux is compared with that of the American's on the opposite side of the continent, had been prepared by the Captain himself. The confessed abilities, and great assiduity of Mr. Anderson, in observing every thing that related either to natural history, or to manners and language, and the desire that Capt. Cook, on all occasions, shewed to have the assistance of that gentleman, stamped a great value on his collections.

The *Resolution* had the same appointment of officers and men which she had in her former voyage; and the establishment of the *Discovery* varied from that of the *Adventure*, in the single instance of her having no marine officer on board. This arrangement was to be finally completed at

Plymouth; and on the 9th of July, we received the party of marines allotted for our voyage. And the supernumerary seamen, occasioned by this reinforcement, being turned over into the *Ocean* man of war, our several complements of officers, and the respective crews of both ships, remained as expressed in the two underwritten lists.

# I. A LIST of the OFFICERS, SEAMEN, and PRIVATES, on board the *RESOLUTION*.

- 1 *Captain* - - - James Cook.
- 3 *Licutenants* - - John Gore, James King, and John Williamson.
- 1 *Master* - - - William Bligh.
- 1 *Boatswain* - - William Ewin.
- 1 *Carpenter* - - James Clevely.
- 1 *Gunner* - - Robert Anderson.
- 1 *Surgeon* - - William Anderson.
- 3 *Master's Mates* - Robers, &c.
- 6 *Midshipmen* - Hargest, &c.
- 2 *Surgeon's Mates* - Samwell and Davis.
- 2 *Captain's Clerks* - Alex. Hogg and Alex. Dewer.
- 1 *Master at Arms* - William Collet.
- 1 *Corporal* - - William Griffiths.
- 1 *Armourer* - - William Hunt.
- 1 *Ditto Mate* - - William Price.
- 1 *Sail Maker* - - William Widdel.
- 1 *Ditto Mate* - - William Maceril.
- 3 *Boatswain's Mates* - Quin, James, and Doyle.
- 3 *Carpenter's ditto* - Barber & Macintosh.
- 2 *Gunner's ditto* - Brown & Ramsey.
- 4 *Carpenter's Crew* - Carter, &c.
- 1 *Cook* - - Robert Morris.
- 1 *Ditto Mate* - - Richard Young.
- 6 *Quarter Masters* - Weling, &c.
- 45 *Able Seamen*.

## MARINES.

- 1 *Lieutenant* - - Molesworth Philips.
- 1 *Serjeant* - - Samuel Gibson.
- 2 *Corporals* - - Lediard and Thomas.
- 1 *Drummer* - - Michael Portman.
- 15 *Privates*.

Total of the ship's company 113 men.



## II. A LIST of the OFFICERS, SEAMEN, and PRIVATES, on board the DISCOVERY.

- 1 *Captain* - - - Charles Clerke.
- 2 *Lieutenants* - - James Burney, John Rickman.
- 1 *Master* - - - Thomas Edgar.
- 1 *Boatswain* - - Eneas Atkins.
- 1 *Carpenter* - - Peter Reynolds.
- 1 *Gunner* - - William Peckover.
- 1 *Surgeon* - - John Law.
- 2 *Master's Mates* - Home and Hollingby.
- 1 *Midshipmen* - Alex. Mouat, &c.
- 2 *Surgeon's Mates* - Snaggs and Ellis.
- 1 *Captain's Clerk* - Gregory Banthorn.
- 1 *Master at Arms*.
- 1 *Corporal*.
- 1 *Armourer* - - - Dixon.
- 1 *Ditto Mate*.
- 1 *Sail Maker*.
- 1 *Ditto Mate*.
- 2 *Boatswain's Mates*.
- 2 *Carpenter's Ditto*.
- 1 *Gunner's Ditto*.
- 4 *Carpenter's Crew*.
- 1 *Cook*.
- 4 *Quarter Masters* - Cox, &c
- 33 *Able Seamen*.

### MARINES.

- 1 *Serjeant* - - - Letant.
- 1 *Corporal*.
- 1 *Drummer* - - - Hollywell.
- 8 *Privates*.

Total of the ship's company 80 men.

To these we may here add Omiah, who, as we were to touch at the Society islands and Otaheite, was to take his passage in the Resolution, to his native country. Before the Resolution and Adventure quitted the small but fertile Island of Huaheine, Capt. Furneaux, who had the command of the latter, agreed to receive on board his ship a young man named Omai, or Omiah, a native of Ulitea, where he was possessed of some property, of which he had been deprived by the people of Bolabola. Capt. Cook wondered that Capt. Furneaux would encumber himself with this man, who in his

opinion, was not a proper sample of the inhabitants of those happy Islands, not having any advantage of birth, or acquired rank, nor being eminent in shape, figure, or complexion; for their people of the first rank are much fairer, and, usually, better behaved, and more intelligent, than the middling class of people, among whom Omiah is to be ranked. Capt. Cook, however, since his arrival in England, has been convinced of his error; for, excepting his complexion (which is undoubtedly of a deeper hue than that of the Earees, or gentry, who live, as in other countries, a more luxurious life, and are less exposed to the heat of the sun) he doubted whether any other of the natives would have given a more general satisfaction by his behaviour among them. "Omiah," he observed, has certainly a very good understanding, quick parts, and honest principles: he has a natural good behaviour, which renders him acceptable to the best company, and a proper degree of pride, which taught him to avoid the society of inferior rank. He has passions of the same kind as other young men, but has judgment enough not to indulge them in any improper manner. I do not imagine that he has any dislike to liquor, and if he had fallen into company who drank the most, met with the most approbation, I have no doubt, but that he would have endeavoured to gain the applause of those with whom he associated; but, fortunately for him, he perceived that drinking was very little in use but among the inferior people, and as he was very watchful into the manners and conduct of the persons of rank who honoured him with their protection, he was sober and modest; and I never heard that, during the whole time of his stay in England, which was two years, he ever once was disguised with wine, or even shewed an inclination to go beyond the strictest rules of moderation. Soon after his arrival in London, the earl of Sandwich, the first lord of the admiralty, introduced him to his majesty at Kew, when he met with a most gracious reception, and imbibed the strongest impression of duty and gratitude, which I am persuaded he will preserve to the



latest moment of his life. During his stay in England he was caressed by many of the principal nobility, and did nothing to forfeit the esteem of any one of them; but his principal patrons were the earl of Sandwich, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander: the first probably thought it a duty of his office to protect and contenance an inhabitant of that hospitable country, where the wants and distresses of those in his department had been alleviated and supplied in the most ample manner; the others, as a testimony of their gratitude for the generous reception they had met with during their residence in his country. But though Omiah lived in the midst of amusements during his residence in England, his return to his native country was always in his thoughts; and though he was not impatient to go, now the time of his return approached, he was agitated by different passions in turns, and left London with a mixture of regret and satisfaction." In our voyage, when we talked about England, and about those, who, during his stay had honoured him with their protection and friendship, his spirits were sensibly affected, and it was with difficulty he could refrain from tears. But, the instant the conversation turned to his own Islands, his eyes began to sparkle with joy. He was deeply impressed with a sense of the good treatment he had met with in England, and entertained the highest ideas of the country and of the people. But the pleasing prospect he now had of returning home, loaded with what he well knew would be esteemed invaluable treasures there, and the flattering hope which the possession of these gave him, of attaining to a distinguished superiority among his countrymen, were considerations that operated by degrees, to suppress every uneasy sensation; and he seemed to be quite happy when he got on board the ship. By his majesty, he was supplied with an ample provision of every article which, during our intercourse with his country, we had observed to be in any estimation there, either as useful or ornamental. He had, besides, received many presents of the same nature from lord Sandwich, Mr. Banks (now Sir Joseph) and several

other gentlemen and ladies of his acquaintance. In short, every method had been employed, both during his abode in England, and at his departure, to make him the instrument of conveying to the inhabitants of the Society Islands, and others in the Pacific Ocean, the most exalted opinion of British greatness and generosity.

Every preparation being now completed, Capt. Cook received an order to proceed to Plymouth, and to take the *Discovery* under his command; in consequence of which having taken in our guns at the Galleons, on the 15th of June 1766, both ships came to an anchor at the Nore; but our fresh provisions being nearly exhausted, the *Discovery* weighed next day, in obedience to Capt. Cook's order, but the *Resolution* remained at the Nore waiting for her commander, who was then in London. On the 24th, every thing being ready for our departure, Capt. Cook set out with Omiah from London, at six o'clock in the morning; by eleven they reached Chatham, and after dining with commissioner Proby, he very obligingly ordered his yacht to convey them to Sheerness, where the Captain's boat was waiting to take them on board. On the 25th, we made sail for the Downs; and came to an anchor there on Wednesday the 26th. Having received our boats on the day following, we got again under sail; and on Sunday the 30th, at three o'clock, P. M. we anchored in Plymouth-sound, where the *Discovery* had arrived only three days before. We saluted Admiral Amherst, whose flag was flying on board the *Ocean*, and he returned the compliment. On the 1st and 2nd of July, we were employed in replacing the water and provisions we had expended, and in receiving on board a supply of port wine. On Saturday the 6th, his Majesty's ships *Diamond*, *Ambuscade*, and *Unicorn*, with a fleet of transports, consisting of 62 sail, bound to America, with the last division of the Hessian troops, and some horse, were forced into the sound. On the 8th, Capt. Cook received his instructions, and on the 10th, the proper persons came on board, and paid the officers and crew up to the 30th of last month. The petty



officers and seamen received also two months wages in advance. Such indulgence to the latter is customary, but the payment of what was due to the superior officers, was in consideration of our peculiar situation, to enable us to defray the expence of furnishing ourselves with necessaries for a voyage of such uncommon duration.

As to Omiah, he appeared to be quite happy on board, nor would he go on shore, though numbers of people were frequently waiting there with the expectations of seeing him. To the account already given of this child of curiosity, we shall add some traits of his character as delineated by Mr. Forster, wherein his good qualities are so blended with childishness and folly, that one can hardly think it applicable to the same person. "Omiah," says Mr. Forster, "has been considered either as remarkably stupid, or very intelligent, according to the different allowances which were made by those who judged of his abilities. His language which is destitute of every harsh consonant, and where every word ends with a vowel, had so little exercised his organs of speech, that they were wholly unfit to pronounce the more complicated English sounds; and this physical, or rather babitual defect, has been too often misconstrued. Upon his arrival in England, he was immediately introduced into general company, led to the most splendid entertainments, and presented at court amidst a brilliant circle of the first nobility. He naturally imitated that easy and elegant politeness which is so prevalent in all those places; he adopted the manners, the occupations, and amusements of his companions, and gave many proofs of a quick conception and lively fancy. Among the instances of his intelligence, I need only mention his knowledge of the game of chess, in which he has made an amazing proficiency. The multiplicity of objects that crowded upon him, prevented his paying due attention to those particulars, which would have been beneficial to himself and his countrymen at his return. He was not able to form a general comprehensive view of our whole civilized system, and to abstract

from thence what appeared most strikingly useful, and applicable to the improvement of his country. His senses were charmed by beauty, symmetry, harmony, and magnificence; they called aloud for gratification, and he was accustomed to obey their voice. The continued round of enjoyments left him no time to think of his future life; and being destitute of the genius of a Tupia, whose superior abilities would have enabled him to form a plan for his own conduct, his understanding remained unimproved. After having spent two years in England, his judgment was in its infant statè; and, therefore, when he was preparing to return, he coveted almost every thing he saw, and particularly that which amused him by some unexpected effect. To gratify his puerile fancy, as it should seem, rather than from any other motives, he was indulged with a portable organ, an electrical machine, a coat of mail, and a suit of armour." Such is the account, and such the character of Omiah, (as given by Mr. Forster,) who left his country, and his connections, to roam he did not know where, nor for what, having no idea of improving the arts, manufactures, or commerce of his country, or introducing one useful science among them. He carried with him, besides the articles above enumerated, a profusion of almost every thing that can be named, axes, saws, chissels, and carpenters tools of every kind; all sorts of Birmingham and Sheffield wares; guns, pistols, cutlasses, powder, and ammunition; needles, pins, fish-hooks and various implements for sport; nets of all sorts; with hand-engines, and a lathe for turning. He had likewise clothes of different colours and different fabrics, laced and plain; some made in the style of his own country, and several after our manner. Some of these last he bartered with the petty officers (after he had passed New Zealand) for red feathers. He was likewise supplied plentifully with glass and china-wares, with beads and toys, some of great value; medals of various metals; and a watch was presented to him by a person of distinction: in short nothing;



was withheld from him that he required, his return home, will be seen in the sequel either for trade in his own country, or for of the history of our voyage, to which we curiosity. How he behaved on board, now proceed. and in what manner he was received on

## CHAP. I.

*Departure of the Resolution from Plymouth Sound; Her passage to Teneriffe, and reception she met with there; The road of Santa Cruz described; Geographical account of the Island, and history of the cities of Santa Cruz and Laguna; Air, climate, agriculture, produce, commerce, and inhabitants described; Her departure from Teneriffe for the Cape of Good Hope. The Discovery follows, and joins company some time after her arrival there; The Resolution in danger near the sunken rocks of Bonavista; Arrives at the Cape of Good Hope; Transactions there. Account of Mr. Anderson's journey up the country: Both ships leave the Cape, and proceed on their voyage to the southward.*

**I**N the morning, of the 11th, of July, 1776, Capt. Cook delivered into the hands of Mr. Burney, first lieutenant of the Discovery, Capt. Clerke's sailing orders; a copy of which he also left with the commanding officer of his majesty's ships at Plymouth, to be delivered to the Captain on his arrival.

In the afternoon we weighed with the ebb, and got out beyond all the shipping in the sound. On Friday the 12th, the impatience of the ship's company, and the notion they had entertained of its being a lucky day, as it was the same the Resolution had set sail on in her former voyage, induced Capt. Cook to comply with their importunities. Accordingly, at eight o'clock, P. M. we stood out of the sound, with Omiah on board, having a gentle breeze at N. W. by W. Capt. Clerke was ordered to follow us with the Discovery, to St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd Islands, and if he should there miss of us to pursue his course directly for the Cape of Good Hope. Soon after we came out of the sound, the wind came more westerly, and blew fresh, which obliged us to ply down the channel; and we were not off the Lizard till Sunday the 14th, in the evening. On Tuesday the 16th, we observed in latitude

49 deg. 53 min. 30 sec. N. St. Agnes's light-house bearing at this time N. W. by W. distant about eight miles, and, by our reckoning, situated in 49 deg. 57 min. 30 sec. N. and in 6 deg. 20 min. W. longitude. Our readers will be pleased here to observe, that, in this voyage, we reckon our longitude from the meridian of Greenwich, and after passing to the east in the South Atlantic, it is carried on easterly beyond the great meridian, or 180th deg. to the utmost extent of the voyage, and back again to the same meridian. On the 17th, our commander began his judicious operations for preserving the health of his crew; for this day the spare sails were well aired, and the ship was smoked between decks with gunpowder. On Thursday the 18th, we were abreast of Ushant, and, by the watch, found the longitude of the Island to be 5 deg. 18 min. 37 sec. W. On the 19th, we stood westward till eight o'clock, A. M. when the wind shifted; upon which we tacked and stretched to the southward. Soon after we came in sight of nine sail of large ships, which we supposed to be French men of war. On Monday the 22nd, we observed in latitude 44 deg. 6 min. N. longitude 8 deg. 23 min. W. when Cape Ortegal, then in view, bore S. E. half S.



distant four leagues. We had calm weather till the afternoon of the 24th, when we passed Cape Finisterre, with a fine gale at N. N. E. By the watch, and the mean of 41 lunar observations, we found the longitude of this cape to be 9 deg. 19 min. 12 sec. On Tuesday the 30th, finding we wanted a supply of hay and corn, for the subsistence of our live stock of animals on board, Capt. Cook determined to touch at Teneriffe, in order to procure those necessities, as well as the usual refreshments for ourselves. On the 31st, at four o'clock P. M. we saw Teneriffe, made for the eastern part of it, and during the night stood off and on.

Thursday, the 1st of August, early in the morning, we proceeded round the east point of the Island, to the S. E. side, and, about eight o'clock, anchored in the road of Santa Cruz, in 23 fathoms water. We moored N. E. and S. W. near half a mile from the shore; in which position Punta de Nago bore N. 64 deg. E. The church of St. Francis, which has a remarkable high steeple, W. S. W. the pic, S. 65 deg. W. and the S. W. point of the road, on which stands a castle, S. 39 deg. W. In this road were riding one French frigate, two French brigantines, an English one, and 14 sail of the Spanish nation. We had no sooner anchored than we received a visit from the master of the port, who only asked the ship's name; and upon his retiring, Capt. Cook sent an officer ashore, to request his permission, that we might take in water, and purchase other necessary articles. This he politely granted, and sent one of his officers on board to compliment the Captain on his arrival; who, in the afternoon, waited upon the governor in person, accompanied by some of his officers; and, before he returned, bespoke some corn and straw, ordered a quantity of wine, and made an agreement for a supply of water, with a Spanish boat.

The principal road of Teneriffe, is this of Santa Cruz, on account of its capacity, and the goodness of its bottom. It lies before the town of the same name. Great care is observed in mooring ships, as the road lies

entirely open to S. E. and S. winds. We observed, that all those vessels which lay here at this time, had four anchors out, and their cables were buoyed up with casks. By not attending to this last particular, we found ours had suffered a little. The water to supply the shipping, and for the use of the inhabitants of Santa Cruz, is derived from a rivulet that runs from the hills, which is conveyed into the town in wooden troughs. As these troughs were at this time repairing, fresh water was extremely scarce. For the convenience of loading and landing goods, at the S. W. part of the road, a stone pier is run out from the town into the sea. It might be naturally concluded, from the appearance of the country about Santa Cruz, that Teneriffe is a barren spot: but the following account of this Island will prove the contrary: and for the entertainment of the curious part of our readers, we shall present them with a relation of a journey up the peak of Teneriffe, including a brief account of the weather and produce of the Island.

The Island of Teneriffe was antiently called Nivaria, from the snow that incloses the neck of the peak of Teyda, like a collar; the name of Teneriffe, or the white mountain, being given it by the natives of Pahna, in whose language tener signifies snow, and iffe, white: the summit of the peak of Teneriffe being always covered with snow. Point Nago, or Anaga, which is the N. E. point of Teneriffe, bears N. W. about sixteen leagues distant from the N. W. part of Canaria; but from that part of Canaria to the nearest part of Teneriffe, the distance does not exceed twelve leagues.

This Island is nearly triangular, the three sides being almost equal, and each about 36 miles long. In the centre is the famous peak of Teneriffe, said to be the highest mountain in the universe, and strikes the spectators with amazement, both near and at a distance. This great mountain extends its base to Garrichino, from whence it is two days and a half's journey to the top; but we shall speak more particularly of this in the sequel. In coming in with Teneriffe, in clear weather, the peak may be easily



discerned at one hundred and twenty miles, or forty leagues distance; and in falling from it, at the distance of one hundred and fifty miles, or fifty leagues, when it resembles a thin blue vapour, or smoke, very little darker than the sky. Before we lose sight of this towering mountain, it seems a considerable height above the firmament, though from its distance, and the spherical figure of the earth, the rest of the Island is sunk beneath the horizon, notwithstanding its being exceedingly high. There are several high perpendicular rocks near Punto de Nago; and on the south-east side of the Island, is the harbour of Santa Cruz, the most frequented part in the Canary Islands. The best road for ships is about a mile to the north-ward: between the middle of the town and fort, or castle, ships may lie secure from all winds, though the bay is exposed to those which blow from the N. E. coasts and S. E. yet these winds do not blow so hard as to cause any considerable damage above once in the space of four or five years. However, we learn from Glass, that some years ago, most of the shipping in the road were driven on shore by one of these gales. Some English ships were then in the harbour; but the crews prudently cutting away their masts, rode out the storm. In the middle of the town, for the convenience of landing, is a mole, built at vast expence. It runs up to the northward, and the uttermost part turns towards the shore. However, in mild weather, goods are landed at a creek among the rocks, at the distance of a stone's cast to the southward of the mole, and near the custom-house. In the way from the mole into the town, there is a square fort on the left hand, named St. Philips; this is the principal one in the bay. To the northward of it are some forts and batteries mounted with guns, the most considerable of which is named Passo Alto. Near it is a steep rocky valley, which begins at the sea shore, and runs a great way within land. There are several batteries at the south end of the town, and beyond them, close to the shore, is a fort called St. Juan. All these forts are mounted with cannon, and joined together by a thick stone wall,

which begins near the above rocky valley, and continues with little interruption to fort St. Juan. This wall is within only breast high, but it is higher on the outside facing the sea, and from thence to the southward; the shore being naturally fenced with rocks, is generally inaccessible.

Santa Cruz is a large town, and contains several churches, three convents of Friars, an hospital, and the best constructed private buildings of any to be found in the Canary Islands. It is indeed the capital of them all, for though the episcopal see and courts of judicature are in the city of Palmas, in Canaria, the governor-general of the Islands always resides in Santa Cruz, where a great concourse of foreigners continually resort, on account of its being the centre of the trade between the Canary Islands with Europe and America. The number of inhabitants are supposed to amount to about five or six thousand. The water drank by them, is conveyed into the town in open wooden troughs, from a spring beyond the above mentioned valley, and there are pits of water, which serve for other purposes, in many houses. Near twelve miles to the southward of Santa Cruz, and close to the sea, there is a cave, with a church, or chapel, called our Lady of Candelaria, in which is a little image of the Virgin Mary, about three feet high, holding a green candle in one hand, and in the other an infant Jesus, who has a gilt bird in each hand. This chapel received its name of Candelaria, from its being pretended, that on the eve of the purification of the Holy Virgin, a great number of lights are constantly seen going in procession round the cave, in which the image is placed: and they assert, that in the morning, drops of wax are scattered about the sea shore. This image is held in the highest veneration, on account of the many miracles it is said to have performed, and her chapel is adorned with so many ornaments, that it is the richest place in all the seven Islands. At a certain season of the year, most of the inhabitants of the Island go thither in pilgrimage, when troops of young girls march singing, in an agreeable manner, the praises of the Virgin, and



the miraculous deeds the image is said to have performed.

North-westward of the Island is the bay of Adexe or, as it is pronounced, Adehe, where large ships may anchor. On the N. W. side is a haven called Garrachica, once the best port in the island; but it was destroyed in 1704, which the natives call the year of the earthquakes, and filled up by the rivers of burning lava that flowed into it from a volcano; so that houses are now built where ships formerly lay at anchor; yet vessels come there in the summer season. The earthquake began on the 24th of December; and in the space of three hours twenty-nine shocks were felt. After this they became so violent as to cause all the houses to shake, and oblige the inhabitants to abandon them. The consternation became universal, and the people, with the bishop at their head, made processions and public prayers in the open fields. On the 31st, a great light was observed on Manja, towards the White Mountains, where the earth opening, two volcanoes were formed, that threw up such heaps of stones, as to raise two considerable mountains; and the combustible matter continually thrown up, kindled in the neighbourhood above fifty fires. Things remained in this situation till the 5th of January, and then the sun was totally obscured with clouds of smoke and flame, which continually increasing, augmented the consternation and terror of the inhabitants. Before night, the whole country, for nine miles round, was in flames by the flowing of the liquid fire, with the rapidity of the torrent, into all quarters, from another volcano, which had opened by at least thirty different vents within the compass of half a mile. The horror of this scene was greatly increased by the violence of the shocks, which never once intermitted, but by their force entirely overthrew several houses, and shook others to their very foundations: while the wretched inhabitants were again driven defenceless and dismayed into the open fields, where they every moment expected to be swallowed up by some new gulf. The noise of the volcano was heard at sea at twenty leagues distance,

where the sea shook with such violence as alarmed the mariners, who at first thought the ship had struck upon the rock. Meanwhile a torrent of sulphur, and melted ores of different kinds, rushed from this last volcano towards Guimar, where the houses and public buildings were thrown down by the violence of the accompanying shocks. On the 2nd of February another volcano broke out even in the town of Guimar, which swallowed up a large church. Thus from the 24th of December to the 23rd of February, the people were constantly alarmed by continual shocks of earthquakes, and the terrible volcanoes that burst forth in different parts.

The town of Garrachica is still pretty large, and contains several churches, and convents of both sexes. It has a small trade for brandy and wine, which are usually sent from thence in barks, or large open boats to Santa Cruz, or Port Orotava. Strong and durable ships are also built there, some of which are upwards of three hundred tons burthen. Six miles to the eastward of this place stands the town of Port Orotava, which is a good harbour in the summer season, but in the winter, ships are often obliged to slip their cables and put to sea, for fear of being surprised with a N. W. wind, which throws in a heavy sea upon this coast. This is a place of considerable trade, it having flourished greatly since the destruction of the harbour of Garrichica. It contains two churches, two convents of Friars, two of Nuns, and some good private buildings. At each end of the town is a black sandy bay; and along the northernmost a low stone wall, built to prevent the landing of an enemy: at the other bay is a small castle, or fort, for the same purpose, and at the landing-place between them is a battery, of a few cannon: but the surf that continually breaks upon the shore is the best defence of this port. About three miles from hence within land is la Villa de Orotava, which is a large town, and contains several churches, and convents, with a number of stately stone buildings belonging to private persons. A rivulet which runs through the midst of it, refreshes their gardens and



orchards, and supplies the inhabitants with water.

The city of St. Christobal de la Laguna, that is, St. Christopher of the lake, extends four miles within land from Santa Cruz. The road to it from the above town is a pretty steep ascent, till within a small distance of the city, which is seated in the corner of a plain, about four miles in length, and a mile in breadth. This city is the capital of the Island, and contains two parish churches, three convents of Friars, two of Nuns, and three hospitals; two of which are for the venereal disease, and the other for foundlings. The Jesuits have also a house here, and, besides these public structures, there are many handsome private buildings. The water drank by the inhabitants is conveyed in troughs to the city, from the mountain situated to the southward of the plain. In this city there is not the least shew of business, it being chiefly inhabited by the gentry of the Island, particularly the officers of justice, with the judge of the Indies, who presides in the India-House, where all affairs relating to the West-India commerce are conducted. Here is likewise an office of inquisition subject to the tribunal of the holy office of Grand Canaria; yet the city appears to a stranger as if desolate and uninhabited; for seldom any one can be seen in the streets, and grass grows in the most frequented places. There is a laguna, or lake, behind the city, about half a mile in circumference, from which the city takes its name. It is dry in summer, but in winter is full of stagnant water. As this city is situated on a plain, elevated a considerable height above the sea, it is extremely cold in winter, and in all seasons exposed to the wind. The road descends from the western extremity of this plain, to La Montanza de Centejo, a large village in the mid-way between Santa Cruz and Port Orotava, chiefly inhabited by peasants and labouring people. Some of the towns are situated at no great distance from the sea, from whence most of them may be seen; and, indeed, there are no habitations at a greater distance from each other than nine miles. A large town, called Realajo, is situated in

the western border, and La Rambla on the eastern. The towns of Orotava, and Port Orotava, stood between them, with a number of detached inhabitants, scattered about from the sea shore upwards to the clouds, in or beyond which, there are no houses; yet the clouds are not higher than the middle distance between the sea and the summit of the peak.

The whole Island continues to rise on all sides from the sea till it terminates in the peak, which as we have observed, is in the centre. The north side is the most fertile, and ascends more gradually than the other, particularly a space along the shore about three leagues broad, bounded on the sides by high mountains or rather cliffs; but it rises upwards from the sea, like a hanging garden, till you come within three miles of the clouds, without any considerable intervention of hills and valleys. All the fertile ground, within a league of the sea, is covered with vines; corn grows in the next league; and in the third some corn, woods of chesnuts, and many other different sorts of trees. Above these woods are the clouds, which in fine weather, generally descend gradually towards the evening, and rest upon these woods till the morning, when they re-ascend about a league, and there remain till the succeeding evening. There are several other towns, and many small villages besides the towns already mentioned. This Island is so populous, that, when the last account was taken, it contained no less than ninety six thousand persons; and is supposed to contain as many souls as all the rest of the inhabited Islands.

The city of Laguna, which stands near a lake, about nine miles from the sea, is the principal place in Teneriffe: it is called by the Spaniards St. Christoval de la Laguna, and is handsomely built, having two parish churches, and a palace for the governor, who resides here. The aldermen of this city pay a price to the king to serve their offices of magistrates; but this gives them great power over the inhabitants, who are divided into three classes, namely, gentlemen, merchants, and husbandmen, or as they are termed by the natives, idlemen, busymen,



and labouringmen. The land on each side of the road, leading to Laguna, is, in general, rocky, but some spots of corn-land are interspersed here and there, and terminated by small vineyards on the sides of the mountains. This city presents the beholder with an agreeable prospect, as it stands on the side of a hill, and stretches its skirts on the plain behind; it is large, compact, and populous; the houses, though not uniform, have a pleasant appearance: besides the governor's house, and the two parish churches, here are two nunneries, four convents, an hospital, and some chapels, besides many gentlemen's houses. The convents are those of St. Francis, St. Augustine, St. Dominic, and St. Diego. The churches have pretty high square steeples, which top the rest of the buildings. The streets are not regular, yet they are for the most part spacious, and near the middle of the town is a large parade, which has good buildings about it. There is a strong prison on one side of it, near which is a large conduit of good water that supplies all the town. The inhabitants have many gardens that are set round with orange, lime, and other fruit trees, in the middle of which are flowers, sallading, &c. and indeed, if the people were curious this way, they might have very pleasant gardens: for the town stand high from the sea, on the brow of a plain that is all open to the east, and has consequently the benefit of the trade wind, which blows here, and is commonly fair; so that there are seldom wanting, at this town, all the day, brisk, cooling, refreshing breezes. There is a large plain on the back of the town, three or four leagues in length, and two miles broad, producing a thick kind of grass. On the east side is a lake of fresh water; but, being stagnant, it is only used for cattle: it is about half a mile in circumference.

The ancient inhabitants of Teneriffe were called Guanches, but their origin is not certainly known: they were, and the remainder of them still are without literature; but their language, which still remains among the remnant of them, bears some affinity to that of the Moors in Barbary; it was formerly very guttural, and entirely different

from that used in the other Islands. They were of good stature, well made, and had tolerable complexions, but those who dwelt on the north side of the Island were much fairer, and had lighter hair than those in the south. These people had some notion of a deity, and held, that there is a Supreme power, which they distinguished by the names of Achguarergenán, Achoran, and Achaman, which signify the sustainer of the heavens and the earth. They also gave the titles of the great, the sublime, the maintainer of all; but they did not worship idols, nor had any images of the deity. They believed that God created them of earth and water, and made as many men as women, giving them cattle, and every thing necessary for their subsistence; but that afterwards there appearing to him too few, he created more; but to these last gave nothing; and when they prayed to him for flocks of sheep, and herds of goats, he bid them go and serve the others, who in return, would give them food. From these, they said, were descended their servants. They had some idea of the immortality of the soul, by supposing the existence of places for future rewards and punishments. In particular, they supposed the peak of Teneriffe to contain hell in its bowels which they termed Echeйда; and gave the name of Guayotta to the devil.

In Teneriffe, the weather is the same as in Grand Canaria; but the sea-breeze generally sets in at about ten o'clock in the morning, on the E. and N. E. sides of the Island, and blows till about five or six in the evening, when it falls calm till midnight. The land wind then begins, and continues, till seven or eight in the morning, when it is followed by a calm, which lasts till the sea breeze returns. In the bay of Santa Cruz, and on all the E. side of the Island, the sea breeze commonly blows at E. and the land wind at W. On the N. side, the sea breeze blows at N. E. by E. or N. E. and the land wind directly opposite to it; but there is no land wind at Point Nago, where the land stretches towards the N. E. far into the sea. At the brow of the hill above Santa Cruz, and at the city of Laguna, a fresh gale blows



from the N. W. all the time of the sea breeze which is occasioned by the mountains almost encompassing the plain. These being so exceedingly high on the S. side of it, as to beat back the sea breeze and throw it against the mountains that bound the N. side of the plain, where, finding no passage, it veers to the S. E. and there meeting with no resistance, forces its way with great vehemence through the plain; till coming to the brow of the above-mentioned hill, part of the current of air pours down it towards Santa Cruz, advancing within a mile and a half of the sea, where the true sea breeze checks it: yet there is no regular sea or land breeze, on the S. W. coast, which is sheltered from the trade or north-easterly wind by the immense height of the peak, which towers above the region of the wind; hence on that side of the Island, there is either an eddy wind at S. W. or a calm.

This Island produces nearly the same vegetables as that of Canaria, only there are more vine-yards, and less cornland. The wines are strong, good and very fit for exportation, especially into hot climates, by which they are generally greatly improved. Formerly a large quantity of Canary sack was made here, which the French call *Vin de Malvesie*, and we, corruptly, after their name *Malmsey*, from *Malvesia*, a town in the Morea, famous for such luscious wine. In the last century, and still later, much of this was imported into England; but of late years they have not made above fifty pipes in a season; for they now usually gather the grapes when green, and make a hard dry wine of them, which when about two or three years old, can hardly be distinguished from *Madeira*; but after four years of age, it becomes so sweet and mellow, as to resemble the wine of *Malaga* in Spain. This, like all the other Canary Islands, affords, *orchilla* weed in great plenty. The dragon tree, *aloe*, and *pine*, are natives of *Teneriffe*. The *apricot*, *peach*, and *pear-trees*, bear twice annually. The *pregnada*, *lemon*, and *lignar wood*, are found here, as are the *cotton-shrub* and *coloquintida*. The *rose* blows at Christmas: the *carnations* are large and fine, but *tulips* will not thrive.

The rocks abound with *samphire*, the meadows are covered with *clover*, and the beach produces a broad leaved grass. About four-score ears of wheat spring from one root, the grains of which are as transparent as the purest yellow amber; and in a good season one bushel will produce a hundred fold: the *barley* and *maize* are not inferior to the wheat.

With respect to the animals, here are plenty of rabbits, hogs, wild goats, &c. Quails and partridges are larger than those in England, and extremely handsome, Wood-pigeons, turtles, and crows, abound in the spring. Several sorts of wild fowls resort hither in the winter season, affording plenty of game to the inhabitants of *Laguna*. The falcons, or rather strong large hawks, which hover over the lake of *Laguna*, are thus described by a gentleman who lately travelled to these Islands: "I cannot forbear mentioning the haggard falcons that soar every evening about this lake. It is very good diversion to see the negroes fight them with slings: for they often stoop, several at a time; and besides, they are the best mettled hawks in the world, being of a larger kind than the *Barbary falcon*. The viceroy being one evening to see the sport, on the author's commending their strength and mettle, assured him upon his honour, that a falcon bred in that Island, which he had formerly sent to the duke of *Larma*, did at one flight, (unless she rested on any ship by the way) pass from *Andalusia* to *Teneriffe*, which is two hundred and fifty Spanish leagues, and was taken up half dead, having on the vessels and bells belonging to the duke."

In this Island fishes are found in great quantities particularly dolphins, sharks, *meros*, lobsters, mussels, *periwinkles*, the *calcas*, (which is deemed the best shell-fish in the universe) and the *chernia*, that exceeds in relish any we have in England; here is also another fish which is called an eel, though with little propriety, for it has seven tails of a span long joined to one body and one head, which are nearly of the same length. Silk worms thrive exceedingly; and bees prosper in the rocks and mountains.



To this account we shall add the following remarks of the ingenious Mr. Anderson, (one of our ship's company, and of whom we have already made mention (on the natural appearances of Teneriffe, and its production ; as what he observed himself, or learnt by information, about the general state of the Island, may be of use ; seeing our readers may hereby be enabled to mark some changes that have happened there since the publication of the above geographical observations, which are chiefly extracted from Mr. MILLAR'S *deserredly much admired* *NEW and UNIVERSAL SYSTEM of GEOGRAPHY*. The following are Mr. Anderson's own words, and narration.

"While we were standing in for the land, the weather being perfectly clear, we had an opportunity of seeing the celebrated Peak of Teneriffe: but I own I was much disappointed in my expectation with respect to its appearance. It is, certainly, far from equalling the noble figure of Pico, one of the western Isles which I have seen ; though its perpendicular height may be greater. This circumstance, perhaps, arises from its being surrounded by other very high hills ; whereas Pico stands without a rival.

"Behind the city of Santa Cruz, the country rises gradually, and is of a moderate height. Beyond this, to the south-westward it becomes higher, and continues to rise towards the Peak, which, from the road, appears but little higher than the surrounding hills. From thence it seems to decrease, though not suddenly, as far as the eye can reach. From a supposition that we should not stay above one day, I was obliged to contract my excursions: otherwise I had proposed to visit the top of this famous mountain. To the eastward of Santa Cruz, the Islands appears perfectly barren. Ridges of hills run towards the sea ; between which ridges are deep valleys, terminating at mountains or hills that run across, and are higher than the former. Those that run towards the sea, are marked by impressions on their sides, which makes them appear as a succession of conic hills, with their tops very rugged. The higher ones that run across are more uniform in their appearance.

"In the forenoon of the 1st of August, after we had anchored in the road, I went on shore, to one of these valleys, with an intention to reach the top of the remoter hills which seemed covered with woods ; but time would not allow me to get farther than their foot. After walking about three miles, I found no alteration in the appearance of the lower hills ; which produce great quantities of the *Euphorbia Canariensis*. It is surprising that this large succulent plant should thrive on so burnt up a soil. When broken, which is easily done, the quantity of juice is very great ; and it might be supposed that, when dried, it would shrivel to nothing : yet it is a pretty tough, though soft and light wood. The people here believe its juice to be so caustic, as to corrode the skin ; but I convinced them, though with much difficulty, to the contrary, by thrusting my finger in a plant full of it, without afterwards wiping it off. They break down the bushes of the *Euphorbia*, and suffering them to dry, carry them home for fuel. I met with nothing else growing there, but two or three small shrubs, and a few fig-trees near the bottom of the valley. The basis of the hills is a heavy compact bluish stone, mixed with some shining particles ; and, on the surface, large masses of red friable earth, or stone, are scattered about. I also found the same substance disposed in a thick strata ; and the little earth strewed here and there, was a blackish mould. There were also some pieces of flag ; one of which, from its weight and smooth surface, seemed almost wholly metalline. The mouldering state of these hills is doubtless, owing to the perpetual action of the sun, which calcines their surface. This mouldered part being afterwards washed away by the heavy rains, perhaps is the cause of their sides being so uneven. For as the different substances of which they are composed, are more or less easily affected by the sun's heat, they will be carried away in the like proportions. Hence, perhaps, the tops of the hills, being of the hardest rock, have stood, while the other parts on a declivity have been destroyed. As I have usually observed, that the tops of



most mountains that are covered with trees have a more uniform appearance, I am inclined to believe that this is owing to their being shaded.

"The city of Santa Cruz, though not large, is tolerably well built. The churches are not magnificent without; but within are decent, and indifferently ornamented. They are inferior to some of the churches at Madeira: but, I imagine, this rather arises from the different disposition of the people, than from their inability to support them better: for the private houses, and dress of the Spanish inhabitants of Santa Cruz, are far preferable to those of the Portuguese at Medeira, who, perhaps, are willing to strip themselves, that they may adorn their churches.

"Almost facing the stone pier, at the landing-place is a handsome marble column, lately put up, ornamented with some human figures, that do no discredit to the artist, with an inscription in Spanish, and the date, to commemorate the occasion of the erection.

"Friday the 2nd, in the afternoon, four of us hired mules to ride to the city of Laguna, so called from an adjoining lake; about four miles from Santa Cruz. We arrived there about six in the evening, but found a sight of it very unable to compensate for our trouble, as the road was very bad, and the mules but indifferent. The place is, indeed, pretty extensive, but scarcely deserves to be dignified with the name of city.

"The disposition of its streets is very irregular; yet some of them are of a tolerable breadth, and have some good houses. In general, however, Laguna is inferior in appearance to Santa Cruz, though the latter, if compared with the former, is but small. The road leading from Santa Cruz to Laguna runs up a steep hill, which is very barren; but lower down, we saw some fig-trees, and several corn-fields. These last are but small, and not thrown into ridges, as is practised in England. Nor does it appear that they can raise any corn here without great labour, as the ground is so encumbered with stones, that they are obliged to collect and lay them in broad-

rows, or walls, at small distances. The large hills that run to the S. W. appeared to be pretty well furnished with trees. Nothing else worthy of notice presented itself during this excursion, except a few aloë plants in flower, near the side of the road, and the cheerfulness of our guides, who amused us with songs by the way. Most of the laborious work in this Island is performed by mules, horses being to appearance scarce, and chiefly reserved for the use of the officers. They are of a small size, but well shaped and spirited. Oxen are also employed to drag their casks along upon a clumsy piece of wood; and they are yoked by the head, though it doth not seem, that this has any peculiar advantage over our method of fixing the harness on the shoulders. In my walks and excursions I saw some hawks, parrots, the tern or sea-swallow, sea-gulls, partridges, wagtails, swallows, martins, blackbirds, and canary-birds in large flocks. There are also lizards of the common, and another sort; some insects and locusts; and three or four sorts of dragon flies.

"I had an opportunity of conversing with a sensible and well informed gentleman residing here, and whose veracity I have not the least reason to doubt. From him I learnt some particulars, which during the short stay of three days, did not fall within my own observation. He informed me, that a shrub is common here, agreeing exactly with the description given by Tournefort and Linnæus, of the tea-shrub, as growing in China and Japan. It is reckoned a weed, and he roots out thousands of them every year, from his vine-yards. The Spaniards, however, of the Island, sometimes use it as tea, and ascribe to it all the qualities of that imported from China. They also give it the name of tea; but what is remarkable, they say it was found here when the Island was first discovered. Another botanical curiosity, mentioned by him, is what they call Pregnada or impregnated lemon. It is a perfect and distinct lemon, inclosed within another, differing from the outer one only in being a little more globular. The leaves of the tree that



produces this sort, are much longer than those of the common one; and it was represented to me as being crooked, and not equal in beauty. From him I learnt also, that a certain sort of grape growing here, is reckoned an excellent remedy in phthysical complaints: and the air and climate in general, are remarkably healthful, and particularly adapted to give relief in such diseases. This he endeavoured to account for, by its being always in our power to procure a different temperature of the air, by residing at different heights in the Island; and he expressed his surprise, that the English physicians should never have thought of sending their consumptive patients to Teneriffe, instead of Nice or Lisbon. How much the temperature of the air varies here, I myself could sensibly perceive, only in riding from Santa Cruz up to Laguna; and you may ascend till the cold becomes intolerable. I am assured no person can live comfortably within a mile of the perpendicular height of the Peak, after the month of August. This agrees with Dr. Heberden's account, who says, that the sugar-loaf part of the mountain, or *la pericosa* (as it is called) which is an eighth part of a league (or 1980 feet) to the top is covered with snow the greatest part of the year.

"Their trade must be supposed very considerable indeed; for they reckon that 40,000 pipes of wine are annually made; the greatest part of which is either consumed in the Island, or made into brandy, and sent to the Spanish West Indies. About 6000 pipes were exported every year to North America, while the trade with it was uninterrupted; at present it is thought not half the quantity."—Our readers will here please to observe, that in the foregoing account given by MR. MILLAR, in his *New System of Geography*, the number of inhabitants in Teneriffe are computed at no less than 96,000. Now we may reasonably suppose, that there has been a considerable increase of population within these thirty years. The quantity of wine annually consumed, as the common beverage of at least 100,000 persons, must amount to several thousand pipes. There must be a vast expenditure of it, by con-

version into brandy; to produce one pipe of which, five or six pipes of wine must be distilled. An attention to these particulars will enable every one to judge, that the account given by Mr. Anderson of the annual produce of pipes of wine has a foundation in truth.---This gentleman goes on to observe, "That they make little silk; and, unless we reckon the filtering stones, brought in great numbers from Grand Canary, the wine is the only considerable article of the foreign commerce of Teneriffe."

"None of the race of the family of the Guanches, or ancient inhabitants, found here when the Spaniards discovered the Canaries, now remain a distinct people, having intermarried with the Spanish settlers; but their descendants are known, from their being remarkably tall, large boned, and strong. The men are, in general, of a tawny colour, and the women have a pale complexion, entirely destitute of that bloom which distinguishes our northern beauties. The Spanish custom of wearing black clothes continues among them; but the men seem more indifferent about this; and in some measure dress like the French. In other respects, we found the inhabitants of Teneriffe to be a decent and very civil people, retaining that grave cast which distinguishes those of their country from other European nations. Although, concludes Mr. Anderson, we do not think, that there is a great similarity between our manners and those of the Spaniards, it is worth observing, that Omiah did not think there was much difference. He only said, that they seemed not so friendly as the English; and that, in their persons, they approached those of his countrymen."

We shall now, as proposed, proceed to the relation of a journey up the Peak of Teneriffe, undertaken and performed by Mr. Glass, author of that valuable work, entitled, *The History of the Canary Islands*. This gentleman begins his narrative with informing us, that, "Early in the month of September 1761, at about four in the afternoon, he set out on horseback, in company with the master of a ship to visit the Peak. They had with them a servant, a muleteer, and a



guide ; and after ascending above six miles arrived towards sun-set at the most distant habitation from the sea, which is in a hollow : here finding an aqueduct of open troughs that convey water down from the head of the hollow, their servants watered the cattle, and filled some small barrels to serve them in their expedition.

“ The gentlemen here alighted, and walking into the hollow, found it very pleasant, as it abounded with many trees of an odorous smell ; and some fields of maiz or Indian corn are near the houses. On their mounting again, they travelled for some time up a steep road, and reached the woods and clouds a little before night. They could not miss their way, the road being bounded on both sides with trees or bushes, which were chiefly laurel, savine, and brushwood. Having travelled about a mile, they came to the upper edge of the wood, above the clouds, where alighting, they made a fire, and supped ; soon after which, they laid down to sleep under the bushes. About half an hour after ten, the moon shining bright, they mounted again, travelled slowly two hours through an exceeding bad road, resembling the ruins of stone buildings scattered over the fields.

“ After they had passed over this road, they came upon small light pumice-stone, like shingles ; upon which they rode at a pretty good pace for near an hour. The air now began to be pretty sharp and piercing, and the wind blew strong from the south-westward. Their guide advised them to alight here, as the place was convenient, and rest till about four or five in the morning. To this they agreed, and entered the cave, the mouth of which was built up to about a man's height, to exclude the cold. Near this place were some fine dry withered retamas, the only shrub or vegetable near the cave, and with these they made a great fire to warm themselves, and then fell asleep ; but were soon awaked by an itching occasioned by a cold thin air, want of rest, and sleeping in their clothes. They here passed away their time as well as they could ; but while they crept near the fire, one side was almost scorched, and the other was benumb-

ed with cold. At about five in the morning they mounted again, and travelled slowly about a mile ; for the road was rather too steep for travelling quick on horseback, and their beasts were now fatigued.

“ At last they came among some great loose rocks, where was a kind of cottage built of loose stone, called the English pitching place, probably from some of the English resting here, on their way to visit the Peak ; for none take that journey but foreigners and some poor people who earn their bread by gathering brimstone. There they alighted again, the remainder of their way being too steep for riding, and left one of the servants to look after the horses while they proceeded on their journey. They walked hard to get themselves warm ; but were soon fatigued by the steepness of the road, which was loose and sandy. On their reaching the top of this hill, they came to a prodigious number of large and loose stones, or rocks, whose surfaces were flat, and each of them about ten feet every way.

“ This road was less steep than the other ; but they were obliged to travel a considerable way round, to leap over the rocks, which were not close to each other. Among them is a cavern, in which is a well, or natural reservoir, into which they descended by a ladder placed there by the poor people for that purpose. This cavern is very spacious, it being almost ten yards wide, and twenty in height ; but all the bottom except just at the foot of the ladder, is covered with water, which is about two fathoms deep, and was then frozen towards the inner edges of the cave ; but when they attempted to drink of it, its excessive coldness prevented them.

“ After travelling about a quarter or half a mile upon the great stones, they reached the bottom of the real Peak or sugar-loaf, which is exceeding steep, and the difficulty of ascending it increased, and was rendered more fatiguing by the ground being loose and giving way under their feet ; for though this eminence is not above half a mile in height, they were obliged to stop and take breath near thirty times ; and when they at



last reached the top, being quite spent with fatigue they lay about a quarter of an hour to recover their breath, and rest themselves.

"In the morning, when they left the English pitching place, the sun was just emerging from the clouds, which were spread under them at a great distance below, and appeared like the ocean. Above the clouds, at a vast distance to the north, they perceived something black, which they conjectured to be the top of the Island of Madeira, and, taking the bearings of it by a pocket compass, found it to be exactly in the direction of that Island from Teneriffe, but before they reached to the tops of the Peak, it disappeared. They could neither perceive Lancerota nor Fuerteventura from this place, they being not high enough to pierce the clouds; though they could see from hence the tops of the Islands of Grand Canaria, Hieros, Palma, and Gomera, which seemed to be quite near.

"After resting for some time, they began to observe the top of the Peak which is about one hundred and forty yards in length, and one hundred and ten in breadth. It is hollow, and shaped like an inverted bell. From the edges of this bell, or cauldron, as it is called by the natives, it is about forty yards to the bottom, and in many parts of this hollow, they observed smoke and steams of sulphur issuing forth in puffs, and the heat of the ground in particular places was so great, as to penetrate through the soles of their shoes to their feet. On observing some spots of earth, or soft clay, they tried the heat with their fingers, but could not thrust them in farther than half an inch; for the deeper they went, the hotter it was. They then took their guide's staff, and thrust it about three inches deep into a hole or porous place, where the smoke seemed thickest; and having held it there about a minute, drew it out, and found it burnt to a charcoal. They gathered here many pieces of most curious and beautiful brimstone of all colours, particularly an azure blue, violet, scarlet, green and yellow.

"The clouds beneath them, which are at a great distance, made from hence a very extraordinary appearance: they seemed like

the ocean, only the surface was not quite so blue and smooth, but had the resemblance of white wool; and where this cloudy ocean, as it may be called, touched the mountain, it seemed to foam like billows breaking on the shore. When they ascended through the clouds, it was dark; but when they afterwards mounted again, between ten and eleven o'clock, and the moon shone bright, the clouds were then below them, and about a mile distant. They then mistook them for the ocean, and wondered at seeing them so near; nor did they discover their mistake till the sun arose. When they passed through the clouds, in descending from the Peak they appeared as a thick fog or mist, resembling those frequently seen in England? with which all the trees of the wood and their clothes were wetted.

"The air was thin, cold, and piercing on the top of the Peak, like the south-easterly winds felt in the great desert of Africa. In ascending the sugar loaf, which is very steep, their hearts panted and beat violently, and as hath been already observed, they were obliged to rest above thirty times to take breath; and this was probably as much owing to the thinness of the air causing a difficulty of respiration, as to the uncommon fatigue they suffered in climbing the hill. Their guide, who was a thin, active old man was far from being affected in the same manner, but climbed up with ease like a goat; for he was one of the poor men who earned their living by gathering brimstone in the cauldron and other volcanoes, the Peak itself being no other, though it has not burned for some years; for the sugar-loaf is entirely composed of earth mixed with ashes and calcined stones, thrown out of the bowels of the earth, and the great square stones before described, were probably thrown out of the cauldron, or hollow of the Peak, when an eruption happened.

"After they had surveyed every thing worthy of notice, they descended to the place where their horses were left, which took them up only half an hour, though they were about two hours and a half in ascending. It was then about ten in the morning, and the sun shone so exceedingly hot, as to oblige



them to shelter in the cottage, and being extremely fatigued, they lay down in order to sleep; but were prevented by the cold, which was so intense in the shade, that they were obliged to kindle a fire to keep themselves warm. After this, when they had taken some repose, they mounted their horses about noon, and descending by the same way they went up, came to some pines, situated about two miles above the clouds. Between these pines and the Peak, no herb, shrub, tree, or grass can grow, except the before-mentioned ratamas.

"At about five in the evening they arrived at Orotava, not having alighted by the way to stop, only sometimes to walk where the road was too steep for riding. The whole distance they rode in the five hours spent in coming down from the English pitching-place to Orotava, they computed to be about fifteen English miles, travelling at the rate of three miles an hour.

"Our author supposes, the perpendicular height of the English pitching place to be about four English miles, and adding to that a mile of a perpendicular height from thence to the Peak, observes, that the whole will be about five English miles, and that he is very certain he cannot be mistaken in this calculation above a mile either way." But Mr. Glass may here probably be mistaken, owing perhaps to his not using any instruments proper for ascertaining the exact altitude of this mountain, which is much higher than either the Alps, or the highest part of the Andes, according to this calculation. Dr. T. Heberden makes its height, above the level of the sea, to be 15,396 English feet; and says, that this was confirmed by two subsequent observations by himself, and another made by Mr. Crosse, the consul. The Chevalier de Borda, commander of the French frigate, now lying with the Resolution in the road of Santa Cruz, was employed, in conjunction with Mr. Varila, a Spanish gentleman, in making astronomical observations for ascertaining the going of two time-keepers which they had on board their ship. The chevalier measured the height of the Peak, but makes it to be only 1931 French toises, or 12,340

English feet. If our readers are desirous of more particulars respecting the above subjects, they may find them in Sprat's History of the Royal Society, p. 200, &c. History of the Canary Islands by Glass, p. 252 &c. Philosophical Transactions, vol. XLVII. p. 353, &c. and Dr. Forster's Observations during a voyage round the world, p. 32. We proceed now to the history of our voyage.

On Sunday, the 4th of August, having taken on board our water, and other necessary articles, we weighed anchor, and sailed from the Island of Teneriffe with a fine fresh gale at N. E. between this day and the tenth, our experienced Commander discovered his usual attention and parental care, respecting both the discipline, and health of our company; for in this interval the mariners were exercised at the great guns and small arms, and the Resolution was twice smoked and cleansed between decks. On Saturday the 10th, at nine o'clock P. M. we descried the Island of Bonavista, bearing S. distant one league; at which time we thought ourselves to have been much farther off. We too soon were made sensible of our mistake; for after hauling to the eastward, to clear the sunken rocks that lie near the S. E. point of the Island, we found ourselves close upon them, and barely weathered the breakers. Our situation was, for a few minutes, so very critical and alarming, that Capt. Cook would not permit us to sound, as by so doing we might have increased the danger, without any possibility of lessening it. Having cleared the rocks, we held on a S. S. W. course till day break on the 11th, when we steered between Bonavista and Mayo, to the westward, with the view of looking into Port Praya for the Discovery, as Capt. Clerke had been informed of our intention to touch at that port, and we knew not how soon he might follow us. At one o'clock P. M. we came in sight of the rocks S. W. of Bonavista, bearing S. E. distant three leagues; and on Monday the 12th, at six o'clock, A. M. the Isle of Mayo bore S. S. E. distant five leagues. We now sounded, and found ground at sixty fathoms.



At eleven one extreme of Mayo bore E. by N. and the other S. E. by S. In this station two globular hills appeared near its N. E. part; farther on, a large and higher hill; and about two thirds of its length, a single one that is peaked. We were now at the distance of three or four miles from this Island, at which we saw not the least appearance of vegetation; nor did any other object present itself to our view, but that lifeless brown, so common in unwooded countries under the torrid zone. During our continuance among the Cape de Verde Islands, we had gentle breezes of wind, varying from the S. E. to E. and some calms: from whence we may conclude, that they are either extensive enough to break the current of the trade wind, or that they are situated just beyond its verge, in that space where the variable winds, found on approaching the line, begin. At this time we had sultry and hot weather, attended with rain, and, for the most part the sky was tinged with a thick whiteness, without any transparency, a kind of medium between fogs and clouds. Indeed, the tropical climates seldom have that bright, clear atmosphere, observable where variable winds blow; nor does the sun shine with its full splendor; if it did, perhaps its rays, being uninterrupted, would occasion an insupportable heat throughout the day; as to the nights, they are often remarkably clear and serene.

On Tuesday the 13th at nine o'clock, A. M. we were abreast of Port Praya, in the Island of St. Jago, of which in former voyages a very particular and full description has been given. At this place two Dutch East India ships, and a small brigantine were at anchor; but the Discovery not being there, and having expended but a small quantity of our water, in our run from Teneriffe, we did not go in, but stood to the southward. We had lost the N. E. trade wind, the day after we left the Cape de Verde Islands; and on Friday the 30th, fell in with that which blows from the S. E. being then in 2 deg. N. latitude, and in 25 deg. W. longitude. The wind, during this space of time, was mostly in the S. W. quarter. It generally blew a

gentle breeze, but sometimes fresh, and in squalls. We had few calms, and those of short continuance. Between the latitude of 12 deg. and 7 deg. N. the weather was very gloomy, and frequently rainy; which last circumstance was an advantage to us, as we were enabled to save as much water as filled most of our empty casks. Every bad consequence is to be apprehended from these rains, and the close sultry weather with which they are accompanied. Commanders of ships ought therefore carefully to purify the air between decks with fires and smoke, and to oblige the people to change their clothes at every opportunity; which preservatives of health, with others mentioned in the two former voyages, were constantly used by Capt. Cook. On the 14th instant, a fire was made in the well, to air the ship below: on the 15th the spare sails were aired upon deck, and a fire made to air the sail-room: on the 17th cleaned and smoked between decks, and aired the bread room with fires; on the 21st cleaned and smoked between decks: and on the 22nd, the men's bedding was spread on the deck to air. We enjoyed the salutary effects of these precautions in a high degree, having fewer sick than on either of Capt. Cook's preceding voyages. Our ship, however, was very leaky in all her upper works. The sultry weather had opened her seams, that had been badly caulked, so wide, that the rain water passed through as it fell. By the water that came in at the sides of the Resolution, the officers in the gun-room were driven from their cabins, and scarcely a man could lie dry in his bed. The sails in the sail-room also got wet, so that, when the weather became favourable to dry them, we found many much damaged, and a great expence of canvass and of time became necessary to make them serviceable. As soon as we had settled weather, the caulkers were employed to repair these defects; but the Captain would not trust them over the sides of the ship while we were at sea; being always more attentive to the preservation of the health and lives of his company, than to temporary inconveniences and hardships.

On Sunday, the 1st of September, in longitude 27 deg, 38 min. W. with a fine gale at



S. E. by S. we crossed the equator ; and the afternoon was spent in performing the ridiculous ceremony of ducking those who had not passed the line before ; a custom we have elsewhere described, and therefore think it sufficient just to mention it in this place. On the 8th we observed in latitude 8 deg. 57 min. S. a little to the southward of Cape Augustine, on the coast of Brazil ; and concluded, that we could not now be farther off from the continent than thirty leagues at most, and, perhaps not much less, as we had neither soundings, nor any other signs of land. We held on our course without any remarkable occurrence, till the 6th of October, being Sunday, when, in latitude 35 deg. 15 min. S. and in 7 deg. 45 min. W. longitude, we met with light airs and calms, alternately, for three successive days. We had a few days before been visited by albatrosses, pintadoes, and other petrels, and we now saw three penguins ; in consequence of which we sounded but found no ground with a line of one hundred and fifty fathoms. We shot a few birds, one of which was a black petrel, about the size of, and nearly resembling, a crow. On the 8th, in the evening, a bird, which the sailors call a noddy, settled on our rigging, and was taken. It was larger than a common English blackbird, and nearly of the same colour, except the upper part of the head, which is white. It is web-footed, has black legs and a long black bill. It is said these birds never venture far from land, yet in our present latitude, we knew of none nearer than Gough's or Richmond Island, which could not be at a less distance from us than one hundred leagues ; but as the atlantic ocean, southward of this latitude, has been but little frequented, there may possibly be more Islands than we know of. It is here to be observed, that in the night, we frequently saw the appearance of those marine luminous animals, mentioned and described in Capt. Cook's first voyage. Many of them were larger than any we had before taken up, and so numerous sometimes, that hundreds were visible at the same moment. The calm weather was succeeded by a fresh gale from the N. W. which continued two days, after which we had variable light airs for about

twenty-four hours, when the N. W. wind returned with renewed strength.

On Thursday the 17th, we came in sight of the Cape of Good Hope ; and on the 18th anchored in Table Bay, in four fathoms water. After having received the customary visit from the master attendant and the surgeon, Capt. Cook sent an officer to Baron Plettenberg, the governor, and on his return, we saluted the garrison with thirteen guns, who paid us an equal complement. In the bay we found two French East India ships, the one outward, and the other homeward bound. One of the latter, belonging to the same nation, had parted from her cable, and been stranded about three days before our arrival. The crew were saved, but the ship and cargo were plundered and stolen by the inhabitants ; in extenuation of which disgraceful act, the Dutch endeavoured to lay the whole blame on the French Captain, for not applying in time for a guard, a plea which cannot exculpate them, when considered as a civilized state. The boat was now ordered out, and Capt. Cook, attended by some of his officers went on shore. They waited on the Governor, the Lieutenant-governor or the Fiscal, and the commander of the troops, by whom they were received with the greatest civility. The Governor, in particular, promised us in the most polite terms every assistance that the place afforded. Before Capt. Cook returned on board, he ordered bread, meat, vegetables, &c. to be provided every day for the ship's company. By this time our numerous subscribers and readers may be anxious to know what is become of our consort, the *Discovery*, whom we left at anchor, on the 12th of July, in Plymouth Sound, waiting for the arrival of her commander, Capt. Clerke. We shall therefore, for the information of our friends, make a trip to Plymouth, and attend the *Discovery* in her run to Table Bay. By the latter end of July, this ship being in readiness, and every thing necessary got on board, Capt. Clerke gave orders to prepare for sailing ; in consequence of which,

On the 1st of August we weighed, with all sails set, to join the *Resolution*. While our



ship was repairing, it was observable, that those who had never been employed on discovery before, were more impatient to depart, than those who had already experienced the severities of a southern navigation near and within the polar circle. It was diverting enough to listen to the ludicrous remarks of these last, on their fresh water brethren as they called them, whom they ventured to foretel, would, like the Jews in the wilderness, be the first to murmur and cry out for the leeks and the onions of Egypt; intimating thereby, that when these raw sailors came among the Islands of ice in the frozen regions, to feel the effects of scanty fare and hard duty, they would then be the first to repent their impetuosity, and to sigh for the beef and the beer of the land they were now so desirous to leave.

We proceeded with a brisk gale till the 7th, when in sight of Cape Finisterre the clouds began to darken and the ocean to swell, in to threaten by every appearance an approaching tempest. Several ships were then in sight, and we could clearly discern that they were preparing as well as ourselves, to meet the storm. For twenty-four hours it blowed and rained incessantly; but on the 9th a calm succeeded, which however was not of long continuance; for in the evening of the same day it thundered, lightened, and the rain poured down in torrents. The drops were such as no experienced seaman on board had seen the like. To prevent the effects of the lightning, it was thought necessary to let fall the chain from the mast-head: a precaution which Capt. Clerke never omitted when there was danger from the accumulation of electrical matter in the atmosphere to be apprehended. On the 10th, seeing a ship to windward bearing down very fast, and suspecting her to be an American privateer, all hands were ordered to quarters, to be in readiness to engage. She proved to be a Lisbon trader, who by the violence of the gale the day before, had been driven many leagues to the westward of her course, and was in some distress. We spared her those things of which she stood most in need, and pursued our voyage. Nothing remarkable happened, till the 18th, when the ship's company were,

put to short allowance of water, and the still was worked to procure a supply of fresh from the sea. This was occasionally used, and answered very well for some particular purposes, but was ill relished by the sailors for boiling their meat. These precautions were taken lest the Resolution should have left St. Jago, and the Discovery might be obliged to proceed to the Cape, without being able to procure a fresh supply. On the 19th we crossed the Tropic of Cancer for the first time, and, on the 28th, came in sight of St. Jago, bearing N. W. distant seven leagues. We bore away instantly for the bay, and at eight in the morning made land. An officer was sent ashore with all speed to make inquiry, who brought word back, that the Resolution had touched at that port; but had hastened her departure, as the rainy season was approaching, and it was unsafe to remain there long during its continuance. The same reasons that had induced the Resolution to proceed were doubly pressing upon us. It was now the time when the rainy season prevails, though we had as yet observed none of its approaches. It is generally preceded by a strong southerly wind, and a great swell. The sea comes rolling on, and dashing furiously against the rocky shore, causes a frightful surf. Sometimes tornadoes or furious whirlwinds arise near the coast, and greatly increase the danger. For this reason, from the middle of August till the month of November, Port Praya is but little frequented. The officer was no sooner returned, and the boat hoisted on board, than we made sail with a gentle breeze.

On the 1st of September a dreadful tempest arose, by which we expected every moment to be swallowed up. The thunder and lightning were not more alarming than the sheets of rain, which fell so heavy as to endanger the sinking of the ship, and, at the same time, though in the open day, involved us in a cloud of darkness, than which nothing could be more horrible; providentially the continuance of this tempest was but short: it began about nine in the morning, and before noon the whole atmosphere was perfectly serene, and not a spot nor a shade



to be seen to mark the place of this elemental conflict. However in this short period, our sufferings nearly kept pace with our apprehensions, having our main-top-gallant yard carried away in the slings, and the sail frittered in a thousand pieces; the jib and middle-stay-sails torn clear off, and the ship so strained as to make all hands to the pump necessary. The afternoon was employed in repairing the damages, and discharging the water which had been shipped as well from the heavens, as from the sea. On the three days following, the weather continued squally with rain; but as we approached the line, a calm succeeded, and the sky became serene; but with a haziness and languor, as if the current of air, like water upon an equipoise, moved only by its own impulse. Nothing could be more tedious and disagreeable than this calm, but fortunately it was of short continuance. September the 5th, at eight in the morning we saw a sail, the second we had seen since we passed Cape Finisterre on the coast of Spain. We were at this time intent on fishing; and having hooked a shark of an enormous size, both officers and men were engaged in getting him on board. When he was cut up, there were six young ones found in his belly. These were divided among the officers, and one was dressed for the great cabin. The old one was eaten by the ship's crew, to whom fresh meat of any kind was now become a dainty. The weather continuing fine, the Captain ordered the great guns and small arms to be exercised, the ship to be smoked, and the bedding to be aired. These last articles, it may be once for all necessary to observe, were never omitted during the whole course of the voyage, when the weather would permit; and they are more particularly necessary in crossing the line, as it has been observed, that the whole woodwork between decks, in this low latitude, is more apt to become mouldy, and the iron to rust, than in higher latitudes, probably owing to that sluggishness in the air that has been already noticed, and for which nature seems to have provided a remedy by the frequent tempests

and tornadoes, to which this part of the ocean is remarkably subject.

On the 17th we crossed the equator. The weather being squally, the usual ceremony of keel hawling the sailors who had never crossed it before, was omitted. On the 20th the weather became moderate, when upon examination, the starboard main-trussel-tree was found to be sprung. This day George Harrison, corporal of the marines, sitting carelessly on the bowsprit, and diverting himself with the sporting of the fishes, fell overboard. He was seen to fall, and the ship was instantly hove to, and the boats got out with all possible expedition, but he was never again seen to rise. His Dutch cap was taken up at the ship's stern; and as it was known that he could swim as well as any man on board, the boats made a large circuit round the ship, in hopes to recover him, but in vain. It is remarkable, that in Capt. Cook's former voyage, Henry Smock, one of the carpenter's mates, sitting on the skuttle, fell overboard about the same place, and shared the same fate. Both these were young men, sober, and of good characters. Their loss was regretted by the officers, and particularly so by their comrades among the crew. It is more than probable that both were instantly swallowed up by the sharks that constantly attend the ships.

On the 1st of August we caught a large shark, 10 feet long, with several young dolphins in her belly. Part of the entrails, when cleansed and dressed, were eaten in the great cabin, and the body given to those by whom it was caught. When fried, it is tolerable meat; but the fat is very loathsome. On the 15th, a storm arose, accompanied with thunder and rain. As it was not so violent as those we had before experienced, it proved more acceptable than alarming, as it supplied the ship's company with a good quantity of fresh water, which we caught in blankets, or by other contrivances, every one as he could. What was saved by means of the awnings was set apart for the officers' use. On the 20th it blew a hurricane, which obliged us to hand the sails, and to lay to under bare poles. On the 25th the storm abated,



and the sky became clear. This day we observed a ship to the southward, which, by her course, we took for the Resolution: we crowded sail, stood after, and soon came up with her. She proved to be a Dutch advice boat, bound to the Cape. On the 28th, our people began to look for land; and the appearance of some birds which are known never to go from shore, confirmed them that the extremity of the African coast was at no great distance. Our astronomer, however, was of a different opinion, and the event proved that he was right.

On the 1st of October, when we had been at sea just two months, without once setting foot on land, those who were unaccustomed to long voyages, began to put on a very different aspect to that they wore at first setting out. They were indeed, somewhat comforted by the cheerfulness and vivacity which they observed to prevail in almost every countenance except their own: from whence they concluded, that many days could not elapse before the painful sensations of a solitary sea life would be recompensed by the pleasurable enjoyments they would find when they came on shore. On the 3rd, we observed a great variety of fish and fowl to accompany the ship, some of which we had not noticed before; and we could not but remark the difference in this respect, between the western coasts of the old continent, and the western coasts of the new, in the same latitudes. No sooner had we crossed the Tropic of Cancer than we were amused by the sporting of the fishes, or more properly perhaps, by their unremitting labour in pursuit of their daily food. Flying fish are generally the first to attract the notice of those who never have been in these seas before, and it is curious to attend to their numberless windings and shiftings to elude the attacks of the dolphins and bonitos, their declared enemies. Whatever may be the design of providence in the formation of these creatures, one cannot help considering their existence as a state of perpetual punishment. While they remain in the water their enemies are near, and though nature has given them the power to quit that element, and to fly for refuge to

the open air, yet other persecutors are there also in wait for them, no less cruel than those they have escaped. Boobies, man of war birds, and other sea-fowls, are continually watching to make the flying-fish their prey, while the ravenous sharks are no less vigilant in making reprisals on the dolphins and bonitos. Thus a passage through the tropical latitudes in this sea, exhibits one continued scene of warfare; while in the other sea all is peace and uniform tranquility. These reflections occur naturally when the mind, unoccupied with variety, is disposed for contemplation. On the 4th, of November we caught a shark, leaving one tyrant the less to vex the ocean. On the 7th, at six in the morning, the man at the mast head called out land; and at eight we could all see it involved in a misty cloud. It proved to be Table Land, bearing S. W. at the distance of about ten leagues, which induced us to change our course from E. S. E. to S. S. W. On the 10th, we entered Table Bay, and on the 11th, came to an anchor in six fathoms water, where, to our great joy, we found the Resolution on board of which our journalist reembarked, and thus continues the history of her voyage.

On Tuesday the 22nd of October, we fixed our tents and observatory; and on the 23rd began to observe equal altitudes of the sun, in order to discover whether the watch had altered its rate. The caulkers were now set to work, and Capt. Cook had before concerted measures with Messrs. Brandt and Chiron, for supplying us with such provisions as were wanted: and as the several articles for the Resolution were got ready, they were immediately conveyed aboard. The homeward bound French ship sailed for Europe on Saturday the 26th, and by her we sent letters to England. On the day following the Hampshire East Indiaman, from Bencoolen, anchored in the bay, and saluted us with thirteen guns, and we returned eleven. On the 31st, it blew excessively hard at S. E. and continued for three days; whereby all communication between the ship and the shore was cut off. The Resolution was the only ship in the bay that rode out the gale, without dragging her anchors. The effects



were as sensibly felt on shore; where the tents and observatory were destroyed, and the astronomical quadrant narrowly escaped irreparable damage.

On Sunday the 3rd of November the storm ceased; and on the 6th, the Hampshire sailed for England, in which Capt. Cook sent home an invalid. Captain Trimble would have received two or three more of our crew, who were troubled with different complaints, but, at this time, we entertained some hopes of their health being re-established. Monday the 11th, the Discovery having anchored, saluted the garrison with thirteen guns, and were answered by the same number; after which Capt. Cook, with his principal officers and gentlemen went on board that ship, to welcome Capt. Clerke on his arrival. It being intimated that the Discovery wanted caulking, Capt. Cook ordered all our workmen on board her, and lent every other necessary assistance to expedite a supply of water and provisions. The bakers had omitted to bake the bread that had been ordered for the Discovery, pretending they wanted flour; but the truth was, they did not chuse to begin till they saw her moored in the bay. On Capt. Clerke's landing this day, he was met by the officers of the garrison, and the gentlemen belonging to the East India Company, who received him very politely, and gave him a general invitation to share with them the entertainments of the place. The subordinate officers were met by another class of inferior gentry, belonging to the same company; for almost all the officers in the pay of the Dutch company, entertain strangers, and board them on moderate terms, from two shillings a day to five. Having by the governor's permission got our cattle on shore, on the night of the 13th, some dogs broke into the pens, and, forcing the sheep out, killed four, and dispersed the rest. The number of our sheep were sixteen, which were penned up, every night, close to our tents; but a bull and two cows, with their calves, were sent to graze along with some other cattle.

On the 14th, we recovered six of our sheep, but among those we missed were two rams, and two of the finest ewes in the whole

flock. Though the Dutch frequently boast of the police at the Cape, yet the Captain's sheep evaded all the vigilance of the Fiscal's officers and people. At length, after much trouble and expence, by employing some of the meanest scoundrels of the place, we recovered all but the two ewes. One of the rams however, was so miserably torn by the dogs, that we thought he could not live. Mr. Hemmy, the lieutenant governor, very obligingly offered to make up this loss, by giving Capt. Cook a Spanish ram, out of some he had sent for from Lisbon; but the Captain declined the offer, thinking it would equally answer his purpose to take with him some of the Cape rams: in this, however, the Captain was mistaken. Mr. Hemmy had endeavoured to introduce European sheep at the Cape; but all his attempts were frustrated by the obstinacy of the country people, who highly esteem their own breed, on account of their large tails, the fat of which produces more money than the whole carcase besides. Indeed, the most remarkable thing in the Cape sheep, is the length and thickness of their tails, which weigh from ten to fifteen pounds. The fat is not so tallowish as that of European mutton; and they use it instead of butter. While we continued at the Cape, our Commander had laid in a sufficient store of beef, mutton, poultry, and greens, for present use, and had contracted for a good quantity of salted beef, to save what we had brought from England, as the latter will keep better than that which is salted at the Cape. What remained to be done, was chiefly to purchase live cattle for presents to the chiefs in the South Sea: likewise live stock for the ship's use these are always the last things provided, because it is found necessary to shorten, as much as possible, their continuance on board. Among the cattle purchased, were four horses and mares of a delicate breed, for Omiah; several bulls and cows of the buf-faloe kind, as more suitable to the tropical climates, than any brought from Europe; likewise some African rams and ewes; dogs of the she kind, some with and some without puppies: cats we had plenty on board, and goats Capt. Cook had purchased at St. Jago.



Stored with these, the *Resolution* resembled the Ark, in which pairs of all the animals that were to stock the earth were collected; and with their provender, they occupied no small part of the ship's stowage. While the riggers, sail-makers, caulkers, smiths, coopers, and store-keepers, were busily employed in their several stations, the astronomers were not idle, nor the surgeons: the former were employed in making observations: the latter in attending the sick, of whom there were not many, and those on being carried to the tents were soon recovered. The dry soft air of the African mountains proved a restorative superior to all the physic in the world. Of the efficacy of this salubrious air, the Dutch East Indiamen have experienced every voyage, both in going to and returning from their settlements in India. During the time the *Resolution* and *Discovery* lay in the bay, two of their ships arrived full of sick soldiers, who had been enlisted in Holland, and who were in a miserable condition both as to health and want of common necessaries. They had been near five months on their voyage from Amsterdam, and had lost on the passage more men than the complements of both our ships amounted to, owing to nastiness and close confinement. It is remarkable, observed one of our gentlemen, that no ships have the appearance of being kept neater than those of the Dutch; nor any more slovenly where they are not exposed to open view.

Nor must we omit here the account in the journal of Mr. Anderson, who, while the two ships were repairing for the prosecution of their voyage, made an excursion, to take a survey of the neighbouring country. Mr. Anderson, surgeon, relates their proceedings in substance, as follows:

In the forenoon of Saturday the 16th of November, Mr. Anderson, and five others, set out in a waggon, to take a view of the country. They crossed a large plain to the eastward of the town, which is entirely a white sand, resembling that which is commonly found on beaches. At five in the afternoon they passed a large farm-house, some corn-fields, and vineyards, situated beyond the plain, near the foot of some low hills, where

the soil appeared worth cultivating. At seven they arrived at Stellenbosh a colony, in point of importance, next to that of the Cape. The village stands at the foot of the range of lofty mountains, above twenty miles to the eastward of Cape Town, and consists of about thirty houses, which are neat and clean; a rivulet, and the shelter of some large oaks, planted at its first settling, form a rural prospect in this desert country. There are some thriving vineyards and orchards about the place, which seem to indicate an excellent soil, though perhaps much may be owing to the uncommon serenity of the air. At this season of the year, Mr. Anderson could find but few plants in flower, and insects were very scarce. Having examined the soil, he found it to consist of yellowish clay, mixed with a good deal of sand. The sides of the low brown hills seemed to be constituted of a kind of stone marle. Mr. Anderson and his companions left Stellenbosh the next morning, and soon arrived at the house they had passed on Saturday; Mr. Cloeder, the owner of which, having sent them an invitation to visit him. This gentleman received them with politeness, and entertained them with hospitality, in a manner very different from what was expected. They were received with a band of music, which continued playing while they were at dinner; a compliment, considering the situation of the place, we thought elegant. In the afternoon they crossed the country, and passed some large plantations, one of which was laid out in a taste different from those they had seen. In the evening they arrived at a farm-house, said to be the first in the cultivated tract, called the Pearl. Here they had a view of Drakenstein, the third colony of this country, which contains several little farms or plantations. Insects and plants were as scarce here as at Stellenbosh, but there was a greater plenty of shrubs, or small trees, naturally produced, than they had before seen in the country. On Tuesday the 19th, in the afternoon, they went to see a remarkable large stone called by the inhabitants, the Tower of Babylon, or the Pearl Diamond. In the *Philosophical Transactions* is a letter from Mr. Anderson



to Sir John Pringle describing this stone. The account sent home from the Cape and read before the Royal Society is much the same with that here published, but rather fuller. In particular, he tells Sir John, that he went to see it at Mr. Masson's desire, who probably, had not had an opportunity of sufficiently examining it himself. With his letter to Sir John Pringle, Mr. Anderson also sent home a specimen of the rock; it was examined by Sir William Hamilton, whose opinion is, that this singular immense fragment of granite, most probably was raised by a volcanic explosion, or some such cause. This remarkable stone, to use Mr. Anderson's own words, in the papers now before us, "lies, or stands, upon the top of some low hills, at the foot of which our farm houses were situated; and though the road to it is neither steep nor rugged, we were above an hour and a half in walking to it. It is of an oblong shape, rounded on the top, and lies nearly N. and S. The E. and W. sides are steep, and almost perpendicular. The south end is likewise steep, and its greatest height is there; from whence it declines gently to the North part, by which we ascended to its top, and had a very extensive prospect of the whole country. Its circumference, I think, must be at least half a mile; as it took us above half an hour to walk round it, including every allowance for the bad road, and stopping a little. At its highest part, which is the south end, comparing it with a known object, it seems to equal the dome of St. Paul's Church. It is one uninterrupted mass of stone, if we except some fissures, or rather impressions, not more than three or four feet deep, and a vein which runs across near its north end. It is of that sort of stone called *Saxum conglutinatum*, and consists chiefly of pieces of coarse quartz and glimmer, held together by a clayey cement. But the vein which crosses it, though of the same materials, is much compacter. This vein is not above a foot broad or thick; and its surface is cut into little squares or oblongs, disposed obliquely, which makes it look like the remains of some artificial work. But I could not observe whether it penetrated far into the large rock, or was only superficial,

in descending we found at its foot, a very rich black mould; and on the sides of the hills some trees of a considerable size, natives of the place, which are a species of the *olea*." We cannot help thinking, it is strange, that neither Kolben nor de la Caille should have thought the Tower of Babylon worthy of a particular description. The former only mentions it as a high mountain: the latter contents himself with telling us, that it is a low hillock, but the very accurate account given of this remarkable rock by Mr. Anderson, agrees with Mr. Sonnerat's, who was at the Cape of Good Hope so late as 1781. On the 20th in the morning, the gentlemen set out from the Pearl, and, going a different road, passed through an uncultivated country to the Tyger Hills, where they saw some good corn fields. About noon they stopped in a valley for refreshment, where they were plagued with a vast number of moschettos; and, in the evening, arrived at the Cape-Town, tired sufficiently with the jolting of the waggon.

A very uncommon incident happened during our stay at the Cape, which might have embroiled us with the government there, had not the delinquent been found out and punished. It was discovered that a number of counterfeit schellings, and double keys, had been circulated, and several of our people had taken them in exchange for gold. Complaint was made by our officers against the inhabitants, for taking the advantage of the ignorance of strangers to impose counterfeit money upon them, as it was not to be supposed that they could be judges of the goodness of their country coin. On the other hand, the inhabitants retorted the charge, affirming that the bad money proceeded from us. Each were warm in their allegations, and each were positive in their opinions. It was not thought possible, that any of our people could be prepared to counterfeit Dutch money, and yet there had never been an instance of counterfeit money having been seen at the Cape before the arrival of our ships at that port. Thus the matter rested for some time, till one of the ship's cooks, having obtained leave to go ashore, made himself drunk, and offered



base money in payment for his liquor. Being detained, and notice given to his commanding officer, he caused him to be searched, when several other pieces of a base coin were found upon him; and on examining his chest, the implements were found artfully concealed, by which he had been enabled to carry on the fraud. He was instantly delivered up to the Dutch Governor, to be tried by the laws of the country where the offence had been committed; but it not being clear, whether the crime of coining was committed on shore, or on board his Britannic Majesty's ship, the Magistracy very politely returned him, to be dealt with as the commander in chief should think proper; who not being vested with the power of life and death in civil cases, ordered him to receive the discipline of the ship, and to be sent home in the Hampshire Indiaman. Thus ended a very critical affair, of which there is, we believe, no instance upon record.

On Saturday, the 23rd of November, we got the observatory, clock, &c. on board. From the result of several calculations and observations, we had reason to conclude, that the watch, or time-piece, had performed well all the way from England. On the 27th, orders were given to prepare for sailing; and, fearing a second disaster, we got our sheep and cattle on board as fast as possible. The caulkers had finished their work on board the *Discovery*, and she had received all her provisions and water. Of the former, both ships had a sufficient supply for two years and upwards. A large quantity of beer was purchased for the companies of both ships, at the only brewery that is publicly tolerated within the jurisdiction of the town. In short, there is not one necessary article relating to the repairing, providing, and victualling of shipping, that is not to be purchased at the Cape of Good Hope, and that too at very reasonable prices. The wine at the Cape has been thought dear, because that of the choicest vintage is scarce, and confined to a very small spot. Of the real *Constantia*, which is the wine so much prized in Europe, the whole plantation does not perhaps produce more than

forty pipes annually, though there may be two or three hundred disposed of under that name. The wine commonly taken on board the shipping for the officers, is of a kind not unlike the *Madeira*, but of an improved flavour, the vines here being highly sublimed by the warmth of the sun, and the dryness of the soil. On Thursday the 28th, the Governor and principal officers belonging to the company were entertained on board the *Resolution*, where they came to take leave of our Captains, as we expected to sail in a few days, all our live stock being properly secured on board, and the repairs of both ships being fully completed. On the 30th, Capt. Cook having given to Capt. Clerke a copy of his instructions, and our letters having been dispatched to our friends, we quit- ted our moorings, and next day came to an anchor in eighteen fathoms water. Penguin Island bearing N. by W. six miles; but before we take our final departure, it may not be amiss to observe, that nothing in nature can make a more horrid appearance than the rugged mountains that form Table Bay. One would almost be tempted to think, that the Dutch had made choice of the most barren spot upon earth, to shew what may be effected by slow industry, and continual perseverance; for besides the craggy cliffs that render the open country almost inaccessible, the soil is so sandy and poor, that except some vineyards, there is scarce a shrub or a tree to be seen within any walking distance from the place; insomuch, that the vast profusion of all sorts of provisions, as beef, mutton, poultry, flour, butter, cheese, and every other necessary, is brought from four to five and twenty days' journey from Cape Town, where the Governor and Company have their residence. This town, as our readers may recollect, we have fully described in our history of former voyages, so that little remains to be said, or added in this part of our work. The town is neatly built, and, according to the natural taste and character of the Dutch, as neatly kept in order. It has the advantage of a small rivulet, by means of which there are canals in all the principal streets, on both sides of which are planted rows of stately oaks. The town is



situated below the mountains, and when seen from their summits, appears, with the gardens and plantations that run along the shore exceedingly picturesque: nothing, indeed, can be more romantic, nor any prospect more pleasing to the eye. At five in the afternoon of this day, a breeze sprung up at

S. E. with which, as we observed above, we weighed, and stood out of the bay, having saluted the fort with eleven guns, which they returned with an equal number: at nine o'clock it fell calm, and we came again to anchor.

## CHAP II.

*Passage of the Resolution and Discovery from the Cape of Good Hope, to Christmas Harbour; in which Prince Edward's Islands are seen, and Kerguelen's land visited; The two ships arrive at the above harbour; Description of it, and an account of occurrences there; Departure from thence, and explore the coast; Cape Cumberland Bay, Point Pringle, Howe's Foreland, &c. described, The ships in danger from shoals; Arrive at Port Palliser; Cape George described; Natural history of the animals, plants, soil, &c. of Kerguelen's land; Passage from hence to Van Diemen's land, in which the Resolution is damaged by a sudden squall; They arrive in Adventure Bay; Incidents there; Various interviews with the natives, and a description of their persons, dress, manners, and customs; Mr. Anderson's remarks; Course of the Resolution and Discovery to Queen Charlotte's Sound in New Zealand, where we anchored in our old station.*

**D**ECEMBER the 1st, 1776, at three o'clock A. M. we weighed and put to sea, with a light breeze at S. but did not get clear of the land till the 3rd in the morning, when with a fresh gale at W. N. W. we stood to the S. E. At this time we observed that luminous appearance about our ship, which different navigators have attributed to different causes, but which Dr. Franklin has endeavoured to account for on the principles of electricity. About five in the afternoon, we met with one of those terrible gusts so frequently experienced by mariners in doubling the Cape of Good Hope, in which our main-sail was split, but fortunately we received no other damage; the southernmost land now bore S. by E. distant nine or ten leagues, both ships in company. On Wednesday the 4th, in the morning, it blew a hurricane, and split the jib of the Discovery, and on the 5th, a squall of wind carried away our mizen-top-mast, but having another to replace it, the loss was not felt. On the 6th, in the evening, being in latitude 39 deg. 14 min

S. and in 23 deg. 56 min. E. longitude we observed several spots of water, of a reddish hue. Upon examining some of this water that was taken up, we perceived a number of small animals, which the microscope discovered to resemble cray-fish. We continued to the S. E. followed by a mountainous sea, which occasioned the ship to roll exceedingly, and rendered our cattle troublesome. Several goats, especially the males, died, and some sheep. On the 8th, the weather that had been cloudy and boisterous ever since leaving the Cape, became clear and moderate. In latitude 39 deg. 57 min. S. Mr. King, our second mate, went on board the Discovery to compare the time-pieces, and found no material variation. On the 10th, in latitude 43 deg. 56 min. S. a dreadful storm came on, which obliged both ships to lie to that and the following night under bare poles. On the 11th in latitude 46 deg. 18 min. S. it began to snow and hail, and the weather became intolerably cold; inso-much, that from a scorching heat which we



felt at the Cape, the change was so great, that we were obliged to line the hatchways with canvas to defend the men below as much as possible from the effects of the frost. Here the albatrosses, and other sea birds, began to make their appearance; and seals, and porpoises were seen to sport about the ships, which gave us hopes of soon approaching land. This we discovered, having the appearance of two Islands, on Thursday the 12th, at noon. That to the S. which is the largest we judged to be about fifteen leagues in circuit; and to lie in latitude 46 deg. 53 min. S. longitude 37 deg. 46 min. E. The most northerly one is about nine leagues in circuit; and in latitude 46 deg. 40 min. S. longitude 38 deg. 8 min. E. The distance from one to the other is about five leagues. We passed through between both Islands in a very narrow channel; and had piercing cold, attended with snow, with which the Islands were lightly covered; but neither tree nor shrub were to be seen with our best glasses, nor any living thing, except penguins and shags, the former so numerous that the rocks seemed covered with them as with a crust. The S. E. parts of these two Islands, had a much greater quantity of snow on them than the rest, and the ground that was not covered by it, from the various shades it exhibited, may be supposed to be clothed with moss, or perhaps, with such a coarse long grass as is found in some parts of Falkland's Islands. On the N. side of each of the Islands is a detached rock; that near the S. one is shaped like a tower, and seemed to be at some distance from the shore. These two Islands, and four others more to the east, were discovered by the two French navigators, Marion du Frez, and Crozet, in January 1772, on their passage from the Cape of Good Hope to the Philippine Islands. M. de Marion had two ships under his command, one the *Mascarin*, Capt. Crozet, the other the *Castrie*, Capt. du Clesmure. They proceeded to the southern extremity of New Holland, and from thence to the Bay of Islands in New Zealand, where M. de Marion was killed with twenty-eight of his men by the natives. He was obliged, having lost his

masts, to look out for new ones in this country; but when he had found trees fit for his purpose, necessity obliged him to cut a road three miles long through the thickets to bring them to the water side. While one party of his people were employed in this service, another party was placed on an Island in the bay, to cleanse the casks, and fill them with water; and a third was occasionally sent on shore to cut wood for the ship's use. Thus employed, they had been here thirty three days upon the best terms with the natives who freely offered their women to the sailors, when M. de Marion, not suspecting any treachery, went one morning, as was his custom, to visit the different parties that were at work, without leaving word that he intended to come back to the ships the same day. Having called to see the waterers, he went next to the Hippah, a fortification of the natives, where he commonly used to stop in his way to the carpenters, encamped in the woods, with M. Crozet at their head, to direct their operations. Here he was suddenly set upon; and, with his few attendants, barbarously murdered; as were the boats crew that carried him on shore. Next morning, the lieutenant who commanded on board, not knowing what had happened, sent a party to cut wood, and when every one was at work, the natives watched the opportunity to fall upon them likewise, and butchered every one, except a single sailor, who ran for his life, and threw himself, wounded, into the sea. Being seen from the ships, he was speedily taken on board, and gave the general alarm. Crozet's situation in the woods, with his small party, was now become most critical. A corporal and four marines were dispatched immediately to acquaint him of his danger, while several boats attended to receive his people, at the place where the sick had been lodged in the tents, for the recovery of their health. He disposed every thing as well as the time would permit, and effected his retreat to the sea side. Here he found multitudes assembled, dressed in their habits of war, with several chiefs at their head. Capt. Crozet ordered the marines who attended him, to direct



their fire, in case he found it necessary to give the word, against such persons as he should point out. He then commanded the carpenters and convalescents to strike the tents, and the sick to embark first, with their whole apparatus, while he with the soldiers, should talk with the chief. This man immediately told them, that M. Marion was killed by another chief; upon which Capt. Crozet seized a stake, and forcing it into the ground, made signs that he should advance no farther. The countenance, with which this action was attended, startled the savage, whose timidity being observed by Crozet, he insisted on his commanding the croud to sit down, which was accordingly complied with. He now paraded in front of the enemy till all his people were embarked; his soldiers were then ordered to follow, and himself was the last who entered the boat. They had scarce put off when the whole body of natives began their song of defiance, and discharged their volleys of stones: however, a shot from the ship soon dispersed them, and the company got all safe on board. From this time the natives began to be troublesome, and made several attempts to attack his people by surprize. They formed an attack against the watering party in the night, which, but for the vigilance of the guard, would have been fatal to them: after which, they openly attacked the ships in more than a hundred large canoes, full of men, who had cause sufficient to repent their daring exploit, having severely felt the destructive effect of European arms. At length Capt. Crozet, finding it impossible to supply the ships with masts, unless he could drive the enemy from his neighbourhood, made an attack upon their Hippah, which they vainly boasted was beyond his power to approach. He placed the carpenters in the front, who, in an instant, levelled their pallisadoes with the ground; then cut a breach through the mound, and levelled the ditch, behind which their warriors were ranged in great numbers on their fighting stages. Into this breach a chief instantly threw himself, with his spear in his hand. He was shot dead by a marksman, and immediately another chief occupied his place,

stepping on the dead body. He likewise fell a victim to his intrepid courage, and in the same manner eight warriors successively defended it, and bravely fell in this post of honour. The rest, seeing their leaders dead, took flight, and the French pursued and killed numbers of them. Capt. Crozet offered fifty dollars to any person who should take a New Zealander alive, but this was found impracticable. A soldier seized an old man, and began to drag him towards his Captain, but the savage, being disarmed, bit into the fleshy part of his enemy's hand, the exquisite pain of which so much enraged the soldier, that he ran the fellow through with his bayonet. In the Hippah, that had been stormed, was found great quantities of arms, tools, and clothing, together with store of dried fish and roots, which seemed to be intended for winter provision. Capt. Crozet now completed the repairs of his ship without interruption, and prosecuted his voyage after a stay of sixty four days in the Bay of Islands: from whence, after passing through the western part of the South Sea, he returned, by the Philippines, to the Isle of France.

We cannot help remarking here, that there appears some inconsistency in the above relation. It seems improbable, if Marion was murdered in the Hippah, situated on the prominence of an inaccessible rock, that the boat's crew below, who landed him, should not make their escape: and much more improbable, that neither the leader nor his followers should be missed, till the woodmen were massacred by the savages the next day. Upon the whole, we are rather inclined to think, considering the importance of the place, that the loss might be sustained by fair combat. M. Marion might find it necessary for the safety of his people, to drive the savages from their Hippah or Fort, which is one of the strongest in New Zealand. In the opinion of Capt. Cook, it is a place of great strength, in which a small number of resolute men may defend themselves against all the force, which a people with no other arms than those that are there in use, could bring against it. Capt. Crozet might, therefore, think it less dishonourable to attribute the loss of his general and so many men, to



the treachery, rather than the valour of the savages; who, it is acknowledged, defended the place bravely. But to proceed.

As the two Islands, between which we passed, have no names in the French chart of the southern hemisphere, Capt. Cook named them Prince Edwards Island's, and the other four Marion's and Crozet's Islands. We had now for the most part strong gales between the N. and W. and but very indifferent weather; not better, indeed, than we generally have in England in the very depth of winter, though it was now the middle of summer in this hemisphere. In consequence of the piercing cold, the Captain ordered the jackets and trowsers to be delivered out, which, with the blankets, and other warm clothing, provided by the Lords of the Admiralty against the severity of the frozen climates, were found of infinite use in preserving the men in health, who were most exposed to the action of the frost. After leaving Prince Edward's Islands, we shaped our course to the S. E. with a brisk gale at W. S. W. in order to pass to the southward of the four others; and to get into the latitude of the land discovered by M. de Kerguelen. Capt. Cook had received instruction to examine this Island, and endeavour to discover a good harbour.

On Monday the 16th, in latitude 48 deg. 45 min. and in longitude 52 deg. E. we saw numbers of penguins, and rock-weed floating in the sea. On the 17th, the fogs came on so thick, that we could but just discern objects at the distance of the ship's length; on account of which signals were appointed, and repeated every half hour. As we hourly expected to fall in with land, our navigation was both tedious and dangerous. On the 21st, we saw a very large seal, and a heavy storm came on, attended with sleet and heavy gusts of hail. On Tuesday the 24th, at six o'clock, A. M. the fog clearing away a little, we saw land, bearing S. S. E. which we afterwards found to be an Island of considerable height, and about three leagues in circuit. We soon after discovered another of equal magnitude, about one league to the eastward; and between these two, some smaller ones. In the direction of S. by E.

another high Island was seen. This we did but just weather; it was a high round rock, named Bligh's Cap. Our Commander supposed this to be the same that M. de Kerguelen called the Isle of Rendezvous; but we know of nothing that can rendezvous upon it but the birds of the air, for it is certainly inaccessible to every other animal. The weather beginning to clear up, we tacked, and steered in for the land; and at noon we determined the latitude of Bligh's Cap to be 48 deg. 29 min. S. longitude 68 deg. 40 min. E. We passed it at three o'clock, with a fresh gale at W. standing to the S. S. E. Presently after we saw the land of which we had a faint view in the morning; and at four o'clock, extending from S. E. half E. and distant four miles. The left extreme, which we judged to be the northern point of this land, in the French chart of the southern hemisphere, Cape Francois, terminated in a high perpendicular rock, and the right one in a high indented point, which by its appearance, seemed to be, what is represented on Kerguelen's chart under the name of Cape Aubert. It may be proper to observe here, that all that extent of coast lying between Cape Louis and Cape Francois, of which the French saw very little during their first visit in 1772, and may be called the N. W. side of this land, they had it in their power to trace the position in 1773, and have assigned names to some of its bays, rivers, and promontories. From this point the coast seemed to turn short round to the southward, for we could see no land to the westward of the direction in which it now bore to us, but the Islands we had observed in the morning. Kerguelen's Isle de Clugny, the most southerly of them, lies nearly W. from the point, about two or three leagues distant. Towards the middle of the land there appeared to be an inlet; but on our approaching it, we saw it was only a bending on the coast: we therefore bore up to go round Cape Francois. Soon after, land opened off the Cape, in the direction of S. 53 deg. E. appearing as a point at a considerable distance; for the trending of the coast from the Cape was more southerly. We also descried rocks



and Islands to the eastward of the above directions, the most distant of which was about seven leagues from the Cape. Having got off this, we observed the coast to the southward, much indented by points and bays, and, therefore, fully expected to find a good harbour. We soon discovered one behind the Cape, into which we began to ply; but it presently fell calm; and we anchored in forty-five fathoms water, as the *Discovery* also did soon after. Mr. Bligh the master, was ordered to sound the harbour; who reported it to be safe and commodious.

On Wednesday the 25th, early in the morning, we weighed, and, having wrought into the harbour, anchored in eight fathoms water, bottom a fine dark sand. At two o'clock, P. M. the *Discovery* got in, when Capt. Clerke informed us, that he had with difficulty escaped being driven on the S. point of the harbour, his anchor having started before he could shorten the cable. They were, therefore, obliged to set sail, and drag the anchor after them, till they had room to heave it up; when they perceived that one of its palms was broken. Immediately after we had anchored, all the boats were ordered to be hoisted out, and the empty water casks to be got ready. In the mean time Capt. Cook landed, to search for a convenient spot where they might be filled, and to observe what the place afforded. We found numbers of penguins, seals, and other fowls, on the shore. The seals were not numerous, but so insensible of fear, that we killed as many as we chose, and made use of their fat and blubber to make oil for our lamps, and other purposes. Fresh water was exceedingly plentiful; but not a single tree or shrub was to be discovered, and but little herbage of any kind; though we had flattered ourselves with the hope of meeting with something considerable here, having observed the sides of some of the hills to be covered with a lively green. Before Capt. Cook returned to the ship, he ascended a ridge of rocks, rising one above another, expecting, by that means, to obtain a view of the country; but before he had reached the top, so thick a fog came on, that it was with difficul-

ty he could find his way down again. Towards the evening we hauled the seine at the head of the harbour, but caught no more than half a dozen small fish; nor had we any better success the next day, when we tried with hook and line. Our only resource, therefore for fresh provisions, was birds, which were innumerable. On Thursday the 26th, the surf was rather inconvenient for landing, and the weather rather foggy and rainy; nevertheless, we began to cut grass for our cattle, and to fill water; we found the former near the head of the harbour, and the latter in a brook at the left corner of the beach. The rivulets were swelled to such a degree, by the rain that fell, that the sides of the hills which bounded the harbour, appeared to be covered with a sheet of water: for the rain entered the fissures and crags of the hills, and was precipitated down their sides in prodigious torrents.

The people having laboured hard for two successive days, and nearly completed our water, Capt. Cook allowed them the 27th of December as a day of rest to celebrate Christmas. In consequence of which many of them went on shore, and made excursions into the country, which they found desolate in extreme. It contained plenty of water, but no wood; was barren and without inhabitants; but the shores abounded with fish, and the land with seals, sea-lions, and penguins. In the evening one of them presented a quart bottle to the Captain, which was found on the north side of the harbour, fastened with some wire to a projecting rock. This bottle contained a piece of parchment, with this inscription, "*Ludovico XV. Galliarum rege, et d. (probably a contraction of the word Domino) de Boynes regi a Secretis ad res maritimas annis 1772 et 1773.*" From which it is evident, we were not the first Europeans who had visited this harbour. Capt. Cook supposes it to have been left by M. de Boisguchenneu who went on shore the 13th of February, 1772, the day that M. de Kerguelen discovered this land; but the Captain appears to be for once mistaken; for how could M. de Boisguchenneu, in the beginning of 1772, leave an inscription which commemorates a trans-



action of the next year? Perhaps the following particulars may throw light upon this part of our author's journal; for we do not in the manner of most of our uninformed cotemporary compilers, servilely copy any one's papers, or, from inattentive indolence, suffer errors to pass uncorrected. M. de Kerguelen, a lieutenant in the French service, had the command of two ships given him, the *La Fortune* and *Le Gros Ventre*. He sailed from the Mauritius about the latter end of 1771, and on the 13th of January following, discovered the two Islands of which we are now speaking, and to which he gave the name of the Isles of Fortune. Soon After M. de Kerguelen saw land, as it is said, of a considerable height and extent, upon which he sent one of the officers of his own ship a-head in the cutter to sound. But the Captain of the other ship, M. de St. Allouarn, in the *Gros Ventre*, found a bay, to which he gave his ship's name, and ordered his yawl to take possession. In the mean time, M. de Kerguelen being driven to leeward, and unable again to recover his station, both boats returned on board the *Gros Ventre*, and the cutter was turned adrift on account of the bad weather. M. Kerguelen returned to the Mauritius, the M. de St. Allouarn continued for three days to take the bearings of this land, and doubled its northern extremity beyond which it trended to the south-eastward. He coasted it for the space of twenty leagues, but finding it high and inaccessible, he shaped his course to New Holland, and from thence returned by the way of Timor and Batavia, to the Isle of France, where he died. M. de Kerguelen was afterwards promoted to the command of a 64 gun ship, called the *Roi-land*, with the frigate *L'Oiseau*, who were sent out in order to perfect the discovery of this pretended land.

From the accounts of M. Kerguelen's second voyage, we learn that they arrived on the west side of this Island, on the 14th of December, 1783; that, steering to the N. E. they discovered on the 16th, the Isle de Reunion, and other small Islands; that, on the 17th, they had before them the principal land, (which they were sure was con-

nected with that seen by them on the 14th,) and a high point of land, named by them Cape Francois; that beyond this cape, the coast took a south-easterly direction, and behind it they found a bay called by them Baie de L'Oiseau, from the name of their frigate; that they then endeavoured to enter it, but were prevented by contrary winds, and blowing weather, which drove them off the coast eastward; but that at last, on the 6th of January, M. de Rosnevet, Captain of the *Oiseau*, was able to send his boat on shore in this bay, under the command of M. de Rocheguide, one of his officers, "who took possession of that bay, and of all the country, in the name of the king of France, with all the requisite formalities." Hence then we trace, by the most unexceptionable evidence, the history of the bottle and the inscription; the leaving of which was, no doubt, one of the requisite formalities observed by M. de Rocheguide on this occasion. And though he did not land till the 6th of January, 1774, yet as Kerguelen's ships arrived upon the coast on the 14th of December, 1773, and had discovered and looked into this very bay on the 17th of that month, it was with the strictest propriety and truth that 1773 and not 1774 was mentioned as the date of the discovery. We may now fairly conclude from the above particulars, that Capt. Cook's groundless supposition sprung from want of information, that might enable him to make any other. He had no idea that the French had visited this land a second time; and reduced to the necessity of trying to accommodate what he saw himself, to what little he had heard of their proceedings, he confounds a transaction which we, who have been better informed, know for a certainty, belongs to the second voyage, with a similiar one, which his chart of the Southern Hemisphere has recorded, and which happened in a different year, and at a different place. Nor can a doubt remain, that these Islands we now fell in with, are the same discovered by Kerguelen: but that M. de Kerguelen ever saw a great country, such as he pretends to have seen, in or near those Islands, is very problematical. There are, indeed, numberless Islands thinly



scattered in this almost boundless ocean; but there are none so superior to those already discovered in riches and cultivation, as to be worth the search, will scarcely admit a question. We now think it time to return to the history of our voyage.

Capt. Cook, as a memorial of our having been in this harbour, wrote on the other side of the parchment these words "*Naves Resolution et Discovery, de Rege Magnæ Britannicæ, Decembris 1776,*" that is, "The ships Resolution and Discovery, belonging to the King of Great Britain, in the month of December, A. D. 1776." He then put the parchment again into the bottle, accompanied with a silver two-penny piece of 1772, covering its mouth with a leaden cap, and placed it the next morning in a pile of stones, erected for that purpose on an eminence, near the place where it was first found. Here we displayed the British flag, and named the place Christmas Harbour, it being on that festival we arrived in it. It is the first inlet we meet with on the S. E. side of Cape Francois, which forms the north side of the harbour, and is the northern point of this land. The situation sufficiently distinguishes it from any of the other inlets; and which is still more remarkable, its south point terminates in a high rock, perforated quite through, and forming an appearance like the arch of a bridge. If there could be the least doubt remaining of the identity of the Baie de L'Oiseau, and Christmas har-

this particular of the perforated rock, in the account of Kerguelen's second compared to an arched gateway, went to a strict demonstration; satisfactory to find the two of whom knew any thing description, adopting the same names, that they had the before their eyes, accurate report. The within, being a vast size, which lies the south-side, near this, on the north-alier, but much like this is a small beach, any landed: behind it is

some gently rising ground, whereon is a pool of fresh water. On both sides of the inlet, the land is high. The inlet runs in W. and W. N. W. two miles: its breadth, for more than half its length, is one mile and a quarter above which it is only half a mile. The shores are steep. The depth of water, which is forty-five fathoms at the entrance, varies from thirty, and if you proceed farther in, to four and five fathoms. The bottom is every where a fine dark sand, except in some places near to the shore, where are beds of sea-weed, which always grows on rocky ground. The head of the harbour lies open only to two points of the compass; and even these are covered by Islands in the offing, so that no sea can fall in to hurt a ship. Appearances on shore confirmed this; for we found grass growing close to high water mark, which is a sure sign of a pacific harbour. Capt. Cook, accompanied by Mr. King, went upon Cape Francois, expecting, from this elevation, to have had a view of the sea-coast, and the Islands lying off it: but they found every distant object below them hid in a fog. The land on a level with them, or of a greater height, was visible enough, and appeared exceedingly naked and desolate; except some hills to the southward, which were covered with snow.

We were now busied on board in repairing our rigging, particularly the crew of the Discovery, who had suffered much in the frequent squalls, with which she had been harassed even since her departure from the Cape: at the same time, those who were on shore were no less usefully employed in supplying the ships with water, and the crews with fresh provisions; which last, though not of the most delicate kind, yet to stomachs cloyed almost to loathing with salt provisions, even seals, penguins and sea-fowl, were not unsavoury meat. When Christmas was proclaimed, a double quantity of grog was served out to each common man; and a certain proportion of wine and spirits to every petty officer: leave was likewise given to such as were ailing, to go on shore for the benefit of the air; and the officers of both ships reciprocally met in compliment to each other; past dangers were forgotten,



and the day was spent by the common sailors with as much mirth and unconcern, as if safely moored in Portsmouth harbour.

On Sunday the 29th, we sailed, and took leave of this Island, which Capt. Clarke found by observation to lie in latitude, 49 deg. 30 min. S. and in 78 deg. 10 min. E. longitude. We now pursued our course for Van Diemen's land, and having no discoveries in view, took every advantage of the weather to carry sail.

Mr. Anderson, who, during the short time we lay in Christmas Harbour, lost no time nor opportunity for examining the country, in every direction, has favoured us with the following observations. No place (says he) hitherto discovered, in either hemisphere, affords so scanty a field for the naturalist as this barren spot. Some verdure, indeed, appeared, when at a small distance from the shore, which might raise the expectation of meeting with a little herbage; but all this lively appearance was occasioned by one small plant, resembling saxifrage, which grew upon the hills in large spreading tufts, or a kind of rotten turf, which, if dried might serve for fuel, and was the only thing seen here that could possibly be applied to that purpose. Another plant, which grew to near the height of two feet, was pretty plentifully scattered about the boggy declivities; it had the appearance of a small cabbage when it has shot into seeds. It had the watery acid taste of the antiscorbutic plants, though it materially differed from the whole tribe. When eaten raw, it was not unlike the New Zealand scurvy-grass; but, when boiled, it acquired a rank flavour. At this time, none of its seeds were ripe enough to be brought home, and introduced into our English gardens. Near the brooks and boggy places were found two other small plants, which were eaten as sallad: the one like garden cresses, very hot; and the other very mild: the latter is a curiosity, having not only male and female, but also androgynous plants. Some coarse grass grew pretty plentifully in a few small spots near the harbour, which was cut down for our cattle. In short the whole catalogue of plants did not exceed eighteen, including a beautiful species of

lichen, and several sorts of moss. Nor was there the appearance of a tree or shrub in the whole country.

Among the animals, the most considerable were seals, which were distinguished by the name of sea-bears; being the sort that are called the ursine seal. They come on shore to repose and breed. At that time they were shedding their hair, and so remarkably tame, that there was no difficulty in killing them. No other quadruped was seen; but a great number of oceanic birds, as ducks, shags, petrels, &c. The ducks were somewhat like a widgeon, both in size and figure: a considerable number of them were killed and eaten: they were excellent food, and had not the least fishy taste. The Cape petrel, the small blue one, and the small black one, or Mother Carey's chicken, were not in plenty here, but another sort, which is the largest of the petrels and called by seamen, Mother Carey's goose, is found in abundance. This petrel is as large as an albatross, and is carnivorous, feeding on the dead carcasses of seals, birds, &c. The greatest number of birds here are penguins, which consists of three sorts. The head of the largest is black, the upper part of the body of a leaden grey, the under part white, and the feet black: two broad stripes of fine yellow descend from the head to the breast; the bill is of a reddish colour, and longer than in the other sorts. The second sort is about half the size of the former. It is of a dark grey on the upper part of the body, and has a white spot on the upper part of the head. The bill and feet are yellowish. In the third sort, the upper part of the body and throat are black, the rest white, except the top of the head, which is ornamented with a fine yellow arch, which it can erect as two crests. The shags here are of two sorts; the lesser corvorant, or water-crow, and another with a blackish back and a white belly. The sea-swallow, the tern, the common sea-gull, and the Port Egmont hen, were also found here. Also large flocks of a singular kind of white bird flew about, having the base of the bill covered with a horny crust. It had a black bill and white feet, was somewhat larger than a pigeon, and the flesh tasted like that of a duck. We hauled



the seine once, when we found a few fish about the size of a small haddock. The only shell-fish we saw were a few limpets and muscles.

Many of the hills, notwithstanding they were of a moderate height, were at that time covered with snow, though answering to our June. It is reasonable to imagine that rain must be very frequent here, as well from the marks of large torrents having rushed down, as from the appearance of the country which even on the hills, was a continued bog or swamp. The rocks consist principally of a dark blue and very hard stone, intermixed with particles of glimmer. Some considerable rocks were also formed here from a brownish brittle stone. These are the remarks of the ingenious Mr. Anderson, Capt. Cook's surgeon.

Having sailed out of Christmas Harbour, we steered S. E. along the coast with a fine breeze and clear weather. This was unexpected, as, for some time past, fogs had prevailed more or less every day. Though we kept the line constantly going, we seldom struck ground with a line of sixty fathoms. At eight o'clock, A. M. we were off a promontory, which was named Cape Cumberland. It lies a league and a half from the south point of Christmas Harbour; between them is a good bay. Off Cape Cumberland is a small Island, on the summit of which is a rock resembling a sentry box, which name was given to the Island on that account. Some small Islands and rocks, with broken ground around them, lie two miles farther to the eastward; between which and sentry-box Island we sailed, the breadth of the channel being full a mile. We found no bottom with forty fathoms line. When through this channel, we saw, on the south side of Cape Cumberland, a bay, running in three leagues to the westward. It is formed by this Cape to the north, and by a promontory to the south, which was named Point Pringle, as a complement from our Captain to Sir John Pringle, President of the Royal Society. The bottom of this bay we called Cumberland Bay. The coast, to the southward of Point Pringle, forms a fifth bay, which we called White Bay, wherein are several lesser

bays or coves, which seemed to be sheltered from all winds. Off the south point, several rocks raise their heads above water, and probably there are many others that do not. Thus far our course was in a direction parallel to the coast, and not more than two miles from it; and the country had the same sterile and naked aspect as in the neighbourhood of Christmas Harbour. The land which first opened off Cape Francois, in the direction of south 53 deg. E. we had kept in our larboard-bow, thinking it was an Island, with a passage between that and the main; but we found it to be a peninsula, joined to the rest of the coast by a low isthmus. The bay, formed by this peninsula, we called Repulse Bay; and the northern point of the peninsula was named Howe's Foreland, in honour of Lord Howe. Drawing near it we observed some rocks and breakers, not far from the N. W. part, and two Islands to the eastward of it, which, at first, appeared as one. We steered between them and the Foreland, and by noon, were in the middle of the channel. The land of this Foreland or peninsula is of a tolerable height, and of a hilly and rocky substance. The coast is low; almost covered with sea-birds; and we perceived some seals upon the beaches.

Having cleared the rocks and Islands before mentioned, we saw the whole sea before us to be chequered with large beds of rock weed, which was fast to the bottom. There is often found a great depth of water upon such shoals, and rocks have, as often, raised their heads almost to the surface of the water. It is always dangerous to sail over them, especially when there is no surge of the sea to discover the danger. We endeavoured to avoid the rocks, by steering through the winding channels by which they were separated. Though the lead was continually going, we never struck ground with a line of sixty fathoms; this increased the danger, as we could not anchor, however urgent the necessity might be. At length we discovered a lurking rock, in the middle of one of the beds of weeds, and even with the surface of the sea. This was sufficiently alarming to make us take every precaution to avoid danger. We were now about eight miles to the



southward of Howe's Foreland, across the mouth of a large bay ; in which were several rocks, low Islands and beds of sea-weed ; but there appeared to be winding channels between them. We were so much embarrassed with these shoals, that we hauled off to the eastward, in hopes of extricating ourselves from our difficulties ; but this plunged us into greater, and we found it absolutely necessary to secure the ships, if possible, before night, especially as the weather was hazy, and a fog was apprehended. Observing some inlets to the S. W. Capt. Clerke was ordered, (the *Discovery* drawing less water than the *Resolution*) to lead in for the shore, which was immediately attempted. In standing in we could not avoid running over the edges of some of the shoals, on which was found from ten to twenty fathoms water ; but the moment we were clear of them, we had no ground at the depth of fifty fathoms. Having weathered a spit that runs out from an Island on our lee, Capt. Clerke made the signal for having discovered an harbour, in which we anchored in fifteen fathoms water, about five o'clock in the evening, near a mile from the shore. The N. point of the harbour bore N. by E. half E. one mile distant, and the small Islands in the entrance, within which we anchored, extended from E. to S. E. No sooner were the ships secured, than it began to blow so very strong, that we found it necessary to strike top-gallant yards. The weather, however continued fair, and it presently became clear, the wind having dispersed the fog that had settled on the hills.

As soon as we had anchored, Capt. Cook ordered two boats to be hoisted out ; in one of which he dispatched Mr. Bligh, the master, to survey the upper part of the harbour, and look out for wood. He also desired Capt. Clerke to send his master to sound the channel S. of the small Isles, and went himself in his own boat, accompanied by Mr. Gore, our first lieutenant, and Mr. Bailey, and landed on the N. point to see what discovery could be made from thence. From an hill over the point, they had a view of the sea coast, as far as Howe's Foreland. Several small Islands, rocks, and breakers,

were scattered along the coast, and there appeared no better channel to get out of the harbour, than that by which they had entered it. While Capt. Cook and Mr. Bailey were making these observations, Mr. Gore encompassed the hill, and joined them at a place where the boat was attending for them. There was nothing to obstruct their walk, except some craggy precipices ; the country being, if possible, more barren, and desolate, than that about Christmas Harbour : and was there the least fertility in any part of this Island, we might reasonably expect to have found it in this, which is completely sheltered from the predominating bleak southerly winds. But we could find neither food nor covering for cattle of any sort ; and if any had been left, they must inevitably have perished. In the little bay where the boat lay, called by Capt. Cook Penguin Cove, (from the inexpressible number of those birds appearing there) is a fine fresh river, which we could approach without difficulty. Some large seals, shags, and a few ducks were seen, and Mr. Bailey had a glance of a very small land bird, but it flew among the rocks, and we lost it. At nine o'clock we got on board, and Mr. Bligh returned soon after. He reported, that he had been four miles up the harbour ; that its direction was W. S. W. that its breadth near the ships did not exceed a mile ; that the soundings were from thirty-seven to ten fathoms ; and that having landed on both shores, he found the soil rocky, without a tree or shrub, or hardly any appearance of verdure.

Monday the 30th, both wind and weather favouring us, we weighed anchor, set sail, and put out to sea. To the harbour we had left, the name was given of Port Palliser, in honour of Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser. It lies in the latitude of 49 deg. 3 min. S. longitude, 69 deg. 37 min. E. distant five leagues from Howe's Foreland ; and in the direction of S. 25 deg. E. When standing out, we discovered a round hill, like a sugar loaf, in the direction of S. 72 deg. E. distant about nine leagues ; having the appearance of an Island, but we afterwards found it was upon the main land. In getting out to sea, in



general, we steered through the winding channels among the shoals, though we sometimes ventured to run over them, on which we never found less than eighteen fathoms water; nor would they have been discovered, had it not been for the sea weed growing upon them. Having got three or four leagues from the coast, we found a clear sea, and steered E. till nine o'clock A. M. at which time the sugar-loaf hill, above mentioned, which we named Mount Campbell, bore S. E. and a small Island, to the northward of it, S. S. E. distant four leagues. We now steered more southerly, in order to get in with the land. At noon we observed in latitude 49 deg. 8 min. S. longitude from Cape Francois eighty miles E. Mount Campbell bore S. 47 deg. W. distant four leagues; and a low point S. E. at the distance of about twenty miles. We were now little more than two leagues from the shore. This part of the coast seems to be what the French saw on the 4th of January 1774. The land, in general, is level. The mountains end about five leagues from the low point, leaving a great extent of low land, whereon Mount Campbell is situated. These mountains seemed to be composed of naked rocks, whose summits are covered with snow: and in the valley sterility only is visible. When we had finished taking our meridian altitudes, we discovered more land opening off the low point just mentioned, in the direction of S. S. E. and eight miles beyond it. It proved to be the eastern extremity of this land, and we named it Cape Digby. It lies in latitude 49 deg. 23 min. S. and in 70 deg. 34 min. E. longitude. Between Howe's Foreland and Cape Digby, the shore forms one great bay, extending several leagues to the S. W. A prodigious quantity of seaweed grows over it, which seemed to be such as Mr. Banks distinguished by the name of *fucus giganteus*. Though the stem of this weed is not much thicker than a man's thumb, some of it grows to the amazing length of sixty fathoms. Having run two leagues upon a S. E. half E. course, at one o'clock P. M. we sounded, and had eighteen fathoms water, with a bottom of fine sand. Observing a small bending in the coast, we

steered for it, with an intention to anchor there; but being disappointed in our views, we pushed forward, in order to see as much as possible of the coast before night. From Cape Digby it trends nearly S. W. by S. to a low point, which we named Point Charlotte, in honour of the Queen. In the direction of S. S. W. about six leagues from Cape Digby is a pretty high projecting point, which we called the Prince of Wales' Foreland: and six leagues beyond that, in latitude 49 deg. 54 min. S. longitude 70 deg. 13 min. E. is the most southerly point of the whole coast, to which, in honour of his present Majesty, we gave the name of Cape George. Between Point Charlotte, and the Foreland we discovered a deep inlet, which was named Royal Sound, into which, on the S. W. side of the Prince of Wales' Foreland, we saw another inlet; and it then appeared, that the Foreland was the E. point of a large Island lying in the mouth of it. There are several small Islands in this inlet; and one about a league to the southward of the above mentioned Foreland. On the S. W. side of the Royal Sound, all the land to Cape George consists of elevated hills, gradually rising from the sea to a considerable height, having their summits cap't with snow, and appearing as barren, as those we had hitherto seen. Neither inland, nor on the coast, could we discern the smallest vestige of a tree or shrub: but some of the low land about Cape Digby, though for the most part desolate, seemed to be clothed with a green turf. On the sandy beaches penguins and other sea fowls were numerous; and shags kept continually flying about the ships. In order to get the length of Cape George, we continued stretching to the S. under all the sail we could carry, till between seven and eight o'clock, when seeing no probability of accomplishing our design, we took advantage of the wind, which had shifted to W. S. W. (the direction, in which we wanted to go) and stood away from the coast. Cape George now bore S. 53 deg. W. distant seven leagues. We saw no land to the S. of it, except a small Island that lies off the pitch of the Cape; and a S. W. swell, which we met



when we brought the Cape to bear in this direction, confirmed us in the opinion, that there was no more in that quarter. But to use Capt. Cook's own words, "We have, says he still a stronger proof, that no part of this land can extend much, if at all, to the southward of Cape George; and that is, Capt. Furneaux's track in February 1773, after his separation from me during my late voyage. His log-book is now lying before me; and I find from it, that he crossed the meridian of this land only about seventeen leagues to the southward of Cape George; a distance at which it may very well be seen in clear weather. This seems to have been the case when Capt. Furneaux passed it. For his log-book makes no mention of fogs or hazy weather; on the contrary, it expressly tells us, that, when in this situation, they had it in their power to make observations, both for latitude and longitude, on board his ship; so that, if this land extends farther S. than Cape George, it would have been scarcely possible that he should have passed without seeing it. From these circumstances we are able to determine, within a very few miles, the quantity of latitude that this land occupies, which does not much exceed one degree and a quarter. As to its extent from E. to W. that still remains undecided. We only know, that no part of it can reach so far to the W. as the meridian of 65 deg. because in 1773 I searched for it in vain." But we think it necessary to remark here, that if the French observations, as marked upon Capt. Cook's chart, and still more authentically upon that published by their own discoveries, may be depended upon, this land doth not reach so far to the W. as the meridian of 68 deg. Cape Louis, which is represented as its most westerly point, being laid down by them to the E. of that meridian.

Thus an idea of a southern continent adopted by M. de Kerguelen, vanished before the accurate researches of Capt. Cook. Even Kerguelen himself, in consequence of these, thinks very differently. This appears from an explicit declaration of his sentiments, in his late publication, which does equal honour to his candour and to Capt. Cook's

abilities. It must be confessed M. de Kerguelen was peculiarly unfortunate, in having done so little to complete what he had begun. He discovered, it is true, a new land; but, in two expeditions to it, he could not once bring his ship to an anchor upon any part of its coasts: we cannot but conclude, therefore, that our brave commander had either fewer difficulties to struggle with, or was more successful in surmounting them. The French discoverers imagined Cape Francois to be the projecting point of a southern continent. The English have discovered that no such continent exists, and that the land in question is an Island of small extent; which, from its sterility, might probably be called the Island of desolation; but Capt. Cook was unwilling to rob Monsieur de Kerguelen of the honour of its bearing his name. Which is more than can be said of his own countrymen; for even M. de Pages never once mentions the name of his commander. And, though he takes occasion to enumerate the several French explorers of the southern hemisphere, from Gonneville down to Crozet, he affects to preserve an entire silence about Kerguelen, whose first voyage, in which the discovery of this considerable tract of land was made, is kept as much out of sight as if it had never taken place. Nay, not satisfied with refusing to acknowledge the right of another, he almost assumes it to himself. For upon a map of the world, annexed to his book, at the spot where the new land is delineated, he tells us, that it was seen by M. de Pages, in 1774. He could scarcely have expressed himself in stronger terms, if he had meant to convey an idea, that he was the conductor of the discovery. And yet we know, that he was only a lieutenant, on board one of the ships commanded by Kerguelen; and that the discovery had been made in a former voyage, undertaken while he was actually engaged in his singular journey round the world. We now took leave of Kerguelen's land; and Capt. Cook, pursuant to his instructions, intended to proceed next to New Zealand, to take in wood and water, and provide hay for the cattle; their number by this time, having been considerably diminished; for



while exploring Kerguelen's desolate land, we lost by death two young bulls, one of the heifers, two rams, and several of the goats. On Tuesday, the 31st in the morning, by observations of the sun and moon, we found our longitude to be 72 deg. 33 min. 36 sec. E. and by these observations we were assured no material errors occasioned by our time-keeper, had crept into our reckoning.

On Wednesday the 1st of January, 1777, we were in latitude 48 deg. 47 min. S. longitude 76 deg. 50 min. E. when we observed quantities of sea weed passing to leeward, in a direction contrary to that we had seen in approaching the last mentioned Islands, which gave reason to suppose, there were other lands at no great distance, and affords some ground for believing, that M. de Kerguelen might have seen other lands in this latitude. On the 3rd, in latitude 48 deg. 16 min. S. longitude 85 deg. E. we had the weather tolerably clear, with fresh gales from the W. and S. W. but now the wind veered to the N. and continued in that quarter eight days, during which, though there was at the same time a thick fog, we run upwards of three hundred leagues, chiefly in the dark: the sun, indeed, sometimes made its appearance, but very rarely, and but for a very short time. On the 7th, a boat was dispatched with orders to Capt. Clerke, fixing our rendezvous at Adventure Bay in Van Diemen's land, should the two ships happen to separate before they arrived there; however, we had the good fortune not to lose company with each other. On Sunday the 12th, the northerly winds were succeeded by a calm, which was soon followed by a southerly wind. Our latitude was now 48 deg. 40 min. S. longitude 110 deg. 26 min. E. The wind blew from the S. for twenty-four hours, and then veering to the W. and N. W. brought on clear and fair weather. We continued our course eastward, and on Tuesday the 14th, a hurricane arose, accompanied with so thick a fog, that the ships were every moment in danger of falling foul one of the other. We kept the fog bell constantly ringing, and guns firing, which were answered by the Discovery. On Sunday the 19th, a sudden

squall carried away our fore-top-mast, and main-top-gallant-mast, which took us up the whole day to clear the wreck, and to fit another top-mast. Not having a spare main-top-gallant-mast on board, the fore-top-gallant-mast was converted into one for immediate use. On the 20th, the weather brightened up, the wind continued westerly, and we had a brisk but moderate gale in the afternoon, when we set all the sail we could, unreefed our top-sails, and run at the rate of seven and eight miles an hour by the log, both ships in company. On the 22nd Mr. King went on board the Discovery to compare the time-pieces. At this time our company were in perfect health, those of the crew only excepted, who had been hurt at the Cape, and even they were fit to do duty. The damages we had received during the blowing weather were not considerable as might have been expected.

On Friday the 24th, at three o'clock, A. M. we discovered the coast of Van Diemen's land, bearing N. W. half W. The Mewstone so named by Capt. Furneaux, in 1773 bore N. E. by E. distant three leagues. We made the signal for seeing land, which was answered by the Discovery. Several Islands and high rocks are strewed along this part of the coast, the southermost of which is Mewstone, a round elevated rock, five or six leagues distant from the S. W. Cape, in the direction of S. 55 deg. E. Our latitude, at noon, 43 deg. 47 min. S. longitude 147 deg. E. in which situation a round topped hill bore N. 17 deg. W. the S. W. Cape N. 74 deg. W. the Mewstone W. half N. Swilly Isle or Rock S. 49 deg. and the S. E. or S. Cape, N. 40 deg. E. distant near three leagues. The land between the S. W. and the S. Capes is broken and hilly, the coast winding, with points shooting out from it: but we were at too great a distance, to be able to judge whether the bays formed by these points were sheltered from the sea winds. The bay which appeared to be the largest and deepest lies to the westward of the elevated peaked hill above mentioned. On the 25th at six o'clock A. M. we sounded and found ground at sixty fathoms, sand and shelly bottom. The South Cape then bore N: 75



deg. W. two leagues distant: Tasman's head N. E. and Swilly Rock S. by W. half W. To a rock, on account of its striking resemblance to Eddystone light-house, Capt. Cook gave the name of the Eddystone; this, which had not been noticed by Capt. Furneaux, lies about a league to the eastward of Swilly Rock. Nature seems to have left these two rocks here, for the same purpose that the light-house was erected by man, namely, to remind navigators of the dangers that surround them; for they may be seen, even in the night, at a considerable distance; their surface being white with the dung of sea fowls. They are the summits of a ledge of rocks under water, whereon the sea breaks, in many places, very high. On the N. E. side of Storm Bay, which lies between the South Cape and Tasman's Head, are some creeks, pretty well sheltered; and if this coast was carefully examined, some good harbours would most probably be found. Soon after we had sight of land the westerly winds left us, and were succeeded by light airs, and alternate calms; but

Sunday the 26th at noon, a breeze sprung up at S. E. which afforded Capt. Cook an opportunity of executing his design of carrying the ships into Adventure Bay, where we expected to procure a fresh supply of wood and grass; of both which articles we should have been in great want, had we waited till our arrival in New Zealand. We therefore stood for the bay; wherein we came to an anchor, at four o'clock, P. M. in twelve fathoms water, not quite a mile from the shore. No sooner were the ships properly secured, than the pinnace was ordered to be launched, the boats to be manned, and all hands set to work to overhaul the rigging, and get every thing in readiness to continue our course. The officers, astronomers, and gentlemen, on board both ships, eagerly embraced the opportunity of going ashore to take a view of the country, with which all on board were highly pleased. The first thing that attracted our notice were the trees, that by their magnitude and loftiness exceeded every thing we had ever seen of the kind: but

what was remarkable, we found many of them burnt near the ground, and not a few lying in a horizontal position, which, being much scorched, had been thrown down by the violence of the wind. The Captains Cook and Clerke went, in separate boats, in search of convenient spots for wooding and watering, and making hay. They found plenty of wood and water, but very little grass.

Monday the 27th, lieutenant King was dispatched to the E. side of the bay, with two parties, under the protection of some marines: one to cut wood, and the other to cut grass. For although, as yet, none of the natives had appeared, there could be no doubt that some were in the neighbourhood, as we had perceived columns of smoke, from the time of our approaching the coast; and some now were observed, at no great distance up in the woods. The launch was likewise sent for water; and in the evening having drawn the seine, we caught, at one haul, a great quantity of fish; most of which were of that sort, known to seamen by the name of the elephant fish. The Captain this day visited all the parties that had been sent ashore; and the next the 28th, accompanied by several gentlemen, and guarded by a party of marines, he made a second excursion into the country, in order to make discoveries, and to procure, if possible, an interview with some of the inhabitants. They penetrated some miles through paths that seemed to have been frequented, before they could get sight of any human being, till, at length, passing by the edge of an almost impenetrable thicket, they heard a rustling, which, at first, they mistook for the rousing of a wild beast; but searching closely, they found a girl quite naked and alone. At first she seemed much terrified; but being kindly treated, and her apprehensions of death removed, she became docile, and ready to answer every thing we could render intelligible to her understanding. We questioned her concerning her residence, which we did by pointing to every beaten path, walking a little way in it, and then returning and taking another, making motions to her, at the same time, to lead us along, and we would follow



her. To make her perfectly easy, one of our company pulled off his handkerchief, and put it about her neck by way of ornament, and another covered her head with his cap, and then she was dismissed. She ran among the bushes, and, in less than an hour, eight men and a boy made their appearance. They approached us without betraying any marks of fear, or rather with the greatest confidence imaginable; none of them having any weapons, except one, who held in his hand a stick about two feet long, and pointed at one end. They were quite naked, and wore no ornaments, unless we consider as such, some large punctures in different parts of their bodies, some in straight, and others in curved lines. The men were of the middle stature, but rather slender. Their skin and hair were black; and the latter as woolly as that of any natives of Guinea; but they were not distinguished by remarkable thick lips, nor flat noses. On the contrary, their features were far from being disagreeable. They had pretty good eyes; and their teeth were tolerable even, but very dirty. Most of them had their hair and beards smeared with a red ointment, and some had also their faces painted with the same composition. These were all kindly treated by our company; but they received every present we made them, without any apparent satisfaction. When some bread was offered them, as soon as they understood it was to be eaten, they either returned, or threw it away, without tasting it. Some elephant fish, both raw, and dressed, they likewise refused; but some birds, we gave them, these they did not return, and easily made us comprehend that they were fond of such food. Two pigs having been brought on shore, to be left in the woods, they seized them by the ears, and seemed inclined to carry them off, with an intention, as we supposed of killing them. Capt. Cook, wishing to know the use of the stick which one of our visitors held in his hand, made signs expressing his desire to be gratified in this particular; upon which one of them took aim at a piece of wood, set up at the distance of twenty yards; but after several essays he was still wide of

the mark. Omiah, to shew the great superiority of our weapons, immediately fired his musket at it, the report of which so alarmed them that they took flight, and vanished in an instant. On our return we found they had been at the place at which the crew of the Discovery were watering; and an officer of that party firing also a musket in the air, they ran into the woods with uncommon precipitation. Soon after these had fled from us with uncommon speed, the girl we had first seen returned, and with her came several women, some with children on their backs, and some without children. The former wore a kangaroo skin fastened over their shoulders, the only use of which seemed to be, to support their children on their backs for it left those parts uncovered which modesty directs us to conceal. Their bodies were black, and marked with scars like those of the men; from whom, however, they differed, in having their heads shaved; some of them being completely shorn, others only on one side, while the rest of them had the upper part of their heads shaved, leaving a very narrow circle of hair all round. They were far from being handsome; however, some of our gentlemen paid their addresses to them, but without effect. These were also kindly received, and conducted to the place where the wooders were at work, with whom it was not long before they were acquainted. They were, however, miserable objects; and Omiah, though led by natural impulse to an inordinate desire for women, was so disgusted with them, that he fired his piece off to frighten them from his sight, which for that time had the desired effect. That the gallantry of some of our people was not very agreeable to the men, is certain; for an elderly man as soon as he observed it, ordered the women and children to retire, which they all did, but some with a little reluctance. When the several parties of our visitors had fled, and retired, Capt. Cook ordered the two pigs, one male and the other female, to be carried about a mile within the woods, and he himself saw them left there, taking care that none of the natives should observe what was passing. He



also intended to have left a young bull and a cow, besides some goats and sheep; but he soon relinquished that design, being of opinion the natives would destroy them; which he supposed would be the fate of the pigs, if they should chance to find them out: but as swine soon become wild, and are fond of being in the woods, it is probable that they were preserved. The other cattle could not have remained long concealed from the natives, as they must have been put in an open place.

Wednesday the 29th, we were prevented from sailing by a dead calm, which continued the whole day. Parties were therefore sent on shore to cut wood and grass, as usual; and Capt. Cook accompanied the wood-cutters himself. At the same time our gentlemen, with Lieutenant King, and other officers belonging to both ships, extended their excursions still farther into the country, and found it beautifully diversified with hills and valleys, stately groves of trees, rivers, meadows, and lawns of vast extent, with thickets full of birds of the most beautiful plumage, and of various notes, whose melody was truly enchanting. Here were lagoons full of ducks, teal, and other wild fowl, of which great numbers were shot; while our naturalists were loading themselves with the spontaneous productions of the soil; a soil we may venture to say, the richest and most fertile of any in the habitable globe, and the trees growing to an astonishing height and size, not less beautiful to the eye than grateful to the sense of smelling. It was now the time when nature pours forth her luxuriant exuberance to clothe this country with a rich variety; but, what appeared strange to every observer, the few natives we saw were wholly insensible of those blessings, and seemed to live like the beasts of the forest in roving parties, without arts of any kind, sleeping in summer like dogs, under the hollow sides of the trees, or in the wattle-huts made with the low branches of ever-green shrubs, stuck in the ground at small distances from each other, and meeting together at the top.

We had, in the morning, observed several of the natives sauntering along the shore,

from which we concluded, that, though their consternation had made them leave us rather abruptly the preceding day, they thought we intended them no mischief, and were desirous of renewing the intercourse. Of this we were soon convinced; for we had not been long landed before twenty of them, men and boys, joined us, without expressing the least sign of fear or distrust; one of whom was distinguished not only by his deformity, but by the drollery of his gesticulations, and the seeming humour of his speeches, though we could only guess at their general import, the language spoken here being wholly unintelligible to us. Our Commander thought this to be different from that spoken by the inhabitants of the more northern parts of this country, whom he met with in his first voyage; which is not extraordinary, since those we now saw, and those we then visited, differ in several respects: particularly with regard to the texture of their hair. The natives whom the Captain met with at Endeavour River in 1769, are said, by him, "to have naturally long and black hair, though it be universally cropped short. In general it is strait; but sometimes it has a slight curl. We saw none that was not matted and filthy. Their beards were of the same colour with the hair, and bushy and thick." At this time Capt. Cook was unwilling to allow that the hair of the natives we now saw in Adventure Bay was woolly, fancying that his people, who first observed this, had been deceived, from its being clotted with grease and red ochre. But Lieutenant King prevailed on him afterwards, to examine carefully the hair of the boys, which was generally, as well as that of the women, free from this dirt; and then the Captain owned himself satisfied, that it was naturally woolly. Perhaps this circumstance was the occasion of his being deceived, when he was in Endeavour River, for he says expressly, "they saw none that was not matted and filthy." Some of our present visitors had a slip of kangaroo skin round their ancles; and others wore round their necks three or four folds of small cord, made of the fur of some animal. They seemed not to value iron, but were apparently



pleased with the medals and strings of beads that were given them. They did not seem even to know the use of fish-hooks, though it is more than probable, that they were acquainted with some method of catching fish, which would naturally be adopted by those who inhabit a sea-coast, and who derive no part of their sustenance from the productions of the ground. They rejected the sort of fish we offered them, yet it was evident, that shell-fish, at least, made a part of their food, from the heaps of muscle-shells we saw near the shore, and about the usual places of their resort. Their wigwams, or habitations, were small hovels or sheds, built of sticks, and covered with the bark of a tree. We had good reason to suppose, that they sometimes took up their residence in the trunks of large trees, hollowed out by fire. In or near their huts, and wherever there was a heap of shells, there we perceived the remains of fire; an indubitable proof that they do not eat their food raw. Nor do they seem such miserable wretches as the natives whom Dampier mentions to have seen on its western coast. Yet we must here observe, that Dampier's miserable wretches, on the western coast of New Holland, in many instances, bear a striking resemblance to those seen by Capt. Cook at Van Diemen's land: as (1st.) Their soon becoming familiar with strangers. (2nd.) As to their persons; being straight of stature and thin; their skin thick and black, their hair black, short, and curled, like those of the negroes of Guinea; with wide mouths. (3dly.) As to their mean condition; having no houses, no garments, no canoes, no instruments to catch large fish; feeding on broiled muscles, cockles, and periwinkles; having no fruits of the earth; their weapons a straight pole, sharpened and hardened at the end, &c. But the chief peculiarities of Dampier's New Hollanders, on account of which they are improperly called miserable wretches, are, (1st.) Their eye-lids being always half closed, to keep the flies out, which were, exceedingly troublesome there; and, (2ndly.) Their wanting the two fore-teeth of the upper jaw, and having no beads.

When the party with lieutenant King,

with whom was Mr. Anderson, Capt. Cook's surgeon, had landed, the natives appeared divested of their fears, and issued from the thickets like herds of deer from a forest. They were armed with lances about two feet long, terminated with a shark's tooth or piece of bone sharpened to a point, which they threw to a great distance, and these were the whole of their armour. Some women and children were introduced to Mr. King, to whom he gave presents of such trifles as he had about him. He also offered all of them nails, knives, beads, and other toys, to which they paid little or no attention, but were greedy after shreds of red cloth. Mr. Anderson having, with his usual diligence, spent the few days we continued in Adventure Bay, in examining the natural productions of the country and its inhabitants, we shall here insert the substance of his remarks; and we doubt not but that the observations of this ingenious gentleman, will, by the curious part of our readers, always be thought worth attending to. There is, observes Mr. Anderson, a beautiful sandy beach, about two miles long, at the bottom of Adventure Bay, formed, to all appearance, by the particles which the sea washes from a white sand stone, that in many places bounds the shore. This beach, about two miles long, is well adapted for hauling the seine. Behind it is a plain, with a brackish lake, out of which we caught, by angling, some whitish bream, and small trout. The parts adjoining the bay are mostly hilly; and both these and the flat are adorned with one continued forest of tall trees, rendered almost impassable to strangers, by breaks of fern, shrubs, and fallen trees: but on the sides of some of the hills, where the trees are thin, the only interruption is a coarse grass. Northward of the bay is low land, stretching farther than the eye can reach, covered only with wood in certain spots; but an opportunity was not afforded us of examining in what peculiarities it differed from the hilly country. The soil on the flat land, and on the lower part of the hills is sandy, or consists of a yellowish earth, and in some parts of a reddish clay; but farther up the hills, it is of a grey tough



cast, and appeared to be very poor. Between the hills, the water drains down from their sides, forming at last small brooks, sufficient to supply us with water: yet, upon the whole, this country bears many marks of being dry; and, setting aside its wood, might be compared to Africa, about the Cape of Good Hope, (though that lies ten degrees farther northward) rather than to New Zealand, on its other side, in the same latitude, where every valley, however small, is furnished with a considerable stream of water. We found the heat here excessive; inasmuch, that birds were seldom killed an hour or two, before they were almost covered with maggots. No mineral bodies, nor stones of any other kind than the white sand stone, were observed by us; nor could we find any vegetables that afforded the smallest subsistence for men. The forest trees are all of one kind, and generally straight; branching but little till towards the top. The bark is white, which makes them appear at a distance, as if they had been peeled. The leaves of this tree are long, narrow, and pointed; and it bears clusters of white small flowers, whose cups were, at this time, plentifully scattered about the ground, with another sort resembling them somewhat in shape, but much larger; which makes it probable that there are two species of this tree. The bark of the smaller branches, fruit, and leaves, have an agreeable pungent taste, and aromatic snell, not unlike peppermint. The next tree observed was a small one, about ten feet high, branching pretty much, with narrow leaves, and a large, yellow, cylindrical flower, consisting only of a vast number of filaments; which, being shed, leave a fruit like a pine-top. Both these trees are unknown in Europe. Of plants, by no means numerous, we found a species of gladiolus, rush, bell-flower, samphire, wood-sorrel, milk-wort, cudweed, Job's tears, mosses, and several kinds of fern; but the species are either common, or, at least, found in some other countries, particularly New Zealand. The only quadruped we saw distinctly was a species of opossum, about twice the size of a large rat; of a dusky colour above, tinged with a brown

or rusty cast, and whitish below. About the third of the tail, towards its tip, is white, and bare underneath; by which it probably hangs on the branches of trees, as it climbs these, and lives on berries. The kangaroo, found further northward in New Holland, may also be supposed to inhabit here, as some of the natives had pieces of the skin of that animal. From the dung we saw almost every where, and from the narrow tracks perceived among the shrubbery, it should seem also, that they are in considerable numbers. The principal sorts of birds are brown hawks or eagles, crows, large pigeons, yellowish paroquets, and a species which we called motacilla-cyanea, from the beautiful azure colour of its neck and head. On the shore were several gulls, black oystercatchers, or sea-pies, and plovers of a stone colour. These birds are all so scarce and shy, that they must have been harrassed by the natives, who, perhaps, obtain much of their subsistence from them. About the lake behind the beach, a few wild ducks were seen, and some shags used to perch upon the high leafless trees near the shore. We observed in the woods some blackish snakes; and we killed an unknown large lizard, fifteen inches long, and six round, beautifully clouded with black and yellow. The sea affords a much greater plenty, and at least, as great a variety as the land. Among a variety of fish we caught rays, nurses, leather jackets, bream, soles, flounders, gurnarde, small spotted mullets, a little fish with a silver band on its side, and elephant fishes, which last are the most numerous, and, though inferior to many others, are very palatable food. The next in number, and superior in goodness, is a sort none of us recollected to have seen before. It partakes of the nature both of a round and flat fish, having the eyes placed very near each other, the fore part of the body much flattened or depressed, and the rest rounded. It is of a brownish sandy colour, with rusty spots on the upper part, and whitish below. From the quantity of slime it was always covered with, it seems to live after the manner of flat fish, at the bottom. On the rocks are plenty of muscles, and other small shell-



fish: also great numbers of sea-stars, small limpets, and large quantities of sponge, one sort of which, that is thrown on the sea-shore, but not very common, has a most delicate texture. Upon the beach were found many pretty Medusa's-heads; and the stinking sea-hare, which, as mentioned by some authors, has the property of taking off the hair by the acrimony of its juice; but the sort we examined, was deficient in this respect. The insects, though few, are here in considerable variety; such as grass-hoppers, butterflies, and several sorts of moths, finely variegated. Here are two sorts of dragon-flies, gad, and camel-flies; several sorts of spiders; and some scorpions; the last are rare. But the most troublesome, though less numerous tribe of insects, are the moschetoes, and a large black ant, the pain of whose bite is almost intolerable, during the short time it lasts.

The inhabitants, with whom we were conversant, seemed mild and cheerful, with little of that savage appearance, common to people in their situation: nor did they discover the least reserve, or jealousy, in their intercourse with strangers. With respect to personal activity or genius, they discovered little of either: as to the last, they have, to appearance, less than the half-animated natives of Terra del Fuego, who have not invention sufficient to make clothing for defending themselves from the rigour of their climate, though furnished with materials. They display, however, some contrivance. In the manner of cutting their arms and bodies in lines of different directions, raised above the surface of the skin. Their indifference for our presents, their general inattention, and want of curiosity, were very remarkable, and testified no acuteness of understanding. Their complexion is a dull black, which they sometimes heighten, as we supposed, by smutting their bodies; for a mark was left behind on any clean substance, when they handled it. Their hair is perfectly woolly, and is clotted with grease and red ochre, like that of the Hottentots. Their noses, though not flat, are broad and full, as is the case with most Indians; and the lower part of the face projects con-

siderably. Their eyes are of a moderate size, and though not very quick or piercing, they give the countenance a frank, cheerful, and pleasing cast. Their teeth are broad, but not equal, nor well set; and either from nature, or from dirt, not of so clear a white as is usual among people of a black colour. Their mouths are rather wide; but this appearance may be heightened, by wearing their beards long, and clotted with paint, in the same manner as the hair on their heads. Upon the whole, they are well proportioned, though the belly is rather protuberant. Their favourite attitude is to stand with one side forward, and one hand grasping, across the back, the opposite arm, which, on this occasion, hangs down by the side that projects. What the poets tell us of Fawns and Satyrs dwelling in woods and hollow trees, is here realized. Near the shore in the bay we saw some wretched constructions of sticks, covered with bark, which like the wigwams of the Indians, seemed to have been only temporary abodes. Many of their largest trees were converted into more durable habitations. The trunks of these were hollowed out, to the heights of six or seven feet, by means of fire. That they sometimes dwell in them, was evident, from their having hearths in the middle made of clay, round which four or five persons might sit. These places of shelter are permanent; for they leave one side of the tree sound, so that it continues growing with great luxuriance. It does not appear that these people are cannibals, or indeed, that they feed upon flesh, as no appearance of any such food could be traced among them. Fish, fruit, and the natural productions of the earth, were the only articles of food, that we saw about their fire-places; but, what was still more strange, there was neither canoe nor boat to be seen, though the country abounds with such excellent trees. One might be apt to think, that these natives are a sort of fugitives, who have been driven to subsist here in a state of banishment: but that they originate from the same stock with those who inhabit the northern parts of New Holland is highly probable: and though they differ in many respects,



their dissimilarity may be reasonably accounted for, from the united considerations of distance of place, length of time, total separation, and diversity of climate. These will account for greater differences, both as to the persons, and as to the customs of different people, than really exist between our Van Diemen's land natives, and those described by Dampier, and in captain Cook's first voyage. This is certain, that the figure of one of those seen in Endeavour river, and represented in a journal of that voyage, (now before us) very much resembles our visitors in Adventure Bay. That there is not the like resemblance in their languages, is a circumstance that need not create any difficulty: for though the agreement of languages of people living distant from each other, may be assumed as a strong argument for their having sprung from one common source, disagreement of language is by no means a proof of the contrary; and we must have a more intimate acquaintance with the languages spoken here, and in the more northern part of New Holland, before we can be warranted to pronounce that they are totally different. Nay, we have good grounds for the contrary opinion; for we found, that the animal called kangaroo, at Endeavour river, was known under the same name here; and we need not observe, that it is scarcely possible to suppose, that this was not transmitted from one another, but accidentally adopted by two nations, differing in language and extraction. Besides, as it seems very improbable, that the inhabitants of Van Diemen's land should ever have lost the use of canoes or sailing vessels, if they had been originally conveyed hither by sea, we must necessarily admit that they as well as the kangaroo itself, have been stragglers by land from the more northern parts of the country. If there is any weight in this remark of Mr. Anderson's, it will, while it traces the origin of the people, at the same time, serve to fix another point, (if Capt. Cook and Capt. Furneaux have not decided it already) namely, that New Holland is no where totally divided from the sea into Islands; and Dampier, we find, was of this opinion. As the inhabitants of

New Holland seem all to be of the same extraction, there is nothing peculiar in any of them: on the contrary, they much resemble many of the savages whom we have seen in the Islands of Tanna and Manicoula. There is even some reason for supposing, that they may originally have come from the same place with all the natives of the Pacific Ocean; for of about ten words we found means to get from them that which is used to express cold, is very similar to that of New Zealand and Otaheite; the first, or Van Diemen's land, being mallareede, the second makka'reede, and the third mar'reede. Upon a diligent enquiry, and an accurate comparison drawn from the affinity of languages, concludes our curious observer, it will probably be found, that all the people from New Holland, eastward to Easter Island, have been derived from the same common root. The sentiments of our surgeon, on this subject, are conformable to, and coincide with those of Mr. Marsden, in his history of Sumatra, who observes, "That one general language prevailed, (however mutilated and changed in the course of time) throughout all this portion of the world, from Madagascar to the most distant discoveries eastward; of which the Malay is a dialect, much corrupted or refined by a mixture of tongues. This very extensive similarity of language indicates a common origin of the inhabitants; but the circumstances and progress of their separation are wrapped in the darkest veil of obscurity.

In the afternoon Capt. Cook went again on ashore, and found the grass cutters on Penguin Island, where they had met with a plentiful crop of excellent grass. We laboured hard till the evening, and then having provided a sufficient quantity of what was most wanted, returned on board. In the course of the day Capt. Cook presented many of the natives with medals, inscribed with the names of the ships and the commanders, with the date of the year, and that of his Majesty's reign, in order to perpetuate the memory of this voyage, provided any future European adventurer, prompted by curiosity, should think fit to revisit these remote parts of the southern hemisphere. During our



continuance on this coast, all hands were employed in wooding, watering, over-hauling the rigging, and getting every thing in readiness to continue our voyage; and having had either light airs from the E. or calms, little or no time was probably lost by our staying here a few days. Our fishermen also were no less successful in fishing, during our stay, than our fowlers in shooting wild fowl; insomuch, that nothing was wanting to make our living here delicious.

This land was discovered in November 1642, by Tasman, who gave it the name of Van Diemen's land, Capt. Furneaux touched at it in March 1773. It is the southern point of New Holland, which is by far the largest Island in the known world, and might well be taken for, though it does not deserve the name of a continent. The land is diversified with hills and vallies, and is well wooded. Here is likewise plenty of water. The best, or what is most convenient for shipping, is a rivulet, which is one of several that fall into a small lake, or pond, that lies behind the beach at the head of the bay. It there mixes with the sea water; so that it must be taken up above this pond, which may be done without any great trouble. The bay upon the whole may be considered as a safe road; for the only wind to which it is exposed is the N. E. and as this blows from Maria's Islands, it can bring no very great sea along with it. The bottom is clean, good holding ground; and the depth of water from twelve to four fathoms. The longitude of Adventure bay was determined by a great number of lunar observations, and was found to be 147 deg. 29 min. E. Its latitude is 43 deg. 21 min. 20 sec. S. We shall conclude the history of this day, the 29th of January, with a remark of Capt. Cook's, respecting the conduct of Europeans amongst Savages to their women, which the Captain thinks, "is highly blameable; as it creates a jealousy in their men, that may be attended with consequences fatal to the success of the common enterprize, and to the whole body of adventurers, without advanc-

ing the private purpose of the individual, or enabling him to gain the object of his wishes. I believe it has been generally found among uncivilized people, that where the women are easy of access, the men are the first to offer them to strangers; and that where this is not the case, neither the allurements of presents, nor the opportunity of privacy, will be likely to have the desired effect. This observation, I am sure, will hold good, throughout all the parts of the South Sea where I have been. Why then should men act so absurd a part, as to risk their own safety, and that of all their companions, in pursuit of a gratification which they have no probability of obtaining;" and, which if obtained, we may add, is not only breaking a divine command, but contrary to an indispensable obligation, of doing as we wish, in like circumstances, to be done unto.

On the 30th, having got plenty of wood and water on board, and whatever else the country afforded, the signal was made for unmooring; and, a light westerly breeze springing up, at eight o'clock A. M. we weighed anchor, and took our departure from Adventure bay. By ten we had put to sea, and both ships were under sail; soon after which, the wind became southerly and produced a perfect storm; but veering in the evening to the E. and N. E. its fury began to abate. This gale was attended with an almost intolerable heat, which, however, was of so short a continuance, that some of our company did not perceive it. In the night, between the 6th and 7th of February, a marine belonging to the *Discovery* fell over-board, and was drowned, which was the second misfortune of the kind her crew had experienced since her departure from England. We held on our direct course for New Zealand; and on Monday, the 10th, we descried Rock's Point, which bore S. E. by S. about eight or nine leagues distant; upon which we steered for Cape Farewell and Stephens's Island.



## CHAP. III.

*The Resolution and Discovery, having arrived at New Zealand, anchor in their old station in Queen Charlotte's Sound; Transactions there, and intercourse with the New Zealanders; Information gained from the natives with regard to the massacre of the Adventure's boat's-crew; Two violent storms; An account of Kahoorā, who headed the party that killed our people; Two youths embark on board the Resolution to attend Omiah; Historical, critical, and nautical observations; The adjacent country of Queen Charlotte's Sound described; The soil, plants, animals, &c. A description of the persons and customs of the inhabitants: Their dress, ornaments, buildings, arts, canoes, boats, weapons, &c. Their horrid cruelty to their enemies, when prisoners, whose bodies they mangle and eat. Extract from a vocabulary of their language.*

**H**AVING made the land of New Zealand, we steered for Cape Farewell, which, on Tuesday the 11th, at day break, bore S. by W. distant about four leagues. In rounding the Cape we had fifty fathoms water over a sandy bottom. At nine o'clock P. M. we came up with Stephens's Island, and by ten, the next morning, being the 12th, we cast anchor, and took our station in Ship Cove, Queen Charlotte's Sound. In the afternoon we landed a number of empty water casks, and cleared a place for two observatories. We likewise set up tents for the guard, and of such of our people, whose business might make it necessary for them to remain on shore. In the mean time several canoes, filled with natives, came along side of the ships, but very few of those who were in them would venture aboard. This appeared the more extraordinary, as Capt. Cook was well known to them all: one, in particular, had been treated by him with distinguished kindness, during his stay here on a former voyage: yet now, neither professions of friendship, nor presents, could prevail upon this man to come into the ship. We could only account for this reserve by supposing, that we had revisited their country, in order to revenge the death of Capt. Furneaux's people, who had been killed here. But upon Capt. Cook's assuring them of the continuance of his friendship, and that he should not molest them on that account, they soon laid aside all appearance of suspicion and distrust. On Thursday the

13th, we pitched two tents, one of each ship, on the same spot where we had formerly erected them. We also set up the observatories, in which Messrs. King and Bailey immediately commenced their astronomical operations. Two of our men were employed in brewing spruce beer; while others filled the water casks, collected grass for the cattle, and cut wood. Those who remained on board were occupied in repairing the rigging, and performing the necessary duties of the ships. A guard of marines was appointed for the protection of the different parties on shore, and arms were given to the workmen, to repel all attacks from the natives, if they had been inclined to molest us; but this did not appear to be the case: for during the course of this day, a great number of families came from different parts of the coast, and took up their residence close by us; so there was not a spot in the cove where a hut could be put up, that was not occupied by them, except the place where we had fixed our little encampment. The facility with which they build their temporary habitations, is very remarkable. They have been seen to erect more than twenty of them on a spot of ground, that, not an hour before, was covered with shrubs and plants. They generally bring some part of the materials with them; the rest they find upon the premises. Our Captain was present when a number of people landed, and built one of their villages. The canoes had no sooner reached the



shore, than the men leaped out, and took possession of a piece of ground, by tearing up the plants and shrubs, or sticking up some part of the framing of a hut. They then returned to their canoes, and secured their weapons, by setting them up against a tree, or placing them in such a position, that they could be laid hold of in an instant. While the men were thus employed, the women were not idle. Some were appointed to take care of the canoes; others to secure the provisions, and the few utensils in their possession; and the rest went to gather dry sticks, that a fire might be prepared for dressing their victuals. These huts are sufficiently calculated for affording shelter from the rain and wind. The same tribe, or family, however large, generally associate and build together; so that we frequently saw a village, as well as their large towns, divided into different districts, by low pallisadoes, or a similiar method of separation. We received considerable advantage from the natives thus coming to take up their residence with us: for every day some of them were employed in catching fish, a good share of which we generally procured by exchanges. This supply, and what our own nets and lines afforded us, was so ample, that we seldom were in want of fish. Besides which, we had other refreshments in abundance. Celery, scurvy-grass, and portable soup, were boiled with the peas and wheat, for both ships' companies, every day, and they had spruce beer for their drink. Such a regimen would soon have removed all seeds of the scurvy from our people, if any of them had contracted it; but the truth is, on our arrival here, we had only two invalids in both ships, on the sick list, and these were on board the *Resolution*. We were occasionally visited by other natives, besides those who lived close to us. Their articles of traffic were fish, curiosities, and women; the two first of which were easily disposed of, but the latter did not come to a good market, our crew having conceived a dislike to them. Capt. Cook observes upon this occasion, that he connived at a connection with women, because he could not prevent it; but that he never encouraged it, because

he dreaded the consequences. "I know," indeed, says the Captain, that many men are of opinion, that such an intercourse is one of the greatest securities amongst savages; and perhaps they who, either from necessity or choice, are to remain and settle with them, may find it so. But with travellers and transient visitors, such as we were, it is generally otherwise; and, in our situation, a connection with their women betrays more men than it saves. What else can be reasonably expected, since all their views are selfish, without the least mixture of regard or attachment. My own experience, at least, which hath been pretty extensive, hath not pointed out to me one instance to the contrary.

Among our occasional visitors was a chief called Kahoora, who headed the party that cut off Capt. Furneaux's people; and himself killed Mr. Rowe, the officer who commanded. He was far from being beloved by his countrymen, some of whom even importuned Capt. Cook to kill him, at the same time expressing their disapprobation of him in the severest terms. A striking proof of the divisions that prevail among these people occurred to us; for the inhabitants of each village, by turns, solicited our Commander to destroy the other. On the 15th, we made an excursion, in search after grass, and visited a Hippah, or fortified village, at the S. W. point of the Island of Motuara, and the places where our garden had been planted. We found many of the plants and roots in a flourishing condition in the spots that had been cultivated by Capt. Furneaux's people, but of the seeds sown by Mr. Bailey in 1773, not the least vestige remained. It is probable they had been rooted out to make room for buildings, when the village was re-inhabited. At the other gardens, now wholly over-run with weeds, we found cabbages, onions, leeks, purslain, radishes, mustard, and a few potatoes. These last, brought from the Cape of Good Hope, had been greatly improved by change of soil, and by proper cultivation, would be superior to those produced in most other countries: but the New Zealanders, though fond of this root, had not taken



the trouble to plant a single one ; but were it not for the difficulty of clearing the ground where potatoes had once been planted, there would not have been any now remaining. As to the hippah, we found no people in it, but the houses and pallisadoes had been rebuilt, and were now in a state of good repair ; and we saw evident marks of its having been inhabited not long before.

On the 16th, the two Captains, accompanied by Omiah and several officers, set out, in five boats, to collect fodder for the cattle. Having proceeded about three leagues up the sound, they landed on the E. side, where they cut a quantity of grass, sufficient to load two launches. On their return down the sound, they visited Grass Cove, the place where Capt. Furbeaux's people had been murdered. While on this memorable spot, curiosity induced them to enquire into the circumstances attending the melancholy fate of our countrymen. Here they met with Capt. Cook's old friend Pedro, who is mentioned by him in the history of his second voyage. He and another New Zealander received them on the beach, armed with the spear and patoo, though not without manifest signs of fear. Their apprehensions, however, were quickly dissipated by a few presents, which brought down to the shore two or three other families. Omiah we are informed was made use of as an interpreter between our people and the natives, his language being a dialect of that of New Zealand : but in a journal, belonging to a gentleman on board the *Discovery*, this circumstance is differently related, and as this, and the character of Omiah, is contrary to that given by the company of the *Resolution* we shall here lay it before our readers. " Omiah, who could scarce make himself understood, nor indeed could he understand the natives so well as many of the common men who had been frequently here before ; yet being a favourite with Capt. Cook, was always preferred when in company, to confer with the natives, and was desired by him, when he met any of them alone, to question them concerning the massacre of our people that had happened some time ago, and from what cause it took its rise ; and he hoped to

come at the truth, as the natives, in general, were friendly and ready to furnish the ships with whatever the country afforded. But from what Omiah was able to learn, Capt. Cook received no satisfaction. It should seem, that in Otaheite there are two dialects spoken, as in almost every other part of the world ; one by the priests, and another by the common people. This was apparent here ; for Tupia who accompanied Mr. Banks to this place, in Capt. Cook's second voyage round the world, could converse with the natives fluently, and was in such esteem with them, that his memory is held in veneration from one end of the Island to the other at this day. Obedee likewise, who was of the class of Areoes or gentlemen, and who accompanied Capt. Cook, in his last voyage, from Otaheite to the Hebrides, New Zealand, Easter Island, and the Marquisas could converse with the New Zealanders, though Omiah could not, a proof that he was of the inferior class in his own country. While we continued here, he found frequent opportunities to discover his real character, when from under the watchful eye of his protector and friend. He had grog always at his command, and was sometimes entrusted to give it out, especially when any extra quantity was to be delivered by the Captain's orders for hard service, or on days of festivity. At those times he was closely watched, and was never known to run into excess ; but when the Captain was abroad for whole days and nights, and he left in charge of liquors, he set no bounds to his excess, and would drink, till he wallowed like a swine in his own filth. At those times he out-acted the savage in every kind of sensuality ; and when he could no longer act the brute, he would often act the drunkard ; storming, roaring, brandishing his arms, and by the contortions of his mouth and face, setting at defiance, after the manner of his country, the whole host of his enemies, who were represented by the common sailors, with whom, upon these occasions, he was generally surrounded ; and who knew how to practise upon him, as he endeavoured to do upon the poor Zealanders. He was indeed far from being ill natured, morose, or vindictive ; but he



was sometimes sulky. He was naturally humble, but had grown proud by habit; and pride so ill became him, that he was always glad when he could put it off, and appear among the petty officers with his natural ease. This was the true character of Omiah, (in the opinion of our journalist,) who might be said, perhaps, by accident, to have been raised to the highest pitch of human happiness, only to suffer the opposite extreme, by being again reduced to the lowest order of rational beings.

Pedro, and the rest who were present of the natives, answered all the questions put by Omiah, by Capt. Cook's orders, without reserve, like men who had no concern in the unfortunate transaction at Grass Cove. Their information imported, that while the boat's-crew of the *Adventure* were at dinner, some of the natives stole, or snatched from them, some fish and bread, for which offence they received some blows: a quarrel ensued immediately, and two of the New Zealanders were shot dead, by the only two muskets that were fired, for before a third was discharged the natives rushed furiously upon our people, and, being superior in number, destroyed them all. Pedro, and his companions, also pointed out the spot where the quarrel happened, and the place where the boat lay, in which a black servant of Capt. Furneaux had been left to take care of it. According to another account, this negro was the occasion of the quarrel; for one of the natives stealing something out of the boat, the black gave him a violent blow with a stick. His countrymen hearing his cries, at some distance, imagined he was killed, and immediately attacked our people, who before they could reach the boat, or prepare themselves against the unexpected assault fell a sacrifice to the fury of the exasperated savages. The former of these accounts was corroborated by the testimony of many other natives, who could have no interest in disguising the truth. The latter account rests upon the authority of the young New Zealander, who quitted his country for the sake of going with us, and who, therefore, could not, as we may reasonably suppose, be inclined to

deceive us. As they all agreed, that the affray happened while the boat's-crew were at dinner, both the accounts may be true; for it is by no means improbable, that while some of the islanders were stealing from the man who had been left to guard the boat, others might take equal liberties with those who were on shore. It appears, that there was no premeditated plan of bloodshed, and that, if these thefts had not been rather too hastily resented, all mischief would have been avoided; for Kahoora's greatest enemies acknowledged, that he had previous no intention of quarrelling. With regard to the boat, some said, that it had been pulled to pieces and burnt; while others asserted, that it had been carried off by a party of strangers. We have received from a gentleman on board the *Discovery* some other remarkable particulars, relating to this mysterious affair, included in the relation of an adventure, which, though the parties are not of the highest class, our readers, notwithstanding, may think worth relating.

Belonging to the *Discovery* was a youth, with whom a young Zealander girl, about fourteen years of age, fell desperately in love, nor was she wholly indifferent to our adventuress. What time he could spare, he generally retired with her, and they spent the day, but oftener the night, in a kind of silent conversation, in which, though words were wanting, their meaning, was perfectly understood. Moments fly rapidly on, that are spent in mutual endeavours to please. She, on her part, had no will but his own, and he, in return, was no less attentive to hers. Minds so disposed naturally incline to render themselves agreeable. A conformity in manners and dress become significant signs between lovers. Though he appeared amiable in her eyes in the dress of a stranger, yet he wished to render himself more so, by ornamenting his person after the fashion of her country; accordingly he submitted to be tattooed from head to foot; nor was she less solicitous to set off herself to the best advantage. She had fine hair, and her chief pride, was in the dress of her head. The pains she took, and the decorations she used, would have done honour to an Euro-



pean beauty, had not one thing been wanting to render it still more pleasing. Ghowannabe (that was her name) though young, was not so delicate, but that the traits of her country might be traced in her locks. To remedy this misfortune, and to render it less offensive, she was furnished with combs, and taught by her lover how to use them. After being properly prepared, he would by the hour amuse himself with forming her hair into ringlets, which flowed carelessly round her neck, with a kind of coronet rising from her temples, gave her an air of dignity, that added fresh charms to the brilliancy of her eyes. The dislike arising from colour gradually wore off, and the ardent desire of rendering their sentiments more and more intelligible to each other, gave rise to a new language, consisting of words, looks and gestures, by which pleasure and pain were more forcibly expressed than by the most refined speech. Having at first acquired the art of imparting their passions, they very soon improved it to the history of their lives. Love and jealousy directed her enquires concerning the women in the world from whence he came, wishing at the same time, that he would stay with her, and be a Kakikoo or chief. He made her to understand, that the women in her country were all tatoo, (man killers) and if he stayed with her she would kill him. She replied no; she would eh-narrow, love him. He said her people would kill him. She replied no, if he did not shoot them. He made her to understand, that nine or ten of the men of this world, had been killed and eaten by her people, though they did not shoot them. Her answer was, that was a great while ago, and the people came from the hills roa, roa, meaning a great way off. This excited his curiosity to know, if any of her relations were among the murderers; she sighed, and appeared much affected, when he asked her that question. He demanded if she was at the feast when they broiled and eat the men? She wept, and, looking wishfully at him, hung down her head. He became still more pressing as she grew more reserved. He tried every winning way that love and

curiosity suggested, to learn from her what he found she knew, and what she seemed so determined to conceal: but she artfully evaded all his questions. He asked her, why she was so secret? She pretended not to understand him. He repeated the same question, at the same time closing his eyes and keeping them shut. She continued to weep, but made him no answer. Finding all his persuasions ineffectual, he turned from her, seemingly in anger, and threatened to leave her. She caught him round the neck in a violent agitation of mind. He asked her what she meant, and why she wept? She said, they would kill her if she told. He said, they should not know it. Then he would hate her, she said. He answered no, but love her more and more, pressing her to his bosom at the same time; upon which she grew more composed, and said she would tell him all she knew. She then made him understand, that one Gooboa, a bad man, who had been often at the ship, and had stolen many things, when he came to know that it was preparing to depart, went up into the hill country, to the hippah, and invited the warriors to come down and kill the strangers. They at first refused, saying, the strangers were stronger than they, and would kill them with their pow-pow, or fire arms. He told them, they need not fear, for he knew where they must come before they departed in order to get grass for their gonry, or cattle, and that on such occasions they left their pow-pow behind them in the ship, or carelessly about the ground, while they were at work. They said, they were no enemies but friends, and they must not kill men with whom they were in friendship. Gooboa said, they were vile enemies and wicked men, and complained of their chaining him, and beating him, and shewed them the marks and bruises he had received at the ship; and told them besides, how they might silence their pow-pow; by only throwing water over them, and then they could not hurt them. Gooboa likewise undertook to conduct them in safety to the place where the strangers were to come, and shewed them where they might conceal themselves, till he should come and give



them notice ; which he did. That when the men were busy about getting grass, and not apprehending any danger or harm, the warriors rushed out upon them, and killed them, and afterwards divided their bodies among them. She added, that there were women as well as men concerned ; and that the women made the fires, while the warriors cut the dead bodies in pieces. That they did not eat them all at once, but only their hearts and livers ; that the warriors had the heads, which were esteemed the best, and the rest of the flesh was distributed among the croud. Having by various questions in the course of several days, extorted this relation, of which, he said, he had no reason to doubt the truth, he forebore to ask her, what part her relations and herself bore in this tragedy, as there was reason to believe, they were all equally concerned. He was, however, very solicitous to learn, if any such plot was now in agitation against the people that might be sent upon the same service to Grass Cove, or any other convenient place. Her answer was, no : the warriors were afraid at first, that the ships were come to revenge the death of their friends, and that was the reason why she was forbidden to speak of killing the strangers, or to own any knowledge of that incident. Should she be questioned concerning it. She said, she was but a child, not ten years old ; but she remembered the talk of it, as a gallant action of great achievement, and that songs of praise were made upon that occasion. In the course of his conversation with this girl, who seemed to be of the second class, he learned many things concerning the natural temper of the natives, and their domestic policy. She said, the people of T' Avi-Poenaimmoo, or the southern division of the island, were a fierce bloody people, and had a natural hatred to the people of Ea-hei-no-manwe, and killed them, when found at any time in their country ; but that the people of Ea-hei-no-manwe were a good people, and friendly to one another, but never suffered any of the people of T' Avi-Poenaimmoo to settle among them, because they were enemies ; that these two nations, the people

of the north part of the sound, and those of the south, were ever at war, and eat one another ; but that the people of either country, when they fought, never eat one another. With respect to their domestic policy, she said, the fathers had the sole care of the boys as soon as they could walk, and that the girls were left wholly at their mother's disposal. She said, it was a crime for a mother to correct her son, after he was once taken under the protection of the father ; and that it was always resented by the mother, if the father interfered with the management of the daughters. She said, the boys from their infancy, were trained to war, and both boys and girls were taught the arts of fishing, weaving their nets, and making their hooks and lines ; that their canoes came from a far country, and they got them in exchange for cloth, which was chiefly manufactured by the women : that their weapons and working tools descended from father to son, and that those who were taken in battle supplied the rising generation : that they had no kings among them, but that they had men who conversed with the dead, who were held in great veneration, and consulted before the people went to the wars ; that these were the men who addressed strangers that came upon the coast, first in the language of peace, at the same time denouncing vengeance against them, if they came with any hostile design ; that their persons were held sacred, and never killed in the wars, which ever side prevailed ; that when the warriors of either nation made prisoners, they were never of the meaner sort, but of some chiefs, whom they afterwards killed and eat, but that to the common sort they never gave quarter ; that they sometimes tortured an enemy, if they found him lurking singly in the woods, looking upon him as coming upon no good design, but never otherwise ; that they lived chiefly upon fish, which were caught in the sound in abundance, during the summer ; but that in the winter they retired to the north, where they subsisted on the fruits of the earth, with which they were supplied for their labour, working in the plantations, or assisting the builders in fabricating their



boats. The intelligence thus obtained from this young Zealander appears to be authentic from many circumstances; but chiefly from observing, that the large vessels that came from the north to trade, several of them having ninety or one hundred persons on board, had never any fish to sell, but were laden with the various manufactures of cloth, wood, and green stones, formed into implements of use, or consisting of raw materials ready prepared for fabrication. Their crews appeared to be of a superior class to those who constantly plied in the sound, and were under proper discipline; whereas the fishing boats seemed to be the sole property of the occupiers, no other person claiming any superiority over them.

Our party belonging to the *Resolution* continued in Grass Cove till the evening, when having loaded the rest of the boats with grass, celery &c. we then embarked to return to the ships; but had scarcely left the shore, when the wind began to blow violently at N. W. so that it was not without great difficulty that we could reach the ships where some of the boats did not arrive till the next morning, and we had but just got aboard, when the gale increased to a perfect storm, attended with heavy rain: but, in the evening, the wind veering to the east, brought on fair weather. No work could go forward on the 17th, but on the 18th our men resumed their different employments, the natives ventured out to catch fish, and Pedro with his whole family, came to reside near us. The proper name of this chief is Matahouah; but some of Capt. Cook's company had given him the appellation of Pedro in a former voyage. On Thursday the 20th, we had another storm, of less duration than the former, but much more violent; and we had scarcely men enough on board to hand the sails. By ten o'clock, A. M. the strong gales drove the *Discovery* from her moorings; and it was owing to providence that, having run foul of the *Resolution*, she did not perish, the surge carrying her off instantaneously, with little damage to either ship. All hands on board were thrown into the utmost confusion. No sooner was she clear than both ships got

down top-gallant-yards, struck top-gallant-masts, lowered the yards, got in the cables, moored with their best bower anchors, and happily rode out the storm. These tempests are frequent here; and the nearer the shore, the more their effects are felt; for the neighbouring mountains, which, at these, are loaded with vapours, not only increase the force of the wind, but alter its direction in such a manner, that no two blasts follow each other from the same quarter. The gale continuing the whole day, no Indians came to trade. On the 21st, a tribe or family of about 30 persons came from the upper part of the sound to visit us, whom we had not seen before. Their chief was named Tomatongeanooranne. He was about the age of forty-five, having a frank, cheerful countenance; and the rest of his tribe were, upon the whole, the most handsome of all the New Zealanders that we had seen. By this time upwards of two-thirds of the natives of Queen Charlotte's Sound had settled near us, numbers of whom daily resorted to the ships, and our encampment on shore; but the latter was most frequented, during the time when our people were making seal-blubber; for no Greenlanders were ever fonder of train oil, than our friends here seemed to be: they relished even the dregs of the casks, and skimmings of the kettle, and considered the neat stinking oil as a most delicious feast. Having got on board a supply of hay and grass, sufficient for the cattle during our passage to Otaheite; and having completed our wood and water, we struck our tents, and brought every thing off from the shore.

On the 23d, in the morning, the old Indian, who had harangued the Captains when they approached the shore, repaired on board the *Discovery*, and made a present to her Captain of a complete stand of their arms, and some very excellent fish, which were kindly received; and, in return, Capt. Clerke gave him a brass patoo-patoo, made exactly in their fashion and manner, on which were engraven his Majesty's name and arms, the names of the ships, the date of their departure from England, and the



business they were sent upon ; he gave him likewise a hatchet, a knife, some glass ornaments, and nails, which he highly prized, though of small value. In the evening some of the natives brought a man bound, whom they offered to sell, but their offer being rejected, they carried him back, and in the night, a most horrid yelling was heard in the woods, which excited the curiosity of our gentlemen to examine into the cause. The cutter was ordered to be manned, a party of marines to be put on board, and the two Captains, with proper attendants, directed their course to the west-side of the bay, where they saw several fires just lighted, and where they hoped to have surprized the natives, before they had put their poor captive to death, whom they had just before consigned to slavery : but in this hope they were disappointed.

Though the natives appeared friendly during our stay, it was judged proper to keep the time of our departure secret till all things were on board, and we were ready to set sail. This precaution Capt. Cook thought the more necessary from what we knew of the treachery of the savages. By not allowing them to concert any new plot, he secured effectually our foraging parties from the danger of a surprize, and by suddenly giving orders to sail, he prevented our men from rambling after the women when their business was done, which they never failed to do whenever it was in their power. The foraging parties here mentioned are those who were sent to the coves, at the distance of perhaps three or four leagues from the ships, to cut grass for the live stock, and to gather herbs to boil with the portable soup for the men ; and those who were stationed in the woods, to get spruce to brew into beer for their preservation from the scurvy, against which that liquor, as we have already observed, was found a most powerful antidote. Of grass and herbs a large quantity was brought on board, and of spruce as much as served the two crews for drink near thirty days, during which time no grog was delivered out. The parties ordered upon these services went always well armed, and were guarded by marines, though Capt. Cook

entertained very high notions of the honour as well as the bravery of the New Zealanders.

On Monday the 24th, we weighed anchor, and stood out of the Cove ; but the wind not being so fair as we could have wished, and knowing the tide of ebb would be spent before we could get out of the sound, we cast anchor again a little without the island of Motuara, to wait for a more favourable opportunity of putting into Cook's Strait. While we were getting under sail, the Captain gave to Tomatongeanooranuc two pigs, a boar and a sow ; and to Matahouah two goats, a male and female, after they had promised not to destroy them. As to the animals which Capt. Furneaux had left here, we were told they were all dead ; but no intelligence could be obtained concerning those Capt. Cook had left in West Bay, and in Cannibal Cove, in his former voyage : however, all the natives we conversed with agreed, that poultry are now to be met with wild in the woods behind Ship Cove ; and we were afterwards informed, by the two New Zealand youths, who went away with us, that Tiratou, a popular chief, had in his possession many cocks and hens, besides a sow. We had not long been at anchor near Motuara, before several canoes, filled with natives, came towards us, and we carried on a brisk trade with them for curiosities. In one of these canoes was Kahoorā, whom Omiah pointed out immediately to Capt. Cook ; and he being the leader of the party who had cut off the crew of the Adventure's boat, Omiah solicited our Commander to shoot him. Not satisfied with this, he addressed himself to that chief, threatening to be his executioner, should he ever presume to visit us again : but this menace had so little influence upon Kahoorā, that he returned to us the next morning, accompanied with his whole family. Omiah, having obtained Capt. Cook's permission, introduced him into the cabin, saying, " There is Kahoorā, kill him," but fearing, perhaps, he should be called upon to put his former declaration in execution, he instantly retired. In a short time, however, he returned ; and perceiving the chief



remained unhurt, he remonstrated to the Captain with much earnestness, saying, "Why do you not kill him? If a man kills another in England he is hanged; this man has killed ten, yet you will not kill him." These arguments, however plausible, had no weight with our Commander, who desired Omiah to ask the New Zealand Chief, why he had killed Capt. Furneaux's people? Confounded at this question, Kahoorā hung down his head, folded his arms, and seemed in expectation of immediate death; but as soon as he was assured of safety, he became cheerful. He appeared, however, still unwilling to answer the question which had been put to him, till after repeated promises, that no violence should be offered him. Upon this, he at last ventured to inform us, that one of the natives having brought a stone hatchet for the purpose of barter, the person to whom it was offered took it, and refused either to return it, or give any thing in exchange for the same, whereupon the owner seized some bread as an equivalent, and this gave rise to the quarrel that ensued. He also said, that he himself during the disturbance had a narrow escape; for a musquet was levelled at him, which he found means to avoid by skulking behind the boat; but another man, who happened to stand close to him, was shot dead. As soon as the musquet was discharged, he, (Kahoorā,) instantly attacked Mr. Rowe, the officer, commander of the party, who defended himself with his hanger, (with which he gave Kahoorā a wound in the arm,) till he was overpowered by numbers. The remainder of Kahoorā's account of this unhappy affair, differed very little from what we had before learnt from the rest of his countrymen. Most of these whom we had conversed with, expected that Capt. Cook would take vengeance on Kahoorā for his concern in the massacre; and many of them not only wished it, but testified their surprize at the Captain's forbearance and moderation. As the chief must have been made acquainted with the sentiments of the natives, it was a matter of astonishment, that he so often put himself in our power; his two last visits, in particular, were made under such circum-

stances, that he could not have flattered himself with a probability of escaping, had the Captain been inclined to detain him: and yet, when his first fears, on being questioned, had subsided, so far was he from entertaining uneasy sensations, that, on seeing in the cabin a portrait of a New Zealander, he requested that his own likeness might be taken, and without the smallest token of impatience, sat till Mr. Webber had finished his portrait. Capt. Cook admired his courage, and was pleased with the confidence which he reposed in him; for he placed his whole safety in the uniform declarations of the Captain; that he had always been a friend to the natives, and would continue so till they gave him reason to behave otherwise; that he should think no more of their barbarous treatment of our countrymen, as that transaction had happened long ago; but that, if they should ever venture to make a second attempt of that kind, they might rest assured of feeling the full weight of his resentment. Mr. Burney, whom Capt. Furneaux dispatched with an armed party, in search of his people who were missing, had, upon discovering the melancholy proofs of this catastrophe, fired several volleys among the natives who were still on the spot, and were probably partaking of the horrid banquet of human flesh. It was reasonable to suppose this firing might not be ineffectual; but upon inquiry it appeared, that not a single person had been killed, or even wounded, by the shot which Mr. Burney's people had discharged.

We must here observe, that previous to the ships sailing, the crews of both were ordered upon deck, as usual, to answer to their names, when one, on board the *Discovery*, was missing. This was the lover, (whose episode, having already begun, we shall now conclude,) who pretended sickness, in order to facilitate his escape from the ship. With this view, as soon as he had passed the surgeon's examination, and the coast was clear, he dressed himself in the habit of a New Zealander; and, being tattooed all over, to say the truth, the copy was not easily to be distinguished from the



original. Ghowannahe, who was in the secret, had assembled her friends together, and sent them on board in order to increase the crowd, which, upon such occasions, when ships are ready to sail, are generally pretty numerous. Among this party he found a favourable opportunity to mix, and hastening to their canoe, when the decks were ordered to be cleared, they were not long in paddling to shore. The pleasure which Ghowannahe expressed, on seeing the ship set sail, cannot easily be conceived, but her joy was of short continuance. In the afternoon, our adventurer's messmate went down to enquire after his health, and was not a little surprized when no answer was returned. He thought, at first, he might have retired; but on searching every where below to no effect, he gave the alarm throughout the ship, when it was discovered, that he had eloped bag and baggage; and that the chest he had left in his birth was empty. A messenger was instantly dispatched on board the *Resolution*, to know how to proceed: and when the message was delivered, the two Captains and officers were enjoying their bottle. At first it only furnished a subject of harmless pleasantry; but it came to be seriously debated at last, whether the man should be sent for back, or totally deserted. Some were in doubt, whether an accident might not have happened; but that doubt was soon cleared up, when it was known, that his effects were missing as well as the man. Most of the officers present were for leaving him to follow his own humour; but Capt. Cook thinking it would be a bad precedent, and an encouragement to other enamouratoes, when they came to the happier climes, to follow his example, was for sending an armed force, and bringing the lover back at all hazards. Of this opinion was Capt. Clerke, with whom this man was a favourite, who gave orders for the cutter to be properly manned, a serjeant's guard of marines to be put on board, and his messmate as a guide to direct them to the place where he was to be found. These orders were instantly carried into execution. It was midnight before the cutter could reach the landing-place, and near two in

the morning before the marines could find the spot where the lovers used to meet. They surprized him in a profound sleep, when he was dreaming of only kingdoms and diadems; of living with his Ghowannahe in royal state; of being the father of a numerous progeny of princes to govern the kingdoms *Eakeinommauwe* and *T' Avi-Poenammoo*; and of being the first founder of a great empire! but what a sudden transition! to be waked from the visionary scene of regal grandeur, and to find himself a poor prisoner, to be dragged to punishment, for, as he thought, a well laid plan of monarchy: and, what was worse, his final separation from his faithful Ghowannahe, was a task he had still to undergo. Their parting was tender, and for a British sailor and savage Zealander, was not unaffecting. The scene, however, was short. The marines paid no regard to the copious tears, the cries, and lamentations, of the poor deserted girl; nor did they think it safe to tarry in a place so desolate, where lamentations in the night were not unusual to bring numbers together, for the purpose of slaughter. He was, therefore, hurried to the shore, followed by Ghowannahe, who could hardly be torn from him, when ready to embark. Love, like this, is only to be found in the regions of romance, in those enlightened countries, where the boasted refinements of sentiment have circumscribed the purity of affection, and narrowed it away to mere conjugal fidelity. He was scarce on board the cutter, when he recollected, that he had left his baggage behind; all that he had provided for laying the foundation of his future grandeur. It was therefore necessary he should return with the marines to the magazine, where all his stores were deposited, and these not a few. Besides his working implements, he had a pocket compass, of which he had thought on some future occasion to make a proper use. He had also a fowling-piece, which had been conveyed away secretly by Ghowannahe. It would be tedious to recount the numerous articles that our adventurer had provided. Let it suffice, that the marines and himself were pretty heavily laden in bringing them



on board the cutter. It was noon, the next day, before he arrived at the ships, and the captain began to be in some fear for the party of marines, who were sent to bring him back. Before he came in sight it had been proposed to try him as a deserter; and therefore instead of being received in his own ship, he was ordered on board the *Resolution*, where he underwent a long examination, and made a full confession of all his views, and of the pains he had taken to bring them to perfection. He said, the first idea of desertion struck him, when in an excursion round the bay, in which he attended Capt. Clerke, he was charmed with the beauty of the country, and the fertility of the soil; that seeing the gardens that had been planted on Long Island, at Motuara, and other places, in so flourishing a condition; and that there were European sheep and hogs, and goats, and fowls, sufficient to stock a large plantation, if collected together from the different places where they had been turned loose, it came into his head, that if he could meet with a girl that was to his liking, he could be happy in introducing the arts of European culture into so fine a country, and in laying the foundation of civil government among its inhabitants. This idea improved upon him hourly, and when he happened to meet the girl before mentioned, who had seen him in his tour, and who had followed him to the tents, and had learnt from herself, that love had brought her there, it inflamed his desire beyond all bounds. And finding her inclination to meet the wishes of his heart, he no longer hesitated, but became firmly resolved, at all events, to yield to the force of inclination. He had resolved in his mind, he said, the hazard and the reward; and had concerted with Ghowannahe the plan for his escape. When Capt. Cook heard his story, his resentment was converted into laughter at the wild extravagance of his plan, which he thought truly romantic, and instead of trying him for desertion, ordered him on board his own ship, the *Discovery*, to be punished as Capt. Clerke should think proper, who, on his return aboard, sent him to the gun to receive

one dozen of lashes; and thus terminated all his hopes of being a mighty emperor. The distress of Ghowannahe is hardly to be conceived; left a woeful spectacle, to lament her fate. She expressed her grief by punctures made in her face, arms, and neck, and wherever despair prompted her to direct the bloody instrument: so that one might think, those savage people, whose bodies are exposed to the severities of the seasons, are not so susceptible of pain as those of a finer texture; otherwise, her personal feelings must have been exquisite, independent of those of her mind. But we shall now take leave of the two lovers, and continue the history of our voyage.

It was about seven o'clock, A. M. when the *Resolution* and *Discovery* cleared the cove, and about eleven when they cast anchor near the isle of Motuara. Before our arrival at New Zealand, Omiah had expressed a desire of taking one of the natives with him to his own country. He soon had an opportunity of gratifying his inclination; for a youth named Taweiharooa, the only son of a deceased chief, offered to accompany him, and took up his residence on board. Capt. Cook caused it to be made known to him and all his friends, that if the youth departed with us, he would never return. This declaration, however, had no effect; and this afternoon, Taratoutou, his mother, came on board to receive her last present from Omiah. The same evening she and Taweiharooa parted, with all the marks of tender affection that might be expected between a parent and a child, who were never to meet again. But she said she would weep no more, and kept faithfully her word; for the next morning, when she returned to take a last farewell of her son, she was quite cheerful all the time she remained on board, and departed with great unconcern. A boy named Kokoa, about ten years of age, accompanied Taweiharooa as a servant; he was presented to Capt. Cook by his own father, who parted with him with such indifference, as to strip him, and leave him entirely naked. The Captain having in vain endeavoured to convince these people of the improbability of these youths ever returning



home, at length consented to their going. Though much has been said concerning this country and its inhabitants, in the accounts of Capt. Cook's two former voyages; yet his observations made at this time, and the remarks of the ingenious Mr. Anderson, being the result of accurate examination, may not be considered by our friends and respectable subscribers as altogether superfluous.

About Queen Charlotte's Sound the land is uncommonly mountainous, rising immediately from the sea into large hills. At remote distances are valleys, terminating each towards the sea in a small cove, with a pebbly or sandy beach; behind which are flat places, where the natives usually build there huts. This situation is the more convenient, as a brook of fine water runs through every cove, and empties itself into the sea. The bases of the mountains, towards the shore, are constituted of a yellowish sand-stone, which requires a blueish cast where it is washed by the sea. At some places it runs in horizontal, and, at others, in oblique strata. The mould or soil by which it is covered resembles marle, and is, in general, a foot or two in thickness.

The luxuriant growth of the productions here sufficiently indicates the quality of the soil. The hills, except a few towards the sea, are one continued forest of lofty trees, flourishing with such uncommon vigour, as to afford an august prospect to the admirers of the sublime and beautiful works of nature. This extraordinary strength in vegetation is doubtless, greatly assisted by the agreeable temperature of the climate; for at this time, though answering to our month of August, the weather was not so warm as to be disagreeable; nor did it rise the thermometer higher than 66 deg. The winter also seems equally mild with respect to cold; for in the month which corresponds to our December, the mercury was never lower than 48 deg. the trees at the same time retaining their verdure, as if in the height of summer. It is supposed their foliage remains, till pushed off by fresh leaves succeeding in spring.

Notwithstanding the weather is generally good, it is sometimes windy, with heavy rain, which, however, is never excessive, and does not last above a day. In short, this would be one of the finest countries upon earth, were it not so extremely hilly, which, supposing the woods to be cleared away, would leave it less proper for pasturage than flat land; and infinitely less so for cultivation, which could never be effected here by the plough.

The large trees on the hills are principally of two sorts. One of them of the size of our largest firs, grows nearly after their manner. This supplied the place of spruce in making beer; which was done with a decoction of its leaves, fermented with sugar, or treacle; and this liquor was acknowledged to be little inferior to American spruce-beer. The other sort of tree is like a maple, and often grows very large, but is fit only for fuel: the wood of that, and of the preceding, are too heavy for either masts or yards. A greater variety of trees grow on the flats behind the beaches: two of these bore a kind of plumb, of the size of prunes; the one, which is yellow, is called karraca, and the other, which is black, called maitao; but neither of them had a pleasant taste, though eaten both by our people and the natives. On the eminences which jut out into the sea, grows a species of philadelphus, and a tree bearing flowers almost like a myrtle. We used the leaves of the philadelphus as tea and found them an excellent substitute for the oriental sort. A kind of wild celery, which grows plentifully in almost every cove, may be reckoned among the plants that were useful to us, and also another which we called scurvy-grass. Both sorts were boiled daily with wheat ground in a mill, for the ship's companies breakfast, and with their pease-soup for dinner. Sometimes they were used as sallad, or dressed as greens; in all which ways they are excellent; and, together with the fish, with which we were plentifully supplied, they formed a most desirable refreshment. The known kind of plants to be found here are bind-weed, nightshade, nettles, a shrubby speed-well, sow-thistles, virgin's bower, vanellœ, French



willow, euphorbia, crane's bill, cud-weed, rushes, bulrushes, flax, all-heal, American night-shade, knot-grass, brambles, eye-bright and groundsel; but the species of each are different from any we have in Europe. There are a great number of other plants; but one in particular deserves to be noticed here, as the garments of the natives are made from it. It grows in all places near the sea, and sometimes a considerable way up the hills, in bunches or tufts, bearing yellowish flowers on a long stalk. It is remarkable, that the greatest part of the trees and plants were of the berry-bearing kind; of which, and other seeds Mr. Anderson brought away nearly thirty different sorts.

The birds of which there is a tolerable good stock, are almost entirely peculiar to the place. It would be difficult and very fatiguing to follow them, on account of the quantity of underwood, and the climbing plants; yet any person, by continuing in one place, may shoot as many in a day as would serve seven or eight persons. The principal kinds are large brown parrots, with grey heads; green parroquets, large wood-pigeons, and two sorts of cuckoos. A groos-beak, about the size of a thrush, is frequent; as is also a small green-bird, which is almost the only musical one to be found here; but his melody is so sweet, and his notes so varied, that any one would imagine himself surrounded by a hundred different sorts of birds, when the little warbler is exerting himself. From this circumstance it was named the mocking-bird. There are also three or four sorts of smaller birds; and among the rocks are found black sea-pies, with red bills, and crested shags of a leaden colour. About the shore, there are a few sea-gulls, some blue herons, wild ducks plovers, and some land larks. A snipe was shot, differing very little from that species of birds in Europe. Insects here, are not very numerous; we saw some butter-flies, two sorts of dragon flies, some small grass-hoppers, several sorts of spiders, some black ants, and scorpion-flies innumerable, with whose chirping the woods resounded. The sand-fly, which is the only noxious one, is

very numerous here, and is almost as disagreeable as the moschetto. The only reptiles we saw, were two or three sorts of inoffensive lizards. In this extensive land, it is remarkable that there should not even be the traces of any quadruped, except a few rats, and a kind of fox-dog, which is kept by the natives as a domestic animal. Nor have they any mineral deserving of notice, but a green jasper or serpent-stone, of which the tools and ornaments of the inhabitants are made. This is held in high estimation among them; and they entertain some superstitious notions about the mode of its generation, which we could not comprehend: they say it is taken from a large river far to the southward; it is disposed in the earth in detached pieces like flints, and, like them, the hedges are covered with a whitish crust.

Most of the fish we caught by the seine were elephant-fish, mullets, soles, and flounders; but the natives supplied us with a kind of sea-bream, large conger eels, and a fish of five or six pounds weight, called by the natives a mogge. With a hook and line we caught a blackish fish, called cole-fish by the seamen, but differing greatly from that of the same name in Europe. We also got a sort of small salmon, skate, gurnards, and nurses. The natives sometimes furnished us with hake, paracutas, parrot-fish, a sort of mackarel, and leather jackets; besides another, which is extremely scarce, of the figure of a dolphin, in colour black, and with strong boney jaws. These in general, are excellent to eat; but the small salmon, cole-fish, and mogge, are superior to the others.

The New Zealanders, we mean those of them who inhabit about Queen Charlotte's Sound, are a people who appear to be perfectly satisfied with the small pittance of knowledge they have acquired, without attempting in the least to improve it. Nor are they remarkably curious, either in their observations, or their inquiries. New objects do not strike them with such a degree of surprize as one would naturally expect; nor do they even fix their attention for a moment. Omiah, indeed, who was a great



favourite with them, would sometimes attract a circle about him; but they seemed to listen to his speeches, like persons who neither understood, nor wished to understand, what they heard. In general, they are not so well formed, especially about the limbs, as the Europeans, nor do they exceed them in stature. Their sitting so much on their hams, and being deprived, by the mountainous disposition of the country, of using that kind of exercise which would render the body straight and well-proportioned, is probably the occasion of the want of due proportion. Many of them, indeed, are perfectly well formed, and some are very large boned and muscular, but very few among them are very corpulent. Their features are various, some resembling Europeans, and their colour is of different casts, from a deepish black to an olive or yellowish tinge. In general, however, their faces are round, their lips rather full, and their noses, (though not flat) large towards the point. An aquiline nose was not to be seen among them; their eyes are large, and their teeth are commonly broad, white, and regular. The hair, in general, is black, strong, and straight; commonly cut short on the hinder part, and the rest tied on the crown of the head. Some, indeed, have brown hair, and others a sort that is naturally disposed to curl. The countenance of the young is generally free and open; but in many of the men it has a serious, or rather sullen cast. The men are larger than the women; and the latter are not distinguished by peculiar graces, either of form or features.

Both sexes are clothed alike: they have a garment, made of the silky flax already mentioned, about five feet in length, and four in breadth. This appears to be their principal manufacture, which is performed by knotting. Two corners of this garment pass over their shoulders, and they fasten it on the breast with that which covers the body: it is again fastened about the belly with a girdle made of mat. Sometimes they cover it with dog skin, or large feathers. Many of them wear mats over this garment, extending from the shoulders

to the heels. The most common covering, however, is a quantity of sedgy plant, badly manufactured, fastened to a string, and thrown over the shoulders, whence it falls down on all sides to the middle of the thighs. When they sat down in this habit, they could hardly be distinguished from large grey stones, if their black heads did not project beyond their coverings. They adorn their heads with feathers, combs of bone or wood, with pearl-shell, and the inner skin of leaves. Both men and women have their ears slit, in which are hung beads, pieces of jasper, or bits of cloth. Some have the septum of the nose bored in its lower part; but we never saw any ornaments worn in that part; though a twig was passed through it by one of them, to shew that it was occasionally used for that purpose. We saw many stained in the face with curious figures, of a black or dark blue colour; but it is not certain whether this is intended to be ornamental, or as a mark of particular distinction: the women also wear necklaces of shark's teeth, or bunches of long beads; and a few of them have small triangular aprons, adorned with feathers or pieces of pearl-shells, fastened about the waist with a double or treble set of cords.

They live in the small coves already mentioned, sometimes in single families, and sometimes in companies of perhaps forty or fifty. Their huts, which are in general most miserable lodging places, are built contiguous to each other. The best we saw was built in the manner of one of our country barus, about six feet in height, fifteen in breadth, and thirty three in length. The inside was strong and regular, well fastened by means of withes, &c. and painted red and black. At one end it had a hole serving as a door to creep out at; and another considerably smaller, seemingly for the purpose of letting out the smoke. This, however, ought to be considered as one of their palaces, for many of their huts are not half the size, and seldom are more than four feet in height. They have no other furniture than a few small bags or baskets, in which they deposit their fishing-



hooks and other trifles. They sit down in the middle round a small fire, and probably sleep in the same situation, without any other covering than what they have worn in the day. Fishing is their principal support, in which they use different kinds of nets, or wooden fish-hooks pointed with bone; but made in so extraordinary a manner, that it appears astonishing how they can answer such a purpose. Their boats consist of planks raised upon each other, and fastened with strong withes. Many of them are fifty feet long. Sometimes they fasten two together with rafters, which we call a double canoe: they frequently carry upwards of thirty men, and have a large head, ingeniously carved and painted, which seems intended to represent the countenance of a warrior, when engaged in the heat of action. Their paddles are narrow, pointed, and about five feet long. Their sail, very seldom used, is a mat formed into a triangular shape. When the weather will not suffer them to go to sea, muscles and sea-ears supply the place of other fish. Sometimes, but not often, they kill a few penguins, rails, and shags, which enable them to vary their diet. Considerable number of their dogs are also bred for food; but they depend principally on the sea for their subsistence, by which they are most bountifully supplied.

They dress their fish by roasting, or rather baking them, being entirely ignorant of the art of boiling. It is thus they also dress the root of the large fern-tree, in a hole prepared for that purpose: when dressed, they split it, and find a gelatinous substance within, somewhat like sago powder. The smaller fern-root seems to be their substitute for bread, being dried and carried about with them, together with large quantities of dried fish, when they go far from their habitations. They are as filthy in their feeding as in their persons, which often emit a very offensive effluvia, from the quantity of grease about them, and from their never washing, their heads are plentifully stocked with vermin, which they sometimes eat. Large quantities of stinking train oil, and blubber of seals, they

would eagerly devour. When on board the ships, they not only emptied the lamps, but actually swallowed the cotton with equal eagerness. Though the inhabitants of Van Diemen's land would not even taste our bread, these people devoured it with the greatest eagerness, even when it was rotten and mouldy.

In point to ingenuity, they are not behind any uncivilized nations under similar circumstances: for, without the assistance of metal tools, they make every thing by which they procure their subsistence, cloathing and warlike weapons, with neatness, strength and convenience. Their principal mechanical tool is formed in the manner of an adze, and is made of the serpent stone, or jasper: their chissel and and gouge are furnished from the same material, though they are sometimes composed of black solid stone. Carving, however, is their master-piece, which appears upon the most trifling things: the ornaments on the heads of their canoes, not only display much design, but execution. Their cordage for fishing-lines is not inferior to that in England, and their nets are equally good. A shell, a bit of flint, or jasper, is their substitute for a knife, and a shark's tooth, fixed in the end of a piece of wood, is their anger. They have a saw made of some jagged fishes teeth, fixed on a piece of wood nicely carved; but this is used for no other purpose, than to cut up the bodies of those whom they kill in battle.

Though no people are more ready to resent an injury, yet they take every opportunity of being insolent, when they apprehend there is no danger of punishment; whence it may be concluded, that their eagerness to resent injuries, is rather the effect of a furious disposition than genuine bravery. They are naturally distrustful and suspicious, for such as are strangers never venture immediately to visit our ships but keep at a small distance in their boats, observing our motions, and hesitating whether they should risk their safety with us. They are to the last degree dishonest, and steal every thing within their reach, if they suppose they can escape detection; and,



in trading, they seem inclined to take every possible advantage ; for they never trust an article out of their hands for examination, and seem highly pleased if they have overreached you in a bargain. Such conduct indeed is not surprizing, when it is considered, that there appears to be little subordination, and few, if any, laws for the punishment of transgressors. No man's authority extends beyond his own family ; and when they join at any time, for mutual defence or safety, those among them who are most eminent for valour and prudent conduct are directors.

Their public contentions are almost perpetual, for war is their principal profession, as appears from their number of weapons, and their dexterity in using them. Their arms are spears, patoos, and halberts, and sometimes stones. The first are from five to thirty feet long, made of hard wood and pointed. The patoo is about eighteen inches long, of an elliptical shape, with a handle made of wood, stone, &c. and appears to be their principal dependance in battle. The halbert is about five or six feet in length, tapering at one end with a carved head, and broad, or flat, with sharp edges, at the other. Before the onset, they join in a war song, keeping the exactest time ; and, by degrees work themselves into a kind of frantic fury, accompanied with the most horrid distortions of their tongues, eyes, and mouths, in order to terrify their enemies. To this succeeds a circumstance, that is most cruel, and disgraceful to human nature, which is mangling and cutting to pieces (even when not perfectly dead) the bodies of their enemies, and, after roasting them, devouring their flesh with peculiar satisfaction and even pleasure. It might naturally be supposed, that those who could be capable of such excess of cruelty, must be totally destitute of every human feeling, and yet they lament the loss of their friends in a manner the most tender and affectionate. Both men and women, upon the death of their relations or friends, bewail them with the most miserable criès ; at the same time cutting large gashes in their cheeks and foreheads, with shells, or pieces of flint, till the blood flows copiously, and

mixes with their tears. They also carve a resemblance of an human figure, and hang it about their necks, as a memorial of those who were dear to them. They also perform the ceremony of lamenting and cutting for joy, at the return of a friend who has been some time absent. The practices of the fathers, whether good or bad, their children are, at an early age, instructed in ; so that you find a child of either sex, of the age of nine or ten years, able to imitate the frightful motions and gestures of the men. They also sing, and with some degree of melody, the traditions and actions of their forefathers, with which they are immoderately delighted, and pass much time in these amusements, accompanied sometimes with a kind of flute.

From Capt. Cook's observations, and from the information of Taweiharooa, and others, it appears, that the New Zealanders must live under perpetual apprehensions of being destroyed by each other ; there being few of their tribes that have not, as they think, sustained wrongs from some other tribes, which they are continually upon the watch to revenge. And, perhaps, the desire of a good meal may be no small incitement. It is said, that many years will sometimes elapse, before a favourable opportunity happens, and that the son never loses sight of any injury that has been done to his father. Their method of executing their horrible designs, is by stealing upon the adverse party in the night, and if they find them unguarded, (which is very seldom the case) they kill every one indiscriminately ; not even sparing the women and children. When the massacre is completed, they either feast and gorge themselves on the spot, or carry off as many of the dead bodies as they can, and devour them at home, with acts of savage brutality too shocking to be described. If they are discovered before they can execute their bloody purposes, they generally steal off again ; but are sometimes pursued and attacked by the other party, in their turn. To give quarter, or to take prisoners, makes no part of their military law ; so that the vanquished can only save their lives by flight. This perpetual state



of war, and destructive method of conducting it, operates so strongly in producing habitual circumspection, that one hardly ever finds a New Zealander off his guard, either by night or by day. Indeed, no other man can have such powerful motives to be vigilant, as the preservation both of body and soul depends upon it : for according to a principle in their creed, the soul of a man whose flesh is devoured by the enemy, is doomed to a perpetual fire, while the soul of the man whose body has been rescued from those who killed him, as well as the souls of all who die a natural death, ascend to the dwellings of the gods. When enquiry was made, whether they devoured the flesh of such of their friends as had been killed in war, but whose bodies were saved from falling into the enemies hands? They seemed surprized at the question, which they answered in the negative, expressing some abhorrence at the very idea. Their common method of disposing of their dead, is by depositing their bodies in the earth, but if they have more of their slaughtered enemies than they can eat, they throw them into the sea.

As to their religion, we can say little concerning either its principles or ceremonies ; but we know its instructions are very strongly inculcated into them from their infancy : of which a remarkable instance was seen, in the youth, who was first destined to accompany Taweiharooa. He refrained from eating the greatest part of the day, on account of his hair being cut ; though every method was used to induce him to break his resolution ; and he was tempted with the offer of such victuals as he was known to esteem the most : but he said, in answer to our pressing solicitations, if he eat any thing that day, that Eatooa would kill him. However, towards evening, the cravings of nature got the better of his professed tenets, and he eat, though sparingly ; it was thought before this, that they had some superstitious notions about their hair ; for we frequently observed quantities of it tied to the branches of trees near some of their habitations ; but we could not learn from what notions, or on what

account this was done. They have no morais, or other places of public worship : nor do they ever assemble together with this view : but they have priests, who alone address the gods in prayers, for the prosperity of their temporal affairs ; such as an enterprize against an hostile tribe, a fishing party, or the like. Polygamy is allowed among these people ; and it is not uncommon for a man to have two or three wives. The women are marriageable at a very early age ; and it should seem, that one who is unmarried, is but in a forlorn state. She can with difficulty get a subsistence : at least she is, in a great measure, without a protector, though in constant want of a powerful one.

Their language is neither harsh nor disagreeable : and yet the pronunciation is frequently guttural ; and whatever qualities are requisite to make a language musical, prevail to a high degree in this ; which we observed particularly in the melody of their songs. It is not, indeed, so comprehensive as our European languages, which owe their perfection to long and gradual improvement. Mr. Anderson collected both now and in the course of our former voyage, a great many of their words, so as to form a pretty large vocabulary ; and being, in his inquiries, very attentive to the languages of the other islands throughout the South Sea, he has afforded us the amplest proof of their wonderful agreement, or rather identity. This observation has been already made in our history of former voyages, and we shall now strengthen it by a new specimen or fresh list of words ; and by placing the corresponding words as used at Otaheite in another column, the reader will be able to judge by what changes the difference of dialect has been effected.

A TABLE of Select Words used in the Islands of NEW ZEALAND and OTAHEITE.

NEW ZEALAND. OTAHEITE.		ENGLISH.
Moeenga	Moera	A Bed
Epaïpe	Pepe	Butterfly
Purra, purra	Ere, ere	Black
Makkareede	Mareede	Cold



NEW ZEALAND.	OTAHEITE.	ENGLISH.
Hekaeë	Ey	<i>To Chew or eat</i>
Wyero	Ero	<i>A Dog's tail</i>
Kaoo, matte	Matte, roa	<i>Death, dead</i>
Eoowha	Eooha	<i>A Female</i>
Makoeë	Matou	<i>Fish-hook</i>
Ererre	Eraire	<i>To Fly</i>
Reenga	Ereema	<i>A Hand</i>
Ewharre	Ewharre	<i>House</i>
Keeralhoi	Eralhoi	<i>Large</i>
Tangata	Taata	<i>A Man</i>
Toa	Etoa	<i>Male kind</i>
Woho	Woho	<i>Out, not within</i>
Whairo	Oora, oora	<i>Red</i>
Noboanna	Nohonoa	<i>To Reside</i>
Mango	Mao	<i>A shark</i>
Ka Powhy	Owhy	<i>Stone</i>
Opanee	Opanee	<i>Shut</i>
Moea	Moe	<i>To Sleep</i>
Agooanai	Aooanai	<i>To-day</i>
Geetaia	Eetea	<i>To understand</i>
Ewy	Evy	<i>Water</i>
Taooa	Taooa	<i>We</i>
Kahaia	Tehaia	<i>Where is he</i>
Ema	Ooama	<i>White</i>
Taeninnuahoi	Ninnahoi	<i>Yesterday</i>
Warre	Ooaro	<i>Forgot</i>

## NUMERALS.

Tahaeë	Atahaa	<i>One</i>
Rooa	Erooa	<i>Two</i>
Toroo	Toroo	<i>Three</i>
Faha	Ahaa	<i>Four</i>
Reema	Erema	<i>Five</i>
Opo	Aono	<i>Six</i>
Heetoo	Aheitoo	<i>Seven</i>
Waroo	Awaroo	<i>Eight</i>
Eeva	Aeeva	<i>Nine</i>
Angahoora	Ahooroo	<i>Ten</i>
Ma-tahaeë	Eleven	
Ma-rooa	<i>Twelve, &amp;c. by prefixing the article Ma</i>	

Mangahoora *Twenty*

Thus we have mentioned all the particulars that came under our observation, and which we think worth relating, during our intercourse with the New Zealanders: we have only to add some very remarkable information which Capt. Cook received from Tawehiarooa. "One day," says the Captain, on inquiring of Tawehiarooa, how

many ships such as ours, had ever arrived in Queen Charlotte's Sound, or in any part of its neighbourhood? He began with giving an account of one absolutely unknown to us. This he said had put into a port on the N. W. coast of Teerawitte, but a very few years before I arrived in the Sound in the Endeavour, which the New Zealanders distinguish, by calling Tupia's ship. At first, I thought he might have been mistaken as to the time and place; and that the ship in question might be either Monsieur Surville's who is said to have touched upon the N. E. coast of Ehaeinomauwe, the same year I was there in the Endeavour; or else Monsieur Marion du Fresne's, who was in the Bay of Islands, on the same coast a few years after. But he assured us that he was not mistaken, either as to the time, or as to the place of this ship's arrival; and that it was well known to every body about Queen Charlotte's Sound and Teerawitte. He said, that the Captain of her, during his stay here, co-habited with a woman of the country; and that she had a son by him, now living, and about the age of Kokoa; who, though not born then, seemed to be equally well acquainted with the story. We were also informed by Tawehiarooa, that this ship first introduced the venereal disease among the New Zealanders. It were to be wished, that subsequent visitors from Europe may not have their share of guilt in leaving so dreadful a remembrance of them among this unhappy race. The disorder now is but too common here; though they do not seem to regard it, saying, that its effects are not near so pernicious at present, as they were at its first appearance. The only method, as far as I ever heard, that they make use of as a remedy, is by giving the patient the use of a sort of hot bath, which they produce by the steam of certain green plants laid over hot stones. I regretted much, that we did not hear of this ship while we were in the sound, as, by means of Omiali, we might have had full and correct information about her from eye-witnesses. For Tawehiarooa's account was only from what he had been told, and therefore liable to



many mistakes. I have not the least doubt, however, that his testimony may so far be depended upon, as to induce us to believe, that a ship really had been at Teerawitte, prior to my arrival in the Endeavour, as it corresponds with what I formerly heard. For in the latter end of 1773, the second time I visited New Zealand, during my former voyage, when we were continually making inquiries about the Adventure, after our separation, some of the natives informed us of a ship's having been in a port on the coast of Teerawitte: but, at that time, we thought we must have misunderstood them, and took no notice of the information. We had another piece of intelligence from him, though not confirmed by our own observations, that there are snakes and lizards in New Zealand of an enormous size. He described the latter as being eight feet in length, and as big round as a man's body. He said that they sometimes seize and devour men; that they burrow in the ground; and that they are killed by making fires at the mouths of the holes. We could not be mistaken as to the animal; for with his own hand he drew a very good representation of a lizard on a piece of paper; as also of a snake, in order to shew what he meant."

In the morning of Tuesday the 25th, of February, we left the sound. By the mean of the results of many astronomical observations, we found the latitude of Ship Cove to be 41 deg. 6 min. S. and the longitude 174 deg. 25 min. 15 sec. E. At ten o'clock, a light breeze springing up at N. W. by W. we made sail through Cook's Strait, with the Discovery in company. On Thursday the 27th, we cleared Cape Palliser, and took our departure from thence. It bore W. distant about seven leagues. We had now a fine gale, and steered towards N. E. When we had lost sight of land, our two youths from New Zealand, notwithstanding their employment of fishing near the shores from their infancy, began to repent of the adventurous step they had taken. Seeing only foaming billows round them, their hearts failed: they began to pine, and refuse to eat. When Capt Clerke with

Mr. Burney came on board our ship, they ran and hid themselves, discovering a great panic. It did not appear their fear took its rise from the thoughts of being carried back, because when the gentlemen returned, they wanted to go with them. It should rather seem, therefore, that they were apprehensive of some design upon their lives, as in their country a consultation amongst their chiefs always precedes a determined murder. This was confirmed by their behaviour afterwards. We endeavoured, as far as lay in our power, to sooth them; but they wept continually, and gave vent to their sorrows in a kind of song, which seemed to express their praises of their country and people, from which they were now, in all probability to be forever separated. In this dispirited state they continued for several days, till, at length, the agitation of their minds began to subside, and their sea sickness, which had aggravated their grief, wore off. Their lamentations then became less and less frequent; their native country, their kindred, and friends, were gradually forgotten, and they appeared to be firmly attached to us. On the 28th, at noon, in the lat. of 41 deg. 17 min. S. longitude 177 deg. 17 min. E. we tacked about and stood to the S. E. with a gentle breeze at E. N. E. which afterwards veered to the N. E. in which point the wind remained two days, sometimes blowing a fresh gale, with squalls and rain.

Monday, March the 1st, a storm came on, but as the wind was fair, we got down the top-gallant-yards, close reefed the top-sails, and pursued our course E. by N. On the 2nd, it shifted to N. W. and afterwards to S. W. between which point and the N. it continued to blow, sometimes very moderately, and at other times a strong gale. With this wind we steered N. E. by E. and E. with all the sail we could carry, till Tuesday the 11th, when it veered to N. E. and S. E. at which time we observed at noon in lat. 39 deg. 29 min. long. 196 deg. 4 min. E. on the 15th, being Saturday, it blew a hurricane, attended with rain and a high sea, which breaking over our bows, cleared the



decks of every thing that was not firmly secured, and split the fore-top-mast stay of the *Discovery* into a thousand shivers. At night we shifted our course and stood N. by E. half E. There were some on board the *Discovery* who disapproved of the course we had hitherto steered, foreseeing, that by going so fast to the northward, we should fall too suddenly into the trade winds, especially, if we should be met by an easterly wind before we approached the tropic. Among the seamen on board a king's ship, there are always some expert navigators, whose judgment, ripened by experience, is much to be depended upon; but the misfortune is, that these men are never consulted, nor do they even dare so much as to whisper their opinion to their superior officer. Like gamblers standing by, they can see the errors of the game, but must not point them out till the game is over. This we find, by the journal before us, was the real case on board the *Discovery*, some of whose people did not scruple to foretel what would happen after we had left the 39th degree of southern latitude, while we were yet only in the 196 deg. of eastern longitude. They did not scruple to say that before we altered our latitude to the N. we ought to have stretched 13 or 14 deg. farther eastward of our intended port; and in this case when we came to pass the tropic, we should be sure of a fair wind to carry us to it. On Tuesday, the 18th, having continued our course N. N. E. for the last 24 hours, we found ourselves, by observation, in lat. 33 deg. 8 min and in longitude 200 deg. E. that is, more than 12 deg. to the westward of Otaheite. Here we saw sea weed in abundance, and by a large tree floating by us, we judged that we could not be far from land. The tree appeared to be about thirty feet in girth, and by its freshness seemed to have been no long time in the water. Saturday the 22nd, the heaviest rain began to pour down that the oldest mariner, in either of the ships, had ever experienced. It fell in sheets, and, as the wind increased, the men in handling the sails, were in the utmost danger of being washed off the yards. It continued for six hours incessantly; how-

ever, most seasonably for our people in the *Resolution*, where the number of live stock, as horses, cows, goats, and sheep, had exhausted a large proportion of our fresh water, and we were, yet at a great distance from our destined port. Here the wind began to veer to the E. which had been apprehended by many; who finding our longitude not to increase in proportion as our latitude decreased, began to suspect we should not make Otaheite this run.

Monday, the 24th, our latitude was deceased to 24 deg. 24 min. and our longitude only increased one single degree. The wind was E. by S. and our course still N. by E. we made consequently but little way. To add to our vexation, we were in an alarming situation, for want of provision, and water for the live stock; insomuch, that we were obliged to kill part of our sheep and hogs, not having a sufficient quantity of water to keep them alive. As to the horses, and cows, they were mere skeletons; having been reduced to the scanty portion of four pounds of hay, and six quarts of water for 24 hours; and the men were put to the allowance of two quarts of water, for the same space of time. The wind continuing foul, all hope of reaching Otaheite was laid aside; and the isles of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, were at this time thought to be our only resource. Hitherto not a man was ill on board the *Discovery*, nor was any alteration made in her company's allowance, they not having any more cattle on board, than were necessary for the ship's use. Thursday the 27th, we crossed the tropic. The weather; which for two or three days had been squally, attended with thunder and lightning, increased to a storm; and we now began to be surrounded by our tropical companions. On the 28th, the weather cleared up, and we were saluted with a fine breeze, and attended with numerous shoals of flying fish, bonitos, dolphins, sharks, and whole flocks of tropical sea fowl, which abound near the Islands in the low latitudes, but are seldom seen in the deep Pacific Ocean. On the 29th, at ten o'clock A. M. as we were standing to the N. E. the *Discovery*



made the signal for seeing land, distant seven leagues. We tacked ship and stood for it till the evening. While day-light remained we saw no signs of inhabitants, but, in the night observed several fires. On Sunday the 30th, at day break we discovered it to be an Island of no great extent, and bore up on the west-side. We now saw several people wading to the reef, but, observing the ships leaving them quickly, they remained there. But others, who soon appeared, followed our course; and some of them assembled in small bodies, making great shouts. Upon our nearer approach to the shore, we saw many of the natives running along the beach, and, by the assistance of our glasses, could perceive, that they were armed with long spears and clubs, which they brandished in the air with signs of threatening, or, as some of us supposed, with invitations to land. Most of them were without clothes, except having a kind of girdle, which was brought up between their thighs; but some of them wore about their shoulders pieces of cloth of various colours, white, striped, or checked; and almost all of them had about their heads a white wrapper, in some respects resembling a turban. They were of a tawny complexion, well made, robust, and of a middling stature. A small canoe was now launched from the most distant part of the beach, and a man getting into it, put off, as with a view of reaching the ship; but his courage failing him, he hastily put back. On his return to the beach another man joined him in the canoe, and then both of them paddled towards us. They seemed, however, afraid to approach, till their apprehensions were removed by Omiah, who addressed them in the language of Otaheite. Thus encouraged, they came near enough to receive some nails and beads, which, being tied to some wood, were thrown into the canoe. They, however, put the wood aside without untying the string, which perhaps might have proceeded from superstition; for we were informed by Omiah, that when they observed us offering presents to them, they requested something for their *Patooa*. On Omiah's asking them, whether

they eat human flesh, they replied in the negative, with equal abhorrence and detestation. One of them, named Monrooa, being questioned with regard to a scar on his forehead, said, it was the consequence of a wound he had received in fighting with the natives of an Island lying towards the N. E. who sometimes invaded them. They afterwards laid hands on a rope, but would not venture on board, telling Omiah, that their countrymen on shore had suggested to them this caution; and had likewise directed them to enquire whence our ship came, and to procure information of the name of the Captain. Their chief, they said, was called Orooaeeeka, when we demanded the name of the Island, they told us it was Mangya, or Mangepa, to which they sometimes added *nooe, nai, naiwa*. The features of Mouroua were agreeable, and his disposition, to all appearance, no less so; for he exhibited some droll gesticulations, which indicated humour and good nature. He also made others of a serious kind, and repeated some words with an air of devotion, before he would venture to take hold of the rope at the stern of the ship. He was linsty and well made, though not tall. His complexion was nearly of the same cast with that of the natives of the most southern parts of Europe. His companion was not so handsome. They both had strong, strait, black hair, tied together on the top of their heads with a piece of white cloth. They had long beards; and the inside of their arms, from the elbow to the shoulders, and some other parts, were tattooed, or punctured. The lobe of their ears was slit to such a length, that one of them stuck there a knife, and some beads we had given him. The same person had hung about his neck, by way of ornament, two polished pearl-shells, and a bunch of human hair, loosely twisted together. They wore a kind of girdle, which we found was a substance manufactured from the *morus papyrifera*, and glazed like those used in the Friendly Islands. They had on their feet a sort of sandals, made of a grassy substance interwoven, which we perceived were also worn by those whom we had seen on the beach.



The canoe in which they came was the only one we saw. It was very narrow, and not more than ten feet long, but strong, and neatly made. The lower part was of white wood; but the upper part was black, and their paddles were of the same colour. These were broad at one end, blunt, and about three feet long. The fore part had a flat board fastened over it, which projected out, to prevent the water from getting in. It had an upright stern, five feet high, which terminated at the top in a kind of fork. They paddle indifferently either end of the canoe forward,

## CHAP. IV.

*An attempt made to land on the Island of Mangeea, which we were obliged to leave unvisited; Observations on the coast; Transactions with the natives; Description of the Island and its inhabitants; Specimen of their language; The Resolution and Discovery continue their course northward; Discover another Island named Wateo; Visits from the natives; An account of their persons and dress; The coast explored; Lieutenants Gore and Burney. Mr. Anderson and Omiah sent on shore; An account of their reception; They are introduced to three Chiefs; A dance of twenty young women; Omiah's apprehension of being roasted; The Islanders send provisions on board; Further description of the natives; Of their double canoes; Trees and plants; Omiah's expedient to prevent being detained on shore; He meets with three of his countrymen; An account of their distressful voyage; Additional remarks relative to Wateo; Otakootaia visited, and Harvey's Island; A fruitless attempt made to land; The two ships bear away for the friendly Isles; Palmerston's Island touched at; Two Islets described. Refreshments procured; Arrival at the friendly Islands; Intercourse with the natives of Komango; Arrival at Annamooka; Transactions and incidents there; An account of Annamooka; The Resolution and Discovery proceed to Hapae.*

AS soon as the ships were in a proper station, about ten o'clock A. M. of the 30th, two boats were sent out to endeavour to find a convenient place for landing. Capt. Cook had no sooner put off in his own boat, than the two men approached with their canoe, and when along side of the boat Mourooa, without hesitation, stepped into her. Omiah, who was with the Captain, was desired to enquire of Mourooa, where we could land; upon which he directed us to two places. But we soon perceived, with regret, that the attempt at either was impracticable, on account of the surf, unless at the risque of having our boats destroyed. Nor were we more successful in our search for anchorage, as we could find no bottom within a cable's length of the breakers, where we met with from forty to twenty

fathoms depth, over sharp rocks, of coral. While we thus reconnoitred the shore of Mangeea, the natives thronged down upon the reef all armed. Mourooa, who still remained in the boat with Capt. Cook, thinking, perhaps, that this warlike appearance deterred us from landing, commanded them to retire. As many of them complied, we imagined, that he was a person of some consequence: indeed, if we did not misunderstand him, he was brother to the king of the Island. Several of them, instigated by curiosity swam from the shore to the boats, and came on board them without reserve. We even found some difficulty in keeping them out, and could scarce prevent their pilfering whatever was within their reach. At length, when they observed us returning to the ships, they all left us



except Mourroa, who, though not without manifest indications of fear, accompanied the Commodore on board the *Resolution*. The cattle, and other new objects that he saw, did not strike him with much surprize; his mind, perhaps, being too much occupied about his own safety, to allow him to attend to other things. He seemed very uneasy, and gave us but little new intelligence: and, therefore, after he had continued a short time on board, a boat was ordered to carry him towards the land. In his way from the cabin, happening to stumble over one of the goats, he stopped, looked at the animal, and asked Omiah, what bird it was? But not receiving an immediate answer, he repeated the question to some of the people who were upon the deck. The boat having conveyed him near the surf, he leaped into the water, and swam ashore. His countrymen eager to learn from him what he had seen, flocked round him as soon as he landed; in which situation they remained when we lost sight of them. We hoisted in the boat as soon as she returned, and made sail to the northward. Thus were we obliged to leave this fine Island unvisited, which seemed capable of supplying all our wants. It is situated in lat. 21 deg. 57 min. S. long. 201 deg. 53 min. E.

This Island of Mangeea made a most delightful appearance; it may therefore easily be conceived with what reluctance we left it. Those parts of its coast which fell under our observation, are guarded by a reef of coral rock, against which a heavy surf is continually breaking. The Island is about five leagues in circumference, and though of a moderate and pretty equal height, may be seen in clear weather at the distance of more than ten leagues. In the interior parts, it rises into small hills, whence there is an easy descent to the shore, which, in the S. W. part, is steep, though not very high, and has several cavities made by the dashing of the waves against a brownish sand-stone, of which it consists. The descent here abounds with trees of a deep green, which seem to be all of one sort, except nearest the shore, where we observed numbers of that species of dracæna,

found in the woods of New Zealand. The shore on the N. W. part, terminates in a sandy beach, beyond which the land is broken into small chasms, and has a broad border of trees, resembling tall willows. Farther up, on the ascent, the trees were of the deep green above mentioned, which some of us imagined to be the rima, intermixed with cocoa-palms, and a few other sorts. Some trees of a higher sort were thinly scattered on the hills, the other parts of which were covered with somewhat like fern, or were bare, and of a reddish colour. The Island upon the whole, has a pleasing appearance, and might, by proper cultivation, be made a beautiful spot. The natives appearing to be both numerous and well fed, it is highly probable, that such articles of provision as the Island produces are found in great abundance. Our friend Monrooa informed us, that they had no hogs nor dogs; though they had heard of both those animals, but that they had plantains, taro, and bread-fruit. The only birds we observed, were some terns, noddies, white egg-birds, and white herons.

The inhabitants of this Island resemble those of Otaheite and the Marquêsas in the beauty of their persons; and their general disposition seems also to correspond with that of the first mentioned people; for they are not only lively and cheerful, but are acquainted with all the lascivious gesticulations practised by the Otahiteans in their dances. We had likewise reason to suppose, that they have a similar method of living: for though we had not an opportunity of seeing many of their habitations, we observed one house near the beach which in its mode of construction, differed little from those of Otaheite. It appeared to be seven feet high, and thirty in length, with an open end, which represented an ellipsis, or oval, transversely divided. It was pleasantly situated in a grove. These people salute strangers by joining noses, and taking the hand of the person whom they accost, which they rub with some force upon their mouth and nose. It is worthy of remark, that the inhabitants of the Palaos, New Philippine, or rather Caroline



Islands, though at the distance of near 1500 leagues from Mangeea, have a similar method of salutation. The language of the natives of Mangeea is a dialect of that spoken at Otaheite, as will appear by the following list of words, selected by the assistance of Omiah. The agreement between them as to the orthography is very striking; but their pronunciation in Mangeea, like that of the New Zealanders, is rather more guttural than that of Otaheite.

A List of words used in Mangeea, and compared with others used at Otaheite, taken from Omiah by Mr. Anderson.

MANGEEA.	OTAHEITE.	ENGLISH.
Kooroo	Ooroo	<i>Bread-fruit</i>
Ewakka	Evaa	<i>A Canoe.</i>
Ereekee	Eree	<i>A Chief.</i>
Pooroohee	- - -	<i>A Club.</i>
Taia, taia aoutee	Eoute	<i>Cloth, or cloth plant.</i>
Eakkaree	Aree	<i>A Cocoa-nut.</i>
Maheine	Maheine	<i>A Daughter.</i>
Naoo, niou	- - - - -	<i>Friend.</i>
Etamagee	Tamaee	<i>A Fight, or battle.</i>
Mata	Myty	<i>Good.</i>
Manna	- - - -	<i>Great, or pow- erful.</i>
Ereekec,	- - -	<i>A Powerful chief.</i>
manna		
Ou	Wou	<i>I.</i>
Ooma	- - -	<i>To Kiss.</i>
Taata, or Tangata	Taata	<i>A Man.</i>
Aoure	Aoure	<i>No.</i>
Heyhey	- - - -	<i>A Spear.</i>
Euta	Euta	<i>The Shore</i>
Heetaia ma- tooa	- - -	<i>The Sun</i>
Waheine	Waheine	<i>A Woman.</i>
Oo	- - - -	<i>There.</i>
Elhataiee	Owyaieeo	<i>What is that?</i>
Aee	Ai	<i>Yes.</i>

Having taken our departure from Mangeea, we held on our course northward, till noon of Monday the 31st, when the

man at the mast-head called out land, which was soon answered by a signal from the Discovery. It lay in the direction of N. E. by N. distant 10 leagues. The next morning, being Tuesday the 1st of April, we were abreast of its north-end, and within four leagues of it. It now had the appearance of an Island, nearly of the same extent with that which we had left. Another Island, much smaller, was also descried right a-head. Though we could soon have reached this, we preferred a larger one, as being most likely to furnish food for our cattle. We therefore made sail for it; but there being little wind, and that unfavourable, we were still two leagues to leeward, at eight o'clock the succeeding morning. Soon after three armed boats were dispatched and one from the Discovery, under the command of Lieutenant Gore, in search of a landing place, and good anchoring-ground. Mean while we plied up under the Island with the ships. As our boats were putting off, we saw several canoes coming from the shore, which repaired first to the Discovery, she being the nearest to it. Not long after, three of these canoes came along-side our ship, the Resolution. They are long and narrow, and are supported by out-riggers; the head is flat above, but prow-like below; and the stern is about four feet high. We bestowed on our visitors some knives, beads, and other trifles; and they gave us some cocoa-nuts, in consequence of our having asked for them; but they did not part with them by way of exchange, as they seemed to have no idea of barter or traffic. One of the natives, after a little persuasion came on board; and two others soon followed his example. They appeared to be perfectly at their ease, and free from all uneasy apprehensions. After their departure, a man arrived in another canoe, bringing a bunch of plantains as a present to our Captain, who gave him in return, a piece of red cloth, and an axe. We were afterwards informed by Omiah, that this present had been sent from the king of the Island. Soon after, a double canoe, containing twelve of the Islanders, came towards us. On approaching the ship, they recited some words



in concert, by way of chorus, one of them first giving the word before each repetition. Having finished this solemn chaunt, they came along-side, and asked for the chief. As soon as Capt. Cook had made his appearance, a pig and some cocoa-nuts were conveyed into the ship; and the Captain was also presented with a piece of matting, by the principal person in the canoe, when he and his companions had got on board. These new visitants were introduced into the cabin, and other parts of the ship. Though some objects seemed to surprize them, nothing could fix their attention. They were afraid to venture near the cows and horses, of whose nature they could form no conception. As for the sheep and goats, they gave us to understand, that they knew them to be birds. It may appear rather incredible, that human ignorance could ever make so ridiculous a mistake, there not being the smallest resemblance between any winged animal and a sheep or goat. But these people seemed unacquainted with the existence of any other terrestrial animals than hogs, dogs, and birds; and seeing our goats and sheep to be very different from the two former, they inferred absurdly, that they must belong to the latter class, in which they knew there were a great variety of species. Though Capt. Cook bestowed on his new friend what he supposed would be the most acceptable present, yet he seemed somewhat disappointed. We were afterwards informed, that he eagerly wished to procure a dog, of which kind of animals this Island was destitute, though the natives knew that the race existed in other Islands of the Pacific Ocean. Capt. Clerke had received a similar present, with the same view, from another man, who was equally disappointed in his expectations.

The Islanders, whom we had seen in those canoes, were, in general, of the middling stature, and not unlike the Mangeeans. Their hair either flowed loosely over their shoulders, or was tied on the crown of the head; and though in some it was frizzled, yet that, as well as the straight sort, was long. Some of the young men were handsome. Like the inhabitants of Mangeea, they

wore girdles of glazed cloth, or fine matting, the ends of which were brought between their thighs. Their ears were bored, and they wore about their necks, by way of ornament, a sort of broad grass, stained with red, and strung with berries of the night-shade. Many of them were curiously marked or tatoored from the middle downwards, particularly upon their legs; which made them appear as if they wore boots. Their beards were long; and they had a kind of sandals on their feet. They were frank and cheerful in their deportment; very friendly, and good-natured. Lieutenant Gore returned from his excursion, and informed Capt. Cook, that he had examined the west-side of the Island, without being able to find a place where a ship could ride in safety, or a boat could land, the shore being bounded by a steep coral rock, against which a continual surf broke with extraordinary violence. But as the inhabitants seemed extremely friendly, and as desirous of our landing as we ourselves were, Mr. Gore was of opinion, that they might be prevailed upon to bring off to the boats beyond the surf, such articles as we were most in need of. As we had little or no wind, the delay of a day or two was of no great consequence, and therefore it was resolved to try the experiment the next morning: soon after day break some canoes came towards the ships, one of which directed its course to the Resolution. There were in it some cocoa-nuts, plantains, and a hog, for which the natives demanded from us a dog, refusing every other thing we offered by way of exchange. Though one of our gentlemen on board had a dog and bitch, which were great nuisances in the ship, and which might have served to propagate a race of so useful an animal in this Island, yet he could not be prevailed upon to part with them. However, to gratify these people, Omiah gave them a favourite dog he had brought with him from England, with which acquisition they were highly pleased.

Thursday the 3rd, of April, at ten o'clock A. M. Lieutenant Gore was dispatched with three boats, to make trial of the experiment



which that officer had proposed. Two of the natives, who had been on board, accompanied him; and Omiah served as an interpreter. The ships being a full league from the Island when the boats put off, and the wind being inconsiderable, it was 12 o'clock before we could work up to it. We then perceived our three boats just without the surf, and an amazing number of the Islanders on the shore, abreast of them. Concluding from this, that Lieutenant Gore, and others of our people had landed, we were impatient to know the event. With a view of observing their motions, and being ready to afford them such assistance as they might occasionally require, we kept as near the shore as was consistent with prudence. We were convinced, however, that the reef was a very effectual barrier between us and our friends who had landed, and put them completely out of the reach of our protection. But the natives, in all probability, were not so sensible of this circumstance as we were. Some of them now and then, brought a few cocoa-nuts to the ships, and exchanged them for whatever was offered them. These occasional visits diminished the Captain's solicitude about our people who had landed; for, though we could procure no intelligence from our visitors, yet their venturing aboard seemed to imply, that their countrymen on shore had made no improper use of the confidence reposed in them. At length towards the evening, we had the satisfaction of seeing the boats return. When our people got on board, we found that Mr. Gore, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Burney, and Omiah, were the only persons who had landed. The occurrences of the day were now fully reported to Capt. Cook by Mr. Gore. Mr. Anderson's account of their transactions, which was very circumstantial, and including some observations on the Island, and its inhabitants, was to the following purport.

They rowed towards a sandy beach, where a great number of natives had assembled, and came to an anchor at the distance of 100 yards from the reef. Several of the Islanders swam off, bringing cocoa-nuts with them and Omiah gave them to understand,

that our people were desirous of landing. Soon after two canoes came off; and to inspire the natives with a greater confidence, Mr. Gore and his companions resolved to go unarmed. Mr. Anderson and Lieutenant Burney went in one canoe, a little before the other; and their conductors watching with great attention the motions of the surf, landed them safely on the reef. A native took hold of each of them, with a view of supporting them in walking over the rugged rocks to the beach, where several others, holding in their hands the green boughs of a species of *mimosa*, met them, and saluted them by the junction of noses. They were conducted from the beach amidst a vast multitude of people, who flocked around them with the most eager curiosity; and being led up an avenue of cocoa-palms, soon came to a number of men, arranged in two rows, and armed with clubs. Proceeding onward among these, they found a person who appeared to be a chief, sitting cross-legged on the ground, and cooling himself with a kind of triangular fan, made from the leaf of the cocoa-palm, with a polished handle of black wood. He wore in his ears large bunches of beautiful feathers of a red colour, but had no other mark to distinguish him from the rest of the people. Our two countrymen having saluted him as he sat, marched on among the men armed with clubs, and came to a second chief, adorned like the former, and occupied like him, in fanning himself. He was remarkable for his size and corpulence, though he did not appear to be above thirty years of age. They were conducted in the same manner to a third chief, who seemed older than the two former: he also was sitting, and was ornamented with red feathers. After they had saluted him as they had done the others, he desired them both to sit down, which they willingly consented to, being greatly fatigued with walking, and with the extreme heat they felt midst the surrounding multitude.

The people being ordered to separate, our two gentlemen saw, at a small distance, twenty young women, adorned, like the chiefs, in red feathers, engaged in a dance, which they performed to a slow and solemn air,



sung by them all. The gentlemen rose up and walked forward to see those dances, who, without paying them the smallest attention, still continued their dance. They seemed to be directed by a man, who, in the capacity of a prompter, mentioned the several motions they were to make. They never changed the spot, as Europeans do in dancing, and though their feet were not entirely at rest, this exercise consisted more in moving their fingers very nimbly, holding their hands, at the same time, in a prone position, near the face, and occasionally clapping them together. Their dances and singing are performed in the exactest concert, and the former bear a great resemblance to those of the natives of the Caroline Islands. The young women had probably been instructed with extraordinary care, and selected for this ceremony, being superior in beauty to most of those who were in the crowd. They were in general, rather stout, and of an olive complexion, with black hair flowing in ringlets down their necks. Their shape and limbs were elegantly formed; for their dress consisting only of a piece of glazed cloth tied round the waist, which scarcely reached so low as the knees, our gentlemen had an opportunity of examining almost every part. Their features were rather too full to constitute a perfect beauty. Their eyes were of a deep black, and their countenances expressed a great degree of modesty and complacency. Before these beauteous females had finished their dance, a noise was heard as if some horses had been galloping towards our gentlemen; and on turning their eyes aside, they saw the people armed with clubs, who had been desired to entertain them, as they supposed, with an exhibition of their manner of fighting; which they did, one party pursuing another, who ran away.

At this time Lieutenant Burney and Mr. Anderson began to look about for Mr. Gore and Omiah, whom they at length perceived coming up, having been as much incommoded by the crowds of people as they themselves had been, and introduced in the same manner to the three chiefs; the names of whom were Otteroo, Taroa, and Fatoweera.

Each of these exacting a present, Mr. Gore gave them such things as he had brought with him for that purpose; after which he informed the chiefs of his views in coming ashore, but was desired to wait till the next day before he should have what he wanted. They now endeavoured to separate our gentlemen from each other, every one of whom had his respective circle, to surround and gaze at him. Mr. Anderson was, at one time, upwards of an hour from his friends; and when he told the chief, who was near him, that he wished to speak to Omiah, his request was peremptorily refused. At the same time he found that those near him pilfered several trifling things which were in his pocket; and on his complaining of this treatment to the chief, he justified their behaviour. From these circumstances Mr. Anderson began to apprehend, that they designed to detain our party among them. In this situation he asked for something to eat; upon which they brought him some cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, and a sort of sour pudding; and when he complained of the heat, occasioned by the multitude of people, the chief himself condescended to fan him. Mr. Burney going to the place where Mr. Anderson was, the latter informed him of his suspicions; and to try whether they were well founded or not, they both attempted to get to the beach; upon which they were soon stopped by some of the natives, who said they must return to the place which they had left. On their coming up they found Omiah under the same apprehensions; but he had, as he imagined, an additional motive of terror; for, having observed, that they had dug a hole in the ground for an oven, which they were now heating, he could assign no other reason for it, than that they intended to roast and devour our people; he went even so far as to ask them, whether that was their intention; at which they were much surprized, asking, in return, whether that custom prevailed among us.

Thus were Mr. Anderson and the others detained the greatest part of the day, being sometimes separated, and sometimes together; but continually in a crowd, who desired



them frequently to uncover part of their skin, the sight of which struck the Islanders with admiration. They at the same time, rifled the pockets of our gentlemen ; and one of them snatched from Mr. Gore, a bayonet, which hung by his side. This being represented to one of the chiefs, he pretended to send a person in search of it, but probably countenanced the theft ; for Omiah, soon after, had a dagger stolen from his side in the same manner. They now brought some green boughs as emblems of friendship, and, sticking the ends of them in the ground, desired our party would hold them as they sat, giving them to understand, that they must stay and eat with them. The sight of a pig lying near the oven, which they had heated, removed Omiah's apprehensions of being put into it himself, and made him think, that it might be intended as a repast for him and his companions. The chief also sent some of his people to provide food for the cattle, and they returned with a few plantain trees, which they conveyed to the boats. In the mean time, Mr. Burney, and Mr. Anderson made a second attempt to get to the beach ; but on their arrival, they found themselves watched by people who seemed so have been stationed there for that purpose ; for when Mr. Anderson endeavoured to wade in upon the reef, one of them dragged him back by his clothes. They also insisted upon his throwing down some pieces of coral that he had picked up, and on his refusing to comply, took them from him by force : nor would they suffer him to retain some small plants which he had gathered. They likewise took a fan from Mr. Burney, who, on his coming ashore had received it as a present. Finding that obedience to their will was the only method of procuring better treatment, the gentlemen returned to the place they had quitted ; whereupon the natives promised, that after they had partaken of a repast, that had been prepared for them, they should be furnished with a canoe to carry them off to their boats. Accordingly, the second chief to whom they had been presented, having seated himself on a low stool, and directed the multitude to form a large ring, made them sit down

by him. A number of cocoa-nuts were now brought, with a quantity of baked plantains, and a piece of the pig that had been dressed, was placed before each of them. Their fatigue, however, had taken away their appetites ; nevertheless they eat a little to please their entertainers. When this meal was finished, Omiah, Mr. Gore's interpreter, was questioned by the natives concerning us, our country, our ships and arms. In answer to which, among other particulars, he told them, that our country had ships as large as their Island, on board of which were implements of war (describing our guns) of such dimensions, as to contain several people within them ; one of which could demolish the Island at one shot. As to the guns in our two ships, he acknowledged that they were but small in comparison with the former ; yet even with these, he said, we could with great ease, at a considerable distance, destroy the Island, and every soul in it. On their enquiring by what means this could be done, Omiah produced some cartridges from his pocket, and having submitted to inspection the balls, and the gun-powder by which they were to be set in motion, he disposed the latter upon the ground, and by means of lighted wood, set it on fire. The sudden blast, the mingled flame and smoke, that succeeded instantaneously, filled the natives with such astonishment, that they no longer doubted the formidable power of our weapons ; and had it not been for the terrible ideas they entertained of the guns of our ships, from this specimen of the mode of their operation, it was imagined that they would have detained the gentlemen the whole night ; for Omiah assured them, that, if he and his friends did not return on board the same day, they might expect, that our Commander, Capt. Cook, would fire upon the Island. It was now near sun-set, when the Islanders sent down to the beach the remainder of the provisions that had been dressed, to be carried to the ships ; soon after which our gentlemen found a canoe prepared to put off to their boats, which the natives did with great caution ; but as they were pushing the canoe into the surf, one of them snatched



a bag out of her, which contained a pocket pistol belonging to Mr. Anderson, who calling out to the thief with marks of the highest displeasure, he swam back to the canoe with the bag. The Islanders then put them on board the boats, with the cocoa-nuts, plantains, and other provisions; and they immediately rowed back to the ships.

The restrained situation of these gentlemen gave them very little opportunity of observing the country; for they were seldom a hundred yards from the place where they had been introduced to the chiefs, and, consequently, were confined to a few surrounding objects. The first thing that attracted their notice was the number of people, which must have been at least two thousand. Except a few, those who had come on board the ships, were all of an inferior class; for a great number of those that our gentlemen met with on shore, had a superior dignity of demeanour, and their complexion was much whiter. In general, they had their hair, which is long and black, tied on the crown of the head. Many of the young men were perfect models in shape, and of a delicate complexion. The old men were, many of them, corpulent; and they, as well as the young, had a remarkable smoothness of skin. Their general dress consisted of a piece of cloth wrapped about the waist, but some had pieces of mats, most curiously variegated with black and white, formed into a kind of jacket without sleeves; while others wore conical caps made of the core of a cocoa-nut, interwoven with beads. In their ears, which were pierced, they hung pieces of the membranous part of some plant, or stuck there some odoriferous flower. The chiefs, and other persons of rank, had two little balls, with a common base, made of bone; which they hung round their necks with small cords. Red feathers are considered in this island as a particular mark of distinction; for none but the chiefs, and the young women who danced, assumed them. Some of the men were punctured all over their sides and backs, and some of the women had the same ornament (if it deserves that name) on their legs. The elderly

women had their hair cropped short, and many of them were cut all over the fore part of the body in oblique lines. The wife of a chief appeared with her child, laid in a piece of red cloth, which had been presented to her husband: she suckled the infant much after the manner of our women. Another chief introduced his daughter, who was young, beautiful, and modest. No personal deformities were observed in either sex, except a few individuals, who had scars of broad ulcers remaining on the face and other parts. Many of the natives were armed with spears and clubs, the latter of which were generally about six feet long, made of a hard black wood, neatly polished. The spears were formed of the same wood, simply pointed, and were in general twelve feet long; but some were so short as to seem intended for darts. They preserved their canoes from the sun under the shade of various trees. Mr. Anderson saw eight or ten of them all double ones; that is, two single ones lashed together by rafters laid across. They were about four feet deep, and in length about twenty feet, and the sides were rounded with a plank raised on them. Two of these canoes were curiously stained all over with black, in numberless small figures, as triangles, squares, &c. and were far superior to any thing of the kind Mr. Anderson had ever seen at any other Island in the South Sea. The paddles were almost elliptical, and about four feet long. Most of the trees observed by Mr. Anderson were cocoa-palms, some species of hibiscus; a sort of euphorbia; and many of the same kind he had seen at Mangeea. The latter are tall and slender resembling a cypress; and are called by the natives etoa. This gentleman saw also a species of convolvulus, and some treacle-mustard; besides which there are doubtless other plants and fruit-trees, which he had not an opportunity of seeing. The soil, towards the sea, is nothing more than a bank of coral, generally steep and rugged, which, though it has probably been for many centuries exposed to the weather, has suffered no further change than becoming black on its surface. The reef or rock, with which the shore is lined,



runs to different breadths into the sea, were it resembles a high steep wall : it is of a brownish colour, and nearly even with the surface of the water ; and though its texture is rather porous it is capable of withstanding the washing of the surf, which constantly breaks upon it.

Though this Island had never before been visited by Europeans, there were other strangers now residing in it ; and it was entirely owing to Omiah's accompanying Mr. Gore, that this remarkable circumstance came to our knowledge. He had scarcely landed on the beach, when he found, among the crowd, three of his own countrymen, natives of the Society Isles. At the distance of about two hundred leagues from those Islands, an immense ocean intervening, with such miserable sea-boats as the inhabitants make use of, such a meeting, at such a place, so accidentally visited by us, may be considered as one of those extraordinary and unexpected situations, which strike a curious observer with wonder and amazement. The mutual surprise and pleasure with which Omiah and his countrymen engaged in conversation, may easily be imagined. All were equally impatient ; they to hear Omiah's adventures, and Omiah to know their's. Their story, as related by themselves, is a very affecting one. They said, that about twenty persons, male and female, had embarked in a canoe at Otabeite, with an intention of crossing over to Ulietea ; but they were prevented by contrary winds from reaching the latter, or returning to the former Island. A dreadful tempest drove them into the main ocean, and the sea, continuing to run mountains high, washed overboard some of the women and children, who perished before they experienced any further distress : that after three days, when the storm abated, those who remained found themselves in an unknown ocean, with little more provisions than were necessary to serve them a very short time : that, having no pilot to direct their course, they continued to go before the wind day after day : and, their stock of provisions being exhausted, they suffered inconceivable hardships : that, their number gradually

diminished, worn out by famine and fatigue : that those who survived had nothing but sea-weed which they found floating in the sea, and the water which they saved when it rained, to keep them alive : that, ten days having elapsed, and no land in sight, despair took place of hope, and several, unable to support the pangs of hunger, jumped overboard in their phrenzy, and perished by an easier death ; and the groans of the dying, and the terrible agonies with which some were affected before death came to their relief, exceeded all description. In this melancholy situation they had existed for thirteen days, and how much longer they could have no recollection, for they were taken up insensible of pain ; and hardly to be distinguished from the emaciated bodies of the dead, among whom they were found, seemingly without life or motion, till by the friendly care of their deliverers they were restored. When they were recovered, they said, it was like waking from a dream : they knew not where, they were nor how they came upon land : but being told they were taken up at sea, and in what condition, as their senses gradually returned, they by degrees recollected all the circumstances already related : they added, that ever since they were brought to life, they had remained with their deliverers, and were now quite reconciled to their condition, and happy in the situation in which the Etooa, or good spirit, had placed them. Four men had survived, one of whom had since died ; and the names of the three, now living, are Tavee, Otirreroa, and Orououte ; the former was born at Huaheine, the second at Ulietea, and the latter at Otabeite. Omiah, after hearing their relation, with which he was apparently much affected, told them, that they might now take the opportunity of returning home with him ; that he would intercede for them, and that he was sure, if they chose it, the chiefs of the expedition would grant his request. They thanked Omiah for his kindness ; nor had they any reason to suppose, that such an offer would ever be made them again ; but they were now determined to end their days with the people who had restored



them to second life ; and as their dearest relations and friends were of the number of those who perished, the return to their native country would only renew their grief, and instead of affording them pleasure, would increase their melancholy. The application of this narrative is obvious. It will serve to explain, in a more satisfactory manner than the flimsy conjectures of speculative reasoners, how the detached parts of the world, and, in particular, the Islands of the Pacific Ocean, may have been first peopled ; those especially that lie at a considerable distance from each other, or from any inhabited parts of a continent. Such accidents as the above related, probably happen frequently in the great Pacific Ocean. In 1696, two canoes, having on board thirty persons of both sexes, were driven, by contrary winds and tempestuous weather, on the Isle of Samal one of the Philippines, after having been tossed about at sea seventy days, and having performed a voyage, from an Island, called by them Amorsot, three hundred leagues to the East of Samal. Five of the number who embarked, died of the hardships suffered during this extraordinary passage. In 1721, two canoes, one containing twenty-four the other six persons, men, women, and children, were driven from an Island, they called Farroilep, northward, to the Isle of Guam, one of the Ladrões, or Mariannes : but these had not sailed so far as their countrymen, who reached Samal, as above, and they had been at sea only twenty days. There seems to be no reason to doubt the authenticity of these two relations. The information contained in the letters of the Jesuits, about these Islands now known under the name of the Carolines, and discovered to the Spaniards by the arrival of the canoes at Samal and Guam, has been adopted by all our later writers.

The natives of this Island call it Wateeoo. It is situated in the lat. of 20 deg. 1 min. S. and in the long. of 201 deg. 45 min. E. and is about six leagues in circumference. It is a beautiful spot, with a surface covered with verdure, and composed of hills and plains. The soil, in some parts is light and sandy, but further up the country, we saw

from the ship by the assistance of our glasses, a reddish cast on the rising grounds. There the Islanders build their houses, for we could perceive several of them which were long and spacious. Its produce is nearly the same with that of Mangeea, the Island we last quitted. If we may depend on Omiah's account of what he learned from his three countrymen, in the course of conversation, the manners of the people of Wateeoo, their general habits of life, and their manner of treating strangers, greatly resemble those that prevail at Otaheite, and its neighbouring Islands. There is also a great similarity between their religious ceremonies and opinions. From every circumstance, indeed, it may be considered as indubitable, that the inhabitants of Wateeoo derive their descent from the same stock, which has so remarkably diffused itself over the immense extent of the Southern Ocean. Omiah assured us, that they dignified their Island with the pompous appellation of Wenooa no te Eatooa, implying a land of gods, esteeming themselves a race of divinities, possessed with the spirit of the Eatooa. Their language was well understood by Omiah, and equally so by our two New Zealanders who were on board. Though the landing of our gentlemen was the means of enriching the history of our voyage with the foregoing particulars, yet the principal object in view was partly unattained ; for we procured scarcely any thing worth mentioning from the Island. Indeed it appears from the circumstances already mentioned, that Wateeoo can be of little use to any ship wanting refreshment, unless in the case of the most absolute necessity. The natives, knowing now the value of some of our commodities, might be induced to bring off fruits and hogs to a ship standing off or on, or to boats lying off the reef, as our's did. It is doubtful, however, if any fresh water could be procured. For, though some was brought in cocoa-nut shells to the gentlemen, they were told, that it was at a considerable distance ; and, probably, it is only to be met with in some stagnant pool, as no running stream was any where to be seen.



Calms and light airs, having alternately prevailed during the night of the 3rd of April, before day-break an easterly swell had carried the Resolution and Discovery some distance from Wateoo, but having failed of procuring, at that place, the supplies we wanted, we left it without regret, and steered for the Island that had been discovered by us three days before. Having a gentle breeze at E. we got up with it by ten o'clock, A. M. on Friday, the 4th, when Capt. Cook immediately dispatched Mr. Gore with two boats, to see if he could land, and get subsistence for our cattle. Though a reef surrounded the land here, as at Wateoo, and a considerable surf broke against the rocks, our boats no sooner reached the west-side of the Island, but they ventured in, and Mr. Gore and his party arrived safe on shore. Capt. Cook seeing from the ship they had so far succeeded sent off a small boat to know if farther assistance was required. She waited to take in a lading of the produce of the Island, and, therefore, did not return till three o'clock in the afternoon. Being cleared, she was sent again for another cargo; at the same time the jolly boat was also dispatched upon the same business, with orders for Mr. Gore to return with the boats before night, which orders were punctually obeyed. The supply obtained here was about two hundred coconuts for our companies, and for our cattle a quantity of grass, with some leaves of the pandanus. This latter being of a soft, spongy nature, cattle eat even the branches when cut into small pieces, which are very juicy. This Island lies nearly four leagues from Wateoo, the inhabitants of which call it Otakootaia. It is in the latitude of 19 deg. 15 min. south, and the long. of 201 deg. 37 min. E. and is supposed not to exceed three miles in circuit. It is entirely destitute of water; and cocoa-palms were the only common trees found here, of which there were several clusters. We saw numbers of the wharra, as it is called at Otaheite, or the pandanus of the East-Indies. We found likewise the callophillum, suriana, with a few other shrubs; also a sort of bindweed, treacle-mustard, a species of the spurge, and the morinda citrifolia, the fruit

of which last is sometimes eaten by the natives of Otaheite. Omiah, who landed with the party, dressed some of it for their dinner, but they thought the mess a very indifferent one. A beautiful cuckoo; of a chestnut brown, variegated with black, was the only bird seen among the trees; but, upon the shore were a small sort of curlew, blue and white herons, some egg birds, and great numbers of noddies. One of the company caught a lizard running up a tree: though small, it had a most forbidding aspect. Many of another sort were also seen. Infinite numbers of a kind of moth, elegantly speckled with black, white, and red, frequented the bushes towards the sea. Some other sorts of moths, pretty butterflies, and a few insects of a different kind were observed. At this time no fixed inhabitants were seen upon this Island; but we discovered a few empty huts, which convinced us of its being, at least, inhabited occasionally. Monuments, consisting of several large stones, were erected under the shade of some trees: we saw also some smaller ones, with which several places were inclosed, where we supposed their dead had been buried. In one place we found a great many cockle-shells, of a particular sort, finely grooved, and larger than the first; from which it was conjectured, that the Island had been visited by persons who sometimes feed on shell-fish. Mr. Gore left a few nails and a hatchet in one of the huts, for the use of those who might hereafter touch at this Island. It may, perhaps, surprize, and seem incredible to some of our readers, when they are told of so many Islands abounding with inhabitants, who subsist with little or no water. Yet, true it is, that few or none of the little low Islands between the tropics have any water on the surface of the ground, except perhaps in a lagoon, the water of which is generally brackish; nor is it easy to find water by digging. The fact is, the fruits of the earth are their chief food, and the milk of the cocoa-nut serves them for drink. They want no water to dress any part of their food, for they knew not the art of boiling till the Europeans taught them, nor had they a vessel fit for the purpose; neither have they



any occasion for washing their clothes, the materials of which they are made, being of a paper kind, will not bear washing. Salt water therefore answers their purpose with very little fresh, and adds a relish to their fish; in which they dip almost every mouthful they eat. This in a great measure accounts for their subsisting without water.

Having hoisted in the boats, we made sail again to the northward, resolving to try our fortune at Harvey's Island, discovered during Capt. Cook's former voyage, in 1773, and named from Mr. Harvey, the first mate of the Endeavour. Sunday, the 6th, at day break, we came in sight of it, at the distance of about three leagues. About eight o'clock we observed several canoes coming from the shore towards the ships. We were rather surprized at this circumstance, as no traces or signs of inhabitants were seen when the Island was first discovered: this indeed, might be owing to a brisk wind that then blew, and prevented their canoes from venturing out. As we advanced nearer to the Island, six or seven double canoes immediately came near us with from six to three men in each of them. At the distance of about a store's-throw from the ship they stopped, and it was with difficulty Omiah prevailed on them to come along-side; but they could not be induced to trust themselves on board. Indeed, their disorderly behaviour did not indicate a disposition to trust, or to treat us well. They attempted to steal some oars out of the Discovery's boat, and struck a man for endeavouring to prevent them. They also cut away a net containing meat, which hung over the stern of that ship, and at first would not restore it, though they afterwards permitted us to purchase it from them. Those who were about our ship, the Resolution, behaved equally disorderly and daring; for with a sort of hook, made of a long stick, they openly endeavoured to rob us of several things, and actually got a frock belonging to one of our people. It appeared that they had a knowledge of bartering, for they exchanged some fish for small nails, of which they were extravagantly fond, and called them goore. Pieces of paper, or any other

trifling article that was thrown to them, they caught with the greatest avidity; and if what was thrown fell into the sea, they immediately plunged in to swim after it.

Though the distance between Harvey's Island and Wateoo is not very great, the inhabitants differ from each other, both in person and disposition. The colour of the natives of Harvey's Island is of a deeper cast, and some of them have a fierce savage aspect, like the natives of New Zealand. Their hair is long and black, either hanging loose about their shoulders, or tied in a bunch on the top of the head. Some few, indeed, had it cropped short, and in two or three of them, it was of a red or brownish cast. Their clothing is a narrow piece of mat, bound several times round the lower part of the body, and passing between the thighs. We saw a fine cap of red feathers in one of the canoes, and some of the natives were ornamented with the shell of a pearl-oyster, polished, and hung about the neck. The mode of ornament, so prevalent among the natives of this ocean, of puncturing, or tatooing their bodies, not one of them had adopted; but, though singular in this respect, their being of the same common race is not to be doubted. Their language more resembles the dialect of Otaheite, than that of Mangea or Wateoo. Like the natives of those Islands, they enquired from whence we came, whither bound, the ship's name, that of our Captain, and the number of men on board. Such questions as we proposed to them, in our turn, they very readily answered. They informed us, among other particulars, that they had before seen two large ships, but had not spoken to them as they passed. These were, doubtless, the Resolution and Adventure. They acquainted us, that the name of their Island was Terounggemou Atooa; and that they were subject to Teerevarooeah, king of Wateoo. Their food, they said, consisted of cocoa-nuts, fish, and turtle; being destitute of dogs and hogs, and the Island not producing bread-fruit or plantains. Their canoes (near thirty of which appeared at one time in sight) are tolerably large, and well built, and bear some resemblance to those of Wateoo.



About one o'clock, we drew near the N. W. part of the Island; this being the only place where we could expect to find a good anchorage. Capt. Cook immediately dispatched lieutenant King, with two armed boats, to sound, and reconnoitre the coast. The boats were no sooner hoisted out, than our new visitors suspended their traffic, pushing for shore as fast as possible, and came no more near us. The boats returned at three o'clock, and Mr. King informed the Captain, that he could find no anchorage for the ships; and that the boats could advance no farther than the outer edge of the reef, which was almost a quarter of a mile from the shore. That a number of the natives came upon the reef, armed with clubs and long pikes, meaning, as he supposed, to oppose his landing; though, at the same time, they threw cocoa-nuts to our people, and requested them to land: yet, notwithstanding this seemingly friendly treatment, the women were very active in bringing down a fresh supply of darts and spears. This report having been taken into consideration, it was concluded, that, as we could not bring the ships to an anchor, an attempt to procure grass here would be attended with delay and danger. Being thus disappointed in all the Islands after our leaving New Zealand, and having from a variety of circumstances, been unavoidably retarded in our progress, it was in vain to think of doing any thing this year in the high latitudes of the northern hemisphere, from which we were so far distant, though it was now the season for our operations there. Thus situated, it was necessary to pursue such measures as appeared best calculated to preserve our cattle, and save the stores and provisions of the ships: the better to enable us to prosecute our northern discoveries, which could not commence till a year later than was intended. If we could fortunately have procured a supply of water and grass, at any of the Islands we had lately visited, we intended to have stood back to the S. till we had got a westerly wind. But without such a supply, the certain consequence of doing this, would have been the loss of the cattle, before it

was possible for us to reach Otaheite, without gaining a single point of advantage respecting the grand object of our voyage. The Captain, therefore, determined to bear away for the Friendly Isles, where he knew he could be well supplied with every thing he wanted; and it being necessary to run night and day, he ordered Capt. Clerke to keep with the *Discovery* right a-head of us, because that ship could best claw off the land, which we might possibly fall in with in our passage.

Bearing away, therefore, we steered W. by S. with a fine breeze. It was proposed to proceed first to Middleburgh, or Eooa, thinking we might have provision enough for the cattle, to last till we should arrive at that Island. But the next day, about noon, those faint breezes that had so long retarded us, again returned; and we found it necessary to get into the latitude of Palmerston's and Savage Islands, which Capt. Cook discovered in 1774; that, in case of necessity, recourse might be had to them. The weather continued variable, and though plenty of rain fell every day, yet it was found adviseable to obtain water by distillation, to be used for every purpose for which it was fit. The still was kept at work a whole day; during which time we procured about fifteen gallons of fresh water. It was apt to discolour the meat in which it was boiled, and to tincture every thing with a disagreeable blackness; but our crews preferred it to rain-water, on account of the tarry taste communicated by the latter. Light breezes continued till Thursday, the 10th, at which time the wind blew some hours fresh from the N. and N. W. In the afternoon we had some heavy rain, attended with thunder squalls. We collected as much rain-water as filled five of our puncheons. When these squalls had blown over, the wind was very unsettled, till the next day at noon, when it was fixed at N. N. W. and blew a fresh breeze. Sunday, the 13th, at day-break, we came in sight of Palmerston's Island, bearing W. by S. at the distance of about five leagues; but did not get up with it till the 14th, at eight o'clock, A. M. We now dispatched three boats, and one from the



**Discovery**, with a proper officer in each, to search for a convenient landing place ; we being, at this time, under an absolute necessity of procuring here some provender for our cattle, or we must certainly have lost them. What is called here Palmerston's Island, consists of a group of small islots, about nine or ten in number, connected together by a reef of coral rocks, and lying in a circular direction. The boats first examined the most south-easterly islot ; and not succeeding there, ran down to the second, where they immediately landed. We now bore down with the ships, till we were abreast of the place, where we kept standing off and on, there being no bottom to be found to anchor upon. This, however, was of no material consequence, as there were no human beings upon the Island, except the party who had landed from our boats. One of these returned at one o'clock, laden with scurvy-grass, and young cocoa-trees, which was, at this time, a most excellent repast for our animals on board. A message was brought from Mr. Gore, who commanded the party on this expedition, informing us, that the Island abounded with the produce of which he had sent us a sample, and also with the wharra-tree and cocoa-nuts ; in consequence of which the Captain resolved to procure a sufficient supply of these useful articles, before we quitted our station, and accordingly he went ashore in a small boat, accompanied by the Captain of the *Discovery* ; where they found, to their satisfaction, every one hard at work.

The landing place of this Islot is a small creek, formed by the reef, of rather more than a boats length in every direction, and covered from the force of the sea, by rocks projecting on each side. The islot itself is scarcely a mile in circuit, and not above three feet higher than the level of the sea. It appears to consist of a coral sand, with a small mixture of blackish mould, produced from rotten vegetables : yet, this poor soil is covered with trees and bushes of the same kind as those we had seen at Otakootaia or Wenooa-etie, though not in so great a variety. We perceived a great number of

man-of-war-birds, tropic-birds, and two sorts of boobies, which were now laying their eggs, and so exceedingly tame as to permit us to take them off their nests, which consist only of a few sticks loosely put together. These tropic birds differ essentially from the common sort, being of a beautiful white, slightly tinged with red, and having two long tail-feathers of a deepish crimson. Our people killed a considerable number of each sort, which though not the most delicate kind of food, were highly acceptable to us, who had been a long time confined to salt diet. We saw plenty of red crabs creeping about among the trees ; and caught several fish, which, when the sea retired, had been left in holes upon the reef. At one part of this, which bounds the lake within, almost even with the surface, there is a large bed of coral, which affords a most enchanting prospect. Its base, which is fixed to the shore, extends so far that it cannot be seen, so that it appears to be suspended in the water. The sea was then unruffled, and the refulgence of the sun exposed the various sorts of coral, in the most beautiful order ; some parts luxuriantly branching into the water ; others appearing in a vast variety of figures ; and the whole heightened by spangles of the richest colours, glowing from a number of large clams, interspersed in every part. Even this delightful scene was greatly improved by the multitude of fishes, that gently glided along, seemingly with the most perfect security. Their colours were the most beautiful that can be imagined, as blue, yellow, black, red, &c. far excelling any thing that can be produced by art. The richness of this submarine grotto was increased greatly by their various forms ; and the whole could not possibly be surveyed without a pleasing transport, accompanied, at the same time, with regret, that a work so astonishingly elegant should be concealed in a place so seldom explored by the human eye. No traces of any inhabitants having been here, were discovered. We saw, indeed, a piece of a canoe, upon the beach, but this might have been drifted from some other Island. We were surprised, however, at perceiving some small brown rats on this



little spot, not easily accounted for, unless we admit the possibility of their being imported in the canoe of which we saw the remains. The boats, when laden, returned on board, with the two Captains, leaving Mr. Gore and his party to pass the night on shore, to be ready for business the next morning..

Tuesday, the 15th, like the preceding day, was spent in collecting subsistence for the cattle, consisting principally of tender branches of the wharra-tree, palm cabbage, and young cocoa-nut trees. A sufficient supply of these having been procured by sun-set, the Captain ordered all the people on board: but, having very little wind, he determined to employ the next day, by endeavouring from the islot to the leeward, to get some cocoa-nuts for our people: to this end we kept standing off and on all night; and about nine o'clock in the morning, we went to the west side of the islot, and landed from our boats, with little difficulty. The people immediately were employed in gathering cocoa-nuts, which we found in the greatest plenty; but it was a tedious operation to convey them to our boats, being obliged to carry them half a mile over the reef, up to the middle in water. Omiah, who accompanied us, presently caught with a scoop-net, as many fish as supplied the party on shore with a dinner, besides sending a quantity to each ship. Men-of-war and tropic birds were found in abundance, so that we fared most sumptuously. In these trips to the uninhabited Islands, Omiah was of the greatest service to us. He caught the fish, and dressed them, as well as the birds we killed, after the fashion of his country, with a dexterity and cheerfulness, that did him honour. Before night, the boats made two trips, and were each time heavy laden, with the last, the Captain returned on board, leaving our third lieutenant Mr. Williamson, to prepare another lading for the boats against the next morning. Accordingly about seven o'clock, they were dispatched, and returned at noon. No delay was made in sending them back for another cargo, with orders for all hands to be on board by sun-set. These orders being punctually

obeyed, we hoisted in our boats, and sailed to the westward, with a light breeze from the north. This last islot, which we now left, is somewhat larger than the other, and almost covered with cocoa-palms. The other productions were the same as at the first islot. On the beach we found two pieces of board, one of which was rudely carved, and an elliptical paddle. These were, perhaps, a part of the same canoe, the remains of which we had seen on the other beach, the two islots being within half a mile of each other. There were not so many crabs here as at the last place, but we found some scorpions and insects, and a much greater number of fish upon the reefs. Among the rest were some beautiful large spotted eels, which would raise themselves out of the water, and endeavour to bite their pursuers. There are also snappers, parrot-fish, and a brown spotted rock-fish, not larger than a small haddock, so tame, that it would remain fixed, and gaze at us. If we had been really in want, a sufficient supply might easily have been had, for thousands of the clams stuck upon the reef, many of which weighed two or three pounds. There were also some other sorts of shell-fish; and when the tide flowed several sharks came with it, some of which were killed by our people; but their presence rendered it, at that time, unsafe to walk in the water. Mr. Williamson and his party, who were left on shore, were much pestered in the night with moschettos. Some of them shot two curlews, and some plovers on the shore: one or two cnckoos, like those at Wenoa-ette, were also seen. These islots, comprehended under the name of Palmerston's Island, may be said to be the summits of a reef of coral rock, covered only with a thin coat of sand; though clothed with trees and plants, like the low grounds of the high Islands in this spacious ocean. They are situated in 18 deg. 11 min. S. lat. and 196 deg. E. long. from Greenwich.

We now steered W. in order to make Annamooka, or, as it is called by the Dutch, Rotterdam, who first discovered it. We had variable winds with squalls, some thunder, and much rain. The showers being very



copious, we saved a considerable quantity of water; and as we could procure a greater supply in one hour, by the rain, than by distillation in a month, we laid the still aside, as being attended with more trouble than advantage. The heat, which had continued in the extreme for about a month, became much more disagreeable in this close rainy weather, and we apprehended it would soon become noxious. It is remarkable, that there was not then a single person sick on board either of the ships. On Tuesday the 22nd, we had clear weather, but a great swell from the S. a sure presage of an approaching storm; which soon came on, and increased to such an alarming height before night, attended with thunder, lightning, and rain, with a tremendous sea, that brought the *Discovery* under bare poles till morning appeared. She then made sail under close reefed top-sails; and, about eleven at night, narrowly escaped running on shore on *Savage Island*. The man at the mast-head called out land, they soon, dark as it was, got sight of it close on the lee-bow, steering directly for it. They instantly put about, and fired a gun as a signal for the *Resolution* (then to windward about half a mile) to do the same. So narrow an escape made a strong impression on the ship's company, who, thoughtless as seamen are, could not help looking up to heaven with thankful hearts for so signal a deliverance? As soon as it was light the next morning, we saw this execrated Island at the distance of about four leagues. *Savage Island* was discovered by Capt Cook in 1774. In the night between the 24th, and 25th, we passed it; and on Monday, the 28th, about ten o'clock A. M. we saw the Islands to the eastward of *Annamooka*, bearing N. by W. about five leagues distant. We steered to the S. and then hauled up for *Annamooka*. At the approach of night, the weather being squally, with rain, we anchored in fifteen fathoms water. Immediately two canoes paddled towards us, and came along side without hesitation. Four men were in one of the canoes, and three in the other. They brought with them some sugar-canes, bread fruit, plantains, and cocoa-nuts, which they

bartered with us for nails. After these canoes had left us, we were visited by another, but night approaching, she did not continue long with us. The nearest Island to us was *Komango*, five miles distant; to which, at four o'clock the next morning, lieutenant King was dispatched with two boats, in order to procure refreshments. At five, signal was made to weigh, to proceed to *Annamooka*. When day-light appeared, we were visited by six or seven canoes, bringing with them two pigs, some fowls, several large wood-pigeons, small rails, and some violet coloured coots, besides fruits, and roots of various kinds, which they exchanged with us for nails, hatchets, beads, &c. They had other articles of commerce, but Capt. Cook gave particular orders that no curiosities should be purchased, till the ships were supplied with provisions, and they should have permission from him. About noon Mr. King's boat returned with seven hogs, some fowls, a quantity of fruit and roots: also some grass for our animals. His party was treated with great civility at *Komango*. The inhabitants did not appear to be numerous; and their huts, which almost touched each other, were but indifferent. *Toopoulangee*, the chief of the Island, and another, named *Taipa*, came on board with Mr. King. They brought a hog, as a present to our Captain, and promised to bring a greater number the next day. The boats being aboard, we stood for *Annamooka ette* (or little *Annamooka*) and the breakers at the S. E. but on drawing near, we met with very irregular soundings, which obliged us to relinquish the design, and go to the southward. This carried us to leeward, and we found it necessary to spend the night under sail. It was dark and rainy, and we had the wind from every direction. The next morning, Wednesday, the 30th, at day-light, we were farther off than we had been the preceding evening, and the wind was now right in our teeth. We continued to ply the whole day, to very little purpose; and, in the evening, anchored in thirty-nine fathoms water; the west-point of *Annamooka* bearing E. N. E. four miles distant. *Toopoulangee* and *Taipa*,



agreeable to their promise, brought off some hogs; and we obtained others, by bartering, from the different canoes that followed us, and a large quantity of fruit. It is remarkable, that those who visited the ships that day, would hardly part with any of their commodities to any one but Capt. Cook.

On Thursday May the 1st, a boat was hoisted out, and the master was ordered to sound the S. W. side of Annamooka. When he returned, he reported, that he had sounded between Great and Little Annamooka, where he found twelve fathoms depth of water; that the place was very well sheltered from winds; but that fresh water was to be had only at a considerable distance inland; and that even there it was neither plentiful nor good. For this good reason, it was resolved to anchor on the north side of the Island, where, in the Captain's former voyage, he had found a convenient place for watering and landing. Though not above a league distant, we did not reach it till above five o'clock in the afternoon, being retarded by the quantity of canoes that crowded round the ships, laden with abundant supplies of the produce of their Island. Several of these canoes, which were double, had a large sail, and carried between forty and fifty men each. Several women were also in them, incited, perhaps, by curiosity to visit us; though they were as eager as the men in bartering, and used the paddle with equal skill and dexterity. We worked into the road, and cast anchor in eighteen fathoms, the Island extending from E. to S. W. three quarters of a mile distant. Thus Capt. Cook resumed the station which he had occupied when he visited Annamooka three years before; and probably where Tasman, who first discovered this Island, anchored in 1643.

We had now been just sixty days in a passage, which in a direct course could not have exceeded ten, and had been exposed to severe trials, owing to some fatality in pursuing a track which there was not a seaman aboard who did not disapprove. It seemed to have no object of discovery in view, as we fell nearly into the same which

Capt. Cook had formerly navigated; nor did we meet with a single Island, which one or other of our late voyagers had not seen or visited in their different routes. How it happened, is not easy to be accounted for, as it was next to a miracle, that any creature on board the Resolution remained alive to reach our present harbour. Had not the copious rains that fell almost incessantly from the time that we passed the tropic till our arrival here, supplied us with a daily consumption of water, not only the animals, but the men must have perished. Happy were we now, however, in finding ourselves on a friendly coast. We forgot the dangers we had escaped, and thought only of enjoying with inexpressible pleasure the sweets of these happy Islands, whose spontaneous productions perfume the air to a considerable distance with a fragrance inconceivably reviving; and whose plantations exhibit a richness of prospect as we approach them, owing to the beautiful intermixture of the various blossoms, with a vivid green leaves of the trees, of which the most animated description can afford but a faint idea. Add to these, the tufted clumps which adorn the little rising hills, that appear every where interspersed, delightful among the verdant lawns, and rich, low, surrounding valleys. Nothing in nature can be more pleasing to the eye, or more grateful to the sense. We were no sooner moored in the harbour, than we were surrounded with innumerable little boats, or canoes, most curiously constructed and ornamented; the sides with a polish that surpassed the blackest ebony, and the decks inlaid with mother of pearl and tortoise shell equal to the best cabinets of European manufacture. In this kind of workmanship, those Islanders seem to excel. Their weapons of war, their clubs, the paddles of their boats, and even their fish-hooks are polished and inlaid with variegated shells, by an infinite accumulation of which their shores are margined, and among them our naturalists found some of superlative beauty. These boats generally held three persons, and under their decks, which take up two thirds of their length, they brought the fruits of their plantations, and the



manufactures of their country, which consisted of a great variety of useful things, and others ornamental. Of the first sort, besides cloth of different fabrics, were combs, fish-hooks, lines, nets, needles made of bone, thread, purses, calabashes made of reeds, so closely wrought as to be water-tight; with a variety of other utensils. Among the latter, were bracelets, breast-plates, ornamented with feathers of a vivid glow; masks, mantalets composed of feathers, so artfully and beautifully arranged, as even our English ladies would not disdain to wear.

Friday the 2nd, during the preparations for watering, Capt. Cook went on shore, in the forenoon, accompanied by Capt. Clerke, and others, to fix on a place for setting up the observatories, the natives having readily granted us permission. Nor was the civility of the chiefs confined to their readiness in supplying the ships with provisions; for they complimented the Captain with the use of a large boat-house, conveniently situated near the beach, and which answered the purpose of a tent: and at the same time presented the officers with breast-plates, beautifully decorated with feathers, being the richest offerings they had to make. In return, our commander was not wanting in generosity, loading them with hatchets, knives, linen-cloth, glass, and beads, with which they thought themselves amply repaid. Toobon, the chief of the Island, conducted Capt. Cook and Omiah to his house, situated on a pleasant spot in the centre of his plantation. It was surrounded with a grass-plot, which he said was for the purpose of cleaning their feet before they entered his habitation, such an attention to cleanliness we had never observed before, wherever we had visited in this ocean; though we afterwards found it to be very common at the Friendly Islands. No carpet in an English drawing-room could be kept neater, than the mats that covered the floor of Toopou's house. Tents were now carried on shore, the astronomers observatory erected; wooders and waterers appointed; and all the artificers on board employed in the reparations of the ships; not a few being wanting after a voyage of two months,

through a tempestuous sea, during which the elements of fire, air, and water, might be said to be in perpetual conflict. While these things were about, we bartered for some hogs and fruit; the ships were crowded with the natives; and as very few of them came empty-handed, we were speedily supplied with every refreshment. During these transactions the two Captains, and the chiefs of Annamooka, were contriving to vary the pleasures of their respective guests, and to entertain them with new diversions. They were mutually engaged on board and on shore to surprise each other with novelty. On board, the chiefs were entertained with music, dancing, and feasting, after the European manner; and with what seemed more pleasing to them, as they paid more attention thereto, with the various operations of the artificers who were at work on their respective employments. The facility with which the boat-builders performed their work attracted particularly their notice; when they beheld the labour of a year with them, performed in a week, by a less number of hands, their astonishment was beyond conception; nor were they less amazed to see large timber cut through the middle, and sawed into plank, while they were spectators, which they had no means of effecting in their Island in many days. The chiefs on shore in return, endeavoured to entertain our gentlemen: they feasted them, like tropical kings, with barbecued hogs, fowls, and with the most delicious fruits. After dinner, they introduced their music, and dancers, who were chiefly of the theatrical kind, and excelled in agility, and varied attitudes, many of the capital performers in Europe. A sort of pantomime succeeded, in which some prize-fighters displayed their feats of arms; and this part of the drama concluded with a humorous representation of some laughable story which produced among the chiefs, and their attendants, the most immoderate mirth. The songsters came last, the melody of whose voices was heightened by a kind of accompaniment, not unusual in the earliest ages, among the politest nations, as may be learnt from ancient paintings,



where the singers and dancers are represented with flat clams or shells in their hands, snapping them together, to harmonize their tunes, and regulate their movements. Though this farcical exhibition was insipid to us, it was not wholly without its use, in marking a similarity of manners among mankind, at the distance of half the globe; and at a period when the arts of civil life were in their infancy. Who knows, but that the seeds of the liberal arts, that have now been sown by European navigators in these happy climes, may, a thousand years hence, be ripened into maturity; and that the people, who are just emerging from ignorance into science, may, when the memory of these voyages are forgotten, be found in the zenith of their improvements by other adventurers, who may pride themselves as the first discoverers of new countries, and an unknown people, infinitely superior to those who at that time may inhabit these regions, and who may have lost their boasted arts, as we, at this day see, among the wretched inhabitants of Greece, and the still more miserable slaves of Egyptian bondage. Such are the vicissitudes to which the inhabitants of this little orb are subject; and such, perhaps, are the vicissitudes which the globe itself must undergo before its final dissolution. To a contemplative mind, these Islands present a mortifying spectacle of the ruins of a broken and desolated portion of the earth; for it is impossible to survey so many fragments of rocks, some with inhabitants and some without, and not conclude with the learned Dr. Burnet, that they are the effects of some early convulsion of the earth, of which no memory remains.

Capt. Cook having settled every thing to his satisfaction, returned on board in the evening, leaving Mr. King in command upon the Island. Taipa was now become our trusty friend, and, in order to be near our party, had a house carried on men's shoulders, a quarter of a mile, and placed by the side of a shed which our party occupied.

On Saturday the 3d, our various operations on shore began. Some were busied in making hay, others in filling our water-

casks, and a third party in cutting wood. On this day Mess. King and Baily began to observe equal latitudes of the sun, in order to get the rate of our time-keepers. In the evening, Taipa harangued the natives for some time, but we could only guess at the subject, and supposed he was instructing them how to treat us, and advising them to bring the produce of the Island to market. His eloquence had the desired effect, and occasioned us to receive a plentiful supply of provisions the day following. On the 4th, the Discovery lost her small bower anchor, the cable being cut in two by the rocks. On the 6th, we were visited by a chief from Tongataboo, whose name was Feenou: he was introduced by Taipa in the character and style of king of all the Friendly Isles. Capt. Cook was now informed, that, on our arrival, a canoe had been immediately dispatched to Tongataboo with the news, which occasioned his coming to Annamooka. We were also informed by the officers on shore, that, on his arrival, all the natives were ordered out to meet him, who saluted him by bowing their heads as low as his feet, the soles of which they touched with the palm of each hand, and afterwards with the back part. A personage received with such extraordinary marks of respect, could not be supposed less than a king. In the afternoon our Captain went to pay a visit to this great man, having first received from him a present of two fish, brought on board by one of his attendants. As soon as the Captain landed, Feenou came up to him. He was tall and thin, and appeared to be about thirty years of age. His features were more of the European cast than any we had seen here. After the first salutation, Capt. Cook requested to know if he was king; as he entertained some doubts on that score, perceiving he was not the man whom he remembered to have seen in that character during his former voyage. Taipa answered eagerly for him, and mentioned no less than one hundred and fifty-three Islands, of which, he said, he was the sovereign. Soon after, our grand visitor, attended by five or six servants, accompanied us on board. Capt. Cook made them



suitable presents, and entertained them in a manner which he thought would be most agreeable to them. Towards the evening the Captain attended them on shore in his boat, into which, by order of the chief, three hogs were conveyed, as a return for the presents he had received. We were then informed of an accident, the relation of which will convey some idea of the extent of the authority exercised here over the inferior sort of people. While Feenou was on board the *Resolution*, an inferior chief ordered all the natives to retire from the post they occupied. Some of them, however, having ventured to return, he beat them most unmercifully with a large stick. One, in particular received, so violent a blow on the side of the face, that the blood gushed from his mouth and nostrils; and, after lying motionless for some time, he was removed from the place in convulsions. The savage who gave the blow, on being told, that he had certainly killed the man, only laughed at the circumstance, and, indeed, it was very evident he did not grieve for what he had done. We had afterwards the satisfaction of hearing, that the poor sufferer was out of danger. On the 7th, being Wednesday, the *Discovery* having found her small bower anchor, shifted her birth; but not till after her best bower cable had met with the fate of the other. This day Feenou dined on board the *Resolution*; and also on the next, when he was attended by Taipa, Toobon, and some other chiefs. Taipa only, however, was permitted to sit at table with Feenou, or even to eat in his presence. The Captain was highly pleased on account of this etiquette; for before the arrival of Feenou, he had generally a larger company than he chose, his table being crowded with visitors of both sexes. For though at Otaheite the females are denied the privilege of eating in company with the men, this is not the practice at the Friendly Islands.

A large junk axe having been stolen out of the ship by one of the natives, on the first day of our arrival at Annamooka, application was made to Feenou to exert his authority to get it restored; who gave orders for that purpose; which exacted

such implicit obedience, that it was brought on board before we had finished our dinner. We had many opportunities of remarking how expert these people were in thievery. Even some of their chiefs were not ashamed of practising that art. On the 9th one of them was detected carrying out of the ship the bolt belonging to the spin-yarn winch, which he had carefully concealed under his clothes; for which offence the Captain sentenced him to receive a dozen lashes, and to be confined till he paid a hog for his liberty. Though, after this circumstance we were troubled with no more thieves of rank, their servants and slaves were constantly employed in this dirty business; and they received a flogging with as much seeming indifference, as if it had been upon the main-mast. When any of them were caught in the act of thieving, instead of interceding in their behalf, their masters would advise us to kill them: but as we were not disposed to be their judges and executioners they generally escaped without any kind of punishment: for we thought them to be alike insensible of the shame and torture of corporal chastisement. At length Capt. Clerke contrived a mode of punishment which had some effect. Immediately upon detection he ordered their heads to be completely shaved, and thus pointed them out as objects of ridicule to their countrymen; at the same time our people were put upon their guard, to deprive them of future opportunities for a repetition of their thefts. Feenou was so fond of our company, that he dined on board every day; but he did not always partake of our fare. Saturday the 10th, his servants brought him a mess, which had been dressed on shore, consisting of fish, soup, and yams: cocoa-nut liquor had been used instead of water, in which the fish had been boiled or stewed, (perhaps in a wooden vessel with hot stones) and it was brought on board in a plantain leaf. Capt. Cook tasted of the mess, and was so much pleased with it, that he afterwards ordered some fish to be dressed in the same way; but though his cook succeeded tolerably well, it was much inferior to the dish he attempted to imitate.



Sunday the 11th, we removed from the shore, the observatories, horses, and a variety of things we had landed, intending to sail as soon as the Discovery should have recovered her best bower anchor. The live stock which had been landed the day after our arrival, on a small Island, about half a mile from the shore to graze, were amazingly recovered : from perfect skeletons, the horses and cows were grown plump, and as playful as colts. On the 12th, the tents were struck, and Mr. Philipson, lieutenant of marines, lost all his bedding, by the carelessness of the centinel, who received twelve lashes for neglect of duty. In the morning, the long-boat was found swamped, and all the stern sheets, and several other articles belonging to her missing, and never recovered, for which the marine, who had the care of the watch, was severely punished. Feenow, hearing that the Captain meant to proceed to Tongataboo, earnestly entreated him to alter his plan ; expressing as much aversion to it, as if, by diverting him from it, he wished to promote some particular interest of his own. He warmly recommended a group of Islands called Hapae, lying to the N. E. where he assured us, we could be easily and plentifully supplied with every refreshment ; and even offered to attend us thither in person. In consequence of his advice Hapae was made choice of ; and as it had not been visited by any European vessel, the surveying it became an object to Capt. Cook. On Tuesday the 13th, Capt. Clerke's anchor was happily recovered ; and on the morning of the 14th, we made sail, and left Annamooka, with a fine breeze, wind N. E. course W. S. W.

Notwithstanding this Island is somewhat higher than the other small Isles that surround it, yet it is lower than Mangeea and Wateo ; and even those are but of a moderate height. The shore where our ships lay, consists of a steep, rugged, coral rock, about nine or ten feet high, except two sandy beaches, which are defended from the sea, by a reef of the same sort of rock. In the centre of the Island is a salt water lake, about a mile and a half in length, round which the ground rises with a gradual ascent,

and we could not trace its having any communication with the sea. On the rising parts of the Island, especially towards the sea, the soil is either of a blackish loose mould, or a reddish clay ; but there is not a stream of fresh water to be found in any part of the Island. The land is well cultivated, except in a few places ; and, though some parts appear to lie waste, they are only left to recover the strength exhausted by constant culture ; for we often saw the natives at work upon these fallows, in order to plant them again. Yams and plantains form their principal plantations ; many of which are very extensive, and enclosed with fences of reeds about six feet high. Fences of less compass were often seen within these, surrounding the houses of the principal people. The bread-fruit and cocoa-nut-trees are interspersed without any regular order, but principally near the habitations of the natives. The other parts of the Island, especially towards the sea and round the lake, are covered with luxuriant trees and bushes ; among which are a great many mangroves and fait-anoo-trees. All the rocks and stones about the Island are of coral, except in one place, to the right of the sandy beach, where there is a rock of about twenty-five feet in height, of a calcareous stone, and of a yellowish colour ; but even here, some large pieces are to be seen of the same coral rock as that which composes the shore. We sometimes amused ourselves by walking up the country and shooting wild ducks, resembling our widgeon, which are very numerous on the salt lake, as well as on the pool where we procured our water. We found, in these excursions, that the inhabitants frequently deserted their houses to repair to the trading place, without entertaining the least suspicion, that strangers would take away, or destroy, any property that belonged to them. From this circumstance it might be supposed, that most of the natives were sometimes collected on the beach, and that there could be no great difficulty in forming an accurate computation of their number ; but the continual resort of visitors from other Islands, rendered it impossible. However as we never saw more than a thousand persons collected together at one time, it



may reasonably be supposed, that there are twice that number upon the Island. In the direct track to Hapaee, whither we were now bound, to the N. an N. E. of Annamooka, a great number of small Isles are seen. We had more than sixty within sight, all of them surrounded with reefs of rocks, with so many windings and turnings, as truly might be said to constitute a labyrinth. Amidst the rocks and shoals adjoining to this group, we were doubtful whether there might be a free passage for ships of such magnitude as ours; though the natives sailed through the intervals in their canoes: therefore when we weighed anchor from Annamooka, we steered to go to the westward of the above Islands, and N. N. W. towards Kao and Toofoa, two Islands remarkable for their great height, and the most westerly of those in sight. Feenon, with his attendants remained in the Resolution till about noon of Wednesday the 14th, and then entered the large sailing canoe, which had brought him from Tongataboo, and stood in among the cluster of Islands of which we were now abreast. They are scattered, at unequal distances, and most of them are as high as Annamooka. Some of them are two or three miles in length, and others only half a mile. Many of them have steep rocky shores; some reddish cliffs; and others have sandy beaches, extending almost their whole length. In general, they are entirely clothed with trees, among which are many cocoa-palms, each having the appearance of a beautiful garden placed in the sea. The serene weather we now had, contributed greatly to heighten the scene; and the whole might convey an idea of the realization of some fairy land. It appears, that some of these Islands have been formed, as Palmerston's Island was supposed to have been; for one of them is now entirely sand, and another has but a single bush or

tree upon it. About four o'clock P. M. we steered to the north, leaving Toofoa and Kao on our larboard. We intended to have anchored for the night, but it came on before we could find a place in less than fifty fathoms water; and we rather chose to spend the night under sail, than come to in such a depth. At four o'clock in the afternoon, we had been within two leagues of Toofoa, and observed the smoke thereof several times in the day. There is a volcano upon it, of which the Friendly Islanders entertain some superstitious notions, and call it Kollofeea, saying it is an Otooa, or divinity. We were informed, that it sometimes throws up very large stones, and the crater is compared to the size of a very small islot, which has not ceased smoking in the memory of the inhabitants; nor have they any tradition that it ever did. We sometimes saw the smoke from the centre of the Island, even at Annamooka, the distance of at least ten leagues. We were told, that Toofoa is but thinly inhabited, but that the water upon it is excellent. On Thursday the 15th, at day-break, we were not far from Kao, which is a large rock of a conic figure; we steered to the passage between Footooha and Hafaiva, with a gentle breeze, at S. E. About ten o'clock, Feenou came on board, and continued with us all day. He brought with him some fruit and two hogs; and in the course of the day, several canoes came to barter quantities of the former article, which were very acceptable to us, as our stock began to be low. At noon we observed in latitude 19 deg. 49 min. 45 sec. S. and we had made seven miles longitude from Annamooka; at the same time Toofoa bore N. 88 deg. W. Kao N. 71 deg. W. Footooha N. 89 deg. W. and Hafaiva S. 12 deg. W.



## CHAP. V.

*Arrival of the Resolution and Discovery at Hapae; Friendly reception at that place; Taipa harangues the natives; Presents, solemnities, and entertainments on that occasion: Marines exercised; A dance, fire-works, and nocturnal entertainments; The Island of Leejooga described; Occurrences there; A female oculist discovered; Singular expedients used for shaving the hair; The Resolution and Discovery remove to another station; A remarkable artificial mount and stone; Hoolaiva described; Account of Poulaho, king of the Friendly Isles; The two ships depart from Hapae Islands, and return to Annamooka; Kootoo described; They strike on the rocks, but arrive safe at Tongataboo; Meeting of Poulaho and Feenou; Favourable reception of our people at Tongataboo, to whom the natives resort from all parts; An excursion to Mareewagee; A description of the village where the chiefs reside; A curious work of art; Process of manufacturing cloth; A grand haiva, with a variety of entertainments; Presents made to the chiefs; Thefts committed by the natives; The king and other chiefs confined on that account; His present and haiva after their release; Muskets and other articles are stolen from some of our officers; Complaints made to the king on this subject; The whole of them returned; Description of a Fiatooka; Of a country entertainment at Poulaho's house; His morning ceremony; Manner of preparing the liquor from the Kava plant; Account of a small Island, called Onevy; Mr. King accompanied by Mr. Anderson, visit Futtasaike the King's brother; How entertained by him; How they passed the night; Observations on the country they passed through; Preparations made for our departure from Tongataboo.*

**A**FTER having passed Footoolia, we met with a reef of rocks, and, being little wind, we found some difficulty in keeping clear of them. When we had passed this reef, we hauled up for Neeneeva, a small low Isle in the direction of E. N. E. from Footoolia, in hopes of finding an anchorage, but were again disappointed; for notwithstanding we had land in every direction, the sea was unfathomable. In the course of this night, we saw plainly the flames issuing from a burning mountain upon Toofoa. On Friday the 16th, at day-break, we held on our course for Hapae, which at this time was in sight; and we perceived it to be low land, from the trees only appearing above the water. At nine o'clock it appeared to form three Islands, equal nearly in size; and soon after, a fourth appeared to the southward of these, as large as any of the others. Each of the Islands appeared to be of a similar height and aspect, and about six or seven miles in length. The most northern of them is called Haanno, the next Foa, the third Lefooga, and the fourth Hoolaiva: but they are all four in-

cluded under the general name of Hapae. By sun-set, we got up with the northernmost of these Isles, where we experienced the same distress for want of anchorage, that we did the two preceding evenings, having another night to spend under sail, with land and breakers in every direction. Feenou, who had been on board all day, went forward to Hapae in the evening, and took Omiah with him in the canoe. He was not unmindful of our disagreeable situation, and kept up a good fire the whole night, by way of land-mark. Saturday, the 17th, at day-break, being then close in with Foa, we perceived it was joined to Haanno, by a reef running from one Island to the other, even with the surface of the sea. A boat was now dispatched in search of anchorage; and a proper place was found, abreast of a reef which joins Lefooga to Foa, having twenty-four fathoms depth of water. In this station the northern point of Hapae bore N. 16 deg. E. The southern point of Hapae, or the south end of Hoolaiva, S. 29 deg. W. and the north end of Lefooga, S. 65 deg. E. Two ledges of rocks lay without us; the one



bearing S. 50 deg W. and the other W. by N. half N. distant two or three miles. We were not more than three quarters of a mile from the shore; and, as we lay before a creek in the reef, it was convenient landing at all times.

We had scarcely moored, before we were surrounded with natives from all quarters, who had been apprized of our coming, and who had loaded their canoes with hogs, fowls, bread-fruit, yams, plantains, and every kind of fruit the Island produced, which they exchanged for broken glass, red and blue beads, hatchets, knives, nails, shreds of scarlet cloth, or indeed any thing we offered them. Here our friend Feenou assumed the same consequence as at Annamooka. He brought along-side his canoe laden with four large hogs, bread-fruit, and shaddocks, a fine odoriferous fruit, in smell and taste, not unlike a lemon, but larger and rounder. He brought likewise yams of an enormous size, weighing from fifty to sixty pounds each. Feenou and Omiah having come on board in order to introduce our Commander to the natives of the Island, he soon accompanied them on shore for that purpose. The chief conducted the Captain to a hut, situated close to the sea-beach, which was brought thither but a few minutes before for his reception. In this Feenou, Omiah, and Capt. Cook, were seated. The other chiefs and the multitude appeared fronting them on the outside: and they also seated themselves. Capt. Cook being asked how long he intended to stay, said five days. Taipa was therefore ordered to sit by him, and declare this to the people. Hereupon he harangued them in words nearly to the following purport, as we were afterwards informed by Omiah. He exhorted both old and young, to look upon Capt. Cook as a friend, who meant to continue with them a few days; and that, during his stay among them, they would not steal any thing from him, or offend him in any other manner. He informed them that it was expected they should bring hogs, fruit, &c. to the ships; for which they would receive such articles as he enumerated in exchange. Soon after Taipa had delivered

his address to the assembly, Feenou left them; on which Capt. Cook was informed by Taipa, that it was necessary he should make a present to Earoupa, the chief of the Island. The Captain being not unprepared for this, gave him such articles as far exceeded his expectation. This liberality created similar demands from two chiefs of other Isles who were present, and even from Taipa himself. Soon after he had made the last of these presents, Feenou returned, and expressed his displeasure to Taipa, for suffering the Captain to be so lavish of his favours. But this was doubtless a finesse, as he certainly acted in concert with the others. Feenou, having resumed his seat, ordered Earoupa to sit by him, and harangue the people as Taipa had done, which he did nearly to the same purport. These ceremonies being over, the chief, at the Captain's request, conducted him to three stagnant pools of what he called, fresh water; in one of which the water was indeed tolerable, and the situation convenient for filling the casks. When the chief returned to his former station, he found a baked hog and some yams smoking hot, ready to be conveyed on board for his dinner. He invited Feenou and his friends to partake of the repast, and they embarked for the ship, though none but himself sat down with us at table. Dinner being over, the Captain conducted them ashore; and, before he returned, received as a present from the chief, a fine large turtle, and a quantity of yams. We had a plentiful supply of provisions, for, in the course of the day, we got by bartering with the natives, about twenty small hogs, together with a large quantity of fruit and roots.

Sunday the 18th, early in the morning, Feenou and Omiah, who now, with the chief, slept on shore, came aboard to request Capt. Cook's presence upon the Island. He accompanied them, and upon landing, was conducted to the place where he had been seated the preceding day, and where he beheld a large concourse of people already assembled. Though we imagined something extraordinary was in agitation, yet we could not conjecture what, nor could Omiah give



us any information. Soon after we were seated, about an hundred of the natives appeared, and advanced, laden with yams, plantains, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and sugar-canes; their burdens were deposited on our left. A number of others arrived soon after, bearing the same kind of articles, which were collected into two piles on our right-side. To these were fastened two pigs, and half a dozen fowls, and to those on the left, six pigs, and two turtles. Earoupa seated himself before the articles on our left, and another chief before those on our right; they being, as we supposed, the two chiefs who had procured them by order of Feenou, who was as implicitly obeyed here, as he had been at Annamooka, and who had probably laid this tax upon the chiefs of Hapae for the present occasion. When this munificent collection of provisions was placed in order, and advantageously disposed for public view, the bearers joined the multitude, who formed a circle round the whole. Immediately after, a number of men, armed with clubs, entered this circle or area; where they paraded about for a few minutes, and then one half of them retired to one side, and the other half to the other side, seating themselves before the spectators. Presently after, they successively entertained us with single combats: one champion on one side challenging those of the other side, partly by words, but more by expressive gestures, to send one of their party to oppose him. The challenge was in general accepted; the two combatants placed themselves in proper attitudes; and the engagement began, which continued till one of them yielded, or till their weapons were broken. At the conclusion of each combat, the victor squatted himself down before the chief, then immediately rose up and retired. Some old men, who seemed to preside as judges, gave their plaudit in a very few words; but the multitude, especially those on the side of the conqueror, celebrated the glory he had acquired in two or three loud huzzas. In these mock fights, which differed but little from our cudgel-players in England, the combatants beat one another pretty severely. This enter-

tainment was sometimes suspended for a short space, and the intervals of time were filled up with wresling and boxing matches. The first were performed in the method practised at Otaheite, and the second differed very little from the English manner. A couple of stout wenches next stepped forth, and, without ceremony, began boxing with as much dexterity as the men. This contest, however, was but of short duration, for, in the space of half a minute, one of them gave it up. The victorious heroine was applauded by the spectators, in the same manner as the successful combatants of the other sex. Though we expressed our disapprobation of this part of the entertainment, it did not prevent, however, two other females from entering the lists; who seemed to be spirited girls, and if two old women had not interposed to part them, would probably have given each other a good drubbing. When these sports were exhibited, three thousand spectators, at least, were present, and every thing was conducted with the most perfect good humour on all sides, though some of the champions, of both sexes, received blows which they must have felt the effect of for some time after.

The diversions being finished, the chief informed Capt. Cook, that the provisions on our right-hand were a present to Omiah; and that those on our left, making about two thirds of the whole quantity, were intended for him, and that he might suit his own convenience in taking them aboard. Four boats were loaded with the munificence of Feenou, whose favours far exceeded any that Capt. Cook had ever received from the sovereigns of any of the Islands we had visited in the Pacific Ocean. He, therefore, embraced the first opportunity of convincing Feenou, that we were not insensible of his liberality, by bestowing upon him such commodities as he supposed were most valuable in his estimation. Feenou was so highly pleased with the return that was made him, that he left the Captain still indebted to him, by sending him two large hogs, some yams, and a considerable quantity of cloth. In this manner, and in ranging the Island, botanizing, examining



the curiosities, natural and artificial, we employed our time, while the live stock were recruiting their flesh, and the several artificers were completing the repairs of the ship. It is not easy for people, who are totally unacquainted with the language of a country, to make themselves masters of the civil policy of the inhabitants. Indeed it is next to impossible in a short residence among them. As we observed no such medium as money, by which the value of property is ascertained, it was not easy to discover what else they had substituted in its room, to facilitate the modes of traffic among themselves. That each had a property in the plantation he possessed, we could plainly discern; and the chiefs were ready enough to point out their possessions, the extent of which gave them consequence, as among other civilized nations; but no such thing as circulating property being discoverable, by the hoarding up of which, and laying it out occasionally to advantage, one might purchase another's landed or substantial property: we could not inform ourselves sufficiently, by what means the fisherman purchased his canoe, or the boat-builder his materials, yet there cannot remain a doubt, but that the boat-builder had an interest in his boat after it was built, as well as the chief in his plantation, after it is inclosed and cultivated. With us all was carried on by barter, and an imaginary value fixed on every article. A hog was rated at a hatchet, and so many bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and plantains, at a string of beads; and so in like manner throughout; but among themselves, we saw no such value by way of barter. We did not observe so much fruit given for so many fish; nor so many combs, needles, or useful materials, for a certain proportion of cloth; yet, doubtless, some mode of exchange there must be among them; for it is certain there is no such thing as money, at least, none that we could discern: neither could we discover any distinct property, which one man claimed more than another in the forests or woods; but that every man, like us, cut what he wanted for use, and was under no limitation for fuel. Salt, which

is so necessary an article in European house-keeping, is wholly unknown to these tropical Islanders.

Feenou having expressed a desire to see the marines perform their exercise, Capt. Cook ordered them ashore on Tuesday the 20th. They went through their military manœuvres, surrounded by thousands of the natives, who were frightened at the first firing, and fled like herds of deer from the report of the guns; but finding no harm ensue, they took courage, and rallied at a distance! but no persuasions could prevail upon them to come near. After they had gone through various evolutions, and fired several volleys, the chief in his turn, entertained us with an exhibition, performed with an exactness, and agility, far surpassing what they had seen in our military movements. It was a kind of dance, performed by men, in which one hundred and five persons were engaged, each having an instrument in his hand, resembling a paddle, two feet and a half long, with a thin blade, and a small handle. With these instruments various flourishes were made, each of which was accompanied with a different movement, or a different attitude of body. At first, the dancers ranged themselves in three lines, and so changed their stations by different evolutions, that those who had been in the rear came into the front. At one part of the performance, they extended themselves in one line; afterwards they formed themselves into a semi-circle, and then into two square columns. During the last movement, one of them came forward and performed an antic dance, with which the entertainment ended. The music that accompanied the dances was produced by two drums, or rather hollow logs of wood, from which they forced a few varied, notes, by beating on them with two sticks. The dancers, however, did not appear to be much assisted or directed by these sounds, but by a chorus of vocal music, in which all the performers joined. Their song was rather melodious, and their corresponding motions were so skilfully executed, that the whole body of dancers appeared as one



regular machine. Such a performance would have been applauded even on an European theatre. It far exceeded any attempt that we had made to entertain them ; insomuch that they seemed to plume themselves on their superiority over us. They liked none of our musical instruments, except the drum, and they even thought that inferior to their own : our French horns they held in the highest contempt, and would not pay the smallest attention to them, either here, or at any other of the Islands. To give them a more favourable opinion of the amusements, and superior attainments of the English, Capt. Cook ordered some fire-works to be prepared ; and after it was dark, exhibited them in the presence of Feenou, and a vast multitude of people. They were highly entertained with the display in general ; but our water and sky-rockets astonished them beyond all conception ; and they now admitted that the scale was turned in our favour.

This exhibition, however, served only as an additional stimulus to urge them to proceed to fresh exertions of their singular dexterity ; for as soon as our fire-works were ended, a succession of dances, which Feenou had prepared for our entertainment, began. A band of music, or chorus, consisting of eighteen men, seated themselves before us, in the centre of a circle formed by the numerous spectators. About four or five of the performers had each pieces of bamboo, from three to six feet in length, each played on by one man, who held it almost vertically : the upper end whereof was open, but the other closed by one of the joints. They kept constantly striking the ground, though slowly, with the closed end, and thus produced a variation in the notes, according to the different lengths of the instruments, but all were of the base or hollow kind ; which was counteracted by a person who struck nimbly a piece of the same substance, split, and lying upon the ground, furnished a tone as acute, as the others were grave and solemn. The whole of the band (including those who performed upon the bamboos) sung a slow soft air, which so finely tempered the

harsher notes of the instruments, that the most perfect judge of the modulation of sweet sounds, would confess the great power and pleasing effect of this simple harmony. About a quarter of an hour after the concert began, twenty women entered the circle, whose hands were adorned with garlands of crimson flowers ; and many of their persons were decorated with leaves of trees, curiously scoloped, or ornamented at the edges. They encircled those of the chorons, with their faces towards them, and began by singing a soft air, to which responses were made by the chorus ; and those were alternately repeated. The women accompanied their song with many graceful motions of their hands, and continually advancing and retreating with one foot, while the other remained fixed. After this, they turned their faces to the assembly, and having sung some time, retreated slowly in a body, and placed themselves opposite to the hut, where the principal spectators sat. One of them next advanced from each side, passing each other in the front, and moving progressively till they came to the rest. On which two advanced from each side ; two of whom returned, but the other two remained ; and to these, from each side, came one by intervals, till they had, once more, formed a circle about the chorons. Dancing to a quicker measure now succeeded, in which the performers made a kind of half turn by leaping ; then clapping their hands, and snapping their fingers, repeated some words in unison with the chorus. As they proceeded in the dance, the rapidity of their music increased ; their gestures and attitudes were varied with wonderful dexterity and some of their motions would, by an European, be thought rather indecent ; though, perhaps, they meant only to display the astonishing variety of the movements. This female ballet was succeeded by one performed by fifteen men ; and though some of them were old, time seemed to have robbed them of but little of their agility. They were disposed in a sort of circle, divided at the front. Sometimes they sung slowly, in concert with the chorons, making several graceful motions with their hands, but differing from those of the



women; at the same time inclining the body alternately to either side, by raising one leg outward, and resting on the other; the arm of the same side being also stretched upward. They then recited sentences, which were answered by the chorus; and occasionally increased the measure of the dance, by clapping the hands and accelerating the motion of the feet. Towards the conclusion, the rapidity of the music and dancing so much increased that the different movements were hard to be distinguished.

When this dance was finished, and after a considerable interval, twelve other men advanced, placing themselves in double rows, fronting each other. On one side was stationed a kind of prompter, who repeated several sentences, to which responses were made by the performers and the chorus. They sung and danced slowly; and gradually grew quicker, like those whom they had succeeded. Next to these, nine women advanced and sat down opposite the hut where the chief had placed himself. A man immediately rose and gave the first of these women a blow on the back with both his fists joined: he treated the second and third in the same manner; but when he came to the fourth, he struck her on the breast: upon seeing this, a person instantly rising up from among the crowd, knocked him down with a blow on the head, and he was quietly carried away. But this did not excuse the other five women from so extraordinary a discipline: for they were treated in the same manner by a person who succeeded him. When these nine women danced, their performance was twice disapproved of, and they were obliged to repeat it again. There was no difference between this dance and that of the first set of women, except that these sometimes raised the body upon one leg, and then upon the other, alternately by a sort of double motion. Soon after a person entered unexpectedly, making some ludicrous remarks on our fire-works that had been exhibited, which extorted a burst of laughter from the crowd. We had then a dance by the attendants of Feenou: they formed a double row of twenty-four each round the chorus, and joined in a gentle

soothing song, accompanied with motions of their heads and hands. They also began with slow movements, which gradually became more and more rapid, and closed finally with several very ingenious transpositions of the two circles. The festival of this memorable night concluded with a dance, in which the principal people assisted. In many respects it resembled the preceding ones, but they increased their motions to a prodigious quickness, shaking their heads from shoulder to shoulder, inasmuch that they appeared in danger of dislocating their necks. This was attended with a clapping of the hands, and a kind of savage shriek. A person on one side, repeated something in a truly musical recitative, and with an air so graceful, as might put some of our applauded performers to the blush. He was answered by another, and this was repeated several times by the whole body on each side; and they finished, by singing and dancing, as they had begun. The two last dances were approved universally by the spectators. They were perfectly in time, and some of their gestures were so expressive, that it might justly be said, they spoke the language that accompanied them. The theatre for these exhibitions and performances was an open space among the trees, bordering on the sea, with lights placed at small intervals, round the inside of the circle. Though the concourse of people was pretty large, their number was much inferior to that assembled in the forenoon, when the marines performed their exercise. At that time many of our gentlemen supposed there might be present five thousand persons or upwards; but the Captain thought that account rather exaggerated.

On Wednesday the 21st, a chief went on board the *Discovery*, and presented her Captain with a large, elegant head-dress, ornamented with pearls, shells, and red feathers, and wreathed with flowers of the most resplendent colours. In return, Capt. Clerke loaded him with many useful articles of European manufacture, knives, scissars, saws, and some gaudy strings of beads, which were highly prized by the chief, who thought it no disgrace to paddle himself on



shore, with his rich acquisitions. This day Capt. Cook made an excursion into the Island of Lefooga, which, in some respects, was found to be superior to Annamooka, the plantations being not only more numerous, but also more extensive. Various parts of the country near the sea are waste, owing perhaps to the sandiness of the soil : but in the internal parts of the Island, the soil is better ; and there the marks of population and of an improved state of cultivation, are very conspicuous. Many of the plantations are enclosed in such a manner, that the fences, running parallel to each other, form spacious public roads. Large spots, covered with the paper-mulberry-trees, were observed ; and the plantations, in general, were stocked abundantly with such plants and fruit-trees as the Island produces. To these we made some addition, by sowing the seeds of melons, pumpkins, Indian-corn, &c. At one place was a house, four times as large as the ordinary ones, with an extensive area of grass before it, to which the people probably resort on some public occasions, particularly in the rainy seasons. Near the landing-place we observed a mound, two or three feet high, whereon stood four or five little huts, in which the bodies of some persons of distinction had been interred. The Island is but seven miles in length, and its breadth, in some places, is not more than three miles. The east-side has a reef, projecting considerably, against which the sea breaks with great violence. It is the continuation of this reef that joins Lefooga to Foa, which is but half a mile distant ; and, at low water, the natives can walk upon this reef from one Island to the other. The shore is either a sandy beach, or a coral rock. When the Captain returned on board from his excursion, he found a large sailing canoe fastened to our stern. In this came Latooliboula, or Kohagee-too Fallangou, (one perhaps the name of the person, and the other the description of his rank or title,) whom the Captain had seen, during his last voyage, at Tongataboo, and who was then supposed by him to be the king of that Island. He could not be prevailed upon to come on board, but continued sitting in his

canoe with an uncommon air of gravity. The Islanders called him Areekee, or king, a title which we had not heard any of them give to Feenou, however extensive his authority over them had appeared to be. Latooliboula remained under our stern till the evening and then departed. Feenou was on board the Resolution at that time, but neither of these chiefs took the smallest notice of each other.

On Thursday the 22nd, some of the natives having stolen a tarpaulin and other things from off the deck, the Captain applied to Feenou, desiring him to exert his authority to get them restored ; but this application was of no effect. On the 23rd, as we were preparing to leave the Island, Feenou and his prime-minister Taipacame along-side in a canoe, and informed us, that they were going to Vavaoo, an Island, as they said, situated about two days sail to the northward of Hapae. They assured us, that the object of their voyage was to procure for us an additional supply of hogs, besides some red feathered caps for Omiah, to carry with him to Otaheite ; and desired us not to sail till their return, which would be in four or five days ; after which Feenou would accompany us to Tongataboo. Capt. Cook consented to wait the return of this chief, who immediately, as he pretended, set out for Vagao. On the 24th, a report was industriously spread about by some of the Islanders, that a ship resembling ours had arrived at Annamooka since we left it, and was now at anchor there. It was also said, that Toobou, the chief of that Island, was hastened thither to receive those new visitors. Upon enquiry, however, it was found, that this report was totally void of foundation. It is difficult to conjecture, what purpose the invention of this tale could answer : unless we suppose it was contrived with a view of getting us removed from one Island to another. On the 25th, we went into a house where a woman was dressing the eyes of a child, who seemed blind. The instruments used by this female oculist were two slender wooden probes, with which she brushed the eyes so as to make them bleed. In the same house we



found another woman shaving a child's head with a shark's tooth, stuck into the end of a stick. She first wetted the hair with a rag dipped in water, and then applying the instrument, took off the hair as close as if a razor had been used. Capt. Cook soon after tried upon himself one of these remarkable instruments, and found it to be an excellent substitute. The natives of these Islands, however, have a different method of shaving their beards, which operation they performed with two shells one of which they place under a part of the beard, and with the other applied above, they scrape off that part: in this manner they can shave very close, though the process is rather tedious. There are among them some who seem to make this a profession; for it was common for our sailors when ashore, to have their beards scraped off, after the mode of Hapae, as it was for their chiefs, when on board, to be shaved by our barbers. Finding at this time, that little or nothing of what the Island produced was brought to the ships, Capt. Cook determined to change our station, and to wait Feenou's return in some other anchoring-place, where we might still be supplied with refreshments; accordingly,

On Monday the 26th, in the forenoon, we made sail to the southward along the reef of the Island, and having passed several shoals, hauled into a bay, that lies between the north end of Hoolaiva, and the south of Lefooga and there anchored in seventeen fathoms water, the point of Lefooga bearing S. E. by E. distant a mile and a half. The Discovery did not cast anchor till sun-set; she having touched on one of the shoals; but backed off again without receiving the least damage. We had no sooner cast anchor, than Mr. Bligh, master, was sent to sound the bay, where we were now stationed; and Capt. Cook, accompanied by Lieutenant Gore, landed on the southern part of Lefooga, to look for fresh water, and examine the country. On the west-side of the Island they observed an artificial mount of considerable antiquity, about forty feet high, and measuring fifty feet, in the diameter of its summit. At the bottom of this mount was a stone fourteen

feet high, two and a half thick, and four broad, hewn out of coral-rock; and we were told by the Islanders, that not more than half its length was seen above ground. They called it Tangata Areekee (Tangata in their language signifies man; Areekee, king) and said it had been set up, and the mount raised in memory of one of their kings. On the approach of night, the Captain and Mr. Gore returned on board, and Mr. Bligh came back from sounding the bay, in which he found from fourteen to twenty fathoms water, with a bottom principally of sand. Lefooga and Hoolaiva are separated from each other by a reef of coral rocks, dry at low water. Some of our gentlemen, who landed in the last mentioned Island, found not the smallest mark of cultivation, or habitation upon it, except a single hut, in which a man employed to catch fish and turtle resided. It is remarkable that it should remain in this desolate condition, since it communicates so immediately with Lefooga, which is so well cultivated. The west side of it has a bending, where there seems to be good anchorage; and the east side has a reef, as well as Lefooga. Uninhabited as Hoolaiva is, an artificial mount has been raised upon it, equal in height to some of the surrounding trees.

On Tuesday the 27th, at day-break, signal was made to weigh, and as we intended to attempt in our run to Tongataboo, a passage to Annamooka, by the S. W. among the intermediate Isles, Mr. Bligh was sent in a boat, to sound before the ships. But before we got under sail, the wind became so variable and unsettled, as to render it unsafe to attempt a passage with which we were so little acquainted; we therefore lay fast, and made signal for the master to return. He, and the master of the Discovery, were afterwards sent, each in a boat to examine the channels. Towards noon, a large sailing canoe came under our stern, in which was a person named Poulaho, or Futtafaihe, who was said by the natives then on board, to be king of Tongataboo, Annamooka, Hapae, and all the neighbouring Islands. We were surprised to find a stranger digni-



fied with this title, which we were taught to believe appertained to another ; but they persisted in their assertions, that the supreme dignity belonged to Poulaho ; and now for the first time acknowledged, that Feenou was not the king, but a subordinate chief, though of great power. After this explanation, Poulaho was invited by the Captain on board, where he was not an unwelcome guest, as he brought with him two fat hogs by way of present. This great personage, though not very tall, was extremely unwieldy, and almost shapeless with corpulence. He appeared to be about forty : his hair was straight, and his features considerably different from those of the majority of his people. We found him to be a man of gravity and good sense. He viewed the ship, and the various new objects, with a particular attention ; and asked many pertinent questions. When he had gratified his curiosity in looking at the cattle, and other novelties, he was requested to walk down into the cabin ; to which some of his retinue objected, saying, that, if he should go down thither, it would doubtless happen that people would walk over his head ; a circumstance that could not be permitted. When this objection was to be obviated, by ordering that no one should presume to walk over the cabin, Poulaho waved all ceremony and ventured down without any previous stipulation. He now appeared to be no less solicitous than his people were, to convince us that he was sovereign and not Feenou. He sat down to dinner with us, but eat and drank very little ; and afterwards desired the Captain to accompany him on shore. Omiah was asked to be one of the party ; but he was too faithfully attached to Feenou, to shew much respect to his competitor, and therefore declined the invitation. Capt. Cook attended the chief in his own boat, having first made him such presents as exceeded his expectations ; in return for which, Poulaho ordered two more hogs to be sent on board. The chief was then carried out of the boat, by his own subjects, on a board resembling a hand-barrow, and was seated in a small house near the shore.

He placed the Captain by his side ; and his attendants formed a semi-circle before them, on the outside of the house. An old woman sat close to the chief, with a kind of fan in her hand, to prevent his being incommoded with the flies. The various articles which his people had procured by trading on board the ships, being now displayed before him, he attentively looked over them all, inquired what they had given in exchange, and, at length, ordered every thing to be restored to the respective owners, except one glass bowl which he reserved for himself. The people who paid this respect, first squatted themselves down before him, then deposited their purchases, and instantly retired. They observed the same ceremony in taking them away, and not one of them presumed to speak to him standing. His attendants, just before they left him, paid him obeisance, by bowing their heads down to the sole of his foot, and touching it with the upper and under side of the fingers of each hand. Capt. Cook was charmed with the groveling submission, or, as he termed it, the decorum, that was paid by the slaves to their master on this occasion, having scarce seen the like any where, even among more civilized nations. Perhaps the Captain had never visited Italy, and seen the ceremony of kissing the Pope's toe. The master having returned, informed us, that as far as he had proceeded, there was a passage for the ships, and tolerable anchorage ; but that, towards the S. and S. E. he observed numerous shoals, breakers, and small Isles. In consequence of this report, we relinquished all thoughts of a passage this way, and, being resolved to return to Annamooka by the same route which we had so lately experienced to be a safe one, we should have sailed the next morning, which was the 28th, if the wind had not been very unsettled ; and in the night we had some heavy squalls, with thunder, lightning, and rain, to which, at times, these Islands are exposed. Poulaho came early on board, bringing a red-feathered cap as a present to the Captain. These curiosities were greatly sought after by us, as we knew they would



be highly valued at Otaheite ; but not one was ever brought for sale, though very large prices were offered ; nor could a person in either ship make himself the proprietor of one, except the two Captains and Omiah. They are composed of the tail feathers of the tropic bird, intermixed with the red feathers of the parroquet ; and are made in such a manner, as to tie on the forehead without any crown ; and are in the form of a semicircle, whose radius is eighteen or twenty inches. Poulaho left the ship in the evening ; but his brother, whose name was also Futtasaihe, and some of his attendants remained all night on board.

On Thursday the 29th, at day-break, we weighed with a fine breeze at E. N. E. and made sail to the westward, followed by several of the sailing canoes, in one of which was Poulaho the king, who, coming on board the *Resolution*, enquired for his brother, and the others who had continued with us all night. We now found that they had staid without his permission ; for he gave them such a reprimand as brought tears from their eyes ; however, he was soon reconciled to their making a longer stay ; for on his departure from the ship, he left his brother, and five attendants on board. We were also honoured with the company of a chief, named Tooboueitoa, just arrived from Tongataboo ; who, as soon as he came, sent away his canoe, declaring, that he and five others who came with him, would sleep on board ; so that the Captain had, at this time, his cabin filled with visitors, this inconvenience he endured the more willingly, as they brought with them plenty of provisions, as presents to him, for which they met with suitable returns. In the afternoon, the easterly wind was succeeded by a fresh breeze at S. S. E. Our course being S. S. W. we were obliged to beat to windward, and did but just fetch the northern side of Footooha by eight o'clock in the evening. The next day we plied up to Lopanga, and had soundings, under the lee or N. W. side, in forty fathoms water ; but the bottom being rocky, and a chain of breakers lying to the leeward, we stretched away for Kotoo, expecting to find better

anchorage there. It was dark before we reached that Island, where finding no convenient place to anchor in, we passed the night in making short boards. On the 31st, at day break, we stood for the channel between Kotoo, and the reef of rocks lying to the westward of it, but on our approach, we found the wind insufficient to lead us through. We therefore bore up on the outside of the reef, and stretched to the S. W. till near twelve o'clock, when perceiving that we made no progress to windward, and being apprehensive of losing the Islands, while we had so many natives on board, we tacked, stood back, and spent the night between Footooha and Kotoo. The wind now blew fresh, with squalls and rain ; and, during the night, by a small change of the wind, we were very near running a-ground on a low sandy Isle, named Pootoo Pootoa, encompassed with breakers. Our people having fortunately been just ordered upon deck, to put the ship about, and most of them being at their respective stations, the necessary movements were performed with judgment and alertness ; and this alone preserved us from destruction. The *Discovery* being astern, was out of danger. This narrow escape so alarmed the natives who were on board, that they desired with great earnestness, to be put on shore ; accordingly, on the return of day-light, a boat was hoisted out, and the officer who commanded her was ordered, after landing them at Kotoo, to sound for anchorage along the reef which projects from that Island. During the absence of the boat, we endeavoured to turn the ships through the channel between the reef of Kotoo and the sandy Isle ; but meeting with a strong current against us, we were obliged to desist.

On Sunday the 1st of June, distant about four leagues, we saw the burning mountains, and about eleven o'clock A. M. cast anchor in a fine bay, in fifty fathoms water, the sandy Isle bearing E. by N. about one mile from the shore. Here we remained till the 4th, being frequently visited by our king, by Tooboueitoa, and by people who came from the neighbouring Islands to traffic with us. Mr. Bligh, in the mean time,



was dispatched to sound the channels between the Islands situated to the eastward ; and Capt. Cook himself landed on Kotoo, to take a survey of it. This Island, on account of the coral reefs that environ it, is scarcely accessible by boats. Its N. W. end is low ; but it rises suddenly in the middle, and terminates at the S. E. end in reddish clayey cliffs. It produces the same fruits and roots with the adjacent Islands, and is tolerably well cultivated, though thinly inhabited. It is about two miles in length. In the absence of the Captain our people were employed in cutting grass for the cattle, and we planted some melon seeds. On our return to the boat, we passed by some ponds of dirty brackish water, and saw a burying-place, which was much neater than any one we had seen at Hapae. On the 4th, at seven o'clock, A. M. we made sail, with a strong gale at E. S. E. and, about five in the afternoon, reached Annamooka, where we moored in our old birth, which we had lately occupied ; but the *Discovery*, not being able to beat up against the wind, did not arrive till seven in the evening. When casting anchor she drove, and in less than an hour, was three leagues to leeward of us, and in the utmost danger of being wrecked. They were now employed in weighing up their anchor ; and we sent a number of our hands seasonably to their assistance. The night was tempestuous, with a high sea. They laboured till four in the morning incessantly ; yet made but little way to windward, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of their whole strength : but providentially the gale having subsided, they swayed the anchor, and before day-light was safely moored by our side. This day, being Thursday the 5th, Capt. Cook went on shore, and found the Islanders very busy in their plantations, digging up yams for traffic. In the course of the day not less than two hundred of them assembled on the beach, and traded with great eagerness. It appeared that they had been very diligent, during our absence, in cultivating their several plantations ; and we now observed many large plantain-fields, which places, in our late

visit, we had seen lying waste. The yams were in the highest perfection ; and we obtained a good quantity of them in exchange for iron. Before the Captain returned on board, he visited the several places where we had sown melon and cucumber seeds ; but found, to his great regret, that most of them had been destroyed by the vermin ; though some pine-apples which had also been left, were in a thriving condition.

Friday the 6th, about noon, Feenou arrived from Vavaoo, and informed us that several canoes, laden with hogs and other provisions, had sailed with him from that Island, but had been lost near Appy, the Island in which the burning mountains are situated, in the late tempestuous weather, and every person on board them had perished. This melancholy tale did not gain much credit with us, as we were by this time sufficiently acquainted with the character of the relator. The truth perhaps was, that he had been unable to procure at Vavaoo the expected supplies ; or, if he obtained any there, that he had left them at Hapae, which lay in his way back, and where he must have heard that Poulaho had come to visit us ; who therefore, he knew, would, as his superior, reap all the merit and reward of procuring those supplies, without having had any participation of the trouble. The invention, however, of this loss at sea was not ill imagined ; for we had lately had very stormy weather. On the 7th, Poulaho, and some other chiefs, who had been wind-bound with him arrived ; at which time Capt. Cook happened to be ashore with Feenou, who now appeared to be sensible of the impropriety of his conduct, in arrogating a character to which he had no just claim ; for he not only acknowledged Poulaho as sovereign of Tongataboo, and the adjacent Isles, but affected to insist much on it. The Captain left him, and went to pay a visit to the king, whom he found sitting with a few of the natives before him ; but great numbers hastening to pay their respects to him, the circle enlarged very fast. When Feenou approached, he placed himself among the



rest that sat before Poulaho, as attendants on his majesty. He at first seemed to be somewhat confused and abashed; but soon recovered himself. A very short conversation passed between these two chiefs, which none of us understood; nor were we satisfied with Omiah's interpretation of it; however, from what we observed, we were sufficiently undeceived as to Feenou's rank. Both the king and Feenou accompanied the Captain on board to dinner; but Poulaho only sat at table. Feenou, after having made his obeisance in the usual mode, by saluting the foot of his sovereign with his head and hands, retired from the cabin; and it now appeared, that he could neither eat nor drink in the king's presence.

On Sunday the 8th, at eight o'clock, A. M. we weighed anchor, and set sail for Tongataboo, or Amsterdam Island, having a gentle breeze, at N. E. We were accompanied by fourteen or fifteen sailing vessels, belonging to the Islanders, every one of which out-ran the ships. Feenou was to have taken his passage in the Resolution; but preferred his own canoe, and put two men on board, as pilots, to conduct us to the best anchorage. The royal canoe was distinguished from the rest by a small bundle of grass, of a red colour, fastened to the end of a pole, and fixed in the stern, in the same manner as our ensign staffs. At five in the afternoon we descried two small Islands, at the distance of four leagues to the westward. One was called by our two pilots Hoonga Hapae, and the other Hoon-ga Tonga. They are situated in the latitude of 20 deg 36 min. S. and about ten leagues from the western point of Annamooka, in the direction of S. 46 deg. W. We were told only five men resided on Hoonga Hapae; and that Hoonga Tonga had no inhabitants. We continued a S. W. course till two o'clock, A. M. of the 9th, when we saw several little Islands, beyond which appeared Eoea and Tongataboo. We now had twenty-five fathoms water, with a bottom of broken coral and sand; and the depth gradually decreased, as we approached the above-mentioned Isles, which lie ranged along the N. E. side of Tongataboo.

Steering by the direction of our two pilots, for the widest space between those Isles, we were insensibly drawn upon a large flat, upon which lay innumerable rocks of coral, below the surface of the sea. Notwithstanding our boats were sounding a-head, and our utmost attention and care to avoid those rocks, we were unable to prevent the Resolution from striking on one of them; nor did the Discovery, though at our stern, escape better. Happy for us it was, that we had day-light and fine weather. By clapping the sails to the masts, and lightening the ship abaft, we swayed her off: and it fortunately happened through the protection of an over-ruling providence that neither of the ships stuck fast, nor sustained any damage. We now held on our course, and the moment we saw a place where we could anchor with any degree of safety, we came to; and the masters were dispatched with the boats to sound. Soon after we had cast anchor, several of the natives of Tongataboo came to us in their canoes, assuring us, that we should meet with deep water further in, free from rocks. Their intelligence was true; for, about four o'clock, the boats made a signal of having found good anchoring ground. We therefore weighed, and stood in till dark, when we anchored in nine fathoms water, with a clear sandy bottom. During the night, we had some rain; but early in the morning the wind became southerly, and bringing on fair weather, we weighed again, and worked towards the shore of Tongataboo. While we continued plying up the harbour, the king frequently sailed round us in his canoe; and at the same time there was a great number of small canoes about the ships. Two of these not getting out of the way of the king's vessel, he ran quite over them with the greatest unconcern. Among those who came on board the Resolution was Otago, who had been so useful to Capt. Cook, when he visited Tongataboo in his preceding voyage, and one Toobou, who had, at that time, attached himself to Capt. Furneaux. Each of them brought yams and a hog, in testimony of friendship; for which they received a suitable return. We



arrived at our intended station about two o'clock in the afternoon of the 10th. It was a very convenient place, formed by the shore of Tongataboo on the S. E. and two small Isles on the E. and N. E. Here both ships anchored over a sandy bottom, where the depth of water was ten fathoms. Our distance from shore exceeded a quarter of a mile. We were instantly surrounded by natives, who came to welcome us, and seemed overjoyed at our arrival. It has not been uncommon with some compilers of voyages, to stigmatize these Islanders with the name of Savages, than which no appellation can be worse applied, for a more civilized people do not exist under the sun. During the whole time of our stay, we did not see one instance of disorder among them, not one person punished for any misdemeanor by their chiefs. We saw but few quarrels among individuals; on the contrary, much mirth and seeming harmony were observable. Highly delighted with their shows and heivas, they spend their time in a kind of luxurious indolence, where all labour a little, but none to excess. The king paddles himself in his canoe, though he must have a tow-tow to help him to eat. This seems strange to an European, as it reduces a man to the condition of a child; and yet it is but one remove from what we see daily practised before our eyes. The gentleman has his table spread, his food of various sorts set before him; has all his apparatus made ready, his bread cut, his meat carved, and his plate furnished; he has his drink handed to him, and in short, every thing which the tropical king has, except only conveying his food to his mouth, which the chief thinks may as well be done by his tow-tow. Yet the omission of this single act of handing his meat and drink to his mouth, brings a term of reproach upon the chief, though, by the handiness of his servants in the services of the table, the European gains the character of the polite gentleman. Such and so slender are the refinements of nations; the barriers that divide indolence from sumptuousness; and the simplicity of a

tropical chief from the magnificence of an European Prince.

In the afternoon, Capt. Cook, attended by Omiah, some officers, and other gentlemen, landed on the Island of Tongataboo. We found the king waiting our arrival on the beach, who, when we landed, conducted us to a small neat house near the woods, having an extensive area before it; this, he told the Captain, was at his service, during his continuance in the Island. Before we had been long in the house, a large circle of the natives had assembled, and seated themselves on the area. A root of the kava-plant being brought to the king, he commanded that it should be split into pieces, and distributed to several people of both sexes, who began to chew it, and soon prepared a bowl of their favourite liquor. Meanwhile, a baked hog, and a quantity of baked yams were produced, and divided into ten portions. These shares were given to some of those who were present, except one, which remained undisposed of, and which probably was reserved for the king himself. The liquor was next served out; and the first cup being brought to the king, he ordered it to be given to a person who sat near him: the second was also brought to him, which he kept: the third was presented to Capt. Cook; but their mode of preparing the liquor having disgusted him, it was handed to Omiah. The remainder of it was distributed to different people; and one of the cups being carried to Poulah's brother, he retired with this, and with his share of the provisions. Others also withdrew from the circle with their portions, because they could neither eat nor drink in his majesty's presence: but there were some of an inferior rank, who both eat and drank before him. Soon after, the greater part of them went away, carrying with them what they had not eaten of the share of the feast. We observed, that the servants who distributed the meat, and the kava, delivered them sitting, not only to the king, but to others who were partakers of this feast: but not a fourth part of the company had tasted either the victuals or the



drink. The greatest good order was preserved throughout the assembly; and though a great many people were present who had never seen us before, yet no one was troublesome. Before the Captain returned on board, he went in search of a watering-place, and was conducted to some ponds, in one of which the water was tolerable, but it was at some distance inland.

Wednesday the 11th, the Captain being informed, that the small Island of Pangimodoo, near which the ships were stationed, could better supply that important article, he went over to it, and found there a pool containing fresher water than any we had met with among these Islands. This pool being extremely muddy, he caused it to be cleansed; and here it was that we filled our water-casks. The same morning a tent was pitched near the house which the king had assigned for our use. The horses, cattle, and sheep, were then landed, and a party of marines stationed there as a guard. The observatory was set up at an inconsiderable distance from another tent: and Mr. King took up his residence on shore, to direct the observations, and superintend all other necessary business. A party was stationed to cut wood for fuel, and planks for the ships; and the gunners were appointed to conduct the traffic with the inhabitants, who flocked from all parts of the Island with hogs, yams, cocoa-nuts, and other articles, insomuch, that our land-station resembled a fair, and our ships were remarkably crowded with visitants. Feenou residing in our neighbourhood, we had daily proofs of his generosity and opulence, by the continuation of his valuable donations. Poulaho was equally attentive to us in this respect, as scarcely a day passed without his favouring us with considerable presents. We were now informed, that a person, named Mareewagee was of very high rank in the Island, and was treated with great reverence; nay, if our interpreter, Omiah, did not misunderstand his informers, that he was superior to Poulaho himself; but that, being advanced in years, he lived in retirement, and therefore was not inclined to pay us a

visit. This intelligence having excited the curiosity of Capt. Cook, he signified to Poulaho his intention of waiting upon Mareewagee; and the king having agreed to accompany him, they set out early on Thursday the 12th, in the pinnace, Capt. Clerke joining them in one of his own boats. They then proceeded to the eastward of the little Isles which form the harbour, and turning towards the south, entered a spacious bay, up which they rowed about three miles, and landed amidst a great concourse of people, who received them with shouts and acclamations. The crowd instantly separated, that Poulaho might pass, who took our gentlemen into a small enclosure, and then the king changed the piece of cloth he wore, for a new piece, very neatly folded: an old woman assisting in dressing him, and put a large mat over his cloth. Being now asked, where Mareewagee was, to our great surprise, he said, that he was gone down to our ships. He now requested us to accompany him to a malae, or house of public resort; and when we came to a large area before it, he seated himself in the path, while, at his desire, we walked up to the house, and sat down in the front. After waiting a little while, we repeated our enquiries, by the medium of Omiah, whether we were to be introduced to Mareewagee? But receiving no satisfactory answer, and being inclined to suspect, that the aged chief was purposely concealed from us, we returned to the boats much piqued at our disappointment. It afterwards appeared that Mareewagee had not been there; and that, in this affair, some gross mistakes had been made. Omiah either having been misinformed, or having misunderstood what was told him concerning the old chief. In this excursion, the place we went to was a very pleasant village, delightfully situated on the banks of the bay or inlet, where most of the principal persons of the Island reside. Each of these has his house in the midst of a small plantation, with out-houses and offices for servants. These plantations are neatly fenced round, and, in general, have only one entrance, which is by a door fastened on the inside with a prop of wood. Between each plantation are public roads and narrow lanes



A considerable part of some of these enclosures is laid out in grass-plots, and planted with such things as seem less adapted for use than ornament. In such other plantations as were not the residence of persons of high rank, every article of the vegetable produce of the Island was in great plenty. Near the great roads are some large houses, with spacious grass-plots before them, which were said to belong to the king, and are probably the places where public assemblies of the people are held.

Friday the 13th, about noon, Mareewagee came within a small distance of our post on shore, attended by a great number of people of all ranks. In the course of the afternoon, the two Captains, and others of our gentlemen, accompanied by Feenou, went ashore to visit him. We found a grave person sitting under a tree, with a piece of cloth about forty yards long, spread before him, round which numbers of people were seated. We supposed this to be the great personage, but were informed by Feenou, that another who was sitting on a piece of mat, was Mareewagee. To him we were introduced, and he received us very graciously. This chief, who was also under a tree, was named Toobou, whom we shall call old Toobou, to distinguish him from his namesake, who has already been mentioned as Capt. Furneaux's friend. Both he and Mareewagee were venerable in their appearance. The latter was slender in his person, and seemed to be near seventy years of age. Old Toobou, who desired us to sit down by him, was some what corpulent, and almost blind from a disorder in his eyes. The Captain, not expecting on this occasion, to meet with two chiefs, had brought on shore a present for only one: this, therefore, he was obliged to divide between them; but, as it happened to be considerable, both of them appeared to be satisfied. Our party now entertained them about an hour with two French horns and a drum: but the firing off one of Capt. Clerke's pocket-pistols seemed to please them most. Before we took leave of the two chiefs, the large piece of cloth was rolled up and presented to Capt. Cook, together with a few cocoa-nuts. On

the 14th, Old Toobou came on board to return our visit; he also went on board the *Discovery*; and if our former present was not sufficiently considerable, the deficiency was now supplied. In the mean time, Mareewagee went to see our people who were stationed on shore; and Mr. King shewed him whatever we had there. He was struck with admiration at the sight of the cattle; and the cross-cut saw rivetted his attention. Towards noon Poulaho came on board, bringing with him his son, who was about twelve years of age. The king dined with Capt. Cook; but the son, though present, was not permitted to sit down by him. The Captain found it very convenient to have Poulaho for his guest; for, whenever he was present, which frequently happened, every other native was excluded from the table: whereas, if neither he nor Feenou were on board, the chiefs of inferior rank, were very importunate to be of the dining party, or to be admitted at that time into the cabin, which became consequently very much crowded. The king was soon reconciled to our cookery, and was fond of our wine. He now resided at the malae near our tent, where he this evening entertained our people with a dance, in which he himself, though so corpulent and unweildy, engaged.

Sunday the 15th, in the morning, Capt. Cook received a message from Old Toobou, importing, that he was desirous of seeing him on shore. He and Omiah accordingly waited on that chief, whom they found sitting, like one of the ancient patriarchs, under the shade of a tree, having a large piece of cloth, the manufacture of the Island, spread out before him. He desired them to place themselves by him: after which he told Omiah, that the cloth, with some cocoa-nuts, and red feathers, constituted his present to Capt. Cook. The latter thanked him for the favour, accompanied with a request, that he would go on board with him; Omiah, being sent for by Poulaho, now left the Captain, who was informed by Feenou, that young Fattafaihe, the king's son, desired to see him. He immediately obeyed the summons, and found Omiah and the young prince seated under a canopy



of fine cloth, with a piece of a coarser kind, seventy-six yards long, and seven and a half broad, spread before them and under them. On oneside was a quantity of cocoa-nuts; and, on the other, a large boar. A multitude of people sat round the cloth, among whom was Mareewagee, with other persons of rank. The Captain was requested to seat himself by the prince; and then Omiah informed him, that he had been instructed by Poulaho to tell him, that as his majesty and the Captain were friends, he hoped that his son Fattafaihe might be comprehended in this union; and that the Captain as a testimony of his consent, would accept of the prince's present. Our commander readily agreed to this proposal, and invited all the chiefs to dine with him on board. Accordingly, the young prince, old Toobon, Mareewagee, three or four subordinate chiefs, and two old ladies of high rank, accompanied us to the ship. Mareewagee was dressed in a new piece of cloth, with six patches of red feathers on the skirts of it. This dress was probably made on purpose for this visit; for as soon as he arrived on board, he put it off, and presented it to our Captain. When dinner was served up, not one of them would even sit down, or eat a morsel of any thing, as they were all taboo, they said; which word, though it has a very comprehensive meaning, signifies, generally, that a thing is prohibited. Why they were thus restrained at present, was not accounted for. Having made presents to them all, and gratified their curiosity, by shewing them every part of the ship, the Captain conducted them ashore. When the boat had reached the land, Feenon, and several others, immediately stepped out; and the young prince following them, was called back by Mareewagee, who now paid the heir apparent, the same obeisance which the king was accustomed to receive; and when old Toobon, and one of the ladies had honoured him with the same marks of respect, he was suffered to land. After this ceremony, the old people stepped out of the boat into a canoe, which was waiting to convey them to their place of residence. Capt. Cook was pleased at being present on this occasion, as

he was thus furnished with the most convincing proofs of the supreme dignity of Poulaho and his son. By this time, indeed we had gained some certain information with regard to the relative situation of several chiefs. We now knew, that old Toobon and Mareewagee were brothers. Both of them were men of considerable property, and in high estimation with the people: Mareewagee, in particular, had obtained the honourable appellation of Motooa Tonga, which implies father of Tonga, or his country. We also now understood, that he was the king's father-in-law, Poulaho having espoused one of his daughters, by whom he had young Fattafaihe; so that Mareewagee was grand-father to the prince. As to Feenon, he was one of the sons of Mareewagee, and Tooboneitoa was another. On landing, we found Poulaho in the house adjoining to our tent, who immediately made Capt. Cook a present of a hog, and a quantity of yams. Towards evening a number of the Islanders came, and having seated themselves in a circle, sung in concert with the music of bamboo drums, which were placed in the centre. Three of them were long ones, and two were short. With these they struck the ground end-wise. There were two others that lay side by side on the ground, one of which was partly split: on these a person continued beating with two sticks. They sung three songs during our stay, and the entertainment lasted, after we left them, till ten o'clock. For light, they burned the leaves of wharry palm. In the mean time, Mr. Anderson, with several other gentlemen, made an excursion into the country, by whom we were furnished with the following observations. Westward of the tent, the country for about two miles, is entirely uncultivated, though covered with trees and bushes growing naturally with the greatest vigour. Beyond this a pretty large plain extends itself, on which are cocoa-trees, and some small plantations. Near the creek, which runs west of the tent, the land is perfectly flat, and partly overflowed every tide by the sea. When the waters retire, the surface is seen to consist of coral rock, interspersed with holes of yellowish



mund; and near the edges, where it is rather more firm, are vast numbers of little openings, whence issue innumerable small crabs, which swarm upon the spot, but are so very nimble, that, when approached, they instantaneously disappear, and baffle all the dexterity of the natives, who endeavour to catch them. At this place is a work of art, which testifies some degree of ingenuity and perseverance. On one side is a narrow causeway, which, gradually increasing in breadth, rises with a gentle ascent to the height of ten feet, where its breadth is five paces, the whole length being about seventy-four paces. Adjacent to this is a kind of circus, thirty paces in diameter, about one or two feet higher than the causeway that joins it; and in the middle of this circus, some trees are planted. On the opposite side, another causeway descends, which is partly in ruins, and not above forty paces in length. The whole is built of large coral-stones, with earth on the surface, overgrown with shrubs and low trees. From the marks of decay in several places, it is probably of some antiquity: but it seems to be of no service at present, whatever may have been its use in former times. All that could be learnt of the natives was, that it was called Etchee, and belonged to Poulaho, the king.

Monday the 16th, in the morning, Capt. Cook, Mr. Gore, and others, took a walk into the country; in the course of which we met with an opportunity of seeing the whole process of making cloth, the principal manufacture of this Island, as well as of many others in the South Sea. An account of this operation as performed at this place, may not improperly be subjoined here. The manufacturers, who are of the female sex, take the slender stalks or trunks of the paper mulberry, which rarely grows more than seven feet in height, and about the thickness of four fingers. From these stalks they strip the bark, and scrape off the exterior rind; after which the bark is rolled up, and macerated for some time in water: it is then beaten with a square instrument of wood, full of coarse grooves, but sometimes with a plain one. The operation is often repeated by another person; or the

bark is folded several times, and beat longer, which is probably intended to close rather than divide its texture. It is then spread out to dry; the pieces being from four to six or seven feet in length, and about half as broad. These pieces are joined by smearing part of them with the glutinous juice of a berry, called tooo; and after being thus lengthened, they are placed over a large piece of wood, with a sort of stamp, composed of a fibrous substance, laid beneath them. The manufacturers then take a bit of cloth, and having dipped it in a juice expressed from the bark of a tree, called Kokka, rub it briskly over the piece that is making. This leaves upon the surface a dry gloss, and a dull brown colour; and the stamp makes, at the same time, a slight impression. Thus they proceed, joining and staining by degrees, till a piece of cloth, of the requisite length and breadth, is produced. They generally leave a border, about a foot broad, at the sides, and rather longer at the ends, unstained. If any parts of the original pieces have holes, or are too thin, they glue spare bits upon them, till their thickness equals that of the rest. Whenever they are desirous of producing a black colour, they mix the juice of the Kokka with the soot procured from an oily nut, called doodedoo. They assert, that the black cloth, which is usually most glazed, makes a cold dress; but the other a warm one. On our return, we met with Feenon, whom we took with us, and another young chief, on board to dinner; which when served up, neither of them would eat a morsel; saying that they were taboo ay: but when they found, that, in dressing the pig and some yams, no ay (or water) had been made use of, they both sat down, and eat very heartily: they drank also our wine, on being assured no water was in it; from whence we inferred, that they were at this time, for some particular reason, forbidden to use water; or that perhaps, they did not like the water we then used, it being taken out of one of the places wherein the Islanders bathed.

Tuesday the 17th, was fixed upon by Mareewagee for giving a grand haiva, or



entertainment, and we were all this day invited to attend. Before the temporary hut of this chief, and near our land station, a large space had been cleared for that purpose. In the morning vast numbers of the natives, came in from the country, every one of whom bore on his shoulder a long pole, at each end of which a yam was suspended. These poles and yams being deposited on each side of the open space, or area, formed two large heaps, piled up to the greatest advantage, and decorated with small fish of various kinds. They were a present from Mareewagee to the two Captains Cook and Clerke. The necessary preparations being made, the Islanders began about eleven o'clock to exhibit those dances which they call Mai. The band of music, at first, consisted of seventy men as a chorus, amidst whom were placed three instruments, which we called drums, though they did not much resemble them. They are cylindrical pieces of wood, from three to four feet in length, some of them, trunks of trees, twice as thick as a man of ordinary size, and some smaller. They are entirely hollow, but close at each end, and open only by a chink, about three inches in breadth, running nearly the length of the drum. By this opening the rest of the trunk is hollowed; which must be an operation of some difficulty. This musical instrument is called by the natives Naffa; and having the chink turned towards them, they sit and beat vigorously upon it, with two cylindrical pieces of wood, as thick as the wrist, and about a foot in length, by which means a rude, but loud and powerful sound is produced. They vary at intervals, and occasionally the strength and rate of their beating, and likewise change the tones, by beating towards the end or middle of the instrument.

In the first dance were four ranks of twenty-four men each. These held in their hands a small thin wooden instrument, about two feet in length, resembling in its shape an oblong paddle. With these instruments, which are called pagge, they made different motions; such as pointing them to the ground on one side, and, at the same instant, inclining their bodies the same

way; then shifting them to the opposite side in the same manner, and with similar inclinations; passing them with great quickness from one hand to the other, and twirling them about with remarkable dexterity, and various manœuvres. Their motions, which were slow at first, quickened as the drums beat faster; and they repeated sentences the whole time in a musical tone, which were answered by the chorus; but in a short time they all joined, and ended with a shout. After a cessation of a few minutes, they began as before, and continued with short intervals, upwards of a quarter of an hour; and then the rear rank dividing, moved slowly round each end, met in the front, and formed the first rank; during which movements the whole number of performers continued to recite sentences. The other rank did successively the same, till that which was foremost became the rear; and this evolution did not cease till the last rank regained its former situation. A much quicker dance, though slow at first, was then begun, and they sung for ten minutes, when the whole body, in a two-fold direction, retreated, and then advanced, forming nearly a circular figure, which concluded the dance; the chorus retiring, and the drums being removed at the same time. In the second dance, were forty men as a chorus, with only two drums; and the dancers, or rather actors, consisted of two ranks, the foremost of which had seventeen persons, and the other fifteen. Feenon was in the middle of the first rank, which is considered, on these occasions, as the principal place. They danced and repeated sentences, with very short intervals, for half an hour, sometimes slowly, and at other times quickly, with the highest degree of exactness and regularity. Towards the close, the rear rank divided, came round, and occupied the place of the front, which afterwards resumed its former situation. This dance being finished, the drums were taken away, and the chorus retired, as in the preceding dance. Three very large drums were now brought in, and seventy men formed a chorus to the third dance. This consisted of two ranks, of sixteen men



each, having young Toobou at their head, who was splendidly ornamented with a kind of garment covered with red feathers. These performers danced, sung, and twirled the pagge, so as to meet with the continual applauses of the spectators, who were particularly pleased with one attitude, in which they held the face aside, as if ashamed, with the pagge before it. The hindmost rank closed before the front one, which soon after resumed its place, as in the first and second dances. then beginning again, they formed a triple row, divided, retreated to each end of the area, and left the ground almost clear. Two men rushing in at that instant, began to exercise their clubs which they make use of in battle. They first twirled them in their hands, and made circular strokes before them with great quickness, managing them with such skill, that, though they stood close to each other, they never interfered. They shifted the clubs, with uncommon dexterity, from one hand to the other; and, after some time kneeled down, and made various motions, tossing up their clubs in the air, and catching them as they fell. They then retired as hastily as they entered. Their heads were ornamented with pieces of white cloth, fastened at the crown, with a wreath of foliage round their foreheads: and, that they might be free from incumbrance, they had only a very small piece of cloth tied round the waist. A man armed with a spear now rushed in, and put himself in a menacing attitude, as if he intended to strike with his weapon at one of the people in the crowd; at the same time bending the knee a little, and trembling as it were with fury. He continued in this position near a minute, and then moved to the other side, where, having stood in the same posture, he hastily retreated from the area. During all this time the dancers, who had divided themselves into two parties, continued to repeat something slowly; and they now advanced, and joined again, concluding the dance with general applause. This dance, in our opinion was considered as a capital performance, as some of the principal people were engaged in it; one of the drums being beat by Fattafaihe

the king's brother, another by Feenou, and the third by Mareewagee himself. In the fourth and last dance, were forty men as a chorus, with two drums. The performers were sixty men, arranged in three rows, having twenty-four in front. Before they began, we were entertained with a preliminary harangue, in which the whole number made responses to a speaker solus. They then recited sentences alternately with the chorus, and made with the pagge many quick motions. They divided into two parties, with their backs to each other; formed again; shifted their ranks, divided, and retreated, being succeeded by two men, who exercised with their clubs, as before, after whom came two others; the dancers in the mean time repeating in their turns with the chorus; they then advanced, and concluded the dance.

These amusements continued from eleven o'clock till near three. The number of Islanders who attended as spectators, together with those who were round the trading place at the tent, or straggling about, amounted to at least ten thousand, all within the compass of a quarter of a mile. Had we understood what was spoken in this entertainment, we might probably have gained much information with respect to the genius and customs of this people. Though the spectators constantly applauded the different motions, when well made, a considerable share of the pleasure they received, seemed to arise from the sentimental part, or, what the performers recited. However, the mere acting part well deserved our notice, on account of the extensiveness of the plain, the variety of the motions, and the exact unity, ease, gracefulness, and vivacity, with which they were performed. In the evening we were entertained with the Bomai, or night dances, on a large area before a temporary dwelling place of Feenou. They continued three hours: during which time about twelve of them were performed, nearly in the same manner as those at Hapae. In two of them, in which some women had a part, a number of men came, and formed a circle within their's. In another, which consisted of twenty-four men, many motions



that we had not seen before, were made with the hands, and met with great applause. The music was once changed in the course of the evening; and in one of the dances, Feenou himself appeared at the head of fifty men. He was neatly dressed in linen, and some small pictures were hung round his neck. After these diversions were ended, we were made sensible, that these people had put themselves to many inconveniences on our account: for being drawn together to this uninhabited part of the Island, numbers of them were obliged to lie down and sleep under the bushes, or by the side of a tree, or a canoe, nay, many lay down in the open air, which they are not fond of, or spent the remainder of the night in walking about. Notwithstanding the whole entertainment was conducted with better order than could reasonably be supposed, yet our utmost care and attention could not prevent our being plundered by the natives in the most insolent manner: but then it must be acknowledged, that among such a multitude, there must be a number of ill-disposed people, and we hourly experienced their propensity to thieving in every quarter. There was scarcely any thing which they did not endeavour to steal. In the middle of the day, they once attempted to take an anchor from off the *Discovery's* bows, but without effect. The only violence of which they were guilty, was, the breaking the shoulder-bone of one of our goats; in consequence of which she died soon after.

On Wednesday the 18th, one of the Islanders got out of his canoe into the quarter gallery of the *Resolution*, and stole from thence a pewter bason; but being detected he was pursued, and brought along-side the ship. Upon this occasion, three old women in the canoe made loud lamentations over the prisoner, beating their faces and breasts with the palms of their hands, in a very violent manner. This mode of expressing sorrow occasions the mark which most of these people bear over their cheek-bones; for the repeated blows inflicted by them on this part rub off the skin, and cause some blood to flow out; and when the wound is green, it looks as if a hollow circle had

been made by burning. On some occasions, they cut this part of the face with an instrument. A gentleman who was on board the *Discovery*, has informed the writer of the history of these voyages, that he had an opportunity of discovering the reason of a very singular mark, a little above the temples of many of the chiefs. In one of our excursions into the country, says this gentleman, we perceived the day was kept sacred throughout the whole Island; that nothing was suffered to be sold; neither did the people touch any food; and besides, that several of our new acquaintances were missing. Enquiring into the cause, we were told, that a woman of quality was dead, and that the chiefs, who were her descendants, stayed at home to have their temples burnt. This custom is not confined to this Island only, but is likewise common to several others, particularly, to those of Ea-oo-wee, or Middleburgh, and Appee. This mark is made on the left-side, on the death of a mother, and on the right-side when the father dies; and on the death of a high-priest, the first joint of the little finger is amputated. These people have therefore their religious rites, though we were not able to discover how, or when they were performed.

This day Capt. Cook bestowed some presents on Mareewagee, in return for those which had been received from that chief the preceding day; and as the entertainments then exhibited called upon us to make some exhibition in return, he ordered all the marines to go through their exercise, on the spot where the late dances had been performed, and, in the evening, some fire-works were also played off at the same place. The king, the principal chiefs, and a vast multitude of people, were present. The platoon firing seemed to please them; but when they beheld our water rockets, they were filled with admiration and even astonishment. They did not much regard the fife and drum: nor the French horns that were playing during the intervals. Poulaho sat behind every one, no person being permitted to sit behind him: and that his view might receive no abstrusion, none sat immediately



before him : a lane was made by the spectators from him quite down to the space allotted for playing off the fire-works. While the natives were in expectation of seeing our exhibition, they engaged, for the greatest part of the afternoon, in wrestling and boxing. The first of these exercises they call *foohoo*, and the second *fangatooa*. When a person is desirous of wrestling, he gives a challenge by crossing the ground in a kind of measured pace, and clapping smartly on the elbow joint of one arm, which is bent, and sends forth a hollow sound. If no opponent steps forth, he returns and sits down : though sometimes he stands clapping his hands to provoke some one to accept his challenge. If an antagonist makes his appearance, they meet with marks of the greatest good nature, generally smiling, and deliberately adjusting the piece of cloth that is fastened round the waist. By this cloth they lay hold of each other, and he who succeeds in drawing his opponent to him, instantly endeavours to lift him upon his breast, and throw him upon his back ; and if he can turn round with him, in that position, two or three times, before he throws him, his dexterity procures him numerous plaudits from the spectators. Should they be more equally matched, they quickly close, and attempt to throw each other by entwining their legs, or raising each other from the ground ; in which struggles for victory they display an extraordinary exertion of strength and agility. When one of them is thrown, he immediately retires ; while the conqueror sits down for near a minute, then rises, and goes to the place from whence he came, where the victory is proclaimed aloud. After having sat a short time, he rises again, and challenges ; and if several antagonists enter the lists, he has the privilege of choosing which of them he pleases to engage with : he may also, should he throw his competitor, challenge again till he himself is vanquished ; in which case the people of the opposite side chant the song of victory in favour of their champion. It frequently happens, that five or six rise from each side, and give challenges together, so that it is not uncommon to see several sets engaged on the field

at the same time. They preserved great temper in this exercise, and leave the spot without the least displeasure in their countenances. When they perceive, upon trial, that they are so equally matched, as not to be likely to throw each other, they leave off by mutual consent. Should it not clearly appear which of them has had a superior advantage over the other, both sides proclaimed the victory, and then they engage again ; but no one, who has been vanquished, is permitted to engage a second time with his conqueror. Those who intend to box advance sideways, changing the side at every pace, having one arm stretched out before, the other behind ; and holding in one hand a piece of cord, which they wrap closely about it, when they meet with an opponent. This we think is intended to prevent a dislocation of the hand or fingers. Their blows are dealt out with great quickness and activity, and are aimed principally at the head. They strike equally well with either hand. One of their most dextrous blows is, to turn round on the heel, just after they have struck their adversary, and to give him another smart blow with the other hand backward. In boxing-matches, unless a person strikes his antagonist to the ground, they never sing the song of victory ; which shews, that this diversion is less approved among them than wrestling. Not only boys engage in both these exercises ; but it not unfrequently happens, that little girls box, for a short time, with great obstinacy. On all these occasions, they do not consider it as any disgrace to be vanquished, and he who is overcome sits down with as much indifference as if he had never entered the lists. Some of our people contended with them in both exercises, but were generally worsted ; except in a few instances, where, as Capt. Cook observes, " it appeared, that the fear they were in of offending us, contributed more to the victory than the superiority of the person they engaged."

On Thursday the 19th, Capt. Cook thought proper to mark out his intended presents of animals, which he designed to leave behind him. He therefore assembled



the chiefs before our house, and informed them of his proposed distribution before his departure. To Poulaho, the king, he presented an English bull and a cow; to Mareewagee a cape ram, and two ewes, and to Feenou a horse and a mare. Omiah was instructed to inform the chiefs, that no such animals existed within several months sail of their Island; that we had brought them with much trouble and expence, for their use; that, therefore, they ought to be careful, not to kill any of them till they had multiplied considerably; and, finally, that they and their children ought to remember, that they had received them from the natives of Britain. Omiah also explained to them their respective uses, as far as his limited knowledge would permit, for he was not well versed in such things. The Captain had intended to give old Toobou two or three goats; but finding that chief, who had not attended the meeting, though invited, indifferent about them, he added them to the share of Poulaho. As the Captain intended, that the above presents should remain with the other cattle, till we were ready to sail, he desired each of the chiefs to send a man or two, to look after their respective animals, along with our people, in order that they might be made acquainted with the manner of our treating them. The king and Feenou did so; but neither Mareewagee, nor any other person for him, took the least notice of the sheep afterwards. Indeed, it soon appeared that some were dissatisfied with our distribution of the animals; for on the 20th, early in the morning, two of our Turkey-cocks, and one kid were missing. Our Commander being determined to have them restored, seized on three canoes that were along-side the ships: he then went on shore, and having found the king, his brother, Feenou, and some other chiefs, in our house, he immediately placed a guard over them, and intimated to them, that they must remain confined till not only the turkeys and kid, but the other articles of which we had been plundered, at different times, were restored to us. On finding themselves prisoners, they concealed their feelings, as well as they could; and sat down

to drink kava, with an appearance of unconcern; and assured the Captain, that the things in question should all be returned. Soon afterwards an axe, and an iron wedge were brought to us. In the mean time, some armed natives began to assemble behind the house, but they dispersed when a part of our guard marched against them; and the chiefs, by the advice of the Captain, gave orders, that no more should appear. Upon being invited to dine with us on board, they readily consented. Some of them having afterwards objected to Poulaho's going, he rose up immediately, and declared that he would be the first man. We all now repaired aboard, and the chiefs remained in the ships till four o'clock. They were then conducted by the Captain ashore; and not long after their having landed, the kid, and one of the turkeys were restored to us. On their promising that the other turkey should be brought back the next morning, both they and their canoes were released. The chiefs having left us, we walked out, with Omiah in company, to observe how the natives in our neighbourhood fared, for this was the usual time of their meals. We found them in general ill supplied; a circumstance not to be wondered at, since most of the yams, and other provisions they had brought with them, were disposed of to us; and they were unwilling to return to their own habitations, while they could procure any sustenance near our post. Our station was upon an uncultivated point of land; so that there were none of the natives who had a fixed residence within half a mile of us. Those therefore who were at our post, were obliged to live under trees, or in temporary huts; and the cocoa-trees were stripped of their branches, for the purpose of erecting huts for the chiefs. In the course of our walk we found six women at supper, two of whom were fed by others. When Omiah asked the reason of this circumstance, the women replied taboo mattee. Upon further enquiry it appeared, that one of them, about two months before, had washed the corpse of a chief, on which account she was not allowed to handle any food for five



months ; and that the other had performed the same kind office to the dead body of a person of inferior rank, and was therefore under a similar restriction, though not for so long a space of time.

On Saturday the 21st, early in the morning, Poulaho, the king, came on board, to invite Capt. Cook to the diversions of a haiva, which entertainment he designed to give the same day. He had his head besmeared with pigment, in order to communicate a red colour to his hair, which was naturally of a dark brown. After breakfast, the Captain attended him to the shore, and found the Islanders very busy in two places, fixing in a square and upright position, four very long posts, at the distance of near two feet from each other. They afterwards filled up with yams the square between the posts ; and fastened sticks across, from one post to another, at the distance of every four feet, to prevent the posts from separating, by the weight of the inclosed yams, and also to ascend by. As soon as the yams had reached the summit of the first posts, they continued to fasten others to them, till each pile was thirty feet or more in height. On the top of one of the piles, they placed two baked hogs ; and, on the top of the other, a living one ; and another they tied by the legs half way up. The facility and dispatch with which these two piles were raised, were very remarkable. "Had our seamen," observes Capt. Cook, been ordered to execute such a work, they would have sworn, that it could not be performed without carpenters ; and the carpenters would have called to their aid a dozen different sorts of tools, and have expended, at least, a hundred weight of nails ; and, after all, it would have employed them as many days, as it did these people hours. But seamen, like most other amphibious animals, are always the most helpless on land." Having completed these two piles, they accumulated some other heaps of yams, and also of bread-fruit, on each side of the area ; to which a turtle, and a great quantity of fish were added. The whole of this, with some red feathers, a mat and a piece of cloth, composed the king's present to

Capt. Cook ; and Poulaho seemed to be not a little proud at having exceeded, as he really did, Feenou's liberality at Hapae. About one o'clock, the Mai, or dances, were begun. The first very nearly resembled what was performed on the opening of Mareewagee's entertainment. The second was conducted by young Toobou ; and in this four or five women were introduced, who equalled the men in the exactness and regularity of their motions. Near the end, the performers divided, in order to leave room for two champions, who exercised their clubs. In the third dance, which was the last, two other men, with clubs exhibited their skill and activity. The dances were succeeded by boxing and wrestling ; and one man entered the lists with a heavy club made of the stem of a cocoa-leaf, but could meet with no opponent to engage him in so rough a diversion. Towards evening, the bomai, or night dances began, in which the king himself, apparelled in English manufacture, was a performer : but neither these, nor the dances in the day time, were so capital as those given by Feenou and Mareewagee. The Captain, in order to be present the whole time of the entertainment, dined on shore. Poulaho sat down by him, but would neither eat nor drink, which was owing to the presence of a female, who had been admitted, at his request, to the dining party, and who, as we were informed, was of superior rank to himself. This lady had no sooner dined than she walked up to the king, who applied his hands to her feet ; after which she retired. He immediately dipped his fingers into a glass of wine, and then all her attendants paid him obeisance. At his desire some of our fire-works were played off in the evening ; but being damaged, they did not answer the expectations of the spectators.

No more entertainments being expected on either side, most of the natives had deserted us the day after Poulaho's haiva. Still, however, we had thieves about us, and experienced continual instances of their depredations. Mr. Nelson being alone, on the hills and rocks, collecting plants and herbs, and at a considerable distance from



the ships, was attacked by five or six Islanders, who first began by throwing stones, at which they are very dexterous; and then finding he had no fire-arms, closed in with him, stripped him of his clothes, and bag, which were all that he had about him. Capt. Cook complained to the king; but the offenders, upon enquiry, being found to be boys, and the clothes, and bag of plants, of small value, Mr. Nelson, unwilling to embroil the inhabitants in any more disputes, interceded with the Captain, as we were just upon our departure not to make his loss an object of contention, but to take leave of the chiefs in the most friendly manner, who, upon the whole, had behaved with uncommon kindness and generosity. Some of the officers of both ships, who had made an excursion into the interior parts of the Island, returned on the 22nd, in the evening, after an absence of two days. They had taken their muskets and necessary ammunition with them, besides several small articles, the whole of which the natives had the dexterity to steal from them, in the course of their short journey. Inconvenient consequences were likely to have attended this affair; for when our plundered travellers returned, they employed Omiah, without consulting Capt. Cook, to complain to the king of the treatment they had received. He, not knowing how the Captain would proceed in this affair, and apprehending that he might again lay him under restraint, set off early the next morning, and Feenon followed his example; so that not a chief of any authority was now remaining in this neighbourhood. The Captain was much offended at this officious interference, and reprimanded Omiah for the same. Upon this, Omiah endeavoured to bring back his friend Feenon, and he succeeded in his negotiation, by assuring him, that no violent measures would be pursued to oblige the natives to return the stolen things. Trusting to this declaration, Feenon came back in the evening, and was received favourably. Poulaho also honoured us with his company the next day. The two chiefs, upon this occasion, very justly observed to us, that, whenever any of our

people wanted to take an excursion into the country, they ought to be made acquainted with it, that they might order proper people to attend them, to prevent such outrages. Though the Captain did not afterwards endeavour to recover the articles taken upon this occasion, the whole of them were returned, through the interposition of Feenon, except one musket, and a few other trifles. By this time also, we recovered the tools and other matters that had been stolen from our workmen. In a journal belonging to a person on board the *Discovery*, we find the following remark: "During our stay here, more capital thefts were committed, and more Indians punished than in all the Friendly Islands besides: one was punished with seventy-two lashes, for stealing only a knife; another with thirty-six, for endeavouring to carry off two or three drinking glasses; three were punished with three dozen each, for heaving stones at the wooders; but, what was still more cruel, a man for attempting to carry off an axe, was ordered to have his arm cut to the bone; which he bore without complaining. It is not to be wondered, that after such wanton acts of cruelty, the inhabitants should grow outrageous; and, though they did not break out into open acts of hostility, yet they watched every opportunity to be vexatious." This journalist cannot we think speak from his knowledge, and must have been mis-informed; for, in the first place, we beg leave to observe, that such severe punishments as three and six dozen lashes are very seldom inflicted on board a king's ship, and then only for enormous offence; and, in the next place, the whole of the above memorandum contradicts all the most authentic accounts of the kind behaviour of the natives of the Friendly Isles, and likewise the well known humanity of our generous commander. We think it our duty to give a faithful detail of facts and occurrences, from the best authorities; nor is it less incumbent on us, to correct all errors and mistakes that may come under our observation: these two obligations have hitherto been the objects of our careful attention; and we hope, in the opinion of our friends



and subscribers, we shall be found to have fulfilled them with a scrupulous punctuality.

Wednesday the 25th, two boats that had been sent in search of a commodious channel to sea, returned. Our people reported, that the channel to the north, through which we came in, was imminently dangerous, being full of coral-rocks; but that there was a good passage to the eastward, though contracted, in one place, by the small Islands; consequently a westerly wind would be necessary to get through it. The ships being now completely stowed, having wood and water as much as they could make room for, with hogs and bread-fruit in abundance, in short every thing they could contain, or the crews desire, orders were given to prepare for sailing; and we intended to visit the celebrated little Island of Middleburgh, of which former voyagers have given a most flattering description: but as an eclipse of the sun was expected to be visible on the fifth of next month, the Captain determined to stay till that time, in order to observe it. Having now some days of leisure before we set sail, a party of us, accompanied by Poulaho, set out the next morning, being Thursday the 26th, in a boat for Mooa, a small village, where most of the great chiefs usually reside. Rowing up the inlet, we saw fourteen canoes fishing in company, in one of which was Poulaho's son; they had taken some fine mullets, and put a dozen of them into our boat. In each canoe was a triangular net, extended between two poles, at the lower end whereof was a cod to receive and secure the fish. They shewed us their method of fishing, which appeared to be an effectual one. A shoal of fish was supposed to be upon one of the banks, which they instantly enclosed in a long net like our seine. This the fishermen, one getting into the water out of each boat, surrounded with the triangular nets in their hands, with which they scooped the fish out of the seine, or caught them as they attempted to leap over it. Taking leave of the prince and his fishing party, we rowed to the bottom of the bay, and landed where we had done before, when we went

to visit Mareewagee. As soon as we landed, the king desired Omiah to tell me, that I need be under no apprehension about the boat, or any thing in her, for that not a single article would be touched, or purloined by any one of his people, which we found afterwards to be true. We were immediately conducted to one of Poulaho's houses, which, though tolerably large, seemed to be his private place of residence, and is situated within a plantation. The king seated himself at one end of the house, and his visitants sat down in a semi-circle at the other end. A bowl of kava was speedily prepared, and directions were given to bake some yams. While these were getting ready, some of us, together with a few of the king's attendants, and Omiah as interpreter, walked out to take a view of a Fiatooka, or burying-place, at a small distance from the habitation. It belonged to the king, and consisted of three pretty large houses; situated on a rising ground, with a small one not far off, all standing in a line lengthwise. The largest of the three was the middle house, which was placed in an oblong square, twenty-four paces by twenty-eight, and elevated about three feet. The other houses were placed on little mounts. On the floors of these houses, as also on the tops of the mounts, were fine loose pebbles; and the whole was enclosed by large flat stones of coral-rock. One of the buildings was open on one side, and two wooden busts of men, rudely carved, were within it. We enquired of the natives who followed us (but were not permitted to enter here) what these images were? Who informed us they were intended for memorials of some chiefs who had been buried in that place, and not meant as the representatives of any deity. Such monumental edifices, it is presumed, are seldom raised; for these appeared to have been erected many ages. We were informed, that dead bodies had been buried in each of these houses, but no traces of them were to be seen. The carved head of an Otaheite canoe, which had been driven ashore on their coast, was deposited in one of them. At the foot of the rising ground was a grass-plot, whereon different



large trees were planted; among which were several large ones, called Etoa. They greatly resemble the cypress, and have a solemn effect. A row of low palms was also planted near one of the houses. After having refreshed ourselves with some provisions, which we had brought from our ships, we took a pretty large circuit into the country, attended by one of the king's ministers, who would not suffer any of the rabble to follow us, and obliged those whom we met in our excursion, to sit down while we were passing; a mark of respect shewn only to their sovereigns. In our progress we observed the greatest part of the country to be cultivated; being planted with various kinds of productions, and most of these plantations were enclosed with fences. It is true, some spots were fallow; there were also others that remained in a state of nature; and, yet even these last were of public utility, in affording the natives timber, as they were generally covered with trees. We saw likewise, in our walk, several large uninhabited Islands (belonging as we were told, to the king) many public roads, and abundance of foot-paths leading to every part of the Island. Hence travelling was rendered easy and pleasant: but it is remarkable, that when we were on the most elevated spots of ground, one hundred feet at least, above the level of the sea, we often met with the same coral rock found on the shore, projecting above the surface; and having all those inequalities, usually seen in rocks that lie within the wash of the tide; and yet, those very spots, almost wholly destitute of soil, were covered with luxuriant vegetation. Our guide conducted us to several little pools, and to some springs of water; but in general, they were either stinking or brackish; though thought by the natives to be excellent. The former were mostly inland, and the latter near the shore of the bay, and below high water mark; so that only when the tide was out tolerable water could be taken up from them.

In the dusk of the evening we returned from our walk, and found our supper ready. It consisted of fish, yams, and a baked hog,

in which all the culinary arts had been displayed. There being nothing to amuse us after supper, we lay down to sleep, according to the custom of the country; on mats spread upon the floor, and had a covering of cloth. The king, who had made himself very happy with some of our wine and brandy, slept in the house, as did many others of the natives. Before day-break, they all rose, and entered into conversation by moon-light. As soon as it was day, they dispersed different ways; but it was not long before they all returned, accompanied by several of their countrymen. While they were preparing a bowl of kava, Capt. Cook went to pay a visit to Toobon, Capt. Furneaux's friend, who had a house not far distant, which, for size and neatness was hardly exceeded in the place. Here also we found a company preparing a morning draught. The chief made a present to the Captain of a live hog, and one that was baked; also a quantity of yams, and a large piece of cloth. When we returned to the king, we found him and his attendants drinking the second bowl of kava. That being emptied, he informed Omiah, that he was immediately going to perform a mourning ceremony, called Tooge, in memory of a son who had been dead some time, and desired us to accompany him. Naturally expecting to see somewhat new and curious, we readily complied with his request. The first thing the king did, was to step out of the house, attended by two old women, and put on a new cloathing, over which was placed an old ragged mat, that might have served his great grandfather upon a similar occasion. His attendants were habited in the same manner, excepting that, in point of antiquity, none of their mats could vie with that of their master. Thus equipped, we marched off, preceded by eight or ten persons in the same uniform, each of them having likewise a green bough about his neck. Poulaho held his bough in his hand till he approached the place of rendezvous, when he also put it round his neck. We now entered a small inclosure, wherein was a neat house, and a man sitting before it. As the company entered, they took the



branches from their necks, and threw them away. The king seated himself, and the rest of his people sat before him in the usual manner. By the arrival of other persons, the circle increased to upwards of an hundred, principally old men, all dressed in the manner above described. The company being assembled, a large root of kava was produced by one of the king's servants, from whence was extracted liquor sufficient to fill a capacious bowl, that would contain, at least, five gallons. Many persons now began to chew the root, and the bowl was filled up to the brim. Others were employed in making drinking-cups of plantain leaves. The first cup that was filled, being presented to the king, he ordered it to be given to another person: the second was also brought to him, and he drank it; the third was offered to Capt. Cook. Afterwards several cups were given to others, till the whole of the liquor was exhausted; and, though not half the company partook of it, no one appeared in the least dissatisfied. Each cup as it was emptied, was thrown upon the ground, whence it was taken up, and carried to be filled again. All this time the chief, and his whole circle, sat with a great deal of gravity, seldom speaking a word to each other. All this while we were in expectation of seeing the mourning ceremony begin, when, to our great surprize, as soon as the kava was drank out, they all rose up and dispersed; Poulaho, at the same time, informed us, he was ready to attend us to the ships. The kava is a species of pepper, branching considerably, with large heart-shaped leaves and jointed stalks. The natives esteem it a valuable article, taking great care to defend the young plants from injury, which they generally set about their houses. They do not often exceed, when full grown, the height of a man, though we have seen some much higher. The root is the only part used at these Islands, from whence their favourite potation is extracted. The quantity put into each cup is about a quarter of a pint. It has no perceptible effect on these people who use it so frequently; but on some of ours it operated like our

spirits, occasioning intoxication, or rather stupefaction. The mourning ceremony being over, to our no small disappointment, we left Mooa, and set out on our return to the ships. Rowing down the inlet we met with two canoes returning from fishing. Poulaho ordered them to approach him, and took from them every fish and shell. He afterwards stopped two other canoes, searched them, and found nothing. He gave us some of the fish, and the rest were sold by his servant on board the ship. Proceeding down the inlet, we overtook a large sailing canoe, when every person on board her sat down till we had passed; even the man who steered, though he could not possibly manage the helm, but in a standing posture. Having been informed by Poulaho and others, that there was some good water at Onevy, a small Island, about a league from the mouth of the inlet, we landed there, but found it extremely brackish. The Island is quite in its natural state, and only frequented as a fishing-place; having nearly the same productions as Palmerston's Island. When we reached the ship, and got on board, we were informed, that every thing had continued quiet during our absence; not a single theft having been committed; of which Feenou and Futtasaihe, the king's brother, who had undertaken the management of his countrymen, during our absence, boasted not a little. This evinces what power the chiefs have, when they are disposed to execute it; which is not often to be expected; for whatever was stolen from us, was generally conveyed to them. But the good conduct of the natives was of short duration, for,

Saturday the 28th, six of them assailed some of our people, who were sawing planks; in consequence of which, they were fired at by our centry: one of them was supposed to be wounded, and three were made prisoners. The latter were confined till night, when they were punished, and set at liberty. After this their behaviour was very decent and circumspect; occasioned, as we thought, by the man being wounded; for, till this time, they had only heard of the effect of our fire-arms, but now they had felt it. We



were not mistaken in our conjecture, for Mr. King and Mr. Anderson, in an excursion they took into the country, met with the very man, and found indubitable marks of his having been wounded with a musket ball. Nothing worthy of notice happened at the ships for two days ; we shall therefore fill up that interval with an account of Mr. Anderson's excursion into the country, just mentioned.

On Monday the 30th, Mr. King and Mr. Anderson accompanied Futtafaihe as visitors to his house, which is not far from that of his brother Poulaho, at Mooa. Soon after they arrived a good sized hog was killed, which was effected by repeated strokes upon the head. The hair was then curiously scraped off with the sharp edge of pieces of bamboo, and the entrails taken out by the same simple instrument. Previous to this an oven had been prepared, which was a large hole dug in the earth, the bottom of which was covered with stones, about the size of a man's fist, and made red hot by kindling a fire over them : they then wrapped some of those stones in leaves of the bread-fruit tree, with which they filled the hog's belly ; stuffing in a quantity of leaves, and a plug of the same kind, to prevent their falling out. This being done, the carcase was placed upon some sticks laid across the stones, and covered with plantain-leaves. The earth was afterwards dug up all round ; and the oven being thus effectually closed, the operation of baking required no farther aid. While this was doing, our gentlemen amused themselves by walking about the country, but saw nothing remarkable, except a Fiatooka, about thirty feet high. At a small distance therefrom, were several Etooa-trees, whereon they saw a great number of Ternate-bats, making a most disagreeable noise. Not having their muskets with them at this time, they could not kill any, but some taken at Annamooka, measured almost a yard when the wings were extended. On their return to Futtafaihe's dwelling, the baked hog was brought out, accompanied with some cocoa-nuts, and several baskets of baked yams. The person who prepared the hog in the morning, now cut it up in a masterly manner,

with a knife made of split bamboo. Though the weight was at least, nearly seven stone, the whole was placed before them ; when they took a small part, and desired the rest might be distributed among the people sitting round. Futtafaihe could hardly be prevailed upon to eat a morsel. Dinner being ended, we went with him, and his attendants, to the spot where Poulaho's mourning ceremony was performed. They saw nothing but a kind of continuation of the same solemn rites, by way of condolence. Upon enquiring into the reason of this transaction, they were informed, that it was in memory of a chief who had long since died at Vavaoo ; that they had practised it ever since, and should continue to do so for a considerable length of time to come. In the evening, they were entertained with a pig for supper, dressed like the hog, and, as that, accompanied with yams and cocoa-nuts. When supper was over, a large quantity of cloth was brought for them to sleep on ; but they were disturbed in their repose, by a singular piece of luxury, with which men of consequence in this Island indulge themselves, namely, that of being thumped or patted, till and while they are asleep. Two women, who sat by Futtafaihe, performed this office, which they call tooge tooge, by striking his body and legs with both fists, till he fell asleep, and with some intervals, continued it the whole night. If the person is asleep, they abate a little of the strength and briskness of the beating : but if they observe the least appearance of his awaking, they resume it. In the morning they were informed that Futtafaihe's women relieved each other, and went alternately to sleep. Such a practice as this, in any other country, would be supposed to be destructive of all rest ; but here it operates like an opiate, and strongly points out what habit will effect. The noise occasioned by this extraordinary custom, was not the only bar to their sleeping ; for the people who passed the night in the house, not only conversed frequently with each other, as in the day-time ; but all got up before it was light, and made a hearty meal on fish and yams, which were brought to them by a person,



who seemed to be well acquainted with the usual or appointed time of their nocturnal repast.

The next morning, being July the 1st, they walked down the east-side of the bay to the point, accompanied by Futtafaihe. The country appeared in a fine state of cultivation, but not so many enclosures as at Mooa, and among the great number of plantain-fields, there was one at least a mile long, in excellent order, every tree growing with great vigour. They found, that in travelling, Futtafaihe exercised a power, which evinced the great authority the principal men are invested with. To one place he sent for fish, to another for yams, &c. and his orders were as readily obeyed as if he had been absolute master of all the peoples' property. When we came to the point something was mentioned by the natives concerning a man, who they said, had been fired at by one of our guard; and upon our desiring to see the person, they conducted us to a house, wherein was a man who had been shot through the shoulder, but not dangerously. The ball had entered a little above the inner part of the collar-bone; and passed out obliquely backward. From the state of the wound, and several particular circumstances, we were certain, that he was the person who had been fired at by one of our sentinels, three days before; though positive orders had been given that none of our people should load their pieces with any thing but small shot. There were many of them ready to swear they had loaded only with these; and how the single musket happened to be that day charged with ball, Capt. Cook could never find out. Our gentlemen gave some directions how to manage the wound, to which no remedy had been applied; and the natives seemed pleased, when they were informed it would get well in a certain time. But on their departure, they requested of them to send the wounded man some yams, and other sorts of food; and in such a manner, that it was concluded they considered it to be our duty to support him, till he might be able to supply his wants with his own labour. They crossed

the bay, in the evening, to our station, in a canoe procured by Futtafaihe, who exercised his authority by calling to the first that appeared. He had also brought to him at this place, by a servant, a large hog, and a bundle of cloth, which he wanted them to accept of as a present from him; but the boat being small, they objected; and he ordered it to be conveyed over to them the next day. Thus ends Mr. Anderson's account of his excursion.

On Wednesday the 2nd, Capt Cook examining the micrometer, belonging to the board of longitude, found some of the rack work broken, and that the instrument could not be repaired, nor rendered fit for use, by the time of the expected eclipse, though we had prolonged our stay with a view of making observations when this event should take place. Being thus disappointed in our expectation, we began to prepare for our departure, by getting this day on board all our cattle, poultry, and other animals, except those that were destined to remain. The Captain designed to have left a Turkey-cock and hen; but two hens having been destroyed by accident, and wishing to carry the breed to Otaheite he reserved the only remaining pair for that place. We had brought three hens to these Islands, one of which was strangled, and the other was killed by a useless dog belonging to one of our officers. The Captain afterwards repented his not having given the preference to Tongataboo, as the present would have been more valued there than at Otaheite; and he was persuaded the natives of the former Island would have taken more pains to multiply the breed. On the 3d, we unmoored, worked out of the bay, and moved the ships behind Pangimodoo, where we lay in readiness, to take the advantage of a favourable wind, to take us through the gut in our way to Eooa-whe, or Middleburgh. The king, who this day dined with us, took particular notice of the plates; which the Captain observing, made him an offer of one, either of pewter, or earthen-ware: he made choice of the first, and mentioned the several uses to which he intended to apply



it; two of which were so very extraordinary that they deserve to be related. Whenever he should visit any of the other Islands, he said he would leave this plate behind him at Tongataboo, as his representative, that the people might, in his absence, pay it the homage due to himself in person. On being asked, how he had usually been represented in his absence, before he was in possession of a plate, he informed us, that this singular honour had always been conferred on a wooden bowl, in which he washed his hands. The other use to which he meant to apply the plate instead of the bowl, was to discover a thief. When any thing had been stolen, and the thief not detected, the people were assembled before him, when he washed his hands in the vessel. After this, it was cleansed, and every man advanced, and touched it with his hand, in the same manner as they touch his foot when they offer him obeisance. If touched by the guilty person, he dropped down dead immediately; and if any one refused to touch it, such refusal was considered as a sufficient proof of guilt. On Saturday the 5th, the day of the eclipse, the weather in the morning was cloudy, with some showers of rain. About nine o'clock, the sun broke out at short intervals for about half an hour, but was totally obscured just before the commencement of the eclipse. The sun again appeared at intervals till

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about the middle of the eclipse; but was seen no more during the remainder of the day, so that we could not observe the end. This disappointment was the less to be lamented, as the longitude was sufficiently determined by lunar observations. The eclipse being over, we packed up the instruments, took down the observatories, and every thing was conveyed on board. None of the natives having taken the least notice or care of the sheep allotted to Marcewagee, the Captain ordered them to be carried back to the ships. He was apprehensive, that if he should leave them there, they would probably be destroyed by the dogs. These animals did not exist upon the Island in 1773, when Capt. Cook first visited it; but there are now plenty of them among the chiefs, partly from the breed since that time, and partly from some imported from an Island not very remote, called Feejee. At present, however, the dogs have not got into any of the Friendly Islands, except Tongataboo. We shall here add some particulars about this and its productions, for which we are indebted to Mr. Anderson. He spent many weeks upon it, and had many opportunities of gaining accurate information; and his researches will supply the imperfections, or deficiencies, in our former account of this Island; but for these particulars, we beg leave to refer our readers to the chapter following.



## CHAP. VI.

*Description of the Island, animals, vegetables, &c. of Tongataboo, or Amsterdam; A solemnity at Moot, called natche, performed in honour of the king's son; Extraordinary processions and ceremonies; The manner of spending the night at the king's house; The solemnity continued, and conjectures concerning it; The Resolution and Discovery depart from Tongataboo, and arrive at Eoo-a; An account of that Island; Transactions there; They weigh anchor and turn through the channel; Observations on the Friendly Islands; The number of Islands and their names; Account of Varao, Hamoa, and Feejee; The general character, persons, manners, customs, habits and ornaments of the inhabitants described; Various employments of the men and women of the Friendly Islands; Their manner of agriculture and building their houses, furniture, canoes, tools, cordage, and fishing tackle; Weapons and instruments of music; Vegetable and animal food; Their method of cooking, diversions, marriage, and mourning ceremonies; Of their deities and religious opinions; Their Fiatookas; The power of their chiefs, form of government, and manner of paying homage to their sovereign; The royal family; Specimen of their language; Nautical remarks and other observations on the tammahas and tides.*

**T**ONGATABOO, Amsterdam, or Tonga, (as it is sometimes called by the natives) is about sixty miles in circuit, rather oblong, though broadest at the east end, and its greatest length is from east to west. The south shore is straight, consisting of coral-rocks, eight or ten feet high, terminating perpendicularly, except in some few places, where it is interrupted by small sandy beaches, whereon, at low water, a range of black rocks may be seen. The west end is not above five or six miles broad, but has a shore somewhat like that of the south-side; whereas the whole north-side is environed with shoals and Islands, and the shore within them low and sandy. The east side or end is, most probably, like the south; as the shore begins to assume a rocky appearance, towards the N. E. point, though not above seven or eight feet high. This Island may, with great propriety, be called a low one, as the trees, on the west part, where we now lay at anchor, only appeared; and the eminent part, that can be seen from a ship, is the S. E. point; though many gentle rising and declining grounds are observable by one who is ashore. The general appearance of the country does not afford that beautiful kind of landscape that is produced from a variety of hills and valleys, lawns, rivulets, and cascades; but,

at the same time, it conveys to a spectator, an idea of the most exuberant fertility, whether we attend to the places improved by art, or those still in a natural state; both which yield all their vegetable productions with the greatest vigour, and perpetual verdure. At a distance, the surface seems entirely clothed with trees of various sizes; some of which are very large, but the tall cocoa-palms raise their tufted heads high above the rest, and are a noble ornament to any country that produces them. The boogo, a species of the fig, with narrow pointed leaves, is the largest sized tree upon the Island; and the most common bushes, and small trees, especially toward the sea, are the pandamus, the faitanoo, several sorts of the hibiscus, and a few others. A coral rock appears to be the basis of the Island, which is the only kind of soil that presents itself on the shore; nor did we see the least appearance of any other stone, except a few small blue pebbles strewed about the Fiatookas; and a smooth solid black stone, something like the lapis lidius, of which the natives make their hatchets: but these last, may, probably, have been brought from other Islands in the neighbourhood; for a piece of slaty iron-coloured stone was bought at one of them, which was never seen here. Though, in



many places, the coral projects above the surface, the soil is, in most parts, of a considerable depth. In those that are uncultivated, it is, commonly, of a loose black colour; produced, seemingly, from rotten vegetables: underneath which, may be a clayey stratum; for a soil of that kind is often seen both in the low, and in the rising grounds; but especially in several places towards the shore, where it is of any height; and when broken off, appears sometimes of a reddish, though oftener of a brownish yellow colour, and of a pretty stiff consistence. Where the shore is low, the soil is commonly sandy, or rather composed of coral dust; which however yields bushes growing with great luxuriance; and is sometimes planted, not unsuccessfully, by the natives. The climate of Tongataboo, from the situation towards the tropic, is more variable, than in countries nearer to the line, though, perhaps, that might be owing to the season of the year, which was now the winter solstice. The winds are, for the most part, from some point between S. and E. and, when moderate, are commonly attended with fine weather. When they blow fresher, the weather is often cloudy, though open; and in such cases, there is frequently rain. The wind sometimes veers to the N. E. N. N. E. or even N. N. W. but never lasts long, nor blows strong from thence, though it is commonly accompanied by heavy rain, and close sultry weather. The quick succession of vegetables has been already mentioned; but it is not certain that the changes of weather, by which it is brought about, are considerable enough to make them perceptible to the natives as to their method of life, or rather that they should be very sensible of the different seasons. This, perhaps, may be inferred from the state of their vegetable productions, which are never so much affected, with respect to the foliage, as to shed that all at once; for every leaf is succeeded by another, as fast as it falls; which causes that appearance of universal and continual spring found here.

The principal of the cultivated fruits are plantains, of which they have fifteen differ-

ent sorts; bread-fruit, two kinds of fruit found at Otaheite and known there under the names of jambu and cevee; the latter a kind of plumb; and vast numbers of shaddock, which, however, are found as often in a natural state, as planted. The roots are yams, of which are two sorts; one black, and so large, that it often weighs twenty or thirty pounds; the other white and long, seldom weighing a pound. Here is a large root, called kappe; one, not unlike our white potatoes, called mawhaha; the talo, or cocos of other places: and another named jeejee. Besides vast numbers of cocoa-nut trees, here are three other sorts of palms, two of which are very scarce. One of them is called beeo; which grows almost as high as the cocoa tree, has very large leaves plaited like a fan, and clusters or bunches of globular nuts, not larger than a small pistol ball, growing amongst the branches, with a very hard kernel, which is sometimes eaten. The other is a kind of cabbage tree, not distinguishable from the cocoa, but by being rather thicker, and by having its leaves more ragged. It has a cabbage three or four feet long; at the top of which are the leaves, and at the bottom the fruit, which is scarcely two inches long, resembling an oblong cocoa-nut, with an insipid tenacious kernel, called by the natives, neeoogoola, or red cocoa-nut, as it assumes a reddish cast when ripe. The third sort is called ongo, and much commoner, being generally found planted about the Fiatookas. It seldom grows higher than five feet, though sometimes to eight; and has a vast number of oval compressed nuts, as large as a pippin, sticking immediately to the trunk, among the leaves, which are not eat. In this Island is plenty of excellent sugar-cane, which is cultivated; gourds, bamboo, turmeric, and a species of fig, about the size of a small cherry, called matte, which though wild is sometimes eaten. The catalogue of uncultivated plants is too large to be enumerated. Besides the pemphis, decaspermum, mallocooca, maha, and some other new genera, there are a few more that escaped Dr. Forster's curious eye: but, perhaps, the different seasons of the year,



and his short stay, did not give him an opportunity to notice them : in our longer stay here, not more than a fourth part of the trees and plants were in flower ; a circumstance absolutely necessary, to enable one to distinguish the various kinds.

In this Island are no other quadrupeds but hogs, some dogs, and a few rats. Fowls, which are of a large breed, are domesticated here. Of the birds are parrots, somewhat smaller than the common grey ones, having an indifferent green on the back and wings, the tail blueish, and the rest of a sooty or chocolate brown ; parroquets not larger than a sparrow, of a fine yellowish green, with bright azure on the crown of the head, and the throat and belly red ; besides another sort as large as a dove, with a blue crown and thighs, the throat and under part of the head crimson, as also part of the belly, and the rest a beautiful green. Here are owls, about the size of our common ones, but of a much finer plumage ; cuckoos mentioned at Palmerston's Isle ; king-fishers, about the size of a thrush, of a greenish blue, with a white ring about the neck ; and a bird of the thrush kind, almost as big, of a dull green colour, with two yellow wattles at the base of the bill, which is the only singing one we heard at this place ; but it compensates a good deal for the want of our songsters by the strength and melody of its notes, which fill the woods at dawn, in the evening, and at the breaking up of bad weather. The other land-birds are rails, as large as a pigeon, of a variegated grey colour, with a rusty neck ; a black sort with red eyes, not larger than a lark ; violet-coloured coots, with bald red crowns two sorts of fly-catchers ; a very small swallow ; and three sorts of pigeons ; one of which is the size of the common sort, of a light green on the back and wings, with a red forehead ; and another, somewhat less, of a purple brown, but whitish underneath. Of water-fowl, and such as frequent the sea, are the ducks seen at Anamooka, though scarce here ; blue and white herons ; tropic birds ; common noddies ; white terns ; a new species of a leaden colour, with a black crest ; a small blueish curlew ; and a large plover, spotted

with yellow. Besides the large bats, mentioned before, there is also the common sort. The only noxious or disgusting animals of the reptile or insect tribe, are sea snakes, three feet long, with black and white circles alternately, often found on shore ; some scorpions and centipedes. There are fine green guanoes, a foot and a half long ; another brown and spotted lizard, about a foot and a half long ; and two other small sorts. Among the other sorts of insects, are some beautiful moths ; butter-flies ; very large spiders ; and others ; making, in the whole, about fifty different kinds. Though the sea abounds with fish, the variety is less than might be expected. The most frequent sorts are the mullets ; parrot fish ; silver fish ; old wives ; beautiful spotted soles ; leather jackets ; bonnetos ; and albicores ; besides the eels mentioned at Palmerston's Island ; some sharks ; rays ; pipe fish ; a sort of pikes ; and some curious devil fish. The numerous reefs and shoals on the north side of the Island, afford shelter for an endless variety of shell-fish ; among which are many much esteemed in Europe ; such as the true hammer oyster ; of which, however, none could be obtained entire ; a large indentated oyster, and many others ; but none of the common sort ; panamas, cones ; a gigantic cockle, found in the East Indies ; pearl-shell oysters ; and many others hitherto unknown to the most diligent enquirers after that branch of natural history. Here are likewise several sorts of sea-eggs ; and many very fine star-fish ; besides a considerable variety of corals ; among which are two red sorts ; the one most elegantly branched, the other tubulous. And there is no less variety among the crabs and cray-fish, which abound here.

On Monday, the 7th, early in the morning, a large canoe went along side the *Discovery*, in which were three men and a woman, of superior dignity to any her company had yet seen to come aboard. One of them, supposed by his venerable appearance, to be the high priest, held a long pole or spear in his hand, to which he tied a white flag, and began an oration which lasted a considerable time. After it was



concluded, he ascended the side of the ship, and sat down, with great composure on the quarter deck, till he was accosted by Capt. Clerke, who, after the usual salutations, invited him, and his attendants, into the great cabin; but the latter declined the invitation; and to make known the dignity of the great personage, in whose presence they were, they prostrated themselves before him, the woman as well as the men, and kissed the sole of his right foot. This aged Islander brought with him, as a present to Capt. Clerke, four large hogs, six fowls, with a proportionable quantity of yams and plantains. In return, the Captain gave him a printed gown, a Chinese looking-glass, some earthen ware, &c. which he accepted with great courtesy, and with an air of dignity, which remarkably distinguished him. The Captain and officers paid him great attention, and shewed him the different accommodations on board the ship, at which he expressed great astonishment. He was then invited to eat, which he declined. He was offered wine, of which the Captain drank first; he put it to his lips, tasted it, but returned the glass. Having been on board little more than an hour, he was desirous of taking leave, and pointed to a little Island, to which he gave the Captain a very pressing invitation to accompany him, but as he had other entertainments in view, on shore, that could not be complied with. This venerable person was about six feet, three inches high, finely proportioned, and had a commanding air, that was both affable and graceful. We were not favoured with a visit, nor did this great man come at any time on board the *Resolution*. Though we were now ready to sail, we had not sufficient day-light to turn through the narrows; the morning flood falling out too early, and the evening flood too late. We were therefore under a necessity of waiting two or three days, unless we should be fortunate enough to have a leading wind. This delay gave us an opportunity to be present at a public solemnity, to which the king had invited us, who said it would be performed in a day or two. Accordingly, he and all the people

of consequence, repaired this day to Mooa, where the solemnity was to be exhibited.

On Tuesday the 8th, a party of us followed them. Poulaho now informed us, that his son was to be initiated into certain privileges; one of which was, that of eating with his father; an honour he had not hitherto enjoyed. About eight o'clock in the morning, we arrived at Mooa, where we found the king, with a number of attendants sitting before him, within a small dirty enclosure. They were, as usual, busied in preparing a bowl of kava. As this was not liquor for us, we went to pay a visit to some of our friends, and to observe what preparations were making for the ceremony, which was soon expected to begin. About ten o'clock, the people assembled in a large area before the malace, or great house. At the end of a road, opening into this area, stood several men with spears and clubs, reciting incessantly short sentences, in mournful accents, which conveyed an idea of distress. This was continued about an hour; during which time, many people came down the road, each having a yam tied to the middle of a pole, which they laid down before those who continued repeating the sentences. At length, the king and prince arrived, and seated themselves upon the area; and we were requested to sit down by them, to take off our hats, and to untie our hair. The bearers of the yams having all entered, each pole was taken up between two men, who carried it over their shoulders. They then formed themselves into companies, of ten or twelve each, and marched across the place, with a rapid pace, each company headed by a man who had a club or spear, and defended on the right, by several others, armed with different weapons. About two hundred and fifty persons walked in the procession, which was closed by a man carrying on a perch a living pigeon. Omiah was desired by Capt. Cook to ask the chief where the yams were to be carried with so much solemnity; but he seemed unwilling to give us the information we required: some of us, therefore, followed the procession, seemingly contrary to his



inclination. They stopped before a Morai, or Fiatooka of one house, standing upon a mount, about a quarter of a mile from the place where they had first assembled. Here they deposited the yams, and gathered them into bundles; but for what purpose we could not possibly learn. Our presence seeming to give them uneasiness, we returned to Poulaho, who advised us to amuse ourselves by walking about, as nothing would be done for a considerable time. The fear of losing the sight of any part of the ceremony, prevented our being long absent. When we returned to the king, he desired Capt. Cook to order the boat's crew not to presume to stir from the boat, for every thing would, very soon, be taboo; and if any of our people, or of their own, should be seen walking about, they would certainly be knocked down with clubs, if they were not mated, that is, killed. He added, that we could not be present at the ceremony; but that we should be placed in such a situation, as to be able to see every thing that passed. Our dress was particularly objected to, and we were told, that, to qualify us to be present, we must be naked as low as the breast, that our hats must be off, and our hair untied. Oniah agreed readily to conform to these requisites, and immediately began to strip; but other objections were then started, and he was excluded equally with ourselves. Not relishing this restriction, the Captain stole out, to see what might now be going forward. Very few people, however, were to be seen, except those who were dressed to attend the ceremony; some of whom had in their hands small poles, about four feet in length, to the under part of which were fastened two or three other small sticks, about six inches long. These men were going towards the Morai. The Captain took the same road, and was frequently stopped by them, all crying out taboo. However, he ventured to go forward till he came in sight of the Morai, and of the people sitting before it. He was now strongly urged to go back, and not knowing what might be the consequence of a refusal he complied. He had observed, that those who carried the poles, passed the

Morai; and guessing from this circumstance, that something was transacting beyond it, he had some thoughts of advancing, by making a round for this purpose; but he was so narrowly observed by three men, that he had no opportunity of carrying his design into execution. In order to shake off these three fellows, he returned to the Malae, where he had parted from the king, and afterwards made a second elopement, but he instantly met with the same men, who had doubtless received instructions to watch him. However, the Captain paid no attention to them, but proceeded onward till he came within sight of the king's principal Fiatooka, or Morai; before which a great number of people were sitting, being those whom he had just seen before pass by the Morai, from whence this was but a little distant. Perceiving, while he was considering what he should do, that he could observe the proceeding of this company from the king's plantation, he repaired thither, accompanied by several of his people. The number of persons at the Fiatooka continued increasing for some time; and at length, they quitted their sitting posture, and marched off in procession. They walked in pairs, every pair carrying between them, one of the small poles on their shoulders. We were informed, that the small pieces of sticks, fastened to the poles, were yams, it is therefore probable, that they were meant to represent that root emblematically. The hindmost man of each couple placed one of his hands to the middle of the pole, as if it were not strong enough to carry the weight that hung upon it, and under which they all seemed to bend as they proceeded. This procession consisted of one hundred and eight pairs, chiefly men of rank. Having seen them all pass, we repaired to Poulaho's house, and saw him going out. We were not permitted to follow him; but were immediately conducted to the place allotted to us, behind a fence adjoining to the area of the Fiatooka, where the yams had been deposited in the morning.

When arrived at our station, we saw two or three hundred persons sitting on the grass, near the end of the road opening into



the area of the Morai; and others were continually joining them. At length, arrived a few men, each carrying some small poles and branches, or leaves of the cocoa-nut tree. As soon as they appeared, an old man seated himself in the road; and pronounced a long oration in a serious majestic tone. He then retired, and the others advanced to the middle of the area, began to erect a small shed or hut; employing, for that purpose, the materials already mentioned. Their work being finished, they all squatted down for a moment before it, then rose up, and joined the rest of the company. Poulaho's son arrived soon after, preceded by four or five male attendants. After them appeared about twelve or fourteen women of the first rank, advancing slowly in pairs, each pair carrying between them a narrow piece of white cloth, about two or three yards in length. They approached the prince, squatted down before him, and wrapped some of the pieces of cloth round his body; they then rose up, and retired in the same order, to some distance on his left, where they seated themselves. Poulaho now made his appearance, preceded by four men, walking two and two abreast, and sat down on his son's left hand, at a small distance from him. The young prince then quitted his first position, and seated himself under the shed, with his attendants, many others placing themselves on the grass before this royal canopy. The prince sat facing the people, with his back to the Morai. Three companies of about ten or a dozen men in each, started up from among the crowd, soon after each other, and, running hastily to the opposite side, sat down for a few seconds; and then returned, in the same manner, to their former stations. To them succeeded two men, each having a small green branch in his hand, who rose and advanced towards the prince, sitting down for a few minutes, three different times, as they approached; and retired in the same manner, inclining their branches to each other as they sat. Afterwards two others repeated the same ceremony. The grand procession, which marched from the other Morai, now began to come in. As

they entered the area, they proceeded to the right of the shed, and, having prostrated themselves on the grass, deposited their pretended heavy burdens, (the poles) and faced round to the prince. They then rose up, and retired in the same order, closing their hands with the most serious aspect, and seated themselves along the front of the area. While this numerous band were entering, and depositing their poles, three men, who sat with the prince, continued pronouncing separate sentences, in a mournful melancholy tone. A profound silence now ensued for a short time, after which a man who sat in the front of the area, began a kind of oration, during which, at several different times, he broke one of the poles which had been brought in. Having concluded his oration, the people sitting before the shed, separated, to make a lane, through which the prince and his attendants passed, and the assembly closed.

Satisfied with what we had already seen, some of our party now returned to the ships; but Capt. Cook, and some more of the officers, remained at Mooa, to see the conclusion of the solemnity, which was not to be till the day following. The small poles, which had been brought by those who walked in procession, being left on the ground, after the crowd had dispersed, the Captain examined, and found that, to the middle of each, two or three small sticks were tied, as has been related. They were probably intended as only artificial representations of small yams. Our supper, consisting of fish and yams, was got ready about seven o'clock. The king supped with us, and drank so freely of brandy and water, that he retired to bed with a sufficient dose. We continued the whole night in the same house with him and his attendants. About one or two o'clock in the morning, on Wednesday, the 9th, they waked, conversed for about an hour, and then went to sleep again. All except Poulaho, rose at break of day; soon after which, a woman, one of those who generally attended upon the king, came in, and sitting down by him, immediately began the same operation that had been practised upon Futtafaihe, tapping, or beating



gently, with her clenched fists, on his thighs : but this, instead of promoting repose, had the contrary effect, and he awoke. Capt. Cook and Omiah paid now a visit to the prince, who had parted from us early in the preceding evening ; for he did not lodge with the king, but in apartments of his own, at some distance from his father's house. We found him with a circle of youths, about his own age, sitting before him ; also an old man and woman. There were others, of both sexes, employed about their necessary affairs, who probably belonged to his household. We now returned to the king, who had a crowded levee before him, consisting principally of old men. While a bowl of kava was preparing, a baked hog and yams, smoking hot, were introduced ; the greatest part of which fell to our share ; for these people, especially the kava drinkers, eat very little in the morning. We afterwards walked out, and visited several other chiefs, all of whom were taking their morning draught, or had already taken it. Returning to the king, we found him asleep in a retired hut, with two women patting him. About eleven o'clock he made his appearance among us, partook of some fish and yams, and again lay down to sleep. We now left him, and waited on the prince, with a present of cloth, beads and other articles. There was a sufficient quantity of cloth to make him a complete suit, and he was immediately clad in his new habiliments. Proud of his dress, he first went to exhibit himself to his father, and then conducted Capt. Cook to his mother, with whom were about a dozen other women, of a very respectable appearance. Here the prince changed his apparel, and made the Captain a present of two pieces of cloth which had been manufactured in the Island. It was now about noon, when, by appointment, the Captain repaired to the palace to dinner ; which was soon after served up, and consisted of two pigs and some yams. The drowsy monarch was roused to partake of what he had ordered for our entertainment. Two mullets, and some shell-fish, were introduced, as if intended for his separate portion. But he added it to our fare, sat

down with us, and made a hearty meal. Dinner being over, we were informed that the ceremony would soon begin, and were strictly enjoined not to venture out.

Capt. Cook had resolved, however, to peep no longer from behind the curtain, but, if possible, to mix with the actors themselves. With this view he walked towards the Morai, the scene of the solemnity. He was desired frequently to return ; but he paid no regard to the admonitions he had received, and was permitted to walk on. When arrived at the Morai, he saw a number of men seated on the side of the area. A few also were sitting on the opposite side, and two men in the middle ; with their faces towards the Morai. When Capt. Cook had got into the midst of the first company, he was desired to sit down, which he accordingly did. Where he sat, a number of small bundles were lying, composed of cocoa-nut leaves, and fastened to sticks made into the form of hand-barrows. All the information he could get concerning them was, that they were taboo. From time to time, one or another of the company turned to those who were coming to join us, and made a short speech, in which we remarked, that the word arekee (king) was generally mentioned. Something was said by one man that produced loud bursts of laughter from all around ; others, of the speakers, were also much applauded. The Captain was frequently desired to leave the place ; but, at length, finding him determined to stay, they requested him to uncover his shoulders, in like manner as they had done. This he readily complied with, and then they no longer seemed uneasy at his presence. The prince, the women, and the king, at length appeared, as they had done the preceding day. The prince being placed under the shed, two men, each having a piece of mat, came, repeating something in a very serious strain, and put them about him. The people now began their performances, and different companies ran backward and forward across the area, as in the former day. Presently afterwards, the two men in the middle of the area, made a short speech, and then the whole company rose up, and placed



themselves before the shed in which the prince, and three or four men were seated. One of the company, who seemed very desirous of obliging the Captain, procured him such a situation, that, if he could have made use of his eyes, nothing could have escaped him. But it was necessary to have a demure countenance and downcast looks. The procession now arrived, as on the day before; a pole, with a cocoa-nut leaf plaited round the middle of it, being carried on the shoulders of every two persons. These were deposited with the same ceremonies as on the day before. After this succeeded another procession, composed of men who brought baskets, made of palm-leaves, such as are generally used by those people to carry provisions in. A third procession followed, in which a variety of small fish, each placed at the end of a forked stick, were brought. An old man, who sat on the prince's right hand, without the shed, received the baskets, each of which, he kept in his hand, making a short speech or prayer; then laying that aside, he called for another, repeating the same kind of prayer; he proceeded in this manner till he had gone through the whole number of baskets. Two men, who, till this time, had in their hands green branches, and were seated on the left, received the fish one by one, as they were presented to them on the forked sticks. The first fish they laid down on their right hand, and the second on their left. The third being presented, a stontish man, who was seated behind the other two, endeavoured to seize it, as did also the other two at the same time. Thus every fish was contended for; but the man behind, on account of his disadvantageous situation, got only pieces; for he never quitted his hold till the fish was torn out of his hand. What the others got, were laid on the right and left. At last the person behind got possession of a whole fish, the other two not even touching it. Upon this, the word *marecai* (very good) was pronounced in a low voice throughout the whole crowd. It appeared that he had now done all that was expected from him; for he did not contend for the other fish. The persons who brought in these

baskets and fish, delivered them sitting; and in the same manner, the poles carried in the first procession, had been placed on the ground. At the close of the last procession, there was speaking sentiments and praying by different persons. Then on a signal being given, we all rose up, ran several paces, and sat down, with our backs to the prince. The Captain was bid not to look behind him: but he was not discouraged by this injunction from facing about. The prince had now turned his face to the Morai, and from that moment he was admitted to the honour of eating with his father; and a piece of roasted yam was presented to each of them for that purpose. Soon after we turned about, forming a kind of semicircle before the prince, and leaving an open space between us. Presently some men advanced towards us two and two, bearing large poles upon their shoulders, waving their hands as they proceeded, and making a noise like singing. When near us, they made a shew of walking quick, without advancing a single step, several men armed with large sticks, immediately started from the crowd, and ran towards the new visitors, but they instantly made off, having thrown down the poles from their shoulders. The others attacked the poles, and having beat them most furiously, returned to their places. The former, as they ran off, gave the challenge used here in wrestling; and, in a short time, some lusty fellows came from the same quarter, repeating the challenge as they approached. These were resisted by a company, who arrived at that instant from the opposite side. Both parties, however, returned to their own quarter, after having paraded about the area for some minutes. Afterwards, for the space of half an hour, wrestling and boxing matches succeeded. Speeches were then delivered by two men, who seated themselves before the prince, with which the solemnity ended, and the whole assembly broke up.

In vain did he endeavour to find out the purport of this solemnity, called by the natives *natche*. All the answer we received to our enquiries, was *taboo*, which, as has been already observed, is applied to many things.



There was a solemn mystery in the whole transaction ; and from the manner of performing it, as well as the place where it was performed, it was evident there is a mixture of religion in the institution. Upon no other occasion had they regarded our dress and deportment ; but now it was required, that our hair should flow about our shoulders ; that we should be uncovered to the waist ; sit cross-legged ; and have our hands locked together. It should be observed also, that none but the principal people, and those who were concerned in the ceremonies, were admitted to assist in the celebration of the solemnity. All these circumstances pointed out evidently, that they supposed themselves acting under the inspection of a supreme being upon this occasion. From this account of the natche, it may be considered as merely figurative. The few yams that were seen the first day, could not be meant as a general contribution ; and it was intimated to us, that they were a portion consecrated to the Otooa, or Divinity. We were informed that in the space of three months, there would be represented a more important solemnity ; on which occasion the tribute of Tongataboo, Hapae, Vivaoo, and all the other Islands, would be brought to the chief, and more awfully confirmed, by sacrificing ten human victims from among the people. A horrid solemnity indeed ! On our inquiring into the occasion of so barbarous a custom, we were informed that it was a necessary part of the natche ; and that if omitted, the Deity would destroy their king. The day was far spent before the breaking up of the assembly ; and as we were at some distance from the ships, we were impatient to set out from Mooa. Taking leave of Poulaho, he pressed us earnestly to stay till the next day, in order to be present at a funeral ceremony. The wife of Mareewagee, his mother-in-law, had lately died ; and, on account of the natche, her corpse had been carried on board a canoe in the lagoon. He said, that when he had paid the last offices to her, he would attend us to Eooa, but if we did not chuse to wait, he would follow us thither. We would gladly have been present at this

ceremony, had not the tide been now favourable. The wind too, which had been very boisterous, was now moderate and settled. Besides, we were told, that the funeral ceremonies would continue five days, which, as the ships lay in such a situation that we could not put to sea at pleasure, was too long a time to stay. The Captain, however, assured the king, that if he did not immediately sail, he would visit him again the next day. While we were attending the natche, at Mooa, the Captain ordered the horses, bull, and other cattle, to be brought thither, thinking they would be safer there, than at a place that would be in a great measure, deserted, the moment after our departure. Besides, we had left with our friends here, a young English boar, and three young English sows. They were exceedingly desirous of them, naturally supposing they would greatly improve their own breed, which are but small. Feenou also got two rabbits from us, a buck and a doe, from which young ones were produced before we sailed. Should the cattle prosper, the acquisition to these Islands will be great ; and as Tongataboo is a fine level country, the horses will be extremely useful. We now all, the evening being far advanced, took leave of the king, and arrived at our ships about eight o'clock.

On Thursday, the 10th, we weighed, about eight o'clock A. M. and with a steady gale at S. E. turned through the channel, between the small Isles, called Makkahaa, and Monooafai, it being much wider than the channel between the last mentioned Island and Pangimodoo. The flood at first, set strong in our favour, till we were the length of the channel leading up to the lagoon, where the eastward flood meets that from the west. This, with the indraught of the lagoon, and of the shoals before it, occasions strong riplings and whirlpools. Besides these disadvantages, the depth of the channel exceeds the length of a cable ; consequently there can be no anchorage, except close to the rocks, in forty and forty-five fathoms water, where a ship would be exposed to the whirlpools. The Captain,



herefore, abandoned the design he had formed, of coming to anchor, when we were through the narrows, and afterwards of making an excursion to see the funeral. He rather chose to be absent from that ceremony, than to leave the ships in so dangerous a situation. We plied to windward, between the two tides, till it was near high water, without either gaining or losing an inch, when we suddenly got into the influence of the eastern tide, where we expected the ebb to run strongly in our favour. It proved, however, very inconsiderable: at any other time it would not have been noticed; but by this circumstance we were led to conclude, that most of the water, which flows into the lagoon, comes from the N. W. and returns the same way. Convinced that we could not get to sea before it was dark, we cast anchor under the shore of Tongataboo, in forty-five fathoms water. The *Discovery* dropped her anchor under our stern; but drove off the bank before the anchor took hold, and did not recover it till near midnight. On Friday, the 11th, near noon, we weighed and plied to the eastward. At ten o'clock P. M. we weathered the east end of the Island, and stretched away for Middleburgh, which the inhabitants call Eooa, or Ea-ooowhe. We anchored about eight o'clock A. M. of the 12th, on the S. W. side of the Island, in forty fathoms water, over a bottom of sand, interspersed with coral rocks; the extremes of the Island, extending from N. 40 deg. E. to S. 22 deg. W. the high land of Eooa. S. 45 deg. E. and Tongataboo, from N. 70 deg. W. to N. 19 deg. W. distant about half a mile from the shore; being nearly the same place where Capt. Cook took his station in 1773, and which he named English Road. We had no sooner anchored, than the natives came on board with as little ceremony, as if they had been acquainted with us for many years. They brought us the produce of the Island: but being already supplied with every necessary of that kind, our chief traffic was for birds and feathers. Here the parrots and parroquets were of the most beautiful plumage, far surpassing those usually imported into Europe from the In-

dies; there are a great variety of other birds, on which many gentlemen in both ships put a great value, though they were purchased for trifles. The feathers we procured, were of divers, colours, for different markets, but chiefly for the Marquesas and Society Isles. We also purchased cloth, and many other articles of curious workmanship, the artists of this Island, for invention and ingenuity in the execution, exceeding those of all the other Islands in the South Seas: but what particularly invited our stay here, was the richness of the grass, which, made into hay, proved excellent food for our live stock. Among others, Taoofoa the chief, visited us on board, and seemed to rejoice much at our arrival. This person had been Capt. Cook's Tayo, in 1773, and, therefore, they were not strangers to each other. The Captain accompanied him ashore in search of fresh water, the procuring of which was the main object which brought us to Middleburgh. We had heard at Amsterdam of a stream at this Island, which, it was said, runs from the hills into the sea: but this was not to be found. The Captain was conducted to a brackish spring, among rocks, between low and high-water mark. When they perceived, that we did not approve of this, we were shewn a little way into the Island; where, in a deep chasm, we found some excellent water; which, at the expence of some time and trouble, might be conveyed to the shore, by means of spouts and troughs, provided for that purpose: but rather than undertake so tedious a task, we rested contented with the supply the ships had received at Tongataboo. At this Island of Eooa we landed the ram and two ewes, of the Cape of Good Hope breed, and committed them to the care of Taoofoa, who seemed proud of his charge. It was, perhaps, a fortunate circumstance, that Mareewagee, for whom they were intended, had slighted the present; for as Eooa had no dogs upon it, at present, it seemed to be a fitter place for feeding sheep than Tongataboo. While we lay at anchor, the Island of Eooa, or Middleburgh, had a very different aspect from any one that we had lately seen, and and formed a most beautiful landscape



It is the highest of any we had seen since we we had left New Zealand, and from its summit, which appears to be almost flat, declines gradually towards the sea. The other Isles, which form this cluster, being level, the eye cannot discover any thing except the trees that cover them : but here the land, rising gently upwards, presents an extensive prospect, where groves, in beautiful disorder, are interspersed at irregular distances. Near the shore, it is quite shady with a variety of trees, among which are placed the habitations of the natives, and to the right of our station, was one of the most extensive groves of cocoa-palms that we had ever seen.

Sunday, the 13th, a party of us, in the afternoon, ascended to the highest part of the Island, a little to the right of our ships; to have a perfect view of the country. Having advanced about half way up, we crossed a deep valley, the bottom and sides of which were covered with trees. We found plenty of coral till we approached the summits of the highest hills: the soil near the top, is in general, a reddish clay, which in many places is very deep. On the most elevated part of the Island, we saw a round platform, supported by a wall of coral stones. Our guides informed us, that this mount had been erected by command of their chief; and the principal people sometimes resorted there to drink kava. They called it Etchee, by which name an erection was distinguished which we had seen at Tongataboo. At a small distance from it, was a spring of most excellent water; and, about a mile lower down, a stream, which we were told, ran into the sea, when the rains are copious. We also discovered water in several small holes, and suppose that plenty might be found by digging. From this elevation we had a complete view of the whole Island, except a small part to the south. The S. E. side, from which the hills we were now upon are not far distant, rises with great inequalities, immediately from the sea; so that the plains and meadows lie all on the N. W. side; which being adorned with tufts of trees, intermixed with plantations, form a most delightful landscape in every point of view. While the Captain

was surveying this enchanting prospect, he enjoyed the pleasing idea, that some future navigators might, from the same eminence, behold those meadows stocked with cattle, brought by the ships of England; and that the completion of this single benevolent purpose, exclusive of all other considerations, would sufficiently prove, that our voyages had not been useless. We found on this height, besides the plants common on the neighbouring Isles, a species of acrosticum, melastoma, and fern trees. All, or most of the land, on this Island, we were told, belonged to the chiefs of Tongataboo; the inhabitants, being only tenants, or vassals to them. This seemed, indeed, to be the case at all the neighbouring Isles, except Annamooka, where some of the chiefs seemed to act with a degree of independence. Omiah who was much esteemed by Feenou, and many others, was tempted with the offer of being appointed a chief of this Island, if he would continue among them; and he seemed inclinable to have accepted the offer, had he not been advised to the contrary by Capt. Cook; though not because he thought he would do better for himself in his native Isle. Returning from our country excursion, we heard that a party of the natives, in the quarter where our people traded, had struck one of their countrymen with a club, which fractured his skull, and afterwards broke his thigh, with the same. Not any signs of life were remaining, when he was carried to a neighbouring house, but, in a short time he recovered a little. On our desiring to know the reason of such an act of severity, we were informed, that the offender had been discovered in an indelicate situation with a woman who was taboo'd. We soon understood, however, that she was no otherwise taboo'd, than by belonging to another, superior in rank to her gallant. From this incident, we discovered how these people punish such infidelities: but the female sinner has a much milder correction for her crime, receiving only a slight remonstrance, and a very gentle beating.

On Monday the 14th, in the morning, we planted a pine-apple, some seeds of melons,



and other vegetables, in a plantation belonging to the chief. We had good reason, indeed, to suppose, our endeavours of this kind would not be fruitless; for a dish of turnips was, this day, served up at his table, which was the produce of the seeds that were left here in 1773. The next day being fixed upon by the Captain for sailing, Taoofa pressed us to stay a little longer. We must here observe, that in the account of Capt. Cook's former voyage, he calls the only chief he met with at this place Tiouny; but we are inclined to think, from the information of a gentleman of veracity, on board the *Discovery*, at this time, that Tiouny and Taoofa are one and the same person. His entreaties, together with the daily expectation of receiving a visit from some of our friends at Tongataboo, induced us to defer our departure. On Tuesday the 15th, we received from Taoofa a present consisting of two little heaps of yams, and a quantity of fruit, which seemed to have been collected as at the other isles. On this occasion, the greatest part of the inhabitants of the Island had assembled; and, as we had many times experienced, on such numerous meetings among their neighbouring Islanders, gave us no small trouble to prevent their pilfering. Cadgelling, wrestling, and boxing, were exhibited for our entertainment; and in the latter exercises, combatants of both sexes engaged. These diversions were to be finished with the bomai, or night dance, but the following accident prevented our staying on shore to see it. From the accounts circulated through the ships when we arrived, it was generally believed, that we might travel through this Island with our pockets open, provided they were not lined with iron; but to this, the behaviour of a party of the inhabitants to William Collet, Captain's steward of the *Discovery*, is an exception. Being alone, diverting himself in surveying the country, he was set upon and stripped of every thing, his shoes only excepted, and on preferring his complaint, his keys were all that he was able to recover. When Capt. Cook heard of this robbery, he seized two canoes, and a large hog; at the same time insisting on the chief's not only causing

the apparel to the restored, but also on the offenders being delivered up to him. Taoofa seemed greatly concerned at what had happened, and took the necessary steps to satisfy us. The people who had as usual assembled together, were so alarmed at this affair, that most of them immediately fled. However, when they were informed, that the Captain meant to take no other measures to revenge the insult, they returned. One of the delinquents was soon delivered up, and a shirt, and pair of trowsers restored. The remainder of the stolen things not coming in till the evening, the Captain was obliged to leave them, in order to go aboard; the sea running so high, that it was extremely difficult for the boats to get out of the creek even with day light, and would be attended with much more danger in the dark. He returned on shore again the next morning, taking with him a present for Taoofa, in return for what he had received from him. Being early, there were but few people at the landing-place, and even those few not without their fears and apprehensions; but on the Captain's desiring Omiah to assure them, that we did not mean to injure them, and having restored the canoes, and released the offender, who had been delivered up, they resumed their usual cheerfulness, and a large circle was presently formed, in which the chief and the principal men of the Island took their respective places. At length the remainder of the clothes were brought in, but having been torn off the man's back by pieces, they were not thought worth carrying on board. Taoofa shared the present he had received, with three or four other chiefs, reserving only a small part for himself. This donation so far exceeded their expectation, that a venerable old man told the Captain, they were not deserving of it, considering how little he had received from them, and the ill treatment Mr. Collet had met with. Capt. Cook continued with them, till they had emptied their bowl of kava; and then, after paying for the hog, which he had taken the day before, returned on board, in company with Taoofa, and one of Ponlaho's servants, by whom he sent a piece of bar-iron, as a parting mark of



esteem for that chief. This was as valuable a present as any the Captain could make. Orders had been given the proceeding day for sailing, and Otaheite was appointed our place of rendezvous, in case of separation. We had now been more than two months improving our live stock, wooding, watering, repairing our ships, and laying in fresh provisions from these Friendly Islands. The crews of both ships received these orders with alacrity; for though they wanted for nothing, yet they longed to be at Otaheite, where some of them had formed connections that were dear to them, and where those, who had not yet been there, had conceived so high an idea of its superiority, as to make their look upon every other place they touched at as an uncultivated garden, in comparison with that little Eden.

We were therefore all in high spirits this morning; for soon after the Captain had sent off his present by Poulaho's servant, we weighed, and with a light breeze stood out to sea, when Taoofoa and other natives, who were in the ship, left us. We found, on heaving up the anchor, that the cable had been much wounded by the rocks; besides which we experienced, that a prodigious swell rolls in there from the S. W. so that the bottom of this road is not to be depended on in all weathers. We now steered our course to the southward, to fetch a wind to carry us to our intended port; and we observed a sailing canoe entering the creek before which we had anchored our ships. A few hours after, a small canoe, conducted by four men, came off to us; for having but little wind, we were still at no considerable distance from the land. We were informed by these men, that the sailing canoe, which we had seen arrive, had brought directions to the people of Eooa, to furnish us with hogs, and that the king and other chiefs would be with us in the space of three or four days. They therefore requested that we would return to our former station. We had no reason to doubt the truth of this information; but being clear of the land, it was not a sufficient inducement to bring us back: especially, as we had already a sufficient stock of fresh provisions to last

us in our passage to Otaheite. Besides Taoofoa's present we received a large quantity of yams, &c. at Eooa, in exchange for nails; and added considerably to our supply of hogs. Finding we were determined not to return, these people left us in the evening, as did some others, who had come of in two canoes, with cocoa-nuts and shaddocks, to barter for what they could get; their eagerness to possess more of our commodities, inducing them to follow us to sea, and to continue their intercourse with us to the last moment.

As we have now taken leave of the Friendly Islands, a few observations we made respecting these, and others in their neighbourhood, may not be unworthy the notice of our readers. During a cordial intercourse between two and three months with their inhabitants, it may be reasonably supposed differences must arise; some, indeed, occasionally happened, on account of their natural propensity to thieving, though too frequently encouraged by the negligence and inattention of our people on duty. These little misunderstandings and differences were never attended with any fatal consequences, and few, belonging to our ships, parted from their friends without regret. The time we continued here was not thrown away; and as, in a great measure, our subsistence was drawn from the produce of the Islands, we expended very little of our sea provisions; and we carried with us a sufficient quantity of refreshments, to supply us till our arrival at another station, were we could again recruit: nor was it less pleasing to us, that we had an opportunity of serving these friendly people, by leaving some useful animals among them; and that those intended for Otaheite, had acquired fresh strength in the pastures of Tongataboo. The advantages we received, by touching here, were great, and we obtained them without retarding the prosecution of our grand object; the season for proceeding to the north being lost, before we formed the resolution of visiting these Islands. "But," observes Capt. Cook, "besides the immediate advantages, which both the natives of the Friendly Isles,



and ourselves received by this visit, future navigators from Europe if any such should ever tread our steps, will profit by the knowledge I acquired of the geography of this part of the Pacific Ocean; and the more philosophical reader, who loves to view human nature in new situations, and to speculate on singular, but faithful representations of the persons, the customs, the arts, the religion, the government, and the language of uncultivated nature and man, in remote discovered quarters of the globe, will, perhaps, find matter of amusement, if not of instruction, in the information which I have been enabled to convey to him, concerning the inhabitants of this Archipelago. We now proceed with our proposed observations.

The best articles for traffic in these Islands, are iron and iron tools. Axes, hatchets, nails of all sizes, knives, rasps, and files, are much demanded. Red cloth, white and coloured linen, looking-glasses and beads, are also in great estimation, but of the latter, those that are blue, the natives prefer to others, particularly to the white ones. A hog might, at any time be purchased, by a string of large blue beads: it should, nevertheless, be observed farther, that articles, merely ornamental, may be highly esteemed at one time, and disregarded at another. On our first arrival at Annamooka, the inhabitants were unwilling to take them in exchange for fruit; but when Feenou arrived, his approbation brought them into vogue, and stamped on them the value above-mentioned. In return for these commodities, all the refreshments to be had at the Friendly Islands, may be procured. The yams are excellent, and, when grown to perfection, preserve well at sea: but their pork, plantains, and bread-fruit, are inferior in quality to the same articles at Otaheite. The productions and supplies of these Islands are yams, bread-fruit, plantains, cocoa-nuts, sugar-canes, hogs, fowls, fish, and, in general, all such as are to be met with at Otaheite, or any of the Society Islands. But good water, which ships in long voyages stand much in need of, is scarce at the Friendly Isles. It may, it is true, be found in all of them, but not to serve the purposes of navigators; for either

the quality is bad, or the situations too inconvenient or the quantity too inconsiderable. While we lay at anchor under Kotoo, we were informed, that there was a stream of water at Kao, which ran from the mountains into the sea, on the S. W. side of the Island. This intelligence, though of no use to us, may deserve the attention of future navigators.

We must include, under the denomination of the Friendly Islands, not only the group at Hapae, but likewise those that have been discovered to the north, nearly under the same meridian, as well as some others under the dominion of Tongataboo or Amsterdam, which is the capital, and seat of government. From the best information we could obtain, this cluster of islands is very extensive. One of the natives enumerated one hundred and fifty Islands; and Mr. Anderson procured the names of all of them; from their communications the following list was made. They were enumerated by the inhabitants of Annamooka, Hapae, and Tongataboo: and may serve as a ground-work for the investigation of future navigators.

**A LIST of those FRIENDLY ISLANDS, represented by the Natives as Large Ones.**

Vavaoo	Kovooeea	Kogoopoloo
Goofoo	Kopao	Konagillelavoo
Talava	Takoumove	Kofoona
Toggelao	Oloo	Kolaiva
Lotooma	Lonbatta	Komoarra
Vytooboo	Pappataia	Komotte
Fotoona	Leshianga	Kotooboo
Neeootaboota-bo	Manooka	Kongaiarahoi
Hamo	Tootooeela	Oowaia
Tafeedoowaia	Havaekee	Feejee
Kongaireekee	- - - - -	Neuaf

**A LIST of the Smaller FRIENDLY ISLES.**

Latte	Mafanna	Gowakka
Boloa	Kollooa	Vagaetoo
Tattahoi	Tabanna	Golabbe
Toofagga	Motooha	Novababoo
Fonooalaiee	Looakabba	Kokabba
Loogoobahan-ga	Looamoggo	Kottejeea



# VOYAGE TOWARDS THE NORTH POLE,

Fooamotoo	Moggodoo	Kowoarogo-heefo
Taoola	Konnevao	Geenageena
Wegaffa	Konnevy	Koonoogoo
Foonoonneonne	Toonabai	Konookooaama
Fonoaoma	Gonoogoolaiee	Koweeka
Maneeneeta	Mallalanee	Filemaia
Koloa	Mallajee	Koreemou
Toofanaelaa	Matageefaia	Noogoolaeou
Toofanaetollo	Kollokolahee	Fonooaeeka
Fafeene	Kologobeele	Koooa
Taoonga	Kotooloa	Madooanoo-goonoogoo
Kobakeemo- 100	Komongoraffa	Fonogoeatta
Komalla	Konnetalle	Kovereetoa
Kongaboono- ho	Konoababoo	Felongaboonga
Tongooa	Komooefeewa	Kollalona

Of the size of the above thirty-two unexplored Islands, we can only give it as our opinion, that they must be all larger than Annamooka, (or Rotterdam) which those from whom we had our information, ranked among the smaller Islands in the second list. Some, or indeed, several of the latter are mere spots, without inhabitants. But it must be left to future navigators, to introduce into the charts of this part of the great Southern Pacific Ocean, the exact situation and size of near one hundred more Islands in this neighbourhood, according to the testimony of our friends, which we had not an opportunity to explore. Tasman saw eighteen or twenty of these small Islands, every one of which was encircled with sands, shoals and rocks. In some charts they are called Heemskirk's Banks. We have not the least doubt, that Prince William's Islands, discovered, and so named by Tasman, are included in the foregoing list: for while we lay at Hapae, one of the natives told us, that three or four days sail from thence to the N. W. there is a cluster of Islands, consisting of more than forty; and this situation corresponds very well with that assigned, in the accounts of Tasman's voyage, to his Prince William's Islands. Ceppel's and Boscawen's Isles, discovered

by Captain Wallis in 1765, are doubtless comprehended in our list; and they are not only well known to these people, but are under the same sovereign. We have good authority to believe, that Boscawen's Island is our Kootahee, and Keppel's Island our Neeootabootaboo. The last is one of the largest Islands marked in our first list. The reader, who has been already apprised of the variations of our people in writing down what the natives pronounced, will hardly doubt that Kottejeea, in our second list, and Kootahee, as one of the natives called Kao, are one and the same Island. We would just remark once more of this astonishing group of Islands, that fifteen of them are said to be high and hilly, such as Toofoa, and Eooa; and thirty-five of them large. Of these only three were seen this voyage, namely, Hapae (considered by the natives as one Island) Tongataboo, and Eooa. Annamooka has been noticed before. But the most considerable Islands that we heard of in this neighbourhood, are Hamoa, Vavaoo, and Reejee; each of which is larger than Tongataboo; but it does not appear that any European has ever yet seen one of them. Hamoa lies two days sail N. W. from Vavaoo. It is said to be the largest of all their Islands; affords harbours, with good water, and produces, in abundance, all the refreshments that are found at the places we visited. Poulaho frequently resides upon this Island; and its natives are in highest estimation at Tongataboo. According to the united testimony of all our friends at this place, Vavaoo exceeds the size of their own Island, and has high mountains. We should have accompanied Feenou from Hapae to Vavaoo, had he not discouraged the Captain, by representing it to be very inconsiderable, and without a single good harbour: but Poulaho, the king, gave us to understand afterward, that it is a large Island, and not only produces every thing in common with Tongataboo, but has peculiar advantages of possessing several streams of fresh water, and also an excellent harbour. Poulaho offered to attend the Captain to Vavaoo, saying, that if he did not find every thing agreeing with his representation, he might kill him. We gave



full credit to the truth of his intelligence, and were satisfied that Feenou, from some private view, endeavoured to impose upon us a fiction.

Feejee lies in the direction of N. W. by W. about three days sail from Tongataboo. The natives in this part of the world have no other method of discovering the distance from Island to Island, but by mentioning the time required for the voyage in one of their canoes. In order to ascertain this with some precision, Captain Cook sailed in one of their canoes, and by repeated trials with the log, found that she went close hauled, in a gentle gale, seven miles an hour. He supposed from this experiment, that they would sail, with such breezes as generally blow on their seas, seven or eight miles an hour on an average. Each day, however, is not to be reckoned at twenty-four hours; for when they talk of one day's sail, they mean no more than from morning to the evening, or twelve hours at most. From the morning of the first day till the evening of the second, is, with them, two days sail. In the day, they are guided by the sun; and, in the night by the stars. When these are obscured, they can only have recourse to the points from whence the winds and waves come upon the vessel. If, at that time, the winds and the waves should shift, they are quite bewildered, often missing their intended port, and being never heard of more. The story of Omiah's countrymen, who were driven to Wateoo, convinces us, however, that those who are not heard of, are not always lost. Feejee abounds with hogs, dogs, and fowls, and such fruits and roots as are to be found in any of the other Islands, and is much larger than Tongataboo, but not subject to its dominion. Feejee and Tongataboo engage in war against each other; and the inhabitants of the latter are often so much afraid of this enemy, that they bend the body forward, and cover the face with their hands, to express the sense of their own inferiority to the Feejee men. This, indeed, is no matter of surprise, for those of Feejee have rendered themselves formidable, by their dexterity in the use of bows and slings; but more so, by their savage practice of eating

such of their enemies as they kill in battle. It has been insisted on, that extreme hunger first occasioned men to feed on human flesh; but where could be the inducement for the Feejee men to continue the practice, and remain cannibals, in the midst of plenty? It is held in detestation by the inhabitants of Tongataboo, who seem to cultivate the friendship of their savage neighbours through fear, though they sometimes venture to skirmish with them on their own ground, and carry off large quantities of red feathers as trophies. When a profound peace reigns between them, they have frequent intercourse together; though, it is probable they have not long been known to each other, otherwise it might be supposed that Tongataboo, and its neighbouring Islands, would, before this time, have been supplied with a breed of dogs, which are numerous at Feejee, and, as we have observed, were introduced at Tongataboo, when Capt. Cook first visited it in 1773. The colour of the natives of Feejee is, at least, a shade darker than that of the inhabitants of the other Friendly Islands. We saw one of the natives of Feejee, who had his ear slit, which was the left, and the lobe so stretched, that it almost extended to his shoulder; which singularity had been observed by Capt. Cook, at other Islands of the South Sea, during his second voyage. The Feejee people are much revered here, not only on account of their power and cruelty in war, but also for their ingenuity; for they much excel the inhabitants of Tongataboo in workmanship. Specimens were shewn us of their clubs and spears, which were very ingeniously carved. We were also shewn some of their cloth most beautifully checkered, mats richly variegated, curious earthen pots, and other articles, all of which displayed a superiority in the execution.

The harbour and anchoring places are by far preferable to any we discovered among these Islands; both on account of their capacity, and great security. The danger we were in of being wrecked, by entering it from the north, will remain a caution to every future commander, not to attempt that passage with a ship of burden. The eastern channel is much more easy and safe. To



sail into this, steer for the N. E. point of the Island, and keep along the north shore, with the small Isles on your starboard, till you are the length of the east point of the entrance into the lagoon; then edge over the reef of the small Isles, and, following its direction, you will get through between Makkahaaa and Monooafai, which lay off the west point of the lagoon. Or you may go between the third and fourth Islands, that is, between Pangimodoo and Monooafai; but this channel is much narrower than the other. When you are through either of these channels, haul in for the shore of Tongataboo, and cast anchor between that and Pangimodoo, before a creek leading into the lagoon; into which, at half flood, you may go with boats. Though the harbour of Tongataboo has the preference, its water is exceeded in goodness by that of Annamooka; and yet even this can scarcely be called good. Indifferent water may, nevertheless, be procured, by digging holes near the side of the pond. Besides, Annamooka, being nearly in the centre of the whole group, is best situated for procuring refreshments from the others. There is a creek in the reef on the north side of the Island, wherein two or three ships may lie securely.

We have already given an account of the Hapae Islands; and shall only add, that they extend S. W. by S. and N. E. by N. about 19 miles. The north end lies in latitude 19 deg. S. and 33 deg. of longitude to the east of Annamooka. Between them are small Islands, sand banks, and breakers. Lafooga, off which we anchored, among all the Isles of those that are called Hapae, is the most fertile, and the best inhabited. Those who may be desirous of having a more particular description of the Friendly Islands, must have recourse to the list and chart. What may have here been omitted concerning their geography, will be found in our history of Captain Cook's former voyage, to which our readers are referred for such particulars as he had then observed. At present, we shall only relate such interesting circumstances, as either were omitted in that

account, or were imperfectly and incorrectly represented.

After living among the natives of the Friendly Islands between two and three months, it is reasonable to expect, that we should be able to clear up every difficulty, and to give a satisfactory account of their manners, customs, and institutions, civil as well as religious: especially, as we had a person with us, who, by understanding their language as well as our own, might be thought capable of acting as our interpreter. But Omiah was not qualified for that task. Unless we had before us an object or thing concerning which we wanted information, we found it difficult to obtain a competent knowledge about it, from his information and explanations. Omiah was certainly more liable to make mistakes than we were; for having no curiosity, he never troubled himself with making remarks; and when he attempted to explain any particular matters to us, his ideas were so limited, and differed so much from ours, that his confused accounts, instead of instructing, often only perplexed, and led us into numberless mistakes. Besides, we could seldom find a person, among the natives, who had both the ability and inclination to give us the information we required: and many of them, we perceived, appeared offended at being asked, what they, perhaps deemed frivolous questions. At Tongataboo, where we continued the longest, our situation was likewise unfavourable; being in a part of the country, where, except fishers, there were few inhabitants. With our visitors, as well as with those we visited, it was always holiday; so that we could not observe, what was really the domestic way of living among the natives. That we could not, therefore, thus circumstanced, bring away satisfactory accounts of many things, is not to be wondered at. Some of us, indeed, endeavoured to remedy those disadvantages; and to the ingenious Mr. Anderson we are most indebted for a considerable share of our observations respecting the Friendly Islands.

The inhabitants of these, (though some here, at Tongataboo, were above six feet



high) exceed the common stature, and are strong and well proportioned. Their shoulders are, in general broad; we saw several who were really handsome; though their muscular disposition rather conveyed the idea of strength than of beauty. Their features are so various, that, unless it be by a fulness at the point of the nose, which is common, it is impossible to fix any general likeness by which to characterize them. On the other hand, many genuine Roman noses, and true European faces, were seen among them. They have good eyes and teeth; but the latter are neither so well set, nor so remarkably white, as among the Indian nations. Few of them, however, have that remarkable thickness about the lips, so frequent in other Islands. The women are less distinguished from the men by their features, than by their general form, which seems destitute of that strong firmness that appears in the latter. Though the features of some are very delicate, and a true index of their sex, laying claim to a considerable share of beauty and expression, yet the rule is not, by any means, so general as in many other countries. Their shapes are usually well proportioned; and some are absolutely perfect models of a beautiful figure; but the extraordinary smallness and delicacy of their fingers, which may be put in competition with any in Europe, seems to be the most striking female distinction. The general colour of these people is a cast deeper than that of the copper brown; but several of both sexes have a true olive complexion. Some of the women are much lighter, owing, perhaps, to their being less exposed to the sun. As a tendency to corpulence, in some of the principal people, seems to be the effect of a more indolent life, a softer and clearer skin is most commonly to be seen among them; but the skin of the greatest part of these people, is of a dull hue, with a degree of roughness, particularly those parts that are uncovered, occasioned, probably, by some cutaneous disease. We saw a man at Hapae perfectly white, and a child equally so at Annamooka. In all countries containing black people, such phænomena are found, but they are caused, we imagine,

by a disease. Upon the whole, however, few natural defects, or deformities are to be seen among them; though we observed two or three with their feet bent inwards. Neither are they exempt from some diseases. Numbers are affected with the tetter or ring-worm, which leaves whitish serpentine marks behind it. They have another disease of a more mischievous nature, which is also very frequent, and appears on every part of the body, in large broad ulcers, discharging a thin clear pus, some of which had a very virulent appearance, particularly on the face. There were those, however, who appeared to be cured of it, and others mending; but it was generally attended with the loss of the nose, or a considerable part of it. Two other diseases are also common among them; one of which is a firm swelling, affecting chiefly the legs and arms; the other is a tumour in the testicles, which sometimes exceed the size of two fists. In other respects they are remarkably healthy, not a single person having, during our stay, been confined to the house by any kind of sickness. Their strength and activity are in every respect, answerable to their muscular appearance; and they exert both, in such a manner, as to prove, that they are as yet, little debilitated by the numerous diseases that are the natural consequence of indolence. The graceful mien, and firmness of step, with which they walk, are obvious proofs of their personal accomplishments. They consider this as a thing so necessary to be acquired, that their laughter was excited when they saw us frequently stumbling upon the roots of trees, or other inequalities, in walking. The mildness and good nature which they abundantly possess, are depicted on their countenances, totally free from that savage keenness, that always mark nations in a barbarous state. We might almost be induced to suppose, that they had been reared under the severest restrictions, seeing they have acquired so settled an aspect, such a command of their passions, and such a steadiness of conduct. At the same time, they are open, cheerful, and good humoured; though in the presence of their chiefs, they sometimes assume a



degree of reserve, which has the appearance of gravity. Their pacific disposition is thoroughly evinced, from their friendly reception of all strangers. Instead of attacking them openly, or clandestinely, they have never appeared, in the smallest degree, hostile: but like the most civilized nations, have even courted an intercourse with their visitors, by bartering; a medium which unites all nations in a degree of friendship. So perfectly do they understand barter, that, at first, we supposed they had acquired the knowledge of it by trading with the neighbouring Islands; but it afterwards appeared, that they had hardly any traffic, except with Feejee. No nation, perhaps, in the world, displayed, in their traffic, more honesty and less distrust. We permitted them safely to examine our goods, and they had the same implicit confidence in us. If either party seemed dissatisfied with his bargain, a re-exchange was made with mutual consent and satisfaction. Upon the whole, they seem to possess many of the most excellent qualities that adorn the human mind. A propensity to thieving is the only defect that seems to sully their fair character. Those of all ages, and both sexes, were addicted to it in an uncommon degree. It should be considered, however, that this exceptionable part of their conduct existed merely with respect to us; for in their general intercourse with each other, thefts are not more frequent than in other countries, where the dishonest practices of individuals will not authorise an indiscriminate censure on the people at large. Allowances should be made for the foibles of these poor Islanders, whose minds we overpowered with the glare of new and captivating objects. Stealing among civilized nations, denotes a character deeply stained with moral turpitude: but at the Friendly Islands, and others which we visited, the thefts committed by the natives, may have been occasioned by less culpable motives: they might be stimulated solely by curiosity; a desire to possess somewhat new; and the property of people very different from themselves. Were a set of beings, seemingly as superior to us, as we appeared in their eyes, to make their ap-

pearance among us, it might be possible that our natural regard to justice would not be able to restrain many from being guilty of the same erroneous practices. However, the thieving disposition of these Islanders, was the means of affording us an insight into their ingenuity and quickness of intellects: for their petty thefts were managed with much dexterity; and those of greater consequence, with a settled plan or scheme, adapted to the importance of the objects.

The hair of these people is, in general, thick, straight, and strong, though some have it bushy or frizzled. The natural colour appears to be black, but many of the men, and some of the women, stain it of a brown or purple colour; and a few give it an orange cast. The first of these colours is produced by applying a sort of plaister of burnt coral mixed with water; the second by the raspings of a reddish wood mixed into a poultice, and laid over the hair; and the third is said to be the effect of turmeric root. They are so whimsical in the fashions of wearing their hair, that it is difficult to say which is most in vogue. Some have none on one side of the head, while it remains long on the other: some have only a part of it cut short: others but a single lock on one side. There are again those who permit it to grow to its full length, without any such mutilations. The women usually wear it short: the beards of the men are usually cut in the same manner; and both sexes strip the hair from their arm-pits. The men are stained with a deep blue colour from the middle of the belly to half way down the thighs. This is effected with a flat bone instrument, full of fine teeth, which by a stroke of a bit of stick introduces the doo doo into the skin, whereby indelible marks are made. Lines and figures are thus traced, which, in some, are very elegant. The women have only small lines thus imprinted on the inside of the hands. As a mark of distinction, their kings are exempted from this custom. The men are circumcised in a partial manner. The operation consists in cutting off only a piece of the fore-skin at the upper part, whereby it is rendered incapable of ever covering the



gians. This practice, at present, is founded only on a notion of cleanliness. The dress of both sexes is the same ; consisting of a piece of cloth or matting, about two yards in breadth, and a half in length. It is double before, and, like a petticoat, hangs down to the middle of the leg. That part of the garment which is above the girdle, is plaited in several folds, and this, when extended, is sufficient to draw up and wrap round the shoulders. As to form, it is the general fashion ; but the fine matting, and long pieces of cloth, are worn only by the superior class of people. The inferior sort are contented with small pieces, and, very often, have only a covering made of the leaves of plants, or the maro, a narrow piece of cloth, or matting, like a sash. This they pass between the thighs and round the waist. It is seldom used by the men. In their haivas, or grand entertainments, their dresses, though the same in form, are various, embellished, more or less, with red feathers. Both men and women defend their faces occasionally from the sun with little bonnets made of various sorts of materials. The ornaments, worn by those of either sex, are the same. The most common are necklaces made of the fruit of pandanus, and various sweet smelling flowers, known by the general name of Kakulla. Others consist of small shells, sharks teeth, the wing and leg bones of small birds, &c. all which are pendant on the breast. In this manner they also wear a polished mother of pearl shell, or a ring on the upper part of the arm : rings of tortoise-shell on the fingers ; and several of these joined together form bracelets for the wrists. Two holes are perforated in the lobes of the ears, wherein they put cylindrical bits of ivory, of the length of three inches, introduced at one hole, and drawn out of the other ; or bits of reed filled with yellow pigment. This appears to be a fine powder of turmeric, which their women rub all over their bodies, in the same manner as the European ladies use their dry rouge upon their cheeks. Personal cleanliness is their study and delight. To maintain which they bathe frequently in the ponds, preferring them to the sea, though the water

has an intolerable stench ; when they are obliged to bathe in the sea, from a notion that salt water injures the skin, they will have fresh water poured over them to wash off its bad effects. They are extravagantly fond of cocoa-nut oil ; a great quantity of which they pour upon their head and shoulders, and rub the body all over with a small quantity.

The domestic life of these people is neither so laborous as to be disagreeable, nor so free from empyoiment as to suffer them to degenerate into indolence. Their country has been so favoured by nature, that the first can scarcely occur ; and their active disposition seems to be a sufficient bar to the last. By this fortunate concurrence of circumstances, their necessary labour yields, in its turn, to their amusements and recreations, which are never interrupted by the thoughts of being obliged to recur to business, till they are induced by satiety to wish for that transition. The employment of the women is not fatiguing, and is generally such as they can without difficulty execute in the house. The making of cloth is entirely entrusted to their care ; the process of which manufacture has been already described. Their cloth is of different degrees of fineness ; the coarser kind does not receive the impression of any pattern, but of the finer sorts, they have various patterns, differently coloured. The cloth, in general, is able to resist water for some time ; but that which has the strongest glaze, is least liable to be penetrated thereby. Another manufacture, consigned also to the women, is that of their mats, which excel those of most other countries, both with respect to their texture and beauty. Of these there are seven or eight different sorts, used either for their dress, or to sleep upon ; but many are merely ornamental. These last are made chiefly from the tough, membranous part of the stock of the plantain-tree ; those that they wear, are generally composed of the pandanus ; and the coarser kind, whereon they sleep, are formed from a plant called Evarra. We observed several other articles that employ their female, as combs, of which they make great quantities ;



small baskets made of the same substance as the mats: and others, of the fibrous husk of the cocoa-nut, either interwoven with beads or plain; all which are finished with extraordinary neatness and taste. The province of the men is, as might reasonably be expected, far more laborious and extensive than that of the other sex. Architecture, boat-building, agriculture, and fishing, constitute their principal occupations, and are the main objects of their attention. As cultivated roots and fruits form their chief subsistence, they find it necessary to practice husbandry, which, by their industry, they have brought to a degree of perfection. In managing yams and plantains, they dig small holes for their reception, and afterwards root up the surrounding grass. The instruments used for this purpose, are called hoo, and are nothing more than stakes of various lengths flattened and sharpened to an edge at one end; and the largest have a short piece fixed transversely, by means of which they press the implement into the ground with the foot. When they plant the two above mentioned vegetables, they observe such particular exactness, that, which ever way you turn your eyes, the rows present themselves complete and regular. The bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, are dispersed about, without any order; and when they have arrived at a certain height, give them little or no trouble. The same may be said of another large tree, producing a roundish compressed nut, called eeefee; and of a smaller one, bearing an oval nut, with two or three triangular kernels. The kappe is, in general, planted regularly, and in large spots; but the Mawhaha is interspersed among other things, as are also the yams and jeejee. Sugar cane is usually in small spots, closely crowded. The mulberry, of which the cloth is made, is kept very clean, and has a good space allowed for its growth. The pandanus is commonly planted in rows, close together, at the sides of the fields.

These people display very little taste or ingenuity in the construction of their houses. Those belonging to the common people are wretched huts, scarcely sufficient to shelter

them from the inclemency of the weather. Those of the better sort are larger, as well as more commodious and comfortable. A house of the middling size is of the following dimensions, namely, about twelve feet in height, twenty in breadth, and thirty in length. Their houses are, properly speaking, thatched roofs or sheds, supported by rafters and posts. The floor is raised with earth smoothed, and covered with thick matting. Some habitations are open all round; but the major part of them are enclosed on the weather side with strong mats, or with branches of the cocoa-nut tree, plaited, or interwoven with each other. A thick mat, about three feet broad, bent into a semicircular form, and placed edgewise, with the ends touching the side of the house, encloses a sufficient space for the master and mistress to sleep in. The rest of the family sleep upon any part of the floor, the unmarried men and women lying apart from each other. If the family is large, they have little huts adjoining, in which the servants sleep. The whole of their furniture consists of some wooden stools, which serve them for pillows; baskets of different sizes, in which they put their combs, fish-hooks, and tools; two or three wooden bowls, in which they make kava; some cocoa nut shells, a few gourds, and a bundle of cloth. But they are very skilful in building their canoes, which, indeed, are the most perfect of their mechanical productions. The double ones are very large, sufficiently so to carry about fifty persons, and they sail at a great rate. They fix upon them generally a hut or shed, for the reception of the master and his family. These are made of the bread-fruit tree, and the workmanship is extremely neat. They appear on the out-side as if they were composed of one solid piece; but upon closer inspection, they are found to consist of a great number of planks, fitting each other exactly, and by means of a ledge on the inside, are secured together with cocoa-line. The single canoes are furnished with an out-rigger. The only tools which they make use of in the construction of these boats, are hatchets, or adzes, of a smooth black stone; augurs, made of sharks teeth: and rasps,



composed of the rough skin of a fish, fastened on flat pieces of wood. The same tools are all they have for other work, except shells, which serve them for knives. Their cordage is made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut husk, which, though not more than ten inches long, they plait about the size of a quill, to whatever length may be required, and roll it up into balls; and by twisting several of these together, they form their ropes of a larger size. Their fishing lines are as strong and even as our best cord. Their small hooks consist entirely of pearl-shell; but the large ones are only covered with it on the back; and the points of both are, in general, of tortoise-shell. With the large hooks they catch albicores, and bonetos, by putting them to a bamboo-rod, about twelve feet long, with a line of the same length. They have also a number of small seines, some of which are of the most delicate texture.

Their musical reeds or pipes, resembling the syrinx of the ancients, have eight or ten pieces placed parallel to each other, most of which are of unequal lengths. Their flutes are made of a joint of bamboo, about eighteen inches long, and are closed at both ends, having a hole near each end, and four others; two of which, and only one of the first, are used by them in playing. They close the left nostril with the thumb of the left-hand and blow into the hole at one end with the other nostril. The fore-finger of the right-hand is applied to the lowest hole on the right, and the middle finger of the left, to the first hole on that side. In this manner, with only three notes, they produce a pleasing, though simple harmony. Their naffa, or drum, has been described already. Their warlike weapons are clubs curiously ornamented, spears, and darts. They make bows and arrows, but these are intended for amusement, and not for the purposes of war. Their stools or rather pillows, are about two feet long, but only four or five inches in height, and near four in breadth, inclining downwards towards the middle, with four strong legs and circular feet; the whole composed of brown or black wood, neatly polished, and sometimes inlaid with

ivory. They likewise inlay with ivory the handles of fly-flaps; and, with a shark's tooth, shape bones into figures of men, birds, &c.

Their vegetable diet consists principally of plantains, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, and yams; and their chief articles of animal food are hogs, fish and fowls; but the common people frequently eat rats. Hogs, fowls, and turtle, however, seem to be only occasionally dainties, reserved for persons of rank. Their food is dressed by baking, as at Otaheite; and they make, from different sorts of fruit, several dishes, which are very good. They sometimes boil their fish in the green leaves of the plantain-tree, which serve as a bag to hold both fish and water: having tied them up, they wrap them again in three or four other leaves, and place them upon stones heated for the purpose: when sufficiently done, they not only eat the fish, but drink the liquor or soup. They are not very cleanly either in their cookery, or their meals, or manner of eating. Their usual drink is water, or cocoa-nut milk, the kava being only their morning beverage. The food that is served up to the chiefs is generally laid upon plantain-leaves. The king, at his meals, was commonly attended upon by three or four of the natives, one of whom cut large pieces of the fish, or of the joint; another afterwards divided it into mouthfuls, and the rest stood by the cocoa-nuts, and whatever else he might happen to want. We never saw a large company sit down to a sociable meal, by eating from the same dish. The women are not excluded from taking their daily repast in company with the men; but there are certain ranks that are not allowed either to eat or drink together. This distinction begins with his majesty, but where it ends we know not. These people rise at day-break, and retire to rest as soon as it becomes dark. They, for the most part, sleep also in the day-time, when the weather is very hot. They are fond of associating together: in consequence of which, it is not uncommon to find several houses empty, and the possessors of them assembled in some other house, or upon some convenient spot in the neighbourhood, where they relax themselves by



conversation and other amusements. Their private diversions chiefly consist of dancing, singing, and music. When two or three women snap their fingers, and sing in concert, it is called oobai; but when there are more, they form several parties, each of which sings in a different key; whereby an agreeable melody is made, termed heeva, or haiva. The songs are generally accompanied with the music of their flutes. The dances both of the men and women, are performed with an ease and grace not easily to be described. We could not determine with precision, whether their marriages were rendered durable by any kind of solemn contract: it is certain, however, that the major part of the people contented themselves with one wife. The chiefs, indeed, have commonly several women, though there was only one (as we thought) who was considered in the light of mistress of the family: a circumstance remarked among all nations where concubinage and polygamy were allowed. Though female chastity seemed to be held in little estimation, not a single breach of conjugal fidelity happened, to our knowledge, during the whole time of our continuance at these Islands; nor were the unmarried women of rank more liberal of their favours: but numbers were of a different character; yet most, if not all of them, of the lowest class of people; and such of those who permitted familiarities to our crews, were prostitutes by profession.

The concern shewn by these Islanders for the dead, is a strong proof of their humanity. Besides the Tooge, of which mention has been made before, and burnt circles, and scars, they strike a shark's tooth into their heads, till the blood flows plentifully, beat their teeth with stones, and thrust spears not only through their cheeks into their mouths, but also into the inner part of their thighs, and into their sides; so that, to use a common expression, their mourning may be said to be not in words but deeds. And such a rigorous discipline must, one would think, require an uncommon degree of affection, or the most gross superstition, to exact. It is highly probable the last has a share in it; for many could not have any knowledge of

the person for whom their concern was expressed. We saw the people of Tongataboo deploring the death of a chief at Vavaoo; and other similar instances occurred during our stay. The more painful operations, however, are practiced only when they mourn the death of those most nearly connected with them. When a person dies, he is wrapped up in mats, or cloth, or both, and then interred. The Fiatookas seem to be appropriated to the chiefs, and other persons of distinction, but inferior people have no particular spot set apart for their burial. It is uncertain what mourning ceremonies follow the general one: but we are well assured of there being others which continue a long time; the funeral of Marewagee's wife was attended with ceremonies of five days duration. These people seem to consider death as a great evil, to avert which they have a very singular custom. When Capt. Cook, during his former voyage, visited these Islands, he observed that many of the natives had one or both of their little fingers cut off; of the reason of which mutilation he could not then obtain a satisfactory account. But he was now informed, that they performed this operation when they are afflicted with some dangerous disorder, which they imagine may bring them to the grave. They suppose, that the little finger will be accepted of by the deity, as a kind of propitiatory sacrifice, sufficiently efficacious to procure their recovery. In cutting it off, they make use of a stone hatchet. We saw scarcely one person in ten who was not thus mutilated; and they sometimes cut so close, as to encroach upon that bone of the hand which joins the amputated finger. It is also common for the lower class of people to cut off a joint of their little finger, on account of the sickness of the chiefs to whom they respectively belong. When this rigid strictness with which they perform their mourning and religious ceremonies is considered, it might be expected, that they endeavoured thereby to secure to themselves eternal happiness; but their principal object regards things merely temporal; for they have apparently little conception of future punishment for sins committed in the present



life. They believe, however, that they meet with just punishment in the present state; and, therefore, put every method in practice to render their divinities propitious. They admit a plurality of deities, all of them inferior to Kallafootonga, who, they say, is a female, and the supreme authoress of nature, residing above, and directing the wind, rain, thunder, &c. They are of opinion, that when she is much displeased with them, the productions of the earth are blasted, many things consumed by lightning, and themselves afflicted with sickness and death; but that when her anger abates, every thing is immediately restored to its former state. Among their subordinate deities, they mention Futtasaihe, or Footasooa, who has the administration of the sea, and its productions; Toosooa-boolootoo, god of the clouds and fogs; Talletetoo, Mattaba, Tareeava, and others. The same system of principles does not extend all over the Friendly Islands; the supreme deity of Hapaec, for instance, being called Alo Alo. They entertain very absurd opinions relative to the power and various attributes of their gods, who, they suppose, have no farther concern with them after death. They have, however, juster sentiments respecting the immortality of the soul, which they call life, the living principal, or an Otooa, that is a divinity. They imagine that, immediately after death, the souls of their chiefs are separated from their bodies, and go to a delightful region called Boolootoo, the god of which is stiled Gooleho by whom they probably personify death. His country, according to their mythology, is the general repository of the dead; and they who are once conveyed thither die no more, and feast on all the favourite productions of their native soil, with which this blissful abode is supposed by them to be plentifully furnished. The souls of those in the lowest rank of the people are said to suffer a kind of transmigration; or are eaten up, they think, by a bird, called Laota, which walks over the graves with that intent. They do not worship any visible part of the creation, or any thing made with their own hands: nor do they make any offerings of dogs, hogs, and fruit

(as is the custom at Otaheite) unless emblematically: but there is no reason to doubt of their offering up human sacrifices. Their Fiatookas or Morais, are in general, burying grounds and places of worship: some of them, however, appeared to be appropriated only to the former purpose; but these were small, and very inferior to the rest.

We are acquainted only with the general outlines of their government. A subordination, resembling the feudal system of our ancestors in Europe, is established among them; but of its subdivisions, and the constituent parts, we are ignorant. By some of the natives we were informed, that the king's power is unlimited, and that he has the absolute disposal of the lives and properties of his subjects; yet the few circumstances that fell under our observation, contradicted, rather than confirmed, the idea of a despotic sway. Mareewagee, Feenon, and Old Toobou, acted each the part of a petty sovereign, and not unfrequently counteracted the measures of the king. Nor was the court of Poulaho superior in splendor to those of Old Toobou and Mareewagee, who, next to his majesty, were the most potent chiefs in these Islands; and after them Feenon appeared to stand highest in rank and authority. But, however independent of the king the principal men may be, the inferior people are totally subject to the will of the chiefs to whom they severally belong. The Island of Tongataboo is divided into numerous districts, each of which has its peculiar chief, who distributes justice, and decides disputes within his own territory. Most of these chieftains have estates in other Islands, whence they procure supplies. The king, at stated times, receives the productions of his distant domains, at Tongataboo, which is not only the usual place of his residence, but the abode of most persons of distinction among these Islands. Its inhabitants call it frequently the Land of Chiefs, and stigmatize the subordinate Isles with the appellation of Lands of Servants. The chiefs are stiled by the people, Lords of the Earth, and also of the sun and sky. The royal family assume the name of Fata-saihe, from the god distinguished by that



title, who is probably considered by them as their tutelary patron. The king's peculiar title is simply *Tocé Tonga*. The order and decorum observed in his presence, and likewise in that of the other chiefs, are truly admirable. Whenever he sits down, all the attendants seat themselves before him, forming a semicircle, and leaving a sufficient space between them and him, into which no one, unless he has particular business, presumes, to enter; nor is any one suffered to sit, or pass behind him, or even near him, without his permission. When a person wishes to speak to his majesty, he comes forward, and having seated himself before him, delivers in a few words what he has to say; then, after being favoured with an answer, retires. If the king speaks to any one, the latter gives an answer from his seat, unless he is to receive an order; in which case he rises from his place, and seats himself cross-legged. Capt. King has affirmed, that this posture is peculiar to the men, for the females, that gentleman says, always sit with both their legs thrown a little on one side. To speak to the king standing, would here be considered as a glaring mark of rudeness. None of the most civilized nations have ever exceeded these Islanders in the great order and regularity maintained on every occasion, in ready and submissive compliance with the command of their superiors, and in the perfect harmony that subsists among all ranks. Such a behaviour manifests itself in a remarkable manner, whenever their chiefs harangue a body of them assembled together, which frequently happens. The greatest attention and most profound silence are observed during the harangue; and whatever might be the purport of the oration we never saw a single instance, when any one of those who were present, shewed signs of being displeased, or seemed in the least inclined to dispute the declared will of the speaker. It is a peculiar privilege annexed to the person of the king, not to be punctured, nor circumscribed, as all his subjects are. Whenever he walks out, all who meet him must sit down till he has passed. No person is suffered to be over his head; but all must,

on the contrary, come under his feet. The method of doing homage to him, and the other chiefs, is as follows: the person who is to pay obeisance squats down before the great personage, and bows the head down to the sole of his foot, which he taps or touches, with the upper and under side of the fingers of each hand; then rising up, he retires. We had reason to think, that his majesty cannot refuse any one who is desirous of paying him this homage, called by the natives *moe moea*; for the people would frequently think proper to shew him these marks of submission when he was walking; and on such occasions, he was obliged to stop, and hold up one of his feet behind him, till they had performed this respectful ceremony. This, to so corpulent and unwieldy a man as Poulaho, must have been troublesome and painful; and we have seen him sometimes endeavour, by running, to get out of the way, or to reach a convenient place for sitting down. The hands, after having been thus applied, become in some cases useless a short time; for till these are washed they must not touch food of any kind. This prohibition, in a country where water is far from being plentiful, would be attended with an inconvenience, if a piece of any juicy plant, which they can immediately procure, being rubbed over the hands, did not serve for the purpose of purification. When thus circumstanced, they term their situation *taboo rema*; the former word generally signifying forbidden, and the latter implying hand. When the taboo is incurred, by doing homage to a person of rank, it may thus be easily washed off; but in several other cases, it must continue for a certain period. We have often seen women who have been *taboo rema*, fed by others. The interdicted person, after the limited time is elapsed, washes herself in one of their baths, which are, in general, dirty ponds of brackish water: She then waits upon the king, and, after having paid the customary obeisance, takes hold of his foot, which she applies to her shoulders, breast, and other parts; he then embraces her on both shoulders, and she immediately retires, purified from her uncleanness. If it be always necessary to



have recourse to his majesty for this purpose (of which we are not certain, though Omiah assured us it was) it may be one reason for his travelling so very frequently from one Island to another. The word taboo, as we have before observed, has a very extensive signification. They call human sacrifices, tangata taboo; and when any particular thing is prohibited to be eaten, or made use of, they say it is taboo. We were told by them, that if the king should go into a house belonging to one of his subjects, that house would become taboo, and could never be again inhabited by the owner of it; so that, wherever his majesty travels, there are houses peculiarly assigned for his accommodation. At this time Old Toobou presided over the taboo; that is, if Omiah did not misunderstand those who gave him the intelligence, he, and his deputies, had the inspection of all the produce of the Island, taking care that each individual should cultivate and plant his quota, and directing what should and what should not be eaten. By so prudent a regulation, they take effectual precautions against a famine; sufficient ground is employed in raising provisions; and every article is secured from unnecessary consumption. By another good regulation, an officer of rank is appointed to superintend the police. This department was administered, while we continued among them, by Feenou, whose business (as we were informed) it was to punish all delinquents: he was also generalissimo, or commander in chief of the forces of the Islands, Poulaho himself declared to us, that, if he should become a bad man, Feenou would dethrone, and kill him; by which he doubtless meant, that if he neglected the duties of his high station, or govern in a manner that would prove prejudicial to the public welfare, Feenou would be desired by the other chiefs, or by the collective body of the people, to depose him from the supreme command, and put him to death. A king thus subject to control and punishment for abuse of power, cannot justly be deemed a despotic prince. When we take into consideration the number of Islands of which this state consists, and the distance of which some of them are

removed from the seat of government, attempts to throw off the yoke of subjection might be apprehended. But they informed us, that this circumstance never happens. One reason of their not being thus embroiled in domestic commotions may be this; that all the principal chiefs take up their residence at Tongataboo. They also secure the dependence of the other Isles, by the decisive celerity of their operations: for if a seditions and popular man should start up in any of them, Feenou, or whoever happens to hold his office, is immediately dispatched thither to put him to death; by which means they extinguish an insurrection while it is yet in embryo. The different classes of their chiefs seemed to be nearly as numerous as among us; but there are few, comparatively speaking, that are lords of extensive districts of territory. It is said, that when a person of property dies, all his possessions devolve on the sovereign; but that it is customary to give them to the eldest son of the deceased, with this condition annexed, that he should provide, out of the estate, for the other children. The crown is hereditary: and we know, from a particular circumstance, that the Futtafaihes, of which family is Poulaho, have reigned, in a direct line, for the space of at least one hundred and thirty-five years, which have elapsed between our present visit to these Islands, and Tasman's discovery of them. Upon our inquiring, whether any traditional account of the arrival of Tasman's ships had been preserved among them, till this time, we found, that the history had been delivered down to them with great accuracy: for they said, that his two ships resembled ours; and also mentioned the place where they had lain at anchor; their having continued but a few days; and their quitting that station to go to Annamooka; and, for the purpose of informing us how long ago this affair happened, they communicated to us the name of the Futtafaihe who reigned at that time, and those who succeeded him in the sovereignty down to Poulaho, who is the fifth monarch since that period. It might be imagined, that the present reigning sovereign of the Friendly Isles had the highest



rank in his dominions; but we found it otherwise; for Latoolibooloo, whom we have already noticed, and three ladies of rank, are superior to Poulaho himself. These great personages, are distinguished by the title of Tammaha, which denotes a chief. When we made enquiry concerning them, we were informed that the late king, father of Poulaho, left behind him a sister of equal rank, and older than himself; that, by a native of Feejee, she had a son and two daughters; and that these three persons, as well as their mother, are of higher rank than the king. The mother, and one of her daughters, named Toocela-kaipa, resided at Vavaoo: the other daughter, called Moun-goula-kaipa, and Latoolibooloo, the son, dwell at Tongataboo. Moun-goula-kaipa, is the lady of quality whom we mentioned as having dined with Capt. Cook on the 21st of June. Latoolibooloo is thought by his countrymen to be out of his senses. At Middleburgh, they shewed us a considerable quantity of land, said to be his property; and, at the same place, we saw a son of his, a child, who was honoured with the same respect title, and homage as his father: and the natives much humoured and caressed this little Tammaha.

The language of these Islands bears, a great resemblance to that of Otaheite, as will appear from the following small collection of words, which we have endeavoured to make as correct as possible.

A TABLE, containing a short specimen of the Language of the FRIENDLY ISLANDS, with corresponding words of the same signification, as used in OTAHEITE.

Friendly Isles. OTAHEITE.		ENGLISH.
Koomoo	Ooma	<i>The Bread</i>
Wakka	Eva	<i>A Boat or canoe</i>
Oole	Er	<i>Black</i>
Aho	Aou	<i>The Dawn</i>
Tarenga	Tareea	<i>The Ear</i>
Eafoi	Eahoi	<i>Fire</i>
Taheine	Toonea	<i>A Girl</i>
Pooroo	Ereroo	<i>The Hair</i>

Friendly Isles OTAHEITE		ENGLISH
Fou ooa	Fenooa	<i>Land</i>
Tao	Tao	<i>A Lance or Spear</i>
Tangata	Taata	<i>A Man</i>
Motooa	Madooa	<i>A Parent</i>
Ooha	Eooa	<i>Ruin</i>
Goola	Oora oora	<i>Red</i>
Elaa	Eraa	<i>The Sun</i>
Mohe	Moe	<i>Sleep</i>
Tooa	Toutou or teou	<i>A Servant, or one of mean rank</i>
Tahee	Tae	<i>The sea</i>
Fatoore	Pateere	<i>Thunder</i>
Elelo	Erero	<i>The Tongue</i>
Amon	Mon	<i>To hold fast</i>
Horo	Horoee	<i>To wipe, or cleanse</i>
Matangee	Mataee	<i>The Wind</i>
Avy	Evy	<i>Water</i>
Vefaine	Waheine	<i>A Woman</i>
Kohaeaa	Yahaeaa	<i>What is that;</i>
Mafanna	Mahanna	<i>Warm</i>
On	Wou	<i>I</i>
Koe	Oe	<i>You.</i>
Ai	Ai	<i>Yes</i>
Kaee	Aee	<i>No</i>
Ongolooroo	Abooroo	<i>Ten</i>
Etoo	Atoo	<i>To rise up</i>
Tangee	Tae	<i>To shed Tears</i>
Eky	Ey	<i>To eat</i>

We must here observe, that vocabularies of this kind cannot be entirely free from errors. These will unavoidably spring up from various causes. It will be difficult to fix the objects of enquiry, when the conceptions of those from whom we are to learn the words, so widely differ from our own; nor could much be obtained from a preceptor who knew very few words of any language that his pupil was conversant with; but, what led us frequently into mistakes, was, the impossibility of catching the true sound of a word, to which our ears had never been accustomed, from persons, whose pronunciation seemed to us, in general, so indistinct, that two of us writing down the same word from the same mouth, made use,



not only of different vowels, but even different consonants, the sounds of which are least liable to ambiguity. Besides, from the natives endeavouring to imitate us, or from our having misunderstood them, we were led into strange corruptions of words: thus, for example; cheeto, though totally different from the real word, in the language of Tongataboo, was always used by us to express a thief. This mistake took its rise from one, into which we had fallen when at New Zealand. For though the word that signifies thief there, is the very same in the Friendly Islands (being Kaechea at both places) yet by some blunder we had used the word teete, first at New Zealand, and afterwards at Tongataboo; the natives whereof, endeavouring to imitate us as nearly as they could, fabricated the word cheeto; and this, by a complication of mistakes was adopted by us as our own.

The language of the Friendly Islands bears a striking resemblance to that of New Zealand, of Otaheite, and all the Society Isles. Many of their words are also the same with those used by the inhabitants of Cocos Island, as may be seen by consulting a vocabulary made there by Le Maire and Schouten. And yet, though Tasman's people used the words of that vocabulary, in speaking to the natives of Tongataboo, (his Amsterdam) we are told, in the accounts of his voyage, that they did not understand one another; a circumstance worthy of notice; as it shews how cautious we ought to be, upon the scanty evidence afforded by such transient visits as Tasman's, and we say, as those of most of the subsequent navigators of the Pacific Ocean, to found an argument about the affinity, or want of affinity, of the languages of different Islands. No person will venture to say now, that a Cocos man, and one of Tongataboo, could not understand each other. Some of the words at Horn Island, another of Schouten's discoveries, are also a part of the language of Tongataboo.

The pronunciation of the natives of the Friendly Isles differs, indeed, in many instances, from that both of Otaheite and New Zealand; nevertheless a great number of words, are either very little changed, or

exactly the same. The language spoken by the Friendly Islands, is sufficiently copious to express all their ideas; and, besides being harmonious in common conversation, is easily adapted to the purposes of music, of which we had many proofs. As far as we could judge, from our short intercourse with the natives, its component parts are not numerous; and in some of its rules it agrees with other known languages: indeed it has none of the inflections of nouns and verbs, as in the Latin tongue; but we could discern easily the several degrees of comparison. Among hundreds of words we were able to collect, we found terms to express numbers as far as a hundred thousand, beyond which they either would not, or could not reckon: for having got thus far, they commonly used a word expressing an indefinite number.

At these Islands the tides are more considerable, than at any other of Capt. Cook's discoveries in this ocean, that are situated within either of the tropics. In the channels between the Islands, it flows near tide and half tide; and it is only here and in a few places near the shores, that the tide is perceptible; so that we could guess only at the quarter from whence the flood comes. In the road of Annamooka it sets W. S. W. and the ebb the contrary, but it falls into the harbour of Tongataboo from the N. W. passes through the two guts on each side of Hoolaiva, where it runs rapidly, and then spends itself in the Lagoon. The ebb returns the same way with rather greater force. The N. W. tide, at the entrance of the lagoon, is met by one from the E. by this we found to be very inconsiderable. At Annamooka it is high water near six o'clock, on the full and change of the moon; and the tide rises and falls about six feet, upon a perpendicular. In the harbour of Tongataboo the tide rises and falls four feet three quarters on the full and change days, and three feet and a half at the quadratures.

During our stay here we had several favourable opportunities of making astronomical and nautical observations; whereby we ascertained the difference of longitude between Annamooka and Tongataboo with more exactness than was done in Capt



Cook's second voyage. The latitude of the former is 20 deg. 15 min. S. and its longitude 185 deg. 11 min. 18 sec. E. The observatory was placed on the west side of this Island: and in the middle of the north side of the Island of 'Tongataboo, the latitude of which, according to the most accurate observation, we found to be 21 deg. 8 min. 19 sec. S. and its longitude 184 deg. 55 min. 18 sec. E. Having now concluded our remarks on the Friendly Islands, and the natives, we shall take a final leave of them, and resume in the next chapter, the prosecution of the history of our voyage.

## CHAP. VII.

*The Resolution and Discovery direct their Course for Otaheite and the Society Isles; Heavy squalls and blowing weather; An Eclipse of the Moon observed; They discover the Island of Toobouai; Its Situation Extent, and Produce; A Description of the persons, Dress, and Canoes, of the Inhabitants; The two ships arrive in Oheitepea Harbour at Otaheite; Omiah's Reception; His imprudent Conduct; An Account of two Spanish Ships, which had twice visited the Island; Great Demand for red Feathers; Capt. Cook visits a chief, said by Omiah to be the Oila, or God of Bolabola; Account of a House erected by the Spaniards; Inscriptions; The Captain's Interview with Waheindooa; Description of a Toopapao; An Enthusiast; The Ships anchor in Matavai Bay; Interview with Otoo, King of Otaheite; Omiah's imprudent Behaviour; Animals landed and Occupations on shore; Visit from a Native who had been at Lima; Particulars relating to Oedidee; A Rebellion in Eimeo; A council of Chiefs called, who declare for War; A human Sacrifice offered for the Success of their Arms; An Account of the Ceremonies at the great Morai, and the Behaviour of the Natives; Other particular Customs among the Otaheiteans.*

**O**N Thursday, the 17th of July, when steering for our intended port, the body of Eaoo, at eight o'clock in the evening, bore N. E. by N. distant three leagues. The wind blew a fresh gale at east; and we stood with it to the south, till after six o'clock the next morning, when, in latitude 22 deg. 24 min. S a sudden squall took our ships aback, and before they could be trimmed on the other tack, the main sail and top-gallant sails were much torn. On the 16th, the wind kept between the S W. and S. E. and the next day veered to the E. N. E. and N. In the night between the 20th and 21st, an eclipse of the moon was observed, when we found our ship to be in latitude 22 deg. 57 min. 30 sec. and in longitude 186 deg. 57 min. 30 sec. We continued to stretch to the E. S. E. without meeting with any thing remarkable till Tuesday the 29th, when, in latitude 28 deg. 6 min. S. and in longitude 189 deg. 23 min.

E. the weather became tempestuous, and a sudden squall carried away the main-top, and top gallant-mast of the Discovery. She had also her jib carried away, and her main-sail split. It is astonishing to see with what spirit and alacrity English sailors exert themselves on such occasions. Amidst a storm, when it would have been almost impossible for a lands-man to have trusted himself upon deck, the sailors mounted aloft, and with incredible rapidity cleared away the wreck, by which they preserved the ship. Nothing equal to this disaster had happened to the Discovery in the course of her voyage. Nor did the Resolution escape the fury of this storm. We were, at this time, under single reefed top-sails, courses, and stay-sails. Two of the latter were almost demolished, and it was with the utmost difficulty that we saved the other sails. The squall being over, we saw several lights moving on board the



**Discovery** ; whence we concluded that something had given way. Both wind and weather continued very unsettled till noon, when the latter cleared up, and the former settled in the N. W. quarter. This day we were visited by some pintado birds, which were the first we had seen since we left land. At noon, of the 31st, Capt. Clerke made a signal to speak with us ; and by the return of our boat we were informed, that the head of the *Discovery's* main-mast had sprung in such a manner, as to render the rigging of another top-mast exceeding dangerous ; that having lost his top-gallant-yard, he had not another on board, nor a spar to make one : we therefore sent him our sprit-sail top-sail-yard, which supplied this want for the present ; and the next day, by getting up a jury-top-mast, on which was set a mizen-top-sail, the *Discovery* was enabled to keep way with the *Resolution*.

On Friday, the 1st of August, the *Discovery's* company celebrated the anniversary of their departure from England, having been just one year absent. The men were indulged with a double allowance of grog, and they forgot in the jollity of their cans, the hardships to which they had been exposed in the late storm. We steered E. N. E. and N. E. without meeting with any remarkable occurrence till Friday the 8th, when, at eleven o'clock, the man at the mast-head called out land, which we observed bearing N. N. E. nine or ten leagues distant. At first it appeared like separate Islands ; but as we approached, we found it was connected, forming one and the same Island. We made directly for it, with a fine gale, and at seven o'clock, P. M. it extended from N. by E. to N. N. E. distant four leagues. On the 9th, at day-break, we steered for the N. W. or lee side of the Island ; and as we stood round its S. W. part, we saw it guarded by a reef of coral-rock, extending in some places, at least, a mile from the land, and a high surf breaking over it. As we drew near, we saw people walking or running along shore, on several parts of the coast, and, in a short time after, when we had reached the lee side of the Island, we saw two

canoes, wherein were about a dozen men, who paddled towards us. In order to give these canoes time to come up with us, as well as to sound for anchorage, we shortened sail ; and, at the distance of half a mile from the reef, we found from 40 to 35 fathoms water. The canoes having advanced within pistol-shot of the ships, suddenly stopped. We desired Omiah, as was usual on such occasions, to endeavour to prevail upon them to come nearer ; but none of his arguments could induce them to trust themselves within our reach. They often pointed eagerly to the shore with their paddles ; at the same time calling to us to go thither ; and many of the people on the beach held up something white in their hands, which we construed as an invitation for us to land. We could easily have accomplished this, there being good anchorage without the reef, and an opening in it, though which the canoes had passed : but it was not thought prudent to risk the advantage of a fair wind, in order to examine an Island that to us at present appeared to be of little consequence. We required no refreshments, if we had been certain of meeting with them there, and therefore, after having made several unsuccessful attempts, to prevail upon the Islanders to come along side, we made sail to the north and left them ; having first learned that the name of their Island was Toobouai. It was a new discovery, situate in 23 deg. 25 min. S. latitude, and 210 deg. 37 min. E. longitude. A gentleman on board the *Discovery* says ; the men appeared of the largest stature, and tattooed from head to foot ; their language different from any we were yet acquainted with ; their dress not unlike that of the Amsterdammers ; their complexion darker ; their heads ornamented with shells, feathers, and flowers ; and their canoes neatly constructed and elegantly carved. Of their manners we could form little or no judgment. They appeared extremely timid ; but, by their waving green boughs, and exhibiting other signs of peace, they gave us reason to believe that they were friendly. They exchanged some small fish and coconuts for nails and Middleburgh cloth. In



our approach to Toobouai, some of our gentlemen, on board the *Resolution*, made the few following remarks.

The greatest extent of this Island, in any direction, is not above five or six miles : but the above gentleman, belonging to the *Discovery*, says, " Its greatest length is about twelve miles, and its breadth about four." Small, however, as it appeared to us, there are hills in it of a considerable elevation ; at the foot of which is a narrow border of flat land, extending almost all round it ; bordered with a white sand beach, except a few rocky cliffs in one part, with patches of trees interspersed to their summits. This Island, as we were informed by the men in the canoes, is plentifully stocked with hogs and fowls ; and produces the several kinds of fruits and trees that are to be met with in this neighbourhood. We discovered also, that the inhabitants of Toobouai speak the language of Otaheite ; an indubitable proof that they are of the same nation. Those whom we, on board the *Resolution*, saw, were a stont copper coloured people ; some of whom wore their hair (which was straight and black) flowing about the shoulders, and others had it tied in a bunch on the crown of the head. Their faces were roundish and full, but the features flat ; and their countenances expressed a degree of natural ferocity. Their covering was a piece of narrow stuff wrapped round the waist, and passing between the thighs ; but some of those whom we beheld upon the beach, were completely clothed in white. Some of our visitors, in the canoes, had their necks ornamented with pearl shells ; and one of them continued blowing a large conch-shell, to which a reed, of about two feet long, was fixed. He began in a long tone, without any variation, and afterwards converted it into a kind of musical instrument. Whether the blowing of the conch was with any particular view, or what it portended, we cannot say, but we never found it to be the messenger of peace. As to their canoes, they appeared to be about thirty feet long and they rose about two feet above the surface of the water, as they floated. The fore-part projected a little ; the after-part rose to the height of two or three feet,

with a gradual curve, and, like the upper part of the sides, was carved all over. The rest of the sides were ornamented with flat white shells curiously disposed. They were conducted with small paddles whose blades were almost circular ; and they sometimes paddled with the two opposite sides, so close together, that they appeared to be but one boat ; the rowers occasionally turning their faces to the stern, and pulling towards it without turning the canoes round. Seeing we were determined to leave them, they stood up, and repeated something loud ; but we knew not whether they were expressing hostile intentions, or friendship. It is certain, however, that they had not any weapons with them ; nor could we with our glasses discover, that those on shore were armed.

Leaving this Island, we proceeded, with an easy breeze, to the north, and on Tuesday the 12th, at day break, we came in sight of the Island of Maitea. Soon after the man at the mast head called out land, which proved to be the Island of Otaheite, of which we were in search : the point of Otaite Peha, or Oheitepeha Bay, bearing west, four leagues distant. For this bay we steered, intending to anchor there, in order to procure some refreshments from the S. E. part of the Island, before we shifted to Matavai, where we expected our principal supply. We had a fresh gale till two o'clock P. M. when at above a league from the bay, the wind suddenly died away. About two hours after, we had sudden squalls, with rain, from the east ; so that, after having in vain attempted to gain the anchoring place, we were obliged to stand out, and spend the night at sea. As we approached the Island, we were attended by several canoes, each containing two or three men : but being of the lower class Omiah took no particular notice of them, nor they of him. They did not know that he was one of their countrymen, though they had conversed with him for some time. At length a chief, whom Capt. Cook had known before, named Ootee, and Omiah's brother-in-law, who happened to be at this time, at this corner of the Island, three or four others, all of whom knew Omiah,



before he embarked with Capt. Furneaux, came on board : yet there was nothing in the least tender or striking in their meeting, but on the contrary, a perfect indifference on both sides, till Omiah, conducting his brother into the cabin, opened a drawer, and gave him a few red feathers : this circumstance being soon communicated to the rest of the natives on deck, Ootee who before would hardly speak to him, now begged, that they might be Tayos (friends) and exchange names. Omiah readily accepted of the honour, and a present of red feathers ratified the agreement. By way of return, Ootee sent ashore for a hog. It was evident, however, to all of us present, that it was not the man, but his property, that they esteemed. Had he not displayed his treasure of red feathers, a commodity of great estimation in the Island, it is a matter of doubt whether they would have bestowed a single cocoa-nut upon him. Such was Omiah's first reception among his countrymen ; and though we did not expect it would be otherwise, yet still we hoped, that the valuable stock of presents, with which he had been possessed by the liberality of his friends in England, would be the certain means of raising him into consequence among the first persons of rank throughout the Society Islands. This, indeed, must have been the case, had he conducted himself with any degree of prudence : but he paid little attention to the repeated advice of his best friends, and laid himself open to every imposition.

Through his means we were informed by the natives who came off to us, that since Capt. Cook last visited this Island in 1774, two ships had been twice in this bay, and had left animals there, resembling those we had on board : but on a minute enquiry into particulars, we found them to consist only of hogs, dogs, goats, a bull, and the male of another animal, which they so imperfectly described, that we could not conjecture what it was. These ships, they said, had come from a place, called Reema, which we supposed to be Lima, the capital of Peru, and that these late visitors were consequently Spaniards. They also told us, that the first time they arrived, they built a house, and

left behind them two priests, a boy or servant, and a fourth person, whom they called Mateema, much spoken of at this time ; taking away with them, when they sailed, four of the natives : that about ten months afterwards, the same ships returned, bringing back only two of the natives, the other two having died at Lima ; and that, after a short stay, they took away the people they had left, but that the house they had erected was now standing.

On Wednesday, the 13th, we were surrounded with an incredible number of canoes, crowded with people, who brought with them plenty of hogs and fruit : for the agreeable news of red feathers being on board the two ships, had been propagated by Omiah and his friends. A quantity of feathers, which might be taken from the body of a tom-tit, would, early in the morning, have purchased a hog of forty or fifty pounds weight : but as the whole ships crew were possessed of some of this precious article of trade, it decreased above five hundred per cent in its value, in a few hours : however, the balance, even then, was in our favour considerably ; and red feathers still preserved a superiority over every other commodity. Some of the natives would not dispose of a hog, without receiving an axe in exchange ; as to nails, beads, and many other trinkets, which during our former voyages, were held in high estimation at this Island, they were now so much despised, that few would even deign to look at them. Having had little wind all this morning, it was nine o'clock before we could get into the bay, where we moored with two bowers. Soon after, Omiah's sister came on board, to congratulate him on his arrival. It was pleasing to observe, that, to the honour of both of these relations, their meeting was marked with the expressions of the tenderest affection, more easily conceived than described.

When this affecting scene was closed, and the ship properly moored, Omiah attended Capt. Cook on shore. The Captains first visit was paid to a personage, whom Omiah represented as a very extraordinary one indeed, nothing less, as he affirmed, than the god Bolabola. They found him seated



under one of those awnings, which are usually carried in their larger canoes. He was old, and had so far lost the use of his limbs, that he was carried from place to place upon a hand barrow. By some he was called Olla, or Orra, which is the name of god of Balabola; but his real name was Etary. From Omiah's extraordinary account of this man, it was expected to have seen religious adoration paid to him; but very little was observed that distinguished him from other chiefs. Omiah presented to him a tuft of red feathers, fastened to the end of a small stick; but, after a little conversation, his attention was excited by the presence of his mother's sister, who was already at his feet, and had bedewed them plentifully with tears of joy. The Captain left him with the old lady in this situation, surrounded by a number of people, and went to take a view of the house, said to have been erected by the strangers who had lately landed here. He found it standing at a small distance from the beach: and composed of wooden materials, which appeared to have been brought hither ready prepared, in order to sit up as occasion might require, for the planks were all numbered. It consisted of low small rooms, in the inner of which were a bedstead, a bench, a table, some old hats, and other trifles, of which the natives seemed to be remarkably careful, as well as of the building itself, which had received no injury from the weather, a kind of shed having been erected over it, for its preservation. Scuttles, serving as air-holes, appeared all round the building; perhaps they might also be intended for the additional purpose of firing from with muskets, should necessity require it; for the whole erection seemed to indicate a deeper design than the natives were aware of. At a little distance from the front of this building stood a wooden cross, on the transverse part of which was this inscription; *Christus vincit*; "Christ overcome"; and, on the perpendicular (which confirmed our conjecture, that the two ships were Spanish) was engraved; *Carolus III. imperat. 1774.*" In the reign of Charles the Third 1774." Capt. Cook seeing this, very properly preserved the memory of the prior visits of the English,

by inscribing; *Georgius tertius Rex, Ann's. 1767, 1769, 1773, 1774, et 1777: "King George the third, in the years 1767, &c."*; After which, the Captain told the natives who were present, to beware of their Spanish visitors, and not to be too fond of them. Near the foot of the cross the Islanders pointed out to us the grave of the commodore of the two ships, who died here, while they lay in the bay, on their first arrival. His name, as near as we could gather from their pronunciation, was Oree-de. The Spaniards, whatever their views might have been in visiting this Island, seemed to have taken infinite pains to have ingratiated themselves with the natives, who, upon all occasions, mentioned them with the strongest terms of respect, and esteem, and even veneration. On this occasion, the Captain met with no chief of any considerable note, excepting the aged person above described. Waheiadooa, king of Tiaraboo, (as this part of the Island is called by the natives) was now absent; and we were afterwards informed, that, though his name was the same, he was not the same person as the chief whom Capt. Cook had seen here in 1774; but his brother, a youth of ten years of age, who had succeeded the elder Waheiadooa. We also discovered, that the celebrated Oberea was dead; but that Otoo, and all our other friends were alive.

On the Captain's return from the house erected by the Spaniards, he found Omiah haranguing a very large company; and with difficulty could disengage him to accompany him aboard, where he had the following important matter to settle with the ships companies. Knowing that Otaheite, and the neighbouring Islands, could supply us plentifully with cocoa-nuts, the liquor of which is a most excellent beverage, he wished to prevail upon those under his command to consent to be abridged, for a short time, of their allowance of spirits to mix with water. But as this, without assigning some powerful reason, might have occasioned a general murmur, he assembled our ship's company, to communicate to them the intent of the voyage, and the extent of our future operations. He took notice of the generous rewards offered, by parliament, to such



who should first discover a communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, in the Northern Hemisphere, as well as to those who shall first penetrate beyond the 89th deg. of northern latitude. He said, he did not entertain a doubt, that he should find them ready to co-operate with him in attempting to one, or both these rewards; but, it would be necessary to be strictly economical in the expenditure of our stores and provisions, as we had not a chance of getting a supply after our departure from these Islands. The Captain further observed, that the duration of our voyage would exceed by a year, at least, what had been originally supposed, by our having lost the opportunity of proceeding to the north this summer. He begged them to consider the various obstructions, and aggravated hardships, they must yet labour under, if necessity should oblige us to be put to a short allowance, of any kinds of provisions, in a cold climate. He therefore submitted to them, whether it would not be most advisable to be prudent in time, rather than run the risk of having their spirits exhausted, when they might be most wanted, to consent to be without their grog at present, when we could supply its place with so excellent a liquor as that from the cocoa-nuts. He added, nevertheless, that he would leave the determination entirely to their own choice. This proposal did not remain a moment under consideration, and our commander had the satisfaction to find, that it was unanimously approved of. Upon this, he ordered Capt. Clerke to make a similar proposal to his people, which they also readily agreed to. The serving of grog was therefore immediately stopped, except on Saturday nights, when all the men had a full allowance of it, to gratify them with drinking the healths of their female lasses in England; lest amidst the pretty girls of Otaheite, they should be totally forgotten.

Thursday the 14th, we began some necessary operations, such as inspecting the provisions in the main and forehold; getting the casks of beef, pork, &c. out of the ground tier, and putting a quantity of ballast in their place. The ship was ordered to be caulked; which

she stood in much need of; having, at times, made a considerable deal of water in our passage from the Friendly Isles. We also put our cattle on shore, and appointed two of our hands to look after them, while grazing; not intending to leave any of them on this part of the Island. The two following days it rained most incessantly; notwithstanding which, we were visited by the natives from every quarter, the news of our arrival having most rapidly spread. Waheiadooa, though at a considerable distance, had been informed of it, and in the afternoon of Saturday the 16th, a chief, named Etoera, who was his tutor, brought the Captain two hogs, acquainting him, at the same time, that he himself would attend him the day after. He was punctual to his promise; for on the 17th, early in the morning, Capt. Cook received a message from Waheiadooa, notifying his arrival, and requesting he would come ashore to meet him. In consequence of this invitation, Omiah and the Captain prepared to make him a visit in form. Omiah, on this occasion, took some pains to dress himself, not after the manner of the English, nor that of Otaheite, or Tongataboo, or in the dress of any other country upon the earth; but in a strange medley of all the habiliments and ornaments he was possessed of. Thus equipped, on landing, they first paid a visit to Etary, who, carried on a handbarrow, accompanied them to a large building where he was set down; Omiah seated himself on one side of him and the Captain on the other. Waheiadooa, the young chief, soon after arrived, attended by his mother, and several principal men, who all seated themselves opposite to us. One who sat near the Captain, made a short speech, consisting of separate sentences; part of which was dictated by those about him. Another, on the opposite side, near the chief, spoke next; Etary after him, and then Omiah. The subjects of these orations were, Capt. Cook's arrival, and his connections with them. Among other things, one of them told the Captain, that the men of Reema desired they would not suffer him to come into Oheitepelia Bay, if he should return again to the Island, for that it was



their property ; but that so far from regarding this request, he was authorized now to surrender to him the province of Tiaraboo, and every thing that was in it. Hence it is evident, that these people are no strangers to the policy of accommodating themselves to present circumstances. The young chief, at length, was directed to embrace Capt. Cook ; and, as a confirmation of this treaty of friendship, they exchanged names. After this ceremony was over, he and his friends accompanied the Captain, to dine with him on board. Here Omiah prepared, as a present for Otoo, the king of the whole Island, a maro, composed of red and yellow feathers ; and, considering the place we were at, it was a present of great value. The Captain endeavoured to prevail on him not to produce it now, wishing him to wait till he might have an opportunity of presenting it to Otoo with his own hands. But he entertained too good an opinion of his countrymen, to be guided by his advice, he was determined to carry it ashore, and to entrust it with Waheiadooa, to be forwarded by him to Otoo, and added to the royal maro. By this management he weakly imagined, he should oblige both chiefs ; on the contrary, he highly disobliged him, whose favour was of the most consequence at this part of the Island, without obtaining any reward from the other. The Captain was prophetic on this occasion ; for Waheiadooa, as he expected, kept the maro for himself, and only sent to Otoo about a twentieth part of what composed the magnificent present.

On Tuesday the 19th, it blew a hard gale, and we were obliged to veer out twenty fathom more of our best bower cable, as we rode hard at our moorings. Most of the fresh provisions, with which we had been supplied at the Friendly Isles, having been expended in the voyage, orders were given to prohibit all trade with the natives, except for provisions ; and that only with such persons as were appointed purveyors for the ships ; by which prudent regulation, fresh provisions were soon procured in plenty, and every man was allowed a pound and a half of pork every day. In the morning, Capt. Cook received from the young chief a present

of ten hogs, some cloth, and a quantity of fruit. In the evening we exhibited and played off fire-works, which both pleased and astonished the numerous spectators. This day some of our gentlemen, in their walks, discovered, as they thought, a Roman Catholic Chapel. They described the altar, which, they said, they had seen, and every other constituent part of such a place of worship, yet, at the same time, they intimated, that two persons, who had the care of it, would not permit them to go in ; on which account the Captain had the curiosity to survey it himself. The supposed chapel proved to be a Toopapoo, wherein the body of the late Waheiadooa was deposited, in a kind of state. It lay in a pretty large house, enclosed with a low pallisadoe. The Toopapoo was remarkably neat, and resembled one of those little awnings over their large canoes. It was hung and covered with mats and cloths of a variety of colours, which had a beautiful effect. One piece of scarlet broad-cloth of the length of four or five yards, appeared conspicuous among other ornaments, which probably had been received as a present from the Spaniards. This cloth, and some tassels of feathers, suggested to our gentlemen the idea of a chapel ; and their imagination supplied whatever else was wanting to create a resemblance : hearing that the Spaniards had visited this place might also operate on their minds upon this occasion, and add to the probability of its being a chapel. Some small offerings of fruits and roots seemed to be made daily at this shrine, several pieces being now fresh. These were deposited on a kind of altar, which stood without the pallisadoes ; within which we were not permitted to enter. Two men constantly attend here, both night and day, as well to watch over the place, as to dress and undress the Toopapoo. When we came to view it, the cloth and its appendages were rolled up ; but at the Captain's request, the two attendants placed it in order, but not till after they had dressed themselves in white robes. The chief, we were informed, had been dead about twenty months.

On Friday the 22d, in the morning, the live stock were taken on board, and we prepared



for sea. The next day, while the ships were unmooring, Omiah, Capt. Cook, and other gentlemen, landed, in order to take leave of the young chief. While we were conversing with him, one of those persons they call Eatooas, from a persuasion that they possess the spirit of the divinity, presented himself before us. He had all the appearance of insanity; and his only covering was a quantity of plantain leaves wrapped round his waist. He uttered what he had to say in a low squeaking voice, so as hardly to be understood: but Omiah said he perfectly comprehended him, and that he was advising young Waheiadooa not to accompany Capt. Cook to Matavai, an expedition we did not know he intended, nor had the Captain ever made such a proposal to him. The Eatooa also predicted, that the ships would not arrive that day at Matavai. In this, however, he was mistaken, though appearances, we confess, favoured his assertion, as, at the time, there was not a single breath of wind in any direction. While he was delivering his prophecy, a heavy shower of rain came on, which occasioned all to run for shelter, except himself, who affected to despise it. He continued squeaking about half an hour, and then retired. Little attention was paid to what he uttered; and some of the natives laughed at him. The Captain asked the chief whether the enthusiast was an Earee, or a Tow-tow; he answered, that he was a bad man: and yet, notwithstanding this reply, and the little notice taken of the mad prophet, superstition so far governs the natives, that they absolutely believe such persons to be filled with the spirit of the Eatooa. Omiah seemed to be well instructed concerning them. He said, that during the fits, with which they are seized, they know not any person, and that if any one of the inspired natives is a man of property, he will then give away every moveable he possesses, if his friends do not put them out of his reach; and, when hereovers, he seems not to have the least remembrance of what he had done during the time of the frenzy, or fit. We now returned on board, and soon after, a light breeze springing up at east, we got under

sail, and the same evening anchored in Matavai Bay; but the Discovery did not get in till the next morning; consequently the man's prophecy was half fulfilled. In a journal belonging to one on board the Discovery, we find this account of her setting sail, and arrival at Matavai. "On the 23d, about nine o'clock, A. M. we weighed, and sailed, accompanied with several canoes, though the wind blew a storm, and we sailed under double-reefed top-sails. In the evening the Resolution took her old station in Matavai Bay; but the wind suddenly shifting, and the breeze coming full from the land, we were driven three leagues to the leeward of the bay, by which we were reduced to the necessity of working all night to windward, amidst thunder, lightning, and rain, and among reefs of coral rocks, on which we every moment expected to perish. We burnt false fires, and fired several guns of distress; but no answer from the Resolution, nor could we see any object to direct us, during this perilous night. In the morning of the 24th, the weather cleared up, and we could see the Resolution about three leagues to the windward of us, when a shift of wind happened in our favour, we took advantage of it, and by twelve at noon were safely moored within a cable's length of the Resolution."

It is impossible to give an adequate idea of the joy, which the natives expressed on our arrival. The shores every where resounded with the name of Cook: not a child that could lisp Toote was silent. The manner whereby these people express their joy is so different from our sensations, that were we to see persons stabbing themselves with sharks teeth, till their bodies were besmeared with blood, we should think they were pierced with the most frantic despair, and that it would be almost impossible to assuage their grief; whereas, beating their breasts, tearing their hair, and wounding their heads and their bodies, are the most significant signs of their gladness to see their friends. But, at the same time, they are ready to overwhelm you with kindness, and would give you, for the moment, all they have in the world, yet



the very next hour, they will crave all back again, and, like children, teaze you for every thing you have got.

In the morning of this day, being Sunday the 24th, Otoo, the king of the whole Island, accompanied by a great number of the natives, in their canoes, came from Oparree, his place of residence, and having landed on Matavai point, sent a messenger on board, intimating his desire to see Capt. Cook there. The Captain accordingly went ashore, attended by Omiah; and some of the officers. We found a vast multitude of people assembled on this occasion, in the midst of whom was the king, with his father, his two brothers, and three sisters. The Captain saluted him, and was followed by Omiah, who kneeled and embraced his legs. Though Omiah had prepared himself for ceremony by dressing himself in his best apparel, and behaved with great respect and modesty, yet very little notice was taken of him. He made the king a present of two yards of gold cloth, and a large tassel of red feathers; and the Captain gave him a gold laced hat, a suit of fine linen, some tools, a quantity of red feathers, and one of the bonnets worn at the Friendly Islands. This visit being over, the king, and all the royal family, accompanied Capt. Cook on board, followed by several canoes, plentifully laden with all kinds of provisions. Each family owned a part, so that the Captain had a present from every one of them; and each received from him a separate present in return. Not long after, the king's mother came on board, bringing with her some provisions and cloth, which she divided between the Captain and Omiah. Though the latter was but little noticed at first by his countrymen, they no sooner gained information of his wealth, than they began to court his friendship. Capt. Cook encouraged this as far as laid in his power, being desirous of fixing him with Otoo. Intending to leave all our European animals at this Island, we thought Omiah would be able to give the natives some instruction with regard to their use and management, and the Captain was convinced, that the farther he was removed from his native Island, the more he would be

respected. But unfortunately, Omiah rejected his advice, and behaved in so imprudent a manner, that he soon lost the friendship of Otoo, and of all the most considerable people at Otaheite. He associated with none but vagabonds and strangers, whose sole intention was to plunder him; and if we had not interfered, they would not have left him a single article of any value. This conduct drew upon him the ill will of the principal chiefs; who found that they could not obtain, from any one in either ship, such valuable presents as were bestowed by Omiah on the lowest of the natives. After dinner, a party of us accompanied Otoo to Oparree, taking with us some poultry, consisting of a peacock and hen, a turkey cock and hen, three geese and a gander, one duck and a drake. All these we left at Oparree, in the possession of Otoo: and the geese and ducks began to breed before we sailed. We found there a gander, that Captain Wallis had given to Oberea ten years before; we also met with several goats, and the Spanish bull, a fine animal of his kind, whom they kept tied to a tree, near the habitation of Otoo. He now belonged to Etary, and had been conveyed from Oheitepeha, to this place, in order to be shipped for Bolahola. On Monday, the 25th, we sent to this bull, the three cows we had on board; also our English bull; but the horse, mare, and sheep, were put ashore at Matavai. Having thus disposed of these animals, we were now, to our great satisfaction, eased of the extraordinary trouble and vexation that had attended the bringing this living cargo to such a distance.

We shall here, for the entertainment of our readers, give an account of the reception the ships met with, on their arrival at this Island, together with some other particulars and transactions, all which we have taken from an original manuscript, sent us by a gentleman on board the *Discovery*. A few hours after we were moored in the bay of Otaité Peha, Omiah took an airing on horseback, to the great astonishment of the inhabitants, many hundreds of whom followed him with loud acclamations. Omiah, to excite their admiration the more, was dressed



cap-a-pee in a suit of armour, and was mounted and caparisoned with his sword and pike, like St. George going to kill the dragon, whom he very nearly represented, only that Omiah had pistols in his holsters, of which the bold saint knew not the use. Omiah, however, made good use of his arms; for when the crowd became clamorous and troublesome he every now and then pulled out a pistol, and fired it among them, which never failed to send them scampering away.

The ships were no sooner secured, than the sailors began stripping them of every foot of rigging they had left; for certainly no ships were in a more shattered condition. Our voyage from New Zealand, if not from the Cape, might be said to be one continued series of tempestuous weather, suspended only by a few intervals of sunshine; and the employment of our artificers at sea and on shore, a laborious exertion of their faculties to keep us above water. Here it was not only necessary to strip the main-mast of the *Discovery*, but to take it out, and carry it on shore, to be properly secured. This was a work of no small difficulty. Here too we found it necessary to unship our stores of every kind; to air and repack our powder; new bake that part of the bread that had contracted any dampness; to erect the forge on shore; in short, to set all hands at work to refit the ships for the further prosecution of the voyage.

A messenger was dispatched from Captain Cook to king Otoo, to acquaint him with our arrival, and to desire his permission to send the cattle he had brought from England, to feed in the pastures of Oparree. The king expressed his joy on the return of Captain Cook, and readily gave his consent. He, at the same time, ordered one of his principal officers to accompany the messenger, in his return, and to take with him presents of fresh provisions for the commanders of both ships, and to invite them to dine with him the next day. This invitation was accepted, and it was agreed between the two Captains, that their visit should be made with as much state, as their present circumstances would admit. The marines and music were therefore ordered to be in readi-

ness at an appointed hour, and all the rowers to be clean dressed. We were now in Matavai harbour; and, on the 25th, about noon, the commanders, with the principal officers and gentlemen, embarked on board the pinnaces, which, on this occasion, were decked in all the magnificence that silken streamers, embroidered ensigns, and other gorgeous decorations, could display. Omiah, to surprise the more, was dressed in a Captain's uniform, and could hardly be distinguished from a British officer. From Matavai to Oparree is about six miles, and we arrived at the landing-place at one o'clock, where we were received by the marines already under arms; and as soon as the company were disembarked, the whole band of music struck up a grand military march, and the procession began. The road from the beach to the entrance of the palace (about half a mile) was lined on both sides with natives from all parts, expecting to see Omiah on horseback, as the account of his appearance on the other side of the Island, as before related, had already reached the inhabitants on this. As he appeared to them in disguise, he was not known; they were not, however, wholly disappointed, as the grandeur of the procession exceeded every thing of the kind they had ever seen. The whole court were likewise assembled, and the king, with his sisters, on the approach of Captain Cook, came forth to meet him. As he was perfectly known to them, their first salutations were frank and friendly, according to the known custom of the Otaheiteans; and when these were over, proper attention was paid to every gentleman in company, and that too with a politeness, quite unexpected to those who had never been on this Island. As soon as the company had entered the palace, and were seated, some discourse passed between the king and Captain Cook; after which, Omiah was presented to his majesty, and paid him the usual homage of a subject to a sovereign of that country, which consists of little more than being uncovered before him, and then entered into a familiar conversation on the subject of his travels. The Earees, or kings of this country, are not above discoursing,



with the meanest of their subjects; but Omiah, by being a favourite of the Earees of the ships, was now considered as a person of some rank. The king, impatient to hear his story, asked him a hundred questions, before he gave him time to answer one. He enquired about the Earee-da-hai, or Great King of Pretanne; his place of residence; his court; his attendants; his warriors; his ships of war; his morai; the extent of his possessions; &c. Omiah did not fail to magnify the grandeur of the Great King. He represented the splendour of his court, by the brilliancy of the stars in the firmament; the extent of his dominions, by the vast expanse of heaven; the greatness of his power, by the thunder that shakes the earth. He said, the Great King of Pretanne had three hundred thousand warriors every day at his command, clothed like those who now attended the Earees of the ships; and more than double that number of sailors, who traversed the globe, from the rising of the sun, to his setting; that his ships of war exceeded those at Matavai in magnitude, in the same proportion, as those exceeded the small canoes at Oparree. His majesty appeared all astonishment, and could not help interrupting him. He asked, if what he said was true, where the Great King could find people to navigate so many ships as covered the ocean? and if he could have men, where he could find provisions for so large a multitude? Omiah assured him, that in one city only, on the banks of a river, far removed from the sea, there were more people, than were contained in the whole group of Islands with which his majesty was acquainted; that the country was full of large populous cities; notwithstanding which, provisions were so plentiful, that for a few pieces of yellow metal, like those of which he had seen many, (meaning the medals given by Captain Cook to the chiefs) the Great King could purchase as much provisions as would maintain a sailor for a whole year. That in the country of the Great King, there are more than a hundred different kinds of four-footed animals, from the size of a rat, to that of a stage erected on an ordinary canoe; and that all these animals are numerous in their several kinds,

and propagate very fast. Omiah, having, by this relation, obviated Otoo's doubts, adverted to his first questions. He said, the ships of war, in Pretanne, were furnished with poo-poops, (guns) each of which would receive the largest poo-poo his majesty had yet seen, within it; that some carried a hundred and more of those poo-poops, with suitable accommodations for a thousand fighting men, and stowage for all sorts of cordage, and warlike stores; besides provisions and water for a thousand or two thousand days; that they were sometimes abroad as long, fighting with the enemies of the Great King, that they carried with them frequently, in these expeditions, poo-poops that would hold a small hog, and which throw hollow globes of iron, of vast bigness, filled with fire and all manner of combustibles, and implements of destruction, to a great distance; a few of which, were they to be thrown among the fleet of Otaheite, would set them on fire, and destroy the whole navy, were they ever so numerous. The king seemed more astonished than delighted at this narration, and suddenly left Omiah, to join the company that were in conversation with Captain Cook. By this time dinner was nearly ready, and as soon as the company were properly seated, was brought in by as many tow-tows as there were persons to dine; besides these, the king, the two commanders, and Omiah, had each of them two persons of superior rank to attend them. The dinner consisted of fish and fowl of various kinds, dressed after their manner; barbicned pigs, stewed yams, and fruits of the most delicious flavour, all served with an ease and regularity, that is seldom to be found at European tables, when the ladies are excluded from making part of the company. As soon as dinner was over, we were conducted to the theatre; where a company of players were in readiness to perform a dramatical entertainment. The drama was regularly divided into three acts; the first consisted of dancing and dumb shew; the second of comedy, which, to those who understood the language, was very laughable; for Omiah and the natives appeared highly diverted the whole time; the last was a musical piece, in which the young pri-  
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esses were the sole performers. Between the acts some feats of arms were exhibited, by combatants with lances and clubs. One made the attack, the other stood upon the defensive. He who made the attack brandished his lance, and either threw, pushed, or used it in aid of his club. He who was upon the defensive, stuck the point of his lance in the ground, in an oblique direction, so that the upper part rose above his head; and by observing the eye of his enemy, parried his blows, or his strokes, by the motion of his lance, and it was rare that he was hurt by the club. If his antagonist struck at his legs, he shewed his agility by jumping over the club; and if at his head, he was no less nimble in crouching under it. Their dexterity consisted chiefly in the defence, otherwise the combat might have been fatal, which always ended in good humour. These entertainments, which generally last about four hours, are really diverting. In the horn-pipe they excel the Europeans, their masters, for they had contortions of the face and muscles to the nimbleness of the foot that are inimitable, and would in spite of our gravity, provoke laughter; their country dances are well regulated; and they have others of their own, that are equal to those of our best theatres; their comedy seems to consist of some simple story, made laughable by the manner of delivery, somewhat in the style of the merry-andrews formerly at Bartholomew fair. Had Omiah been of a theatrical cast, he doubtless might have very much improved their stage, for their performers appear inferior to none in the powers of imitation. The play being over, and night approaching, our commanders took their leave, after inviting the king and his attendants to dine on board the *Resolution*. We were conducted to the water-side in the same manner as we approached the palace, and were attended by the king and royal family. The next morning Omiah's mother, and several of his relations arrived. Their meeting was too unnatural to be pleasing. We could not see a woman frantically striking her face and arms with shark's teeth, till she was all over besmeared with blood, without being hurt: as it conveyed no idea of joy to feeling

minds, we never could be reconciled to this absurd custom. She brought with her several large hogs, with bread fruit, bananas, and other productions of the Island of Ulitea, as presents to the Captains, and she and her friends received, in return, a great variety of cutlery, such as knives, scissars, files, &c. besides some red feathers, which last were more acceptable than iron. They continued to visit the ships occasionally, till she quitted the Island.

In the afternoon, King Otoo, with his chiefs and attendants, and two young princesses, his sisters, performers in the interlude of the preceding night, came on board, bringing with them six large hogs, with a proportionable quantity of fruits of various kinds. They were entertained, as usual, with a sight of all the curiosities on board the ship, and the young princesses, longing for almost every thing they saw, were gratified, to their utmost wishes, with bracelets of beads, looking glasses, bits of china, artificial nosegays, and a variety of other trinkets, of which they had one of each sort, while, at the same time, the king and his chiefs amused themselves with the carpenters, armourers, and other workmen, employed in the repairs of the ship, casting longing eyes on their tools, and implements. In this manner they passed their time till dinner was ready. Otoo, with his chiefs, dined with the Captain, the principal officers, and Omiah, in the great cabin, while the ladies were feasted in an apartment separated on purpose, and waited upon by their own servants. After dinner the king and his nobles were pressed to drink wine; but most of them, having felt its power, declined tasting it; one or two drank a glass, but refused a second one. When the tables were cleared, the ladies joined the company, and then horn-pipes and country dances, after the English manner commenced, in which they joined with great good humour. What contributed not a little to increase the pleasure of the king, was a present made him by Captain Cook of a quantity of the choicest red feathers that could be purchased at Amsterdam. Red feathers, (as has been already observed,) are held in the highest estimation



in Otaheite, and in all the Society Islands, but more particularly by the chiefs of the former Island, by whom they are used as amulets, or rather as propitiations to make their prayers acceptable to the good spirit, whom they invoke with tufts of those feathers in their hands, made up in a peculiar manner, and held up in a certain position with much solemnity. The ordinary sorts of red feathers were collected by our officers and men all over the Friendly Islands; but those that were now presented to Otoo, were of a superior kind, in value as much above the ordinary red feathers, as real pearls are in value above French paste. They were taken from the heads of the paroquets of Tongataboo and Ea-oo-whe, which are of superlative beauty, and precious in proportion to their fineness, and the vivid glow of their precious colours. Here we learnt, that Captain Cook, in his former voyage, being in great distress for provisions, and having been plentifully supplied with them by Otoo, promised, that if ever he should return to Otaheite, he would make his majesty richer in ouravine, (precious feathers) than all the princes in the neighbouring Isles. This gave rise to an opinion, that it was to fulfil this promise, that we were led so far out of our way, as we have remarked in its proper place; but there is much more reason to conclude, that the strong easterly winds, which prevailed when we approached the southern tropic, made our direct course to Otaheite impracticable. Had the Captain regarded this promise to Otoo as inviolable, he would most certainly have shaped his course from New Zealand to the Friendly Islands, the nearest way, which would have shortened our voyage several months; unless we can suppose, that he had forgotten his promise, and that when he came within a few days sail of his destined port, he recollected himself, and then changed his direction to enable him to keep his word. To which of these causes it was owing we must leave to futurity; for to us, who were not in the secret, it is to this day a mystery. We were advanced some degrees to the eastward of Hervey's Isles, which lie in latitude 19 deg. 18 min. S. and in 201 deg. E. longitude,

before we altered our course to the westward, to make for Amsterdam, which lies in 21 deg. 15. min. S. and 185 deg. E. longitude, whereas the Island of Ulitea, of which Omi-ah was a native, lay in latitude 16. deg. 45 min. and longitude 208 deg 35 min. Why our course to the former was preferred to the latter, involves the mystery.

Though all public trade was prohibited, as was usual, till the ships should be furnished with fresh provisions, it was not easy to restrain the men on shore from trading with the women, who were continually enticing them to desert. The ladies of pleasure, in London, have not half the winning ways that are practised by the Otaheitean misses, to allure their gallants. With the seeming innocence of doves, they mingle the wiliness of serpents. They have, however, one quality peculiar to themselves, that is constancy. When once they have made their choice, it must be owing to the sailor himself, if his mistress proves false to him. No women on earth are more faithful. They will endeavour to gain all their lovers possess; but they will suffer no one else to invade their property, nor will they embezzle any part of it themselves, without having first obtained consent; but that consent is not easily withheld; for they are incessant in their importunities, and will never cease asking, while the sailor has a rag to bestow. During our stay at this Island, we had hardly a sailor, who had not made a very near connection with one or other of the female inhabitants; nor, indeed, many officers who were proof against the allurements of the better sort, who were no less amorous and artful, though more reserved, than the inferior order. The temperature of the climate, the plenty of fresh provisions, fish, fowl, pork, bread-fruit, yams (a kind of sweet potatoes, which they have the art of stewing with their pork in a very savoury manner,) added to the delicious fruits of the Island, contributed not a little to make our stay here even desirable; nor did idleness get possession of those who were most indolently inclined: we had not a vacant hour between business and pleasure that was unemployed: we wanted no coffee-houses to kill



time; nor Vauxhalls for our evening entertainments. Every nightly assembly, in the plantations of this happy Isle, is furnished, by beneficent nature, with a more luxurious feast than all the dainties of the most sumptuous champetre, though lavished with unlimited profusion, and emblazoned with the most expensive decorations of art. Ten thousand lamps, combined and ranged in the most advantageous order, by the hands of the best artist, appear faint, when compared with the brilliant stars of heaven that unite their splendor, to illuminate the groves, the lawns, and streams of Oparree. In these elysian fields, immortality alone is wanting, to the enjoyment of all those pleasures which the poet's fancy has conferred on the shades of departed heroes, as the highest reward of heroic virtue. But amidst so many delights, it was not for human nature to subsist long without satiety. Our officers began to be punctilious, and our seamen to be licentious. Several of the latter were punished severely for indecency, in surpassing the natives by the shameless manner of indulging their sensual appetites; and two of the former went ashore to terminate an affair of honour by the decision of their pistols. It happened, that neither of them were dextrous marksmen; they vented their rage by the fury with which they began the attack; and, having discharged three balls each, they returned on board without any hurt, except spoiling a hat, a ball having pierced it, and grazed upon the head of him who wore it. It was, however, remarked, that these gentlemen were better friends than ever, during the remainder of the voyage. Thus far we have copied this journalist; and now proceed with our own history.

On Tuesday, the 26th, as the Captain intended to continue here some time, we set up our two observatories on Matavai Point: and adjoining to them two tents were pitched, for the reception of a guard, and of such people as might be left on shore, in different departments. The command, at this station, was entrusted to Mr. King, who likewise attended the astronomical observations. While we remained here, the crews of both ships were occupied in many necessary opera-

tions. The Discovery's main-mast, that was shattered in the head, and carried ashore to be repaired, was rendered more firm than ever: the sails that had been split, and were otherwise rendered unfit for service, were replaced, the cordage carefully examined; the mast new rigged; the water casks repaired; both ships new canlked; the bread inspected: in short, the whole repairs completed, with more celerity and strength, than could have been expected in a place; where many conveniences were wanted, to fit us out for that part of our voyage which still remained to be performed. This day a piece of ground was cleared for a garden and planted with several articles, few of which, will probably be looked after by the natives. Some potatoes, melons, and pine-apple plants, were in a fair way of succeeding before we quitted the place. We had brought from the Friendly Islands several shaddock trees, which we planted here; and they will in all probability succeed, unless their growth should be checked by the same idle curiosity which destroyed a vine planted at Oheitepeha by the Spaniards. Many of the natives assembled to taste the first fruit it produced, but the grapes being still sour, they considered it as little better than poison, and trod it under foot. In that state, Omiah accidentally found it, and was rejoiced at the discovery; for he was confident, that if he had but grapes, he could easily make wine. Accordingly, he had several slips cut off from the tree, with an intention of carrying them away with him; and we pruned, and put in order, the remains of it. Before we had been two days at anchor in Matavai bay, we were visited by all our old friends, whose names are mentioned in the narrative of Captain Cook's former voyage. Not one of them came with empty hands; so that we had an amazing quantity of provisions, without any apprehensions of exhausting the Island, which presented to our eyes every mark of the most exuberant fertility and abundance. Soon after we had arrived here, one of the Islanders, whom the Spaniards had carried with them to Lima, paid us a visit; but, in his exterior appearance, he was not distinguishable from the rest of the



countrymen. He still remembered some Spanish words, among which the most frequent were *Si Sennor*. We also found here the young man whom we had called Oedidee, but whose real name is Heete-heete. Captain Cook had carried him from Ulietea, on board his ship, in 1773, and brought him back in the year following, after he had visited the Friendly Islands, New Zealand, Easter Island, and the Marquesas. He had come from Bolabola, of which he was a native, to Otaheite, about three months before, probably with the sole view of gratifying his curiosity. He preferred the modes, and even dress of his countrymen to our's; for, though Captain Cook gave him some clothes, which our Board of Admiralty had thought proper to send for his use, after a few days, he declined wearing them. This instance, as well as that of the person who had been at Lima, may be adduced as a proof of the strong inclination of mankind in general, to habits acquired at an early age; and it is, perhaps, no unreasonable supposition, that even Omiah, who had imbibed almost the whole English manners, will, in a short time after being left by us, return, like Oedidee, and the visitor of Lima, to his own native garments, and his original mode of life.

On Wednesday, the 27th, we were informed by a man who came from Oheitepeha, that two Spanish ships had anchored in that bay the preceding night; and, to confirm this intelligence, he produced some coarse blue cloth, which, he said, he had got out of one of the ships. He further said, that Mateema was with the people, and that the two ships would be at Matavai in two or three days. These, and some other circumstances, which he mentioned, gave the story so much the appearance of truth, that our Commodore dispatched Lieutenant Williamson in a boat, to look into Oheitepeha bay; and, in the meantime, both ships were put into a proper posture of defence: for though England and Spain were at peace when we left England, we did not know but that a different scene might, by this time, have been opened. Upon enquiry, however, we had reason to imagine, that the relator of the story had imposed upon us; and this was

put beyond all doubt, when Mr. Williamson returned the day following, who made his report, that he had been at Oheitepeha, and did not find any ships there, nor had any been there since we left it. The people of this part of the Island, where we were stationed, told us indeed at first, that it was a fiction, invented by those of Tiaraboo, but with what view it was propagated among our people, we could not conceive, unless they might suppose, that the report would induce us to quit the Island, and thus deprive the inhabitants of Otaheite-nooe of the advantages they might otherwise reap from our ships remaining there; the natives of the two parts of the Island being inveterate enemies to each other. Since we arrived at Matavai, the weather had been very unsettled till the 29th, on account of which, before this time we were unable to get equal altitudes of the sun, for ascertaining the going of the time-keeper. In the evening of this day, the Islanders made a precipitate retreat, both from our land station, and from on board the ships. We conjectured that this arose from their knowing some theft had been committed, and apprehending punishment on that account. At length, we became acquainted with the whole affair. One of the surgeon's mates had made an excursion into the country, to purchase curiosities, and had taken with him four hatchets for the purpose of exchange. He having been so imprudent as to employ a native to carry them, the fellow took an opportunity of running off with so valuable a prize. This was the reason of the sudden flight, in which Otoo himself, and all his family, had joined; and it was with difficulty that the Captain stopped them, after having followed them for the space of two or three miles. As the Captain had determined to take no harsh measures for the recovery of the hatchets, that his people for the future might be more upon their guard against such negligence, every thing resumed quickly its former tranquillity.

Saturday the 30th, some messengers arrived from Eimeo with intelligence, that the people of that Island were in arms; and that Otoo's partizans there had been com-



pelled by the opposite party to retreat to the mountains. The quarrel between the two Islands, which began in 1774, had partly subsisted ever since. A formidable armament had sailed soon after Capt. Cook left Otaheite, in his former voyage; but the malecontents of Eimeo had made so gallant a resistance, that the fleet had returned without success; and now another expedition was deemed necessary. On the arrival of the messengers, the chiefs assembled at Otoo's house, where the Captain actually was at that time, and had the honour of being admitted into their council. One of the messengers opened the business with a speech of considerable length, the purport of which was to explain the situation of affairs at Eimeo, and to excite the Otaheiteans to arm on the occasion. This opinion was opposed by others, who were against commencing hostilities; and the debate, for some time, was carried on with great order and decorum. At length, however, the whole assembly became very tumultuous, and the Captain began to think, that their meeting would conclude like a Polish diet. But the contending chiefs cooled as fast as they grew warm, and order was speedily restored. In the end, the party for war prevailed; and it was resolved, though not unanimously, that a strong force should be sent to Eimeo. Otoo said very little, during the whole debate. Those of the council inclinable to war, applied to our Commodore for his assistance; and all of them were desirous of knowing what part he would take. Omiah was sent for to act as his interpreter; but as he could not be found, the Captain, being under a necessity of speaking for himself, told them, as well as he could, that, as he was not perfectly acquainted with the dispute, and as the natives of Eimeo had never given him the least offence, he could not think of engaging in hostilities against them. With this declaration they either were, or appeared to be satisfied. The council was now dissolved, but before the Captain retired, Otoo desired him to come again in the afternoon, and bring Omiah with him. A party of us accordingly waited upon him at the appointed time; and he conducted

us to his father, in whose presence the dispute with the natives of Eimeo was again discussed. Capt. Cook being very desirous of effecting an accommodation, sounded the old chief on that subject; but he was deaf to any such proposal, and fully determined to carry on hostilities. On our enquiring into the cause of the war, we were informed, that several years ago, a brother of Waheia-dooa, was sent to Eimeo, at the desire of Maheine, a popular chief of that Island, to be their king; but had not been there many days, before Maheine, having caused him to be put to death, set up for himself against Tierataboonooe, nephew of the deceased, who now became the lawful heir, or perhaps had been appointed by the people of Otaheite, to succeed to the government on the death of the other. Towha, who is related to Otoo, and chief of the district of Tettaha, and who had been commander in chief of the armament sent against Eimeo in 1774, happened not to be at Matavai at this time, and therefore was not present at the consultations. It appeared, however, that he was no stranger to what had happened, and that he entered into the transactions with great eagerness and spirit; for on the rumour of a war, it was computed, that near three hundred canoes were mustered in Matavai Bay, with stages to each, whereon sat from three to six chiefs in their warlike dresses; which seemed calculated for shew rather than use in battle. On their heads were large turbans wound round in many folds; over that a monstrous helmet; and on their bodies, instead of the light airy dress worn in common, they were incumbered by many garments of their own cloth, which added indeed to their stature, but which must disable them to exert their strength in the day of battle. Men of fertile imagination, fond of tracing the analogy of ancient customs, among the different nations of the world, might possibly discover some similarity between these cumbersome dresses, and those of the knights of ancient chivalry, who fought in armour. It is certain that the Otaheitean who fights on foot, must feel the same incumbrance from his heavy war-dress, as the ancient knight, who fought on horseback must have done,



from his unweildy armour; and there is no doubt but the former will, one time or other, be laid aside in the tropical Isles, as much as the latter is now in every other part of the world.

On Monday the 1st of September, a messenger arrived from Towha, to acquaint Otoo, that he had killed a man to be sacrificed to the Eatooa, with the view of imploring the assistance of the deity against Eimeo. This solemn oblation was to be offered at the great Morai, at Attahooroo, and Otoo's presence was necessary on the occasion. That such kind of sacrifices constitute a part of the religious ceremonies of the Otaheiteans, had been asserted by Mons. Bougainville, on the testimony of the native whom he took to France. In our last visit to Otaheite, we had satisfied ourselves, that such a practice, however inconsistent with the general humanity of the people, was here adopted. But this was one of those uncommon facts, concerning the truth of which many will not be convinced, unless the relator himself has had ocular proof to support his assertion; for this reason, Capt. Cook requested of Otoo, that he might be allowed to accompany him, and being present at the solemnity, might obtain the highest evidence of its certainty. To this the king readily assented, and we immediately set out in the Captain's boat, accompanied by our old friend Potatou, Mr. Anderson and Mr. Webber; Omiah following us in his canoe. We landed in our way, on a small Island, lying off Tettaha, where we found Towha and his attendants. After a little conversation between the two chiefs, on the subject of the war, Towha addressed himself to the Captain, soliciting his assistance. When the latter excused himself, Towha seemed displeased, thinking it rather extraordinary, that one who had constantly declared himself the friend of their Island, should now refuse to fight against its enemies. Before we separated, Towha gave to Otoo two or three red feathers, tied up in a tuft, and a half-starved dog was put into a canoe that was to accompany us. Our party now reinbarked, taking with us a priest, who was to assist at the offering of the human sacrifice. About two o'clock, we land-

ed at Attahooroo, when Otoo desired that the sailors might be ordered to continue in the boat; and that Capt. Cook, Mr. Anderson, and Mr. Webber, would take off their hats as soon as they should come to the morai. To this we immediately proceeded, followed by numbers of men, and some boys; but not one woman was present. We found four priests with their assistants waiting for us; and on our arrival the ceremonies commenced. The dead body or sacrifice was in a small canoe, that lay on the beach, fronting the morai. Two of the priests, with several of their attendants, were sitting by the canoe that lay on the beach; the others at the morai. Our company stopped at the distance of twenty or thirty paces from the priests. Here Otoo placed himself; our gentlemen, and a few others, standing by him, while the bulk of the people were removed at a greater distance. One of the assistants of the priests now brought a young plantain tree, and laid it down before the king. Another approached, bearing a small tuft of red feathers, twisted on some fibres of the cocoa-nut husk; with which he touched one of Otoo's feet, and afterwards retired with it to his companions. One of the priests who were seated at the morai, now began a long prayer, and, at particular times, sent down young plantain trees, which were placed upon the sacrifice. During this prayer, one of the natives, who stood by the officiating priest, held in his hands two bundles, in one of which, as we afterwards found, was the royal maro; and the other, if we may be allowed the expression, was the ark of the Eatooa. The prayer being finished, the priests at the morai, with their assistants, went and sat down by those who were upon the beach, carrying the two bundles with them. They here renewed their prayers; during which, the plantain leaves were taken, one by one, at various times, from off the dead body; which, being wrapped up in cocoa-leaves and small branches, was now taken out of the canoe, and laid upon the beach. The priests placed themselves round it; some standing, and others sitting; and one, or more of them, repeated sentences for about ten minutes.

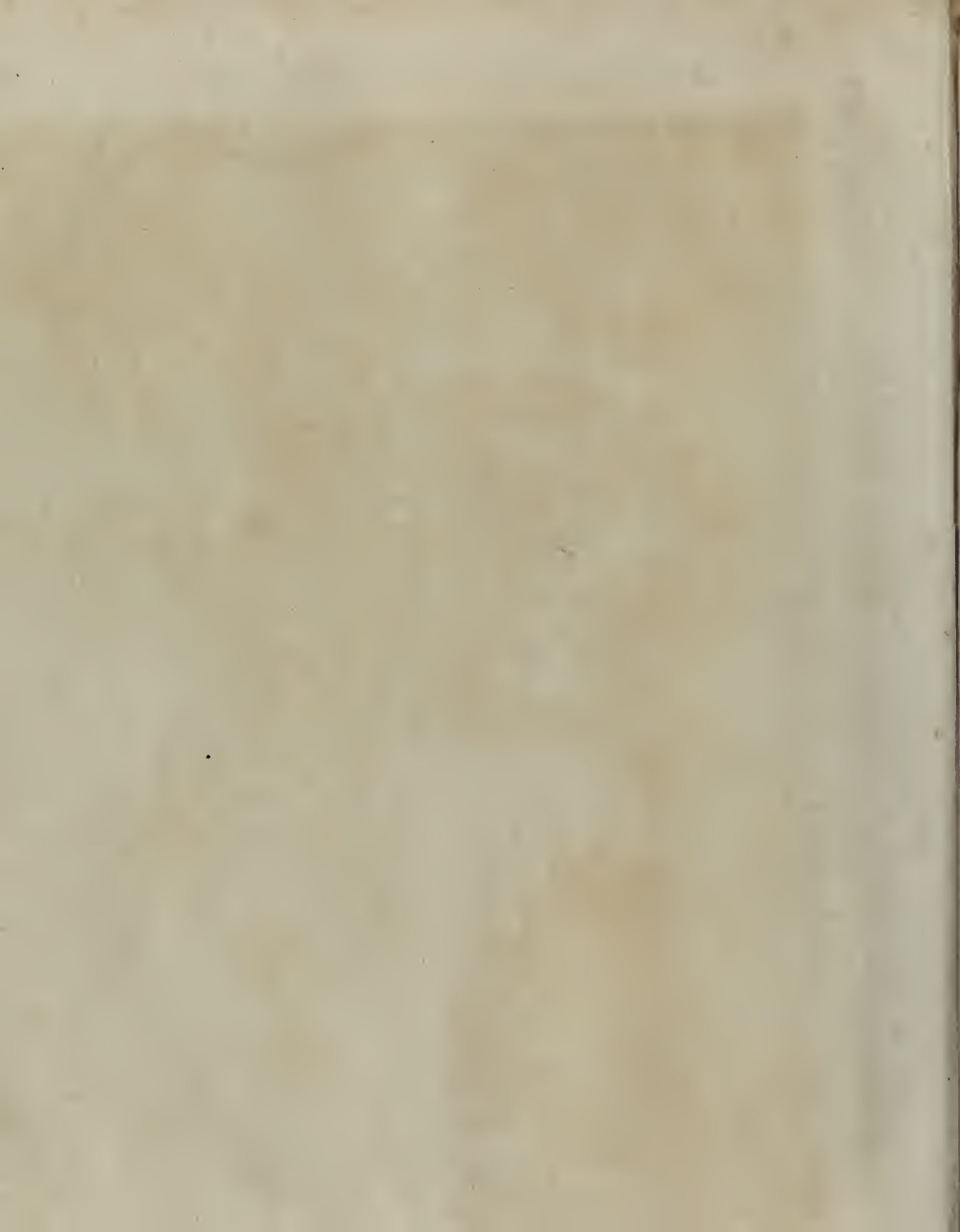




*An Exact Representation of the DEPARTURE of Capt. JAMES COOK, (Jr.) at Karakakooa Bay, in OWHIHEHE, on Feb'y 1, 1790.*

*Published by R. Smith, Woodcutter.*







The body was now stripped of the leaves and branches, and placed parallel with the sea-shore. Then one of the priests standing at the feet of the corpse, pronounced a long prayer, in which he was joined occasionally by others, each of them holding a tuft of red feathers in his hand. While this prayer was repeating, some hair was pulled off the head of the intended sacrifice, and the left eye was taken out; both which being wrapped up in a green leaf, were presented to the king, who, however, did not touch them, but gave to the man who brought them to him, the tuft of red feathers which he had received from Towha. This, with the eye and hair, were taken to the priests. Not long after this the king sent them another bunch of feathers. In the course of this last ceremony, a king-fisher making a noise, Otoo, turning to Capt. Cook, said, "That is the Eatooa;" and he seemed to consider it as a favourable prognostic. The corpse was then carried a little way, and laid under a tree, near which were fixed three pieces of wood neatly carved. The bundles of cloth were placed on a part of the Morai; and the tufts of red feathers were laid at the feet of the dead body, round which the priests stationed themselves; and we were at this time permitted to go as near as we pleased. He, who seemed to be the chief priest, spoke for about a quarter of an hour, with different tones and gestures; sometimes appearing to expostulate with the deceased; at other times, asking several questions; then making various demands, as if the dead person had power himself, or interest with the deity, to engage him to grant such requests; among which, he desired him to deliver Eimeo, Maheine its chief, the women, hogs, and other things of the Island into their hands; which was, indeed, the express object of the sacrifice. He then prayed near half an hour, in a whining tone, and two other priests joined in the prayer, in the course of which, one of them plucked some more hair from the head of the corpse, and put it upon one of the bundles. The high-priest now prayed alone, holding in his hand the feathers he had received from Towha. Having finished, he gave them to another priest, who prayed in

like manner; then all the tufts of feathers were placed upon the bundles of cloth, which concluded the ceremony at this place.

The dead body was now carried to the most conspicuous part of the Morai, with the feathers, and the two bundles of cloth, while the drums beat slowly. The feathers and bundles were laid against a pile of stones, and the body at the foot of them. The priests having again seated themselves round the corpse, renewed their prayers, while some of their assistants dug a hole about the depth of two feet, into which they threw the victim, and covered it over with stones and earth. While they were depositing the body in the grave, a boy squeaked aloud, upon which Omiah told the Captain, it was the Eatooa. In the mean time, a fire having been made, we saw a lean half-starved dog produced, and it was killed by twisting his neck. The hair was then singed off, and the entrails being taken out, they were thrown into the fire, and left there to be consumed; but the kidney, heart, and liver, were baked on heated stones. The carcase, after having been rubbed over with the blood of the animal, were with the liver, &c. laid down before the priests, who were seated round the grave, praying. They, for some time, uttered ejaculations over the dog, while two men, at intervals, beat very loud on two drums; and a boy screamed, in a loud shrill voice, three times. This, they said, was to invite the Eatooa to feast on the banquet that they had provided for him. When the priests had finished their prayers, the body, heart, liver, &c. of the dog, were placed on a whatta, or scaffold, about six feet in height, on which lay the remains of two other dogs, and of two pigs, that had been lately offered up. The priests and their attendants now gave a shout, and this proclaimed the ceremonies ended for the present. The evening being arrived, we were conducted to a house belonging to Potatou, where we were entertained and lodged for the night. Having been informed, that the religious rites were to be renewed the next day, we would not quit the place while any thing remained to be seen.

Early in the morning of Tuesday the 2nd,



we repaired to the scene of action : and soon afterwards a pig was sacrificed, and laid upon the same scaffold with the others. About eight, Otoo took our party to the morai, where the priests, and a great multitude of people were by this time assembled. The two bundles occupied the place where they had been deposited the preceding evening ; the two drums were in the front of the morai, and the priests were stationed beyond them. The king placed himself between the drums, and desired the Captain to stand by him. The ceremony commenced with bringing a young plantain tree, and laying it at the king's feet. A prayer was then repeated by the priests, holding in their hands several tufts of red, and a plume of ostrich feathers ; which the Commodore had presented to Otoo on his first arrival. When the priests had ended the prayer, they changed their station, and placed themselves between our gentlemen and the morai. One of them, the same who had performed the principal part the preceding day, began another prayer, which continued near half an hour. During this prayer, the tufts of red feathers were put, one by one, upon the ark of the Eatooa. Not long after, four pigs were produced, one of which was killed immediately, and the three others were taken to a neighbouring sty. One of the bundles was now untied ; and it contained the maro, with which the Otaheiteans invest their kings. When taken out of the cloth, it was spread on the ground, at full length, before the priests. It is a girdle about fifteen feet in length, and one foot and a quarter in breadth, and is probably put on in the same manner as the common maro, used by these Islanders to wrap round the waist. It was ornamented with yellow and red feathers ; but principally with the former. One end of it was bordered with eight pieces, about the size and figure of a horse-shoe, whose edges were fringed with black feathers, the other end was forked, having the points of various lengths. The feathers were ranged in two rows, in square compartments, and produced a pleasing effect. They had been first fixed upon some of the cloth of the Island, and then sewed to the upper end of

the pendant, which Capt. Wallis had left flying at Matavai. The priests pronounced a long prayer, relative to this part of the ceremony ; and after it was ended, the badge of royalty was folded up with great care and put into the cloth. The other bundle, which we have already mentioned, under the name of the ark, was next opened at one end ; but we were not permitted to approach near enough to examine its mysterious contents. The intelligence we obtained respecting its contents, was, that the Eatooa (or rather, what is supposed to represent him) was concealed therein. This sacred repository is composed of the twisted fibres of the husk of the cocoa-nut, and its figure is nearly circular, with one end considerably thicker than the other. The pig that had been killed was by this time cleaned, and its entrails taken out. These happened to have many of those convulsive motions which frequently appear in different parts, when an animal is killed ; and this was considered as a very favourable omen to the intended expedition. After having been exposed for some time, the entrails were carried and laid down before the priests, one of whom closely inspected them, turning them for this purpose gently with a stick. Having been sufficiently examined, they were thrown into the fire. The sacrificed pig, and its liver, heart, &c. were now put upon the scaffold where the dog had been deposited ; and then all the feathers, except the ostrich plume, being enclosed in the ark, an end was put to the whole solemnity.

Four double canoes remained upon the beach, all the morning, before the place of sacrifice. A small platform, covered with palm-leaves, fastened in mysterious knots, was fixed on the fore-part of each of these canoes ; and this also is called a *morai*. Some plantains, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, fish, and other articles, lay upon each of these naval morais. The natives said, that they belonged to the Eatooa, and that they were to attend the fleet that was to be sent out against Bimeo. The unfortunate victim offered on this occasion, was, to appearance a middle-aged man, and was one of the lowest class of the people, But it did not



appear that they had fixed upon him on account of his having committed any particular crime, that deserved death. It is certain, however, that they usually select such guilty persons for their sacrifices, or else, vagabonds, who have no visible way of procuring an honest livelihood. Our gentlemen having examined the appearance of the body of the unhappy sufferer, now offered up to the object of these people's worship, observed, that it was bloody about the head and face, and much bruised upon the right temple, which denoted the manner in which he had been killed. And they were informed, that he had been knocked on the head with a stone.

The wretches who are destined to suffer on these occasions, are never previously apprized of their fate. Whenever any one of the principal chiefs deems a human sacrifice necessary, on any great emergency, he fixes upon the victim, and then dispatches some of his trusty servants, who fall upon him suddenly, and either stone him to death, or beat out his brains with a club. The sovereign is next acquainted with it, whose presence is said to be absolutely requisite at the solemn rites that follow; and, indeed, on the late occasion, Otoo bore a capital part. The solemnity itself is termed Poore Eree, or the prayer of the chief; and the victim is called Taata-taboo, or consecrated man.

The morai, where the late sacrifice was offered, is always appropriated for the burial of the king of the whole Island, and likewise of his family, and some other persons of distinguished rank. It differs little, except in extent, from the common morais. Its principal part is a large oblong pile of stones, about thirteen feet in height, and contracted towards the top, with a quadrangular area on each side, loosely paved with pebbles, under which the bones of the chiefs are deposited. Not far from the end nearest the sea, is the place of sacrifice, where is a very large whatta, or scaffold, on which the offerings of fruits, and other vegetables, are placed; but the animals are laid on a smaller one, and the human sacrifices are interred under the pavement. There are several reliques scattered about the place; such as

small stones raised in various parts of the pavement, some with bits of cloth fastened round them, others entirely covered with it; and, upon the side of the large pile, fronting the area, are a great number of pieces of carved wood, in which their gods are supposed to reside occasionally. There is a heap of stones, at one end of the large scaffold, with a sort of platform on one side. On this they deposit all the skulls of the human sacrifices, which they take up after they have remained under ground for some months. Just above them, many of the carved pieces of wood are placed; and here the maro, and the other bundle, which was supposed to contain the god Ooro, were laid, during the celebration of the late solemn rites.

It is probable, that this barbarous custom of offering human victims, prevails in all, or most of the Islands of the Pacific Ocean, however distant from each other some of them may be. And though we should suppose, that not more than one person is sacrificed at one time, either at Otahete, or other Islands, yet these occasions, in all probability, occur so frequently, as to make a terrible havock of the human species; for Capt. Cook reckoned no less than forty-nine skulls, of former victims, lying before the moria, at Attahooroo; and as none of those skulls appeared to have suffered any considerable change, or decay, from the weather it may be inferred, that but a short time had elapsed since these victims had been offered. This horrid practice, though no consideration whatever can make it cease to be detestable, might, perhaps, be thought less detrimental, in some respects, if it contributed to impress any awe for the deity, or veneration for religion, upon the minds of the spectators. But this was so far from being the case on the late occasion, that though a vast multitude of people had assembled at the morai, they shewed very little reverence for what was transacting. And Omiah happening to arrive, after the ceremonies had begun, many of the Islanders thronged round him, and were engaged, for the remaining part of the time, in making him recount some of his adventures; to which they listened with great eagerness of attention,



regardless of the solemn offices which their priests were then performing. Indeed, the priests themselves, except the one who sustained the principal part, either from their being familiarized to such objects, or from their reposing no great degree of confidence in the efficacy of their religious institutions, maintained very little of that solemnity which is necessary to give to acts of devotion their proper effect. Their habit was but an ordinary one; they conversed together with great familiarity; and the only attempt they made to preserve decorum, was by exerting their authority, to prevent the populace from encroaching on the very spot where the rites were performed, and to suffer our gentlemen, as strangers, to come forward. They were, however, very candid in the answers which they gave to any interrogatories that were put to them, with regard to this inhuman institution. And, particularly, on being asked, what was the design of it, they replied, that it was an ancient custom, and was highly agreeable to their god, who came and fed upon the sacrifices; in consequence of which, he granted their petitions. It was then objected, that he certainly did not feed on these, as he was neither observed to do it, nor were the bodies of the sacrificed animals soon consumed; and that as to the corpse of a human victim, they prevented his feeding on that, by interring it. In answer to these objections, they gave it as their opinion, that he came in the night, invisibly, and fed only on the soul, or immaterial part, which (these people say) remains about the place of sacrifice, till the carcase of the victim is totally wasted by putrefaction.

Human sacrifices are not the only barbarous custom that still prevails amongst the

inhabitants of Otaheite, though, in many other respects, they have emerged from the brutal manners of savage life. Besides cutting out the jaw bones of their enemies slain in battle, which they carry about with them as trophies, they, in some measure, offer up their bodies to the Eatooa. Soon after an engagement, in which they have come off victorious, they collect all the dead, and bring them to the morai, where, with great form and ceremony, they dig a large hole, and bury them all in it, as so many offerings to their divinities.

They treat, in a different manner, their own chiefs that fall in battle. Their late king, Tootahai Tubourai-tamaide, and another chief, who were slain in an engagement with those of Tiaraboo, were brought to the morai at Attahooroo. There the priests cut out their bowels before the great altar; and their dead bodies were afterwards interred in three different places, near the great pile of stones above-mentioned; and the common men, who lost their lives in the battle, were all buried in one hole, at the foot of the same pile. This was performed the day after the battle, with much pomp and formality, amidst a numerous concourse of people, as a thanksgiving offering to the deity, for the victory they had obtained the preceding day. The vanquished, in the mean time, had taken refuge in the mountains, were they remained upwards of a week, till the fury of the victors began to abate. A treaty was then set on foot, by which it was agreed, that Otoo should be proclaimed king of the whole Island; and the solemnity of investing him with the maro, or badge of royalty, was performed at the same morai, with great magnificence.



## CHAP. VIII.

*Re-embark for Matavai ; Conference with Towha respecting the human Sacrifice ; Description of the Heevas ; Dinner given by Omiah ; Exhibition of Fire-works ; Remarkable Method of making a Present of Cloth ; Manner of preserving, for many Months, the dead Body of a Chief ; Another human Sacrifice offered ; Riding on Horseback, Matter of great Astonishment to the natives ; Otoo's great Attention to prevent Thefts, &c. Animals given to him by Capt. Cook ; Audience given to Etary, &c. Manner of fighting two War Canoes ; Naval Power, &c.*

**A**T the close of the very extraordinary scene, exhibited at the morai, and particularly described in the last chapter, our party embarked about twelve o'clock, in order to return to Matavai ; and, in their way, paid a visit to Towha, who had continued in the little Island, where they met him the preceding day. Some conversation on public affairs passed between Otoo and him ; and the latter entreated Capt. Cook, once more, to join them as an ally, in their war against Eimeo. By his positive refusal he entirely lost the good opinion of this chief.

Before they separated, he interrogated our gentlemen concerning the solemnity, at which they had been present ; and asked, particularly, if it answered their expectations ; what opinion they entertained of its efficacy ; and whether such acts of worships were frequent in their own country ? They had been silent during the celebration of the horrid ceremony ; but, as soon as it was completed, freely expressed their sentiments upon the subject, to Otoo, and his attendants ; consequently Capt. Cook did not conceal his detestation of it, in this conversation with Towha. Exclusive of the barbarity of the bloody custom, he urged the unreasonableness of it, alledging that such a sacrifice, instead of making the Eatooa propitious to their nation, would excite his vengeance ; and that, from this very circumstance, he concluded, that their intended expedition against Maheine would be unsuccessful. This was proceeding to great lengths upon conjecture ; but there was little danger of being mistaken ; for, respecting this war, there were three parties in this Island, one violent for it, another perfectly indifferent about it, and the third avowed supporters of Maheine, and his

cause. Under these circumstances, it was not probable that such a plan of military operations would ensure success. Omiah acted as interpreter, in conveying the Captain's sentiments to Towha, on the subjects of the late horrid sacrifice ; and he supported his arguments with such spirit, that the chief appeared to be extremely angry ; especially, on being informed, that if he had taken away the life of a man in England, as he had done here, his rank would not have protected him from an ignominious death. Upon this, he exclaimed, *maeno ! maeno ?* (vile ! vile !) and would not hear a syllable more about it. Many of the natives were present at this debate ; particularly the attendants and servants of Towha ; and when Omiah mentioned the punishment that would in England be inflicted upon the greatest man, if he dared to kill the meanest servant, they listened very attentively ; and perhaps, on this subject, they thought differently from their master.

Leaving Towha, our gentlemen proceeded to Oparre, where Otoo solicited them to pass the night. They landed in the evening ; and, on their way to his habitation, had an opportunity of observing how these people amuse themselves, in their private heevas. They saw about a hundred of them sitting in a house in the midst of whom were two women, and an old man behind each of them, beating gently upon a drum ; and the women, at intervals, singing with great softness and delicacy. The assembly were very attentive, and seemed, as it were, absorbed in the pleasure the music gave them ; few of them taking any notice of the strangers, and the performers never once ceasing. When the party arrived at Otoo's house, it was almost



dark.' Here they were entertained with one of their public heevas, or plays, in which his three sisters presented the principal characters. This they call a heeva raa, and no person is suffered to enter the house or area, where it is exhibited. This is always the case, when the royal sisters are the performers. Their dress, on this occasion, was truly elegant and picturesque, and they acquitted themselves in a very distinguished manner; though some comic interludes, wherein four men were the performers, seemed to afford greater entertainment to the audience, which was numerous. The Captain and his companions proceeded the next morning, to Matavai, leaving Otoo at Oparre; but his mother, sisters, and many other women, attended the Captain on board, and Otoo followed a short time after.

While Otoo and Capt. Cook had been absent from the ships, they had been sparingly supplied with fruit, and had not many visitors. After their return, we had abundance of company and provisions. On the 4th, a party of us, among whom was Otoo, dined ashore with Omiah, who provided excellent fare, consisting of fish, fowls, pork, and puddings. Dinner being over, Capt. Cook accompanied Otoo back to his dwelling, where he found all his servants busy, in getting a quantity of provisions ready for him. Amongst other articles, there was a large hog, which they killed in his presence. There was also a large pudding; the whole process in making which the Captain saw. It was composed of bread-fruit, plantains, taro, and palm or pandanus nuts, each rasped, scraped, or beat up fine, and baked by itself. A quantity of the juice of cocoa-nut kernels, was put into a kind of wooden tray. The other articles hot from the oven, were put into this vessel; together with some hot stones, in order to make the contents simmer. Three or four persons were employed in stirring up the several ingredients, till they were perfectly incorporated, and the juice of the cocoa-nut was turned to oil; and the whole mass, at last, was nearly of the consistency of a hasty-pudding. The hog being baked, and the pudding being made, they, together with two living hogs, some bread-

fruit, and cocoa-nuts, were sent on board the Captain's ship in a canoe, followed by him and all the royal family.

A young ram, of the Cape-breed, that had been lambed, and carefully brought up on board Capt. Cook's ship, was killed by a dog the following day. This was the more to be regretted, as it was the only one of that breed that we had; and only one of the English breed was now remaining.

On the 7th, in the evening, we exhibited some fire-works before a vast concourse of people, some of whom were highly entertained, but the greater number were much terrified with the exhibition; insomuch, that they could hardly be prevailed on to keep together, to see the whole of the entertainment. What concluded the business, was a table-rocket. It flew off the table, and dispersed the whole crowd in an instant; even the most resolute amongst them now fled with precipitation.

A party of us dined, the next day, with Oedidee, on fish and pork. The hog, which weighed about thirty pounds, was alive, dressed, and upon the table, within the hour. Some time after we had dined, Otoo appeared, and enquired of Capt. Cook, if his belly was full? who answered in the affirmative. "Then come along with me," said Otoo. The Captain accordingly attended him to his father's, where he saw several people employed in dressing two girls, with fine cloth, after a very singular fashion. There were several pieces of cloth, and the one end of each piece was held over the heads of the girls, while the remainder was wrapped round their bodies, under the arm-pits. The upper ends were then suffered to fall down, and hang in folds to the ground, over the other. Round the outside of all, were then wrapped several pieces of cloth of various colours, which considerably increased the size; it being five or six yards in circuit; and the weight of this singular attire, was as much as the poor girls could well support. To each were hung, two taames, or breast-plates, in order to embellish the whole, and gave it a picturesque appearance. Thus equipped, they were taken on board the ship, together with several hogs, and a quantity of fruit,









Engraved by T. Smith after a drawing by J. Phillips

Representation of the BODY of TEE, a Chief as preserved after Death in O TAHEITE.



which, together with this cloth, was a present to Capt. Cook from Otoo's father. Those who are dressed in this manner, are called atee; but, this ceremony is never performed, except where large presents of cloth are to be made. We never saw it practised upon any other occasion; but both Capt. Cook and Capt. Clerke had cloth presented to them afterwards, wrapped round the bearers in the same manner. The next day, Capt. Cook received a present of five hogs, and some fruit, from Otoo; and one hog, and some fruit from each of his sisters. Other provisions were also in great plenty. Great quantities of mackarel had been caught here by the natives, for two or three successive days; some of which were sold on board the ships.

Otoo was equally attentive to supply our wants, and contribute to our amusement. On the 10th, he treated a party of us at Oparre, with a play. His three sisters were the performers, and their dresses were new and elegant, much more so than we had met with in any of these Islands.

The principal objects, however, that the Captain had now in view, in going to Oparre, was to see an embalmed corpse, near the residence of Otoo. On enquiry, he found it to be the remains of Tee, a chief whom he well knew, when he last visited this Island. It was lying in an elegant toopapao, in all respects similar to that at Oheitapahe, in which the remains of Waheiadooa are deposited. We found the body was under cover, within the toopapao, and wrapped up in cloth. At the Captain's desire, the person who had the care of it, brought it out, and placed it on a kind of bier, so as to give a perfect view of it; but we were not admitted within the pales that enclosed the toopapao. The corpse having been thus exhibited, he ornamented the place with mats and cloths, disposed in such a manner as to produce a pleasing effect. The body was entire in every part: and putrefaction seemed hardly to be begun, nor the least disagreeable smell proceeding from it; though this is one of the hottest climates, and Tee had been above four months dead. There was, indeed, a shrinking of the muscular parts and eyes

but the hair and nails were in their original state, and the several joints were pliable. On enquiry into their method of preserving their dead bodies, we were informed, that, soon after they are dead, they are disembowelled, by drawing the intestines, and other viscera, out at the anus, and the whole cavity is stuffed with cloth; that when any moisture appeared, it was immediately dried up, and the bodies rubbed all over with perfumed cocoa-nut-oil; which, frequently repeated, preserved them several months; after which they moulded away gradually. Omiah informed us, that the bodies of all their great men, who die a natural death, are thus preserved; and are exposed to public view for a very considerable time after. At first, they are exhibited every fine day; afterwards, the intervals become greater and greater; and, at last, they are very seldom to be seen.

We quitted Oparre in the evening, leaving Otoo, and all the royal family. The Captain saw none of them till the 12th; when all, except the chief himself, honoured him with a visit. He was gone, they said, to Attahooroo, to assist at another human sacrifice, sent by the chief of Tiaraboo to be offered up at the morai. This second instance, within so short a period, was a melancholy proof, that the victims of this bloody superstition are very numerous amongst this humane people. The Captain would have been present at this sacrifice also, had he been earlier informed of it, but now it was too late. For the same reason, he omitted being present at a public transaction, at Oparre, the preceding day, when Otoo, with great solemnity, restored to the adherents of the late king Tootaha, the lands and possessions, of which, after his death, they had been deprived.

Otoo returned the next evening, from exercising the most disagreeable of his royal duties; and, the next day, being honoured with his company, the Captains Cook and Clerke, mounted on horseback, and rode round the plain of Matavai, to the astonishment of a vast train of spectators. Once or twice, before this, Omiah had, indeed, attempted to get on a horse; but he had as often



fallen off, before he could contrive to seat himself properly; this was, therefore, the first time they had seen any body on horse-back. What the Captains had begun, was repeated daily, by one or another of our people; and yet the curiosity of the natives continued unabated. After they had seen the use that was made of these animals, they were exceedingly delighted with them; and we were of opinion, that they conveyed to them a better idea of the greatness of other nations, than all the novelties, that their European visitors had carried amongst them.

The next day, Etary, or Olla, the god of Bolabola, removed from the neighbourhood of Matavia, to Oparre, attended by several sailing canoes. Otoo, we were told, did not approve of his being so near our station, where his people could more conveniently invade our property. Otoo, it must be acknowledged, took every prudent method to prevent thefts and robberies; and it was principally owing to his regulations, that so few were committed. He had erected a small house or two, behind our post; and two others near our tents, between the river and the sea. Some of his own people continually kept watch in all these places; and, as his father usually resided on Matavia Point, we were, in a manner, surrounded by them. They not only defended us in the night from thieves, but they had an opportunity of observing every thing that passed in the day; and were ready to receive contributions from such girls, as were privately connected with our people, which was usually done every morning; so that the measures he had taken to secure our safety, answered the more essential purpose of enlarging his own profits.

Otoo acquainted Capt. Cook, that his presence was required at Oparre, where an audience was to be given to the great personage from Bolabola, and begged he would accompany him thither. The Captain readily consented, expecting to meet with something deserving his notice. Accordingly, they set out on the 16th, attended by Mr. Anderson. Nothing, however, occurred, that was interesting or curious. Etary and his followers presented some coarse cloth and hogs to

Otoo, with some ceremony, and a set speech. After this, a consultation was held between them and some other chiefs, about their expedition to Eimeo. Etary, at first, disapproved of it; but his objections were at length over-ruled. It appeared, indeed, the next day, that it was too late to deliberate upon this business; for, in the evening, a messenger arrived with intelligence, that there had been some skirmishes, but that the loss or advantage, on either side, was inconsiderable.

Capt. Cook, Mr. Anderson, and Omai, in the morning of the 18th, went again to Oparre, accompanied by Otoo; taking with them the sheep which the Captain intended to leave upon the Island. They consisted of an English ram and ewe, and three Cape ewes; all which he made a present of to Otoo. All the three cows had taken the bull; he therefore thought it advisable to divide them, and carry some to Ulietea. With this view, he ordered them to be brought before him, and proposed to Etary, that if he would leave his bull with Otoo, he should have this, and one of the cows. To this proposal, Etary, at first started some objections; but, at last agreed to it; however, as the cattle were putting into the boat, one of Etary's followers opposed the making any exchange whatever.

The Captain, upon this, suspecting that Etary had agreed to the arrangement, for the present, only to please him, dropped the idea of an exchange; and finally determined to leave them all with Otoo; whom he strictly enjoined not to suffer them to be removed from Oparre, till he should have got a stock of young ones; which he might then dispose of to his friends, or send to the neighbouring Islands.

This matter being settled, our gentlemen left Etary and his party, and attended Otoo to another place, not far distant, where they found the servants of a chief, waiting with a hog, a pig, and a dog, as a present from their master to the king. These were delivered with the usual ceremonies, and an harangue, in which the speaker enquired after the health of Otoo, and of all his principal people. This compliment was re-echoed in the



name of Otoo, by one of his ministers; and then the dispute with Eimeo was formerly discussed. The deputies of this chief were advocates for prosecuting the war with vigour, advising Otoo to offer a human sacrifice on the occasion. A chief, who constantly attended the person of Otoo, opposed it, seemingly with great strength of argument. The Captain was now convinced that he never entered heartily into the spirit of this war. Having dined with Otoo, our party returned to Matavai, leaving him at Oparree.

On Friday, the 19th, we were very sparingly supplied with fruit, as we had been the day before. Otoo being informed of this, he, and his brother, who had particularly attached himself to Capt. Clerke, came from Oparree, with a large supply for both ships. Next day, the 20th, all the royal family came with presents, so that now we had more provisions than we could consume. Our water and wood having been already taken on board, nothing remained but to strike the tents, and bring off the things belonging to the officers and men who were stationed on shore; and the Commodore began to think of quitting the Island, that he might have sufficient time for visiting others in the neighbourhood. We therefore removed our observatories and instruments from the shore, and bent the sails. Several of the sailors being very desirous to stay at Otaheite, Otoo interested himself in their behalf, and endeavoured to prevail on Capt. Cook to grant their request; but he rejected peremptorily every application of that kind, though often repeated; nor would he suffer any of the natives to enter on board, though many would gladly have accompanied us wherever we intended to sail, and that too after they were assured, that we never intended to visit their country any more. Some of the women also would have followed their Ehoonoas, or Pretanne husbands, could they have been permitted; but our Commander was equally averse to the taking any of the natives away, as to the leaving any of our own people behind. He was sensible, that when once cloyed with enjoyment, they would reciprocally pine for home, to which

it would not be in their power to return; and that for a little present gratification, they would risk the happiness of the remaining part of their lives. The king, when he found he could not obtain his wishes in this respect, applied to Capt. Cook for another favour, which was to allow our carpenters to make him a chest, or press, to secure the treasures he had accumulated in presents; he even begged, that a bed might be placed in it, where he intended to sleep. This request the Captain readily granted; and while the workmen were employed, in making this uncommon piece of furniture, they were plentifully supplied with barbecued hogs, and such dainties as the country afforded, and were so carefully attended and protected, that they did not loose so much as a single nail. It was some of these workmen that Otoo was so desirous to retain; but they were of too much consequence on board to be parted with, had there been no other motive for bringing them away; nor was Otoo much concerned about the departure of the rest. While he was constant in attending the operations of our carpenters, Omiah had frequent conferences with him, on the subject of his travels. He astonished him more by the relation he gave of the magnificence of the Morais in Pretanne, than by all the wonders with which he had before surprised him. When he told him that the king's Morai was open to all comers, and that the persons of the deceased kings were to be seen as perfect to appearance as when in the vigour of youth, he seemed to lament, that his date of existence was to be limited with his life; and that his remains were to perish, while his Morai preserved no memorial, that he had ever had a being. Omiah endeavoured to impress him with an idea of the magnificence of the tombs of the dead that were to be seen in the Morais of Pretanne; but having nothing to compare them to, he was unable to make himself sufficiently understood; nor was he more successful in describing the solemn grandeur of the places of public worship, where the people assembled every seventh day, and at other stated times, to offer up their prayers to the good Spirit. Of the splendour of the theatres, he



could speak more intelligibly. When Omiah told Otoo of the magnitude of the palaces, and houses, in Pretanne; of their decoration and furniture; of the extent of their plantations; and the multitude of living animals with which they were stocked; he listened to him with peculiar attention, as not doubting the truth of his relation; but when he attempted to describe the roads, and the rapidity with which people travel in carriages, drawn by four footed animals, he seemed all amazement: no child could ever express greater surprize at Gulliver's travelling to the moon on ganzas, than Otoo, when Omiah assured him, they could traverse an extent of ground equal to the whole Island of Otaheite, in a single day.

On Sunday the 21st, Otoo came on board, to inform us, that the war canoes of Matavai, and of three other districts, were going to join those belonging to Oparree, and that part of the Island, where there would be a general review. The squadron of Matavai was soon in motion, and after parading for some time about the bay, assembled ashore, near the middle of it. Capt. Cook now went in his boat to take a survey of it. What they call their war canoes, which are those with stages whereon they fight, amount to about sixty in number; and there are nearly as many more of a smaller size. The Captain was ready to have attended them to Oparree, but the chiefs resolved that they would not move till the next day. This happened to be a fortunate delay; as it afforded him an opportunity of getting some insight into their manner of fighting. He therefore desired Otoo to give orders, that some of them should go through the necessary manœuvres. Accordingly two of them were ordered out into the bay; in one of which Otoo, Capt. Cook, and Mr. King embarked, and Omiah went on board the other. As soon as they had got sufficient sea room, they faced, advanced, and retreated by turns, as quick as their rowers could paddle. In the mean time, the warriors on the stages flourished their weapons, and played a variety of antic tricks, which could answer no other purpose than that of rousing their passions, to prepare them for the onset. Otoo stood by the

side of one stage, giving the necessary orders when to advance, and when to retreat. Great judgment, and a very quick eye seems to be requisite in this department, to seize every advantage, and to avoid every disadvantage. At length the two canoes closed stage to stage; and after a severe, though short conflict, all the troops on Otoo's stage were supposed to be killed, and Omiah and his associates boarded them; when instantly Otoo, and the paddlers in his canoe, leaped into the sea, as if reduced to the necessity of preserving their lives by swimming. But, according to Omiah's representation, their naval engagements are not always conducted in this manner: for they sometimes lash the two vessels together head to head, and fight till all the warriors on one side or the other are killed; yet this close combat is never practised, except when the contending parties are determined to conquer, or die. Indeed, in this instance, one or the other must infallibly happen; for they never give quarter, unless it be to reserve their prisoners for a more cruel death the day following. All the power and strength of the Society Islands lie solely in the navies. A general engagement on land we never heard of; and all their decisive actions are on the water. When the time and place of battle are fixed by both parties, the preceding day and night are spent in feasting and diversions. When the day dawns, they launch the canoes, make every necessary preparation, and with the day begin the battle; the fate of which, in general, decides the dispute. The vanquished endeavour to save themselves by a precipitate flight; and those who reach the shore, fly, with their friends, to the mountains; for the victors, before their fury abates, spare neither the aged, women, nor children. They assemble the next day, at the Morai, to return thanks to the Eatooa for the victory; and offer there the slain and the prisoners, as sacrifices. A treaty is then set on foot; and the conquerors obtain usually their own terms; whereby large districts of land, and even whole islands, sometimes change their proprietors and masters. Omiah said he was once taken prisoner by the men of B-labola, and conducted to that Island, where



he; and many others would have suffered death the next day, had they not been fortunate enough to escape in the night.

When the mock-fight was concluded, Omiah put on his suit of armour, mounted a stage in one of the canoes, and thus equipped, was paddled all along the shore of the bay, that every one might have a perfect view of him. His coat of mail, however, did not engage the attention of the multitude so much as was expected; the novelty being in a great degree lost upon some of them, who had seen it before; and there were others, who had conceived such a dislike to Omiah, from his folly and imprudence at this place, that they would hardly look at any thing that was exhibited by him however singular and new. This day notice had been given to Otoo of our intention to sail with the first fair wind; in consequence of which on the 22nd, in the morning, he came on board, desiring to know when we proposed to depart, and, at the same time expressing great concern at our sudden resolution. He brought with him hogs, fruit, and other valuable productions of the Island. No people on earth could express their gratitude with more seeming sincerity and cordiality, than the king and his chiefs, for the presents they had received, nor were our commander and officers wanting in suitable returns. The Captain having heard of there being a good harbour at Eimeo, had informed Otoo and his party, that he would visit that Island in his passage to Huaheine; and they proposed now to accompany him, and that their fleet should sail, at the same time, to reinforce Towha. Being ready to take our departure, the Captain submitted to them the appointment of the day. The Wednesday following was fixed upon, when he was to receive on board Otoo, his father, mother, and the whole family. These points settled, Captain Cook proposed setting out immediately for Oparree, where all the fleet was to assemble this day, in order to be reviewed. But as he was getting into his boat, news arrived, that a treaty had been concluded between Towha and Maheine, and that Towha's fleet returned to Atahooroo. From this unexpected event, the war canoes, instead of rendezvous-

ing at Oparree, were ordered to their respective districts. Captain Cook, however, followed Otoo to Oparree, accompanied by Mr. King and Omiah. Soon after their arrival a messenger from Eimeo made known the conditions of the peace, or rather truce, it being only for a limited time. The terms being disadvantageous to Otaheite, Otoo was censured severely, whose delay, it was said in sending reinforcements, had obliged Towha to submit to a disgraceful accommodation. It was at the same time, currently reported, that Towha resenting the treatment he had received, had declared, that immediately after our departure, he would join his forces to those of Tiaraboo, and attack Otoo. This called upon the Captain to declare, that he was determined to espouse the interest of his friend; and that whoever presumed to attack him, by any combination of parties, should experience the weight of his displeasure, when he returned to that Island. This declaration, probably, had the desired effect: for, if Towha did entertain any such hostile intention at first, we heard no more of the report. Whappai, the father of Otoo, highly disapproved of the peace, and censured Towha for concluding. This old chief wisely considered, that Capt. Cook's going with them to Eimeo, might have been of singular service to their cause, though he should not take an active part in the quarrel. He therefore concluded, that Otoo had acted prudently in waiting for the Captain, though it prevented his giving that early assistance to Towha which he expected. While we were discoursing on this subject, a messenger arrived from Towha, desiring the attendance of Otoo the next day, at the Morai in Attahooroo, to return thanks to the Eatooa for the peace he had concluded. Capt. Cook's company was requested, but being much out of order, chose to decline attending them. Desirous, however, of knowing what ceremony might be exhibited on such an occasion, he sent Mr. King and Omiah to observe the particulars, and returned on board, attended by Otoo's mother, his three sisters, and several other women. At first, the Captain imagined that this numerous train came into his boat, in order to get a passage-



to Matavai. But they assured him, they intended passing the night on board, for the purpose of curing the disorder he complained of, which was a rheumatic pain, extending from the hip to the foot. He accepted the friendly offer, had a bed prepared for them upon the cabin floor, and submitted himself to their directions. He was first desired to lie down amongst them, when all those who could get near him, began to squeeze him with both hands all over the body, but more particularly on the parts complained of, till they made his bones crack, and his flesh became almost a mummy. In short, after suffering this severe discipline about a quarter of an hour, he was happy to get away from them. The operation, however, gave him immediate relief, and encouraged him to undergo a repetition of the same discipline, before he retired to bed; and it was so effectual, that he found himself pretty easy the whole night after. His female physicians very obligingly repeated their prescription the next morning, before they left him, and again in the evening, when they returned; after which, the cure being perfected, they took their leave of the Captain the following morning. This is called by the natives *romée*, an operation far exceeding that of the flesh-brush, or any external friction. It is universally practised among these Islanders. Capt. Wallis, and his first lieutenant, had the same operation performed upon them. If at any time a person appears languid and tired, and sits down by any of them, they practice the *romée* upon his legs, and it always has an exceeding good effect.

On Thursday the 25th, Otoo, Mr. King, and Omiah, returned from Attahooroo; and Mr. King favoured us with a narrative of what he had seen to the following purport. "At sun set, we embarked in a canoe, and left Oparree. About nine o'clock, we landed at that extremity of Tettaha, which joins to Attahooroo. The meeting of Otoo and Towha I expected would be interesting. Otoo, and his attendants, seated themselves on the beach, near the canoe in which Towha sat. He was then asleep; but being awakened, and Otoo's name mentioned to him, a plantain tree and dog were immediately laid at

Otoo's feet; and several of Towha's people came and conversed with him. After I had been, for some time, seated close to Otoo, Towha neither stirring from his canoe, nor saying any thing to us, I repaired to him. He asked me, if Toote was displeased with him? I answered no; that he was his *taio*; and that I was ordered to repair to Attahooroo, to let him know it. Omiah then entered into a long conversation with this chief, but I could not gather any information from him. On my returning to Otoo, he desired that I would go to eat, and then to sleep; in consequence of which Omiah and I left him. On my questioning Omiah on that head, he said, Towha was lame, and therefore could not stir; but that he and Otoo would soon converse in private. This was probably true; for those we left with Otoo came to us in a little time, and about ten minutes after, Otoo himself arrived, when we all went to sleep in his canoe. The next morning the *ava* was in great plenty. One man drank to such excess that he lost his senses, and appeared to be convulsed. He was held by two men, who busied themselves in plucking off his hair by the roots. I left this spectacle to see a more affecting one; it was the meeting of Towha and his wife, with a young girl, who was said to be his daughter. After the ceremony of cutting their heads, and discharging plenty of blood and tears, they washed, embraced the chief, and appeared perfectly unconcerned. But the young girl's sufferings were not yet concluded, Terridiri (Oberea's son) arrived; and she, with great composure, repeated those ceremonies to him, which she had just performed on meeting her father. Towha having brought in a war canoe from Bineo, I inquired if he had killed the people belonging to her, and was informed, that there was not a single person in her when she was captured. About ten o'clock we left Tettaha, and landed close to the Morai of Attahooroo, early in the afternoon. Three canoes lay hauled upon the beach, opposite the Morai, having three hogs in each. We expected the solemnity would have been performed the same afternoon, but nothing was done, as neither Towha nor Potatou had



joined us. A chief came from Eimeo with a small pig, and a plantain tree, which he placed at Otoo's feet. They conversed some time together, and the Eimeo chief often repeating the words warry, warry, "false," Otoo was probably relating to him what he had heard, and the other contradicted it. The next day, Towha and Potatou, with seven or eight large canoes, arrived and landed near the Morai. Several plantain trees were brought to Otoo, on behalf of different chiefs. Towha remained in his canoe. The ceremony commenced, by the principal priest bringing out the maro, wrapped up, and a bundle of a conic shape. These were placed at the head of what I supposed to be a grave. Then three priests sat down at the other end of the grave, having with them a plantain tree, a branch of some other kind of tree, and the sheath of the flower of the cocoa-nut. The priests separately repeated sentences; and at intervals, two, sometimes three, chanted a melancholy lay, very little attended to by the natives. This kind of recitative continued near an hour. Then, after a short prayer, the chief priest uncovered the maro, and Otoo rose up, wrapping it about him, and holding in his hand a bonnet, composed of the red feathers of the tropic bird, mixed with other blackish feathers. He stood opposite the three priests, who continued their prayers for about ten minutes; when a man rising suddenly from the crowd, said something ending with heiva, and the people echoed back to him three times earee! The company then repaired to the opposite side of a large pile of stones, where is the king's Morai, which is not much unlike a large grave. Here the same ceremony was again performed, and ended with three cheers. The maro was now wrapped up, and ornamented by the addition of a small piece of red feathers. The people proceeded to a large hut near the Morai, where they seated themselves in solemn order. An oration was made by a man of Tiaraboo, which ended in about ten minutes. He was followed by another of Attahooroo: Potatou spoke next, and with much more fluency and grace than any of them. Tooteo, Otoo's orator, exhibited after him, and then a man

from Eimeo. Some other speeches were made, but not attended to. Omiah said that the substance of their speeches recommended friendship, and not fighting: but as many of the speakers expressed themselves with great warmth, there were, perhaps, some reprimands and protestations of their future good intentions. In the midst of their harangues, a man of Attahooroo rose up, having a sling fastened to his waist, and a large stone upon his shoulder. After parading for about fifteen minutes in the open space, and chanting a few short sentences, he threw the stone down. This stone, together with a plantain tree that lay at Otoo's feet, were at the conclusion of the speeches, carried to the Morai, one of the priests, and Otoo with him, saying something on the occasion. Returning to Oparree, the sea breeze having set in, we were obliged to land, and had a pleasant walk from Tettaha to Oparree. A tree, with two large bundles of dried leaves suspended upon it, pointed out the boundary of the two districts. We were accompanied by the man who had performed the ceremony of the stone and sling. With him Otoo's father held a long conversation, and appeared extremely angry. He was enraged, as I understood, at the part which Towha had taken in the Eimeo business."

From what can be judged of this solemnity, as related from Mr. King, it had been only a thanksgiving, as Omiah told us, but rather a confirmation of the treaty. The grave, mentioned by Mr. King, appear to be the very spot where the celebration of the rites began, when the human sacrifice was offered, at which Captain Cook was present, and before which the victim was laid. It is here also that they first invest their kings with the maro. Omiah, who had seen the ceremony when Otoo was made king, described the whole solemnity when we were here; which is nearly the same as that now related by Mr. King, though perhaps upon a very different occasion. The plantain-tree is always the first thing introduced in all their religious ceremonies, as well as in all their public and private debates, and probably on many other occasions. While Towha was at Eimeo, he sent one or more messengers to



Otoo every day. Every messenger, at all times, carried a young plantain-tree in his hand, which he laid at the feet of Otoo before he mentioned his errand, after which he seated himself before him and related particulars. When two men are in such high dispute that blows are expected to ensue, if one should lay a plantain tree before the other, they both become cool, and proceed in the argument without farther animosity. It is indeed the olive branch of these people upon all occasions.

On Friday, the 26th, all the women were ordered to be put on shore; a task not easily effected, most of them being very unwilling to depart: nor was it of much consequence, as they found means to follow us afterwards to Huaheine, Ulietea, and the other Society Isles; nor did they leave us till our final departure to our northern discoveries, never more to return. Our friends knowing, by this, we were upon the point of sailing, they all paid us a visit, and brought more hogs than we wanted; for we had sufficient for our present use, and had no salt left to preserve any. On the 27th, Capt. Cook accompanied Otoo to Oparree; and before he left it, took a survey of the cattle and poultry which he had consigned to his friend's care. Every thing was in a promising way, and properly attended to. Two of the geese, and two of the ducks were sitting; but the pea-hen and turkey-hen had neither of them began to lay. He took four goats from Otoo, two of which he intended to leave at Ulietea; and to reserve two for the use of any other Islands he might touch at in his passage to the north. On the 28th, Otoo came on board, and informed Capt. Cook that he had a canoe, which he desired he would take with him as a present from the Earee of Otaheiteto the Eareerahie no Pretanne. The Captain was highly pleased with Otoo for this mark of his gratitude. At first, the Captain supposed it to have been a model of one of their vessels of war, but it proved to be a small ivahia, about 16 feet long. It was double, and probably had been built for the purpose, and was decorated with carved work, like their canoes in general. It being too large to take on board, the Cap-

tain could only thank him for his good intention, but the king would have been much better pleased if his present could have been accepted. The following circumstance, concerning Otoo, will shew that the people of this Island are capable of much address and art to accomplish their purposes. Among other things which the Captain had at different times given to this chief, was a spying-glass: having been two or three days possessed of it, he perhaps grew tired of his glass, or discovered that it could not be of any use to him; he therefore carried it privately to Capt. Clerke, telling him, that he had got a present for him, in return for his friendship, which he supposed would be agreeable; "but (says Otoo) Toote must not be informed of this, because he wanted it, and I refused to let him have it." Accordingly, he put the glass into Captain Clerke's hands, assuring him, at the same time, that he came honestly by it. Captain Clerke, at first, wished to be excused from accepting it; but Otoo insisted that he should, and left it with him. A few days after, he reminded Captain Clerke of the glass; who, though he did not wish to have it, was yet desirous of obliging Otoo; and thinking a few axes would be most acceptable, produced four, and offered them in exchange. Otoo immediately exclaimed, "Tooto offered me five for it." Well, says Captain Clerke, if that be the case, you shall not be a loser by your friendship for me: there are six axes for you. He readily accepted them, but again desired that Capt. Cook might not be made acquainted with the transaction.

By calms, and gentle breezes from the west, we were detained here some time longer than we expected, during which the ships were crowded with our friends, and surrounded with canoes, for none of them would quit the place till we departed. At length, on Monday the 29th, at three o'clock P. M. the wind came at east, and we weighed anchor. When the Resolution and Discovery were under sail, to oblige Otoo, and to gratify the curiosity of his people, we fired several guns; after which all our friends, except his majesty, and two or three



more, took leave of us with such lively marks of sorrow and affection, as sufficiently testified how much they regretted our departure. Otoo being desirous of seeing the Resolution sail, she made a stretch out to sea, and then in again immediately, when the king took his last farewell, and went ashore in his canoe. It was strictly enjoined to the Captain by Otoo, to request, in his name the Eareerahie no Pretanne, to send him by the next ship some red feathers, and the birds which produce them, also axes, half a dozen muskets, powder and shot, and by no means to forget horses. When these people make us a present, it is customary for them to let us know what they expect in return; and we find it convenient to gratify them, by which means our presents come dearer to us than what we obtain by barter. But being sometimes pressed by occasional scarcity, we could have recourse to our friends for a supply, as a present, when we could not get it by any other method. Upon the whole, therefore, this way of traffic was full as advantageous to us as to the natives. In general, we paid for each lot or separate article as we received them, except in our intercourse with Otoo. His presents were so numerous, that no account was kept between him and the Captain. Whatever the chief desired, if it could be spared, was never denied him, and the Captain always found him moderate in his demands.

If the Captain could have prevailed on Omiah to fix his residence at Otaheite, we should not have quitted this Island so soon as we did: for there was not even a probability of our being better supplied with provisions elsewhere, than we continued to be here, even at the time of our leaving it. Besides, such a friendship and confidence subsisted between us and the inhabitants, as could hardly be expected at any other place; and it was rather extraordinary, had never once been interrupted or suspended by any accident or misunderstanding, nor had there been a theft committed worthy of notice. It is probable, however, that their regularity of conduct resulted from their fear of interrupting a traffic which

might procure them a greater share of our commodities than they could obtain by plunder or pilfering. This point, indeed, was settled, in some degree, at the first interview with their chiefs, after our arrival: for the Commodore declared then to the natives, in the most decisive terms, that he would not suffer them to rob us, as they had formerly done. Omiah was singularly useful in this business, being instructed by the Captain to point out to them the happy consequences of their honest conduct, and the fatal mischiefs that must attend a deviation from it. But the chiefs have it not always in their power to prevent thefts; they are often robbed themselves, and complain of it as the worst of evils. The most valuable things that Otoo received from us, were left in the Captain's possession till the day before we sailed, the king declaring that they could be no where so safe. From the acquisition of new riches, the inducements to pilfering must certainly have increased, and the chiefs are sensible of this, from their being so extremely desirous of having chests. The few that the Spaniards left among them are highly prized, and they are continually asking us for some. We have already mentioned one having been made for Otoo, at his request, the dimensions of which were eight feet in length, five in breadth, and about three in depth. Locks and bolts are not considered as a sufficient security, but it must be large enough for two people to sleep upon, and consequently guarded it in the night.

It may appear extraordinary, that we could not get any distinct account of the time when the Spaniards arrived, the time they staid, and when they departed. The more we made enquiry into this matter, the more we were convinced of the incapability of most of these people to remember, calculate, or note the time, when past events happened, especially, if for a longer period than eighteen or twenty months. It however appeared, from the inscription upon the cross, and by the information of the natives, that two ships came to Oheitepeha Bay, in 1774, not long after Capt. Cook left Matavai, which was in May the same year. The live stock they left here, consisted of one bull, some goats,



hogs, and dogs, and the male of another animal, which we were afterwards informed was a ram, at this time at Bolabola. The hogs, being large, have already much improved the breed originally found by us upon the Island; and on our arrival, were very numerous. Goats are also in plenty, there being hardly a chief without them. The dogs that the Spaniards put ashore are of two or three sorts; had they all been hanged, instead of being left upon the Island, it would have been better for the natives. A young ram we had fell a victim to one of these animals. Four Spaniards remained on shore when their ships left the Island, two of whom were priests, one a servant, and the other was much caressed among the natives, who distinguish him by the name of Mateema. He seems to have so far studied their language, as to have been able to speak it; and to have been indefatigable in impressing in the minds of the Otaheiteans exalted ideas of the greatness of the Spanish nation, and inducing them to think meanly of that of the English. He even assured them, that we no longer existed as an independent nation; that Pretanne was but a small Island, which they had entirely destroyed: and as to Captain Cook, they had met with him at sea, and with a few shot had sent his ship, and every soul in her to the bottom, so that his visiting Otaheite was, of course, at this time, very unexpected. Many other improbabilities were propagated by this Spaniard, and believed by the inhabitants; but Capt. Cook's returning to Otaheite was considered as a complete refutation of all that Mateema had advanced. With what views the priests remained, cannot easily be conceived. If it was their intention to convert the natives to the Catholic faith, they certainly have not succeeded in a single instance. It does not appear, indeed, that they ever attempted it; for the natives say, they never conversed with them, either on this, or any other subject. The priests resided the whole time at Oheitepeha, but Mateema roved about continually, visiting many parts of the Island. After he and his companions had staid ten months, two ships arriving at Otaheite, took them aboard, and sailed in five days. Whatever

design the Spaniards might have had upon this Island, their hasty departure shews they have now laid it aside. They endeavoured to make the natives believe, that they intended to return, and would bring with them houses, all kinds of animals, and men and women who were to settle on the Island. Otoo, when he mentioned this to Capt. Cook, added, that if the Spaniards should return, he would not permit them to enter Matavai fort, which, he said, was ours'. The idea pleased him; but he did not consider that an attempt to complete it would deprive him of his kingdom, and his people of their liberty. Though this shews how easily a settlement might be effected at Otaheite, it is hoped, that such an event might never take place. Our occasional visits may have been of service to its inhabitants, but (considering how most European establishments among Indian nations are conducted) a permanent settlement at this Island would, probably, give them just cause to lament that our ships had ever discovered it. Indeed, a measure of this kind can hardly ever be seriously thought of, as it can neither answer the purposes of public ambition, nor of private avarice.

We have already observed, that Captain Cook received a visit from one of the two natives of this Island who had been taken to Lima by the Spaniards. It is somewhat remarkable that we never saw him afterwards, especially as the Captain received him with uncommon civility. It was supposed that Omiah, from motives of jealousy, had kept him from the Captain, he being a traveller, who, in some degree, might vie with himself. Our touching at Teneriffe was a lucky circumstance for Omiah, who prided himself in having visited a place belonging to Spain, as well as this man. Captain Clerke, who had seen the other traveller, spoke of him as a low fellow, a little out of his senses; and his own countrymen entertained the same opinion of him. In short, those two adventurers seemed to be held in little or no esteem. They had not been so fortunate, it is true, as to return home with such valuable property as had been bestowed upon Omiah, whose advantages are so great from having been at



England, that if he should sink into his original state of indolence, he has only himself to blame for it; and we are inclined to think this will be the consequence of his indiscreet behaviour. Some time before, the Captain, his unchangeable friend and patron, had made up a suit of colours for him, but he considered them too valuable to be used at this time, and therefore patched up a parcel of flags and pendants, to the number of ten or a dozen, which he spread on different parts of his canoe. This, as might be expected, drew a great number of people to look at her. He had completely stocked himself with cloth and cocoa-nut oil, which are better and more plentiful at Otaheite than at any of the Society Isles, insomuch, that they are considered as articles of trade. Omiah would not have behaved so inconsistently, as he did in many instances, had it not been for his sister and brother-in-law, who together with a few select companions, engrossed him to themselves, in order to strip him of every article he possessed: and they would certainly have succeeded, if Captain Cook had not taken the most useful articles of his property into his possession. However, Omiah would not have been saved from ruin, if the Captain had permitted these relations and friends of his, to have accompanied him to his intended place of settlement at Huaheine. This, indeed, was their intention, but our Commodore disappointed their farther views of plunder, by forbidding them to appear at Huaheine, while he continued at the Society Islands, and they knew him well enough not to comply.

On Tuesday, the 30th, having sailed from Otaheite, we continued our course under doubled reefed topsails, and stood for the north end of the island of Eimeo. Omiah, in his canoe, arrived there before us, and endeavoured, by taking some necessary measures, to shew us the best anchoring place. We were not however, without pilots, having several natives of Otaheite on board, and among them not a few women. Unwilling to rely wholly on these guides, two boats were sent to examine the harbour, when, observing the signal made for safe anchorage, we stood in with both the ships close up to the

head of the inlet, where we cast anchor in ten fathoms water, over a bottom of soft mud, and moored with a hawser fast to the shore. The name of this harbour is Taloo. It is situated on the north side of the island, and in the district of Oboonohoo, or Poonohoo, and runs above two miles between the hills, S. or S. by E. It is not inferior to any harbour that we have met with in this ocean, both for security and goodness of bottom. It has also this singular advantage, that a ship can sail in and out with the reigning trading wind. Several rivers fall into it, one of which is so considerable, as to admit boats a quarter of a mile up, where the water is perfectly fresh. The banks, on the sides of this stream, are covered with what the natives call the Poo-roo-tree, on which they set no value, as it serves only for firing: so that wood and water may be procured here with great facility. The harbour of Parowroah, on the same side of the Island, is about two miles to the eastward, and is much larger within than that of Taloo; but the opening in the reef lies to leeward of the harbour, and is considerably narrower. There are two or three more harbours on the south side of the Island, but they are not so considerable as those we have already mentioned. We were received by the natives of Eimeo with every mark of hospitality, great numbers of whom came aboard the ships, but from mere motives of curiosity for they brought nothing with them for the purposes of barter.

On Wednesday the 1st of October, our live stock was landed, our carpenters sent out to cut wood, and our purveyors to collect hogs. Here we found Omiah, who, on his arrival, had been diverting himself and the natives with his feats of arms and had raised their curiosity to a very high degree, by acquainting them with our intention of paying them a visit, as no European ship had ever anchored at their Island before. The next day, being the 2nd, several canoes arrived, from distant parts, bringing with them a copious supply of bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and a few hogs, which were exchanged for beads, nails and hatchets; red feathers being not so much demanded here as at Otaheite. This day, in the morning, Captain Cook received a visit



from Maheine, the chief of the Island. He approached the ship with as great caution and deliberation, as if he apprehended mischief from us, knowing us to be friends of the Otaheiteans ; for these people have no idea that we can be in friendship with any one without adopting his cause against his enemies. This chief was accompanied by his wife, who, we are told, is sister to Oamo, of Otaheite, whose death we heard of while we remained at this Island. Captain Cook made them presents of such articles as seemed most to strike their fancy ; and after staying about half an hour, they went on shore ; soon after they returned with a large hog, presenting it as a return for the Captain's favour ; but he made them an additional gift to the full value of it ; after which they went on board the *Discovery* to visit Captain Clerke. Maheine, supported with a few adherents, has made himself, in some degree, independent of Otaheite. He is between forty and fifty years of age, and is bald-headed, a circumstance rather uncommon, in these Islands at that age. He seemed ashamed of shewing his head, and wore a kind of turban to conceal it. Whether they considered this deficiency of hair disgraceful, or whether they supposed we considered it in that light, is not easy to determine ; the latter, however, appears the most probable, from the circumstance of their having seen us shave the head of one of the natives, whom we detected stealing. They naturally concluded, therefore, that this was a kind of punishment inflicted by us upon all thieves ; and some of our gentlemen, whose heads were but thinly covered with hair, were violently suspected by them of being tetos. Towards the evening, Captain Cook and Omiah mounted on horseback, and rode along the shore. Omiah having forbid the natives to follow us, our train was not very numerous ; the fear of giving offence having got the better of their curiosity. The fleet of Towha had been stationed in this harbour, and though the war was but of short duration, the marks of its devastation were very numerous, and every where conspicuous. The trees had lost all their fruit, and the houses in the

neighbourhood had been burnt, or otherwise destroyed.

On Monday the 6th, we hauled the ship off into the stream, intending to put to sea the next day, but the following disagreeable incident prevented it. We had, in the morning, sent off our goats ashore to graze ; and in the evening, the natives contrived to steal one of them, notwithstanding two men had been appointed to look after them. This was a considerable loss, as it interfered with the Captain's views of stocking other Islands with those animals : he therefore was determined, if possible, to recover it. On the 7th, we received intelligence that it had been conveyed to Maheine, who was at that time, at Porowroah harbour. Two elderly men offered their services to conduct any of our people to him, in order to bring back the goat. The Captain, therefore, dispatched some of our people in a boat, charged with a message to that chief, and insisted on both the goat and the thief being immediately given up. Maheine had, only the day before, requested the Commodore to give him two goats : but, as there were none of these animals at some other Islands, he refused to gratify him. Willing, however, to oblige him in this particular, he desired an Otaheitean chief, then present, to request of Otoo, in his name, to convey two goats to Maheine, and to ensure his compliance, sent him, by the same chief, a quantity of red feathers, equal in value to the two goats that were required. The Commodore expected that Maheine, and all the other chiefs of the Island, would have been perfectly satisfied with this arrangement ; but he was mistaken, as the event clearly proves. Little suspecting that any one would presume to steal a second, while the necessary measures were taking to recover the first, the goats were again put ashore this morning ; and a boat, as usual, was sent for them in the evening. While our people were getting them into the boat one was conveyed away undiscovered. As it was missed immediately, we expected to recover it without much trouble, as it could not have been carried to any considerable distance. Several of the natives set out



after it, different ways; for they all endeavoured to persuade us, that it must have strayed into the woods; not one of them admitting that it was stolen. We were, however, convinced of the contrary, when we found not one of the pursuers returned: their intention being only to amuse us, till their prize was safely deposited; and night coming on prevented all farther search. At this instant, the boat returned with the other goat, and one of the persons who had purloined it. The next morning, being Wednesday the 8th, most of the natives were moved off. They had carried with them a corpse that lay on a toopapoo, opposite the ship; and Maheine, we were informed, had retired, to the remotest part of the Island. It now plainly appeared, that a regular plan had been projected to steal what the Commodore had refused to give; and that, having restored one, they were determined not to part with the other, which was a female, and with kid; and the Commodore was equally resolved to have it back again: he therefore applied to the two elderly men, who had been instrumental in recovering the first, who informed him that this had been taken to a place on the south side of the Island, called Watea, by Hamoa, who was the chief of that district; but that it would be delivered up, if we sent and demanded it. They shewed a willingness to conduct some of our people to the spot; but finding that a boat might go and return in one day, one was immediately dispatched with two of our officers, Mr. Roberts. and Mr. Shuttleworth; one to remain with the boat, if she could not get to the place, while the other went with the guides, accompanied by some of our people. The boat returned in the evening, when we were informed by the officers, that, after proceeding in the boat as far as rocks and shoals would permit, Mr. Shuttleworth landed; and, attended with two marines, and one of the guides, went to the house of Hamoa, at Watea, where, for some time, they were amused by the natives, who pretended they had sent for the goat, and that it would soon be produced. But as it did not arrive, and night approaching, Mr. Shuttleworth resolved to give over the fruit-

less search, and return to his boat. Capt. Cook now lamented that he had proceeded so far in the business, seeing he could not retreat with credit, nor without giving encouragement to other Islanders to rob us with impunity. Upon consulting with Omiah, and the two old men, they advised us, without hesitation, to advance up the country with a party of men, and shoot every person they should meet with. The Captain did not approve of the bloody part of this counsel; nevertheless, early the next morning, being the 9th, he set out with thirty-five of our people, accompanied by Omiah, one of the old men, and three attendants. Lieutenant Williamson was also ordered round the western part of the Island, with three armed boats, to meet us. We had no sooner landed, than the few remaining natives fled before us. The first person we met with on our march, was in a kind of perilous situation; for Omiah, the instant he beheld him, asked Capt. Cook if he should shoot him; so fully was he persuaded, that the advice given us was immediately to be carried into execution; but the Captain gave orders both to him and our guide, to let it be made known, that it was not our intention to destroy a single native. These joyful tidings soon circulated, and prevented the flight of the inhabitants. Ascending the ridge of hills, on our road to Watea, we were informed that the goat had been carried the same way and could hardly have passed the hills: we therefore marched up in great silence, expecting to surprise the party who were bearing off the prize; but, when we arrived at the uppermost plantation, we were told, that the animal we were in search of, had, indeed, been kept there the first night, but, the next morning, was conveyed to Watea. We made no further enquiry, till we came within sight of Watea, where we were directed to Hamoa's house by some people, who also informed us, that the goat was there. We fully expected to obtain it on our arrival; but, having reached the house, the people there denied that they had ever seen it, or knew anything about it. Hamoa himself appeared, and expressed himself to the same effect. On



our first coming to Watea, several men were seen, running to and fro in the woods, with clubs and darts in their hands; and Omiah, who had ran towards them, was assaulted with stones: hence it appeared, that they intended to oppose any attempt that we might be induced to make; but on seeing the strength of our party, had given up the design: we were confirmed in this opinion, by observing, that all their houses were empty. After having collected a few of the natives together, Omiah was directed to expostulate with them on the absurdity of their conduct, and to let them know, we had received sufficient information that the goat was in their possession; and that, if it was not without delay delivered up, we should burn all their houses and canoes; yet notwithstanding this expostulation, they persisted in their denial of having any knowledge of it: in consequence of which we set fire to eight of their houses, and three war canoes, all which were presently consumed. We afterwards marched off to join the boats, at that time eight miles from us; and, in our route, burnt six other war canoes, without any opposition; on the contrary, many of the natives assisted us, perhaps, more from fear than any other motive. Omiah, who was at some distance before us, came back with information that a number of men were assembled to attack us. We prepared to receive them; but instead of enemies, they were petitioners, with plantain trees in their hands, which they laid down before us, entreating the Commodore to spare a canoe that lay upon the spot, which he readily complied with. About four o'clock, in the afternoon, we arrived at Wharrarade, where our boats were waiting for us. This district belongs to Tiarataboonone; but this chief, together with the other principal people of the place, had fled to the hills; though we made no attack on their property, they being in amity with Otoo. Here we remained about an hour, in order to rest ourselves, and afterwards set out for the ships, where we arrived at eight o'clock in the evening; but no tidings of the goat had, at that time, been received; and, of course the operations of the day had been ineffectual.

On Friday the 10th, in the morning a messenger was sent off to Maheine, charged with this peremptory resolution of the Captain, that if he persisted in his refusal to deliver up the goat, a single canoe should not be left upon the Island; and that hostilities should never cease, while the stolen animal remained in his possession. That the messenger might perceive the Captain was in earnest, he ordered the carpenter, in his presence to break up three canoes that lay at the head of the harbour; and, by his order, the planks were taken on board, to serve as materials to build a house for Omiah, at the place where he intended to fix his residence. From hence, our Commander, properly attended, went to the next harbour, where he destroyed eight more canoes, and returned on board about seven in the evening. On his arrival, he was informed, that the goat had been returned half an hour before; and it appeared from good intelligence, that it came from the very place, where the inhabitants, the day before, declared they knew nothing about it; but, from the message delivered to the chief in the morning, he perceived, that the Captain was not to be trifled with. Thus ended this troublesome and unfortunate business, equally to be regretted by the natives, and by Capt. Cook. He was grieved to reflect, that, after refusing to assist his friends at Otahete, in the invasion of this Island, he should so soon be obliged to engage in hostilities against its inhabitants; which, perhaps, were more injurious to them, than Towha's expedition. In a memorandum of occurrences, penned by one of our officers, we find a much less favourable account of this affair than the above; the circumstances are thus related by that gentleman.

"On the 2nd of October, Maheine accompanied by other chiefs, came on board the Discovery, with large hogs by way of presents; and were presented in return with axes, hatchets, looking-glasses, &c. our purveyors were likewise much gratified, by the success they met with in marketing; purchasing the largest hogs for the merest trifles; as for instance a hog of two hundred weight, for twelve red feathers, and so in proportion. But this friendly intercourse was soon changed to a



scene of desolation, that no injury we received from the pilfering disposition of the inhabitants could justify. The people had brought us every thing their Island afforded, and had left it to the generosity of the purchasers to give, in return, whatever they pleased: but unfortunately a goat from our live stock was missing. It had been secretly conveyed away in the night, from the pastures in which they were placed to feed, notwithstanding the vigilance of the guard appointed to look after them. With the loss of this animal, (no doubt a great prize to the thief,) the Earee of the Island was made acquainted by Captain Cook, and a peremptory requisition made to have it restored, on pain of having his country laid waste, his shipping destroyed, and himself personally punished for the crime of his subjects. The king promised his assistance, and required time for enquiry; but as soon as he was set at liberty, he absconded, and was no more seen. The goat being still missing, and no means used for recovering and restoring it, a party from both ships, with the marines in a body, were ordered out, to carry the threats of our Commander into execution. For three days, successively, they continued their devastations, burning and destroying two hundred of the best houses of the inhabitants, and as many of their large war canoes; at the same time, cutting down their fruit trees, and destroying their plantations. The natives who lived at a distance, hearing of the havoc that was made near the bay, filled their canoes with stones and sunk them, with a view to their preservation; but that availed them nothing; for the Captain ordered boats to be manned and armed; the canoes that were sunk to be weighed up and destroyed; in short, a general desolation to be carried through the whole Island, should the goat be still withheld. Add to this, that two young natives of quality being found on board our ship, were made prisoners, and told they were to be put to death, if the goat should not be restored within a certain time. The youths protested their own innocence, and disclaimed all knowledge of the guilty persons; notwithstanding which, every preparation was apparently made for putting them both to

death. Large ropes were carried upon the main deck, and made fast fore and aft; axes, chains, &c. were placed upon the quarter deck, in sight of the young men, whose terrors were increased by the information of Omiah, who gave them to understand that, by all these solemn preparations, their doom was finally determined. Under these gloomy apprehensions, the poor youths remained till the 9th, when, about three in the afternoon a body of between fifty and sixty natives were seen from the ship hastening to the harbour, who, when they came near, held up the goat in their arms, in raptures that they had found it, and that it was still alive. The joy of the imprisoned young men is not to be expressed; and when they were released, instead of shewing any signs of resentment, they were ready to fall down and worship their deliverers. It can scarce be credited, when the devastation ceased, how soon the injury they had suffered was forgotten, and provisions again brought to market, as if no violence had ever been committed by us; only the Earee of the Island never made his appearance. All this while numbers of the inhabitants of Otaheite, were witnesses of the severity with which this theft was punished; but it seemed to make no unfavourable impression upon them; for they continued their good offices as long as we remained in the Society Isles."

On Saturday the 11th, our intercourse with the natives was renewed; several canoes bringing bread fruit and cocoa-nuts to the ships; whence our Commander concluded, they were conscious of having merited the treatment they had received; and that the cause of his displeasure being now removed, they apprehended no further mischief. Being now about to take our departure from Eimeo, we shall first just remark, that there is very little difference between the produce of this Island, and that of Otaheite; but the difference in their women is remarkable. Those of Eimeo have a dark hue, are low in stature, and have forbidding features. We would observe farther, the appearance of Eimeo bears not the least resemblance to that of Otaheite. The latter being a hilly country, has little low land, except some



deep valleys, and a flat border that almost surrounds it near the sea. Eimeo has steep rugged hills, running in different directions, leaving large valleys and gently rising grounds about their sides. The hills, though rocky, are generally covered with trees almost to the tops. At the bottom of the harbour of Taloo, the ground generally rises to the foot of the hills: but the flat border on the sides, becomes quite steep at a small distance from the sea. This produces a prospect superior to any thing we saw at Otaheite. In the low grounds, the soil is a yellowish stiff mould; on the lower hills it is blacker, and more loose; and the stone which composes the hills, is of a bluish colour, interspersed with some particles of glimmer. Near the place where our ships were stationed, are two large stones, concerning which some superstitious notions are entertained by the natives. They consider them as brother and sister; that they are Eatooas, or divinities; and that they came from Ulietea, by some supernatural means.

Having procured, at this Island, a large quantity of fire-wood, an article we could not supply ourselves with at Matavai, there being not a tree but what is useful to the inhabitants, and likewise a number of hogs, bread-fruit, and cocoa-nuts, at nine o'clock A. M. we weighed, having a fine breeze down the harbour; but it was so faint and variable, that we were not out at sea before noon, at which time we directed our course to Huaheine, Omiah having previously set sail before us. In the night, the weather being hazy, he lost sight of the ships and fired his gun, which was answered by the *Resolution*. On Sunday the 12th, we came in sight of Huaheine, and at noon, anchored at the northern entrance of Owharre Harbour, situated on the west side of the Island. Omiah, in his canoe, entered the harbour just before us, but did not land; and though many of his countrymen crowded to see him, he did not take much notice of them. Great numbers also came off to the ships, inso-much that we were greatly incommoded by them. Our passengers immediately informed them of our transactions at Eimeo, multiplying, by ten times at least, the number of

canoes and houses that we had destroyed. Capt. Cook was not much displeased at their giving this exaggerated account, as he found that it made a considerable impression upon all who heard it; so that he had hopes it would induce the natives of this Island to treat him in a better manner than they had done in his former visit. The next morning, which was the 13th, all the principal people of the Island came to our ships. This was just what our Commadore wished, as it was now high time to settle Omiah, and he supposed that the presence of these chiefs would enable him to effect it in a satisfactory manner. But Omiah now seemed inclined to establish himself at Ulietea; and if he and Capt. Cook could have agreed with respect to the mode of accomplishing that design, the latter would have consented to adopt it. His father had been deprived by the inhabitants of Bolabola, when they subdued Ulietea, of some land in that Island; and the Captain hoped he should be able to get it restored to the son without difficulty. For this purpose, it was necessary that Omiah should be upon friendly terms with those who had become masters of the Island; but he would not listen to any such proposal, and was vain enough to imagine that the Captain would make use of force to reinstate him in his forfeited lands. This prepossession preventing his being fixed at Ulietea, the Captain began to consider Huaheine as the more proper place, and therefore determined to avail himself of the presence of the chief men of that Island, and propose the affair to them.

The ships were no less crowded with hogs, than with chiefs, the former being poured in upon us faster than the butchers and salters could dispatch them. Indeed, for several days after our arrival, some hundreds, great and small, were brought on board; and, if any were refused, they were thrown into the boats, and left behind. Bread-fruit, bananas, plantains, cocoa-nuts, and yams, were brought in the same plentiful proportions, and purchased for trifles. At Otaheite we had heard, that our old friend Oree was no longer the chief of Huaheine, and that at this time he resided at Ulietea. Indeed he



never had been more than regent during the minority of Taireetareea, the present Earee rahie; but he did not give up the regency till he was compelled thereunto. His two sons, Opoony and Towha, were the first who paid us a visit, coming on board before the ship was well in the harbour, and bringing with them a present; for which they received, in return, red feathers, &c. Red feathers are here, as at Otaheite, a very remarkable commodity, with which the seamen made purchases of cloth, and other manufactures of the Island: those who were followed by their misses from Otaheite, kept separate tables for them, at a small expence; while the misses catered and cooked for their mates, who feasted every day on barbecued pigs, stewed fowls, roasted bread-fruit, and a variety of other delicacies, purchased by the ladies for the merest trifles. Among our foremast-men were many who laid in store of these good things for their support, in case of being reduced to short allowance; and they had reason, afterwards, to console themselves on their provident care.

The Captain now, after the hurry of business in the morning was over, prepared to make a visit in form to Taireetareea, the Earee rahie, or present reigning king of the Island. Omiah, who was to accompany him, dressed himself very properly on the occasion, and provided a handsome present for the chief himself, and another for his Eatooa. Their landing drew most of the visitors from the ships, who with many others, assembled in a large house. The concourse of people became very great, the major part of whom seemed stouter and fairer than those of Otaheite; and the number of men who appeared to be of consequence was also much greater, in proportion to the extent of the Island. The Captain waited some time for the king; but when he appeared, we found his presence might have been dispensed with, as his age did not exceed ten years. Omiah, who stood at a little distance from the circle of great men, began with making his offering to the gods, which consisted of cloth, red feathers, &c. Another offering succeeded, which was to be given to the gods by the young chief;

and after that, several other tufts of red feathers were presented. The different articles were laid before a priest, being each of them delivered with a kind of prayer, which was spoken by one of Omiah's friends, though in a great measure dictated by himself. In these oraisons he did not forget his friends in England, nor those who had conducted him safe back to his native country. The Earee rahie no Pretanne, (the Earl of Sandwich,) Toole (Capt. Cook,) Tatee (Capt. Clerke,) were mentioned in every one of them. These offerings and prayers being ended, the priest took each of the articles in order, and, after repeating a concluding prayer, sent every one of them to the Morai. After the performance of these religious rites, Omiah seated himself by the Captain, who bestowed a present on the young prince, and received another in return. Some arrangements were next agreed upon, relative to the mode of carrying on the intercourse between us and the natives; to whom the Captain pointed out the mischievous consequences that would attend their plundering us, as on former occasions. The establishment of Omiah was then proposed to this assembly of chiefs. They were informed, that we had conveyed him into England, where he was well received by the great King of Pretanne, and his Earees; and had been treated, during his whole stay, with all the marks of regard and affection; that he had been brought back again, and enriched with a variety of articles, which, it was hoped, would be highly beneficial to his countrymen; and, that besides the two horses which were to continue with them, many other new and useful animals had been left at Otaheite, which would speedily multiply, and furnish a sufficient number for the use of all the neighbouring Islands. The Captain then gave them to understand, it was his earnest request that they would give his friend, Omiah, a piece of land, upon which he might build a house, and raise provisions for himself and family; adding, that if he could not obtain this at Huaheine, either by donation or purchase, he was resolved to carry him to Ulietea, and settle him there. We observed that this conclusion seemed to



gaining the approbation of all the chiefs; and the reason was not less obvious. Omiah had vainly flattered himself, that the Captain would use force in restoring him to his father's possessions, in Ulietea; and he had talked at random, on this subject, among some chiefs, at this meeting, who now expected that they should be assisted by us in an invasion of Ulietea, and driving the Bolabolans out of that Island. It being proper, therefore, that they should be undeceived in this particular, the Captain, with this view signified to them, in the most decisive manner, that he would neither give them any assistance in such an enterprise, nor even suffer it to be put in execution, while he remained in their seas; and that, if Omiah established himself in Ulietea, he should be introduced as a friend, and not forced upon the people of Bolabola as their conqueror. This peremptory declaration immediately gave a new turn to the sentiments of the council; one of whom expressed himself to this effect: that the whole Island of Huahine, and whatever it contained, were Captain Cook's, and therefore he might dispose of what portion he pleased to his friend: but, though Omiah seemed much pleased at hearing this, to make an offer of what it would be improper to accept, the Captain considered as offering nothing: he for this reason desired them to mark out the particular spot and likewise the exact quantity of land, which they intended to grant for the settlement. Upon this, some chiefs, who had retired from the assembly, were sent for; and, after a short consultation, the Commadore's request was unanimously complied with, and the ground immediately fixed upon, adjoining to the house where the present meeting was held. It extended along the shore of the harbour, about two hundred yards; its depth, to the bottom of the hill, was somewhat more; and a proportionable part of the hill was comprehended in the grant.

This affair being settled, on Saturday, the 18th, a tent was pitched on shore, a post established, and the observatories erected. As this was one of the most plentiful of the Society Isles, it was proposed to make some

stay here, in order to careen the ships, and to lay in provisions for future use. This was the more necessary, as we were to sail to countries wholly unknown, where it was uncertain what accommodations we might be subject to. The beds and furniture of every kind were therefore unladen, and every crvice of the ships examined, scraped, washed with vinegar, and smoked. While this last operation was performing, the lower port-holes were left open, for the rats to make their escape; in short, a thorough revision was directed to be made of every thing on board, as well to cleanse the furniture from vermin, as to remove the danger of infection from putrid air, generated by a perpetual succession of multitudes of people, between decks, ever since our arrival at Otaheite. The sick were, at the same time, landed for the benefit of the air, and every means used to recover, and to preserve them in health when recovered. Among the sick was Capt. Cook himself, for whose recovery the crews of both ships were under much concern, as the success of the voyage was thought in a great measure to depend upon his care and conduct. By the doctor's advice, he was prevailed upon to sleep on shore; where he was assiduously attended, night and day, by the surgeons of both ships, who watched with him alternately, till he was out of danger. As soon as he was able, he rode out every day with Omiah on horseback, followed by the natives, who, attracted by the novelty of the sight, flocked from the remotest parts of the Island to be spectators. We also during our stay in this harbour, carried the bread on shore to clear it of vermin. The number of cock-roaches that infested the ship at this time is almost incredible. The damage we sustained by them was very considerable; and every attempt to destroy them proved fruitless. If any kind of food was exposed for a few minutes, it was covered with these noxious insects, who soon pierced it full of holes, so that it resembled a honeycomb. They proved particularly destructive to birds which had been stuffed for curiosities, and were so fond of ink, that they eat out the writing on the labels fastened to different articles; and the only thing that



preserved books from their ravages, was the closeness of their binding, which prevented these voracious destroyers from insinuating themselves between the leaves. According to Mr. Anderson, they were of two sorts, the *blatta orientalis*, and *germanica*. The former had been carried home in the Resolution, in her last voyage, where they withstood the severity of the winter, in 1776, though she was in dock all the time. The latter had only made their appearance since our leaving New Zealand; but had increased so fast, that they now got even into our rigging; so that when a sail was loosened thousands of them fell upon the decks. Though the *orientalis* were in infinite numbers, they seldom came out but in the night, when they made a particular noise in crawling about: and, besides their disagreeable appearance, they did great mischief to our bread, which dainty feeders would have ill-relished, being so bespattered with their excrement.

The carpenters and caulkers had no sooner completed their business on board, than they were ordered on shore to erect a house for Omiah, wherein he might secure the various European commodities that he had in his possession: at the same time, others of our people were employed in making a garden for his use, planting vines, skaddocks, melons, pine-apples, and the seeds of various kinds of vegetables; all which were in flourishing state before our departure from the Island. Omiah began now to pay a serious attention to his own affairs, and heartily repented of his ill-judged prodigality at Otaheite. Here he found a brother, a sister, and a brother-in-law, the sister having been married: these did not plunder him, as his other relations had lately done; it appeared, however, that though they had too much honesty and good-nature to do him any injury yet, they were of too little consequence in the Island, to do him any real services, having neither authority nor influence to protect his property or his person. Thus circumstanced he ran great risk of being stripped of every thing he had received from his generous benefactors, as soon as he should cease to be within the reach of our powerful protection. He was now on the point of being placed in

a very singular situation, that of the only rich man in the kingdom and community of which he was to be a member; and being master of an accumulated quantity of a species of treasure, which his countrymen could not create by any art or industry of their own, it was natural, therefore, to imagine, that while all were desirous of sharing this envied wealth, all would be ready to join in attempts to strip its sole proprietor. As the most likely means of preventing this, Capt. Cook advised him to distribute some of his moveables among two or three of the principal chiefs; who on being thus gratified, might be induced to favour him with their patronage, and shield him from the injuries of others. Omiah promised to follow this advice, and we heard before we sailed this prudent step had been taken. The Captain however, not confiding wholly in the operations of gratitude, had recourse to the more forcible and effectual motive of intimidation, taking every opportunity of notifying to the inhabitants, that it was his intention to make another visit to their Island, after having been absent the usual time; and that if he did not find his friend in the same state of security in which he should leave him at present, all those who had been his enemies might expect to become the objects of his resentment. This menacing declaration will, probably, have some effect; for our successive visits of late years have induced these Islanders to believe, that our ships are to return at certain periods; and while they continue to entertain such a notion, which the Captain thought a fair stratagem to confirm, Omiah has some prospect of being suffered to thrive upon his new plantation.

On Wednesday, the 22nd, the intercourse of trade and friendly offices, between us and the inhabitants of Huahine, was interrupted; for, in the evening, one of the latter found means to get into Mr. Bayley's observatory, and carry off a sextant, unobserved. Capt. Cook was no sooner informed of this theft than he went ashore, and desired Omiah to apply to the chiefs, to procure restitution. He accordingly made application to them, but they took no steps towards recovering the instrument, being more attentive to a



Heeva, that was then exhibiting, till the Captain ordered the performers to desist. Being now convinced he was in earnest, they began to make some enquiry after the delinquent, who was sitting in the midst of them, with such marks of unconcern, that the Captain was in great doubt of his being guilty, particularly as he denied it. Omiah assuring him this was the person, he was sent on board the *Resolution*, and put in irons. This raised an universal ferment among the Islanders, and the whole body fled with precipitation. The prisoner being examined by Omiah, was with some difficulty brought to confess where he had concealed the sextant, and it was brought back unhurt the next morning. After this, the natives recovered from their consternation, and began to gather about us as usual. As the thief appeared to be a shameless villain, the Commodore punished him with greater severity than he had ever done any former culprit; for, besides having his head and beard shaved, he ordered both his ears to be cut off, and his eye-brows to be flayed, than which no punishment could have subjected him to greater disgrace. In this bleeding condition he was sent on shore, and exposed as a spectacle to intimidate the people from meddling with what was not their own. The natives looked with horror upon the man, and it was easy to perceive that this act gave them general disgust: even Omiah was affected, though he endeavoured to justify it, by telling his friends, that if such a crime had been committed in the country where he had been, the thief would have been sentenced to lose his life. But, how well soever he might carry off the matter, he dreaded the consequences to himself, which, in part, appeared in a few days, and were probably more severely felt by him, soon after we were gone.

Saturday, the 25th, a general alarm was spread, occasioned by a report, that one of our goats had been stolen by the above-mentioned thief; and though, upon examination, we found every thing safe in that quarter, yet it appeared, that he had destroyed and carried off from Omiah's grounds, several vines and cabbage plants; that he

had publicly threatened to put him to death, and to set fire to his house, as soon as we should quit this place. To prevent his doing any further mischief, the Captain ordered him to be seized, and confined again on board the ship, with a view of carrying him off the Island; and this intention seemed to give general satisfaction to all the chiefs. He was a native of Bolabola; but there were too many of the people here ready to co-operate with him in all his designs. We have, indeed, always met with more troublesome people in Huaheine, than in any other of the adjacent Islands; and it was only from fear, and the want of proper opportunities, that induced them to behave better now. Anarchy and confusion seemed to prevail among them. Their Earee rahie, as we have already observed, was but a child; and we did not observe, that there was one individual, or any set of men, who held the reins of government for him; so that whenever any misunderstanding occurred between us, we never knew, with sufficient precision, to whom it was necessary to apply, in order to effect an accommodation, or procure redress. On Thursday, the 30th, early in the morning, our prisoner, the Bolabola-man, found means to escape from his confinement, out of the ship, carrying with him the shackle of the bilboe-bolt that had been put about his leg, which was taken from him as soon as he arrived on shore, by one of the chiefs, and given to Omiah, who quickly came on board, to inform the Captain, that his mortal enemy was again let loose upon him. We found, upon enquiry, that the sentry placed over the prisoner, and even the whole watch in that part of the ship where he was confined, having fallen asleep, he seized the favourable opportunity, took the key of the irons out of the drawer into which he had seen it put, and set himself at liberty. This escape convinced the Commodore, that his people had been very remiss in their night-duty; which rendered it necessary to chastise those who were now in fault, and to establish some new regulations that might prevent similar negligence in future. We were pleased at hearing, afterwards, that the fellow who escaped, had gone over to Ulietea



but it was thought by some, he only intended to conceal himself till our departure, when he would revenge the indignity we had treated him with, by open or secret attacks upon Omiah. The house of this great man being now nearly finished, many of his moveables were carried ashore. Among other articles was a box of toys, which greatly pleased the gazing multitude; but as to his plates, dishes, drinking mugs, glasses, and the whole train of household apparatus, scarce one of his countrymen would even look at them. Omiah himself began to think, that they would be of no service to him; that a baked hog was more savoury than a boiled one; that a plaintain leaf made as good a dish or plate as pewter; and that a cocoa-nut shell was as convenient a goblet as one of our mugs. He therefore disposed of most of these articles of English furniture among the crew of our ships; and received from them, in return, hatchets, and other iron implements, which had a more intrinsic value in this part of the world. Among the numerous presents bestowed upon him in England, fireworks had not been omitted; some of which were exhibited in the evening of the 28th, before a great number of people, who beheld them with a mixture of pleasure and fear. Those that remained were put in order, and left with Omiah, pursuant to their original destination.

We now began to make preparations for our departure from Huaheine, and got every thing off from the shore this evening, except a goat big with kid, a horse and a mare, which were left in the possession of Omiah, who was now to be finally separated from us. We gave him also a boar, and two sows, of the English breed; and he had got two sows of his own. The horse had covered the mare during our continuance at Otaheite; so that the introduction of a breed of horses into these Islands, has probably succeeded, by this valuable present. With regard to Omiah's domestic establishment, he had procured at Otaheite, four or five routous or people of the lower class; the two young New Zealanders remained with him; and his brother, with some others, joined him; so that his family now consisted of

ten or eleven persons; if that can be justly denominated a family, to which not one female belonged. The house which our people erected for him was twenty-four feet by eighteen, and ten feet high: it was composed of boards, which were the spoils of our military operations at Eimeo, and in the construction of it, as few nails as possible were used, lest an inducement should arise, from a desire of iron, to pull it down. It was agreed upon, that, immediately after our departure, he should erect a spacious house, after the fashion of his own country; one end of which was to be brought over that we had built, so as entirely to enclose it for greater security. In this work some of the chiefs of the Island promised to contribute their assistance; and if the intended building should cover the ground which was marked out for it, few of the houses in Huaheine will exceed it in magnitude. Omiah's European weapons consisted of a fowling piece, two pair of pistols, several swords, cutlasses, a musket, bayonet, and a cartouch box. After he had got on shore whatever belonged to him, he invited several times the two Captains, and most of the officers of both ships to dine with him; on which occasions his table was plentifully spread with the best provisions that the Island could afford. Omiah, thus powerfully supported, went through the fatigues of the day better than could have been expected from the despondency that appeared in his countenance, when first the company began to assemble. Perhaps his awkward situation, between half English and half Indian preparations, might contribute not a little to embarrass him; for having never before made an entertainment himself, though he had been a partaker at many both in England and in these Islands, he was yet at a loss to conduct himself properly to so many guests, all of them superior to himself in point of rank, though he might be said to be superior, in point of fortune, to most of the chiefs present. Nothing however was wanting to impress the inhabitants with an opinion of Omiah's consequence. The drums, trumpets, bag pipes, haut-boys, flutes, violins, in short, the whole band of music



attended, and took it by turns to play while dinner was getting ready; and when the company were seated, the whole band joined in full concert, to the admiration of crowds of the inhabitants, who were assembled round the house on this occasion. The dinner consisted, as usual, of the various productions of the Island, barbecued hogs, fowls dressed, some after the manner of the country, and others after the English fashion, with plenty of wine and other liquors, with which two or three of the chiefs made very free. Dinner over, heevas and fire-works succeeded, and when night approached, the multitudes that attended us as spectators dispersed, without the least disorder. Before we set sail, the Commodore caused the following inscription to be cut in the front of Omiah's house.

*Georgius tertius, Rex, 2 Novembris, 1777.*

*Naves { Resolution, Jac. Cook, Pr.  
Discovery, Car. Clerke, Pr.*

November 2nd, on Sunday, at four o'clock P. M. we took the advantage of an easterly breeze, and sailed out of Owbarre harbour. While here, we had procured more than four hundred hogs, many of them large. Though it had been in former voyages, that most of them which were carried to sea alive refused to eat, and consequently were soon killed, yet we resolved to make one experiment more; and by procuring large quantities of yams, and other roots, on which they were accustomed to feed on shore, we ventured to take a few in each ship; and for this purpose our carpenters had prepared styes for their reception in those parts where they might remain cool. Most of our friends, natives of Huaheine, continued on board till our vessels were under sail; when the Captain, to gratify their curiosity, ordered five of the great guns to be fired. Then they all left us, except Omiah, who remained till we were out at sea. We had come to sail by a hawser fastened to the shore, which in casting the ship, parted, being cut by the rocks, and its outer end was left behind; it therefore became necessary to dispatch a boat to bring it on shore. In this boat Omiah went ashore, and took a very affectionate

and final leave of the Captain, never to see him more. He had endeavoured to prevail on Capt. Cook to let him return to England, which made his parting with him and our officers the more affecting. If tears could have prevailed on our Commander to let him return, Omiah's eyes were never dry; and if the tenderest supplications of a dutiful son to an obdurate father could have made any impression, Omiah hung round his neck in all the seeming agony of a child trying to melt the heart of a reluctant parent. He twined his arms round him with the ardour of inviolable friendship, till Capt. Cook, unable any longer to contain himself, broke from him, and retired to his cabin, to indulge that natural sympathy which he could not resist, leaving Omiah to dry up his tears, and compose himself on the quarter deck. On his return, he reasoned with his friend, upon the impropriety of his request; reminding him of his anxieties while in England, lest he should never more have been permitted to return home; and now that he had been restored to his friends and country, at a great expence to his royal master, it was childish to entertain a notion of being carried back. Omiah renewed his tears and said, he had indeed wished to see his country and friends; but having seen them he was contented, and would never long for home again. Capt. Cook assured him of his best wishes, but his instructions must be obeyed, which were to leave him with his friends. Such was the parting scene between Omiah and his patron; nor were the two New Zealand boys under less concern to leave us than Omiah. They had already learned to speak English enough to express their hopes and their fears. They hoped to have gone along with the ships, and cried bitterly when they understood they were to be left behind. Thence arose a new scene between Omiah and his servants, that, had not the officers on the quarter deck interposed, might have ended unfortunately for the former; for they refused to quit the ship, till they were compelled to do it by force, which would have been no easy matter, the eldest, near sixteen, being of an athletic make; and the youngest, about eleven, a giant of his age. They were both



tractable and obliging, till they found they were to be left at Huaheine, but knowing this at our departure from that place, they grew desperate till subdued. They discovered dispositions the very reverse of the Islanders, among whom they were destined to abide during the remainder of their lives; and, instead of a mean, timid submission, they shewed a manly determined resolution not to be subdued, though overcome; and ready, if there had been a possibility to succeed, to have made a second or even third attempt to have regained their liberty. We could never learn Capt. Cook's reason, for refusing to take on board some of those gallant youths from New Zealand, who, no doubt, would have made useful hands in the high latitudes we were about to explore, and would besides have been living exhibitions of a people, whose portraits have been imperfectly depicted even by our best draughtsmen. There is a dauntless fierceness in the eyes and countenance of a New Zealand warrior, which the pencil of the most eminent artist cannot imitate; and we lament the nonimportation of a native from every climate, where nature had marked a visible distinction in the characters of person and mind. Having bid farewell to Omiah, he was accompanied by Mr. King in the boat, who informed us, he had wept all the time he was going ashore.

Though we had now, to our great satisfaction, brought Omiah safe back to the very spot from whence he was taken, it is probable we left him in a situation less desirable than that which he was in before his connection with us: not that, having tasted the comforts of civilized life, he must become more wretched from being obliged to relinquish all thoughts of continuing them, but merely because the advantages he received from us, have placed him in a more hazardous situation, with respect to his personal safety. From being greatly caressed in England, he had lost sight of his primary condition, and did not consider in what manner his acquisitions, either of knowledge, or of wealth, would be estimated by his countrymen, at his return: which were the only things whereby he could recommend himself to them now,

more than before, and on which he could lay the foundation either of his future greatness or happiness. He appeared to have, in some measure, forgotten their customs in this respect, and even to have mistaken their genius; otherwise he must have been convinced of the extreme difficulty he would find in getting himself admitted as a man of rank, where there is scarcely a single instance of a person's being raised from an inferior station even by the greatest merit. Rank seems to be the foundation of all power and distinction here, and is so pertinaciously adhered to, that, unless a person has some degree of it, he will be contemned and hated, if he pretends to exercise any authority. This was really the case, in some degree with Omiah; though his countrymen were rather cautious in expressing their sentiments while we continued among them. Nevertheless, had he made a proper use of the presents he brought with him from Great Britain, this, with the knowledge he had gained by travelling, might have enabled him to have formed the most advantageous connections: but he exhibited too many proofs of a weak inattention to this obvious means of promoting his interest. He had formed schemes of a higher nature, perhaps, with more truth, it may be said, meaner; for revenge, rather than a desire of greatness, appeared to influence him from the beginning. His father was certainly, a man of considerable property in Ulietea, when that Island was subdued by the inhabitants of Bolabola, and with many others, fled for refuge to Huaheine, where he died, and left Omiah, with several other children, who thus became entirely dependant. In this situation, Captain Furneaux took him up, and brought him to England. Whether he expected, from the treatment he there met with, that any assistance would be afforded him against the enemies of his father and his country; or whether he had the vanity to suppose, that his own superiority of knowledge, and personal courage, would be sufficient to dispossess the conquerors of Ulietea, is uncertain; but, from the very commencement of the voyage, this was his constant topic. He would not pay any attention to our remonstrances on such an inconsiderate



determination, but was displeased, whenever more reasonable counsels were proposed for his benefit. Nay, he was so ridiculously attached to his favourite scheme, that he affected to believe the Bolabolans would certainly quit the conquered Island, as soon as they should have intelligence of his arrival in Otaheite. As we proceeded, however, on our voyage, he began to perceive his error; and, by the time of our arrival at the Friendly Islands, had such apprehensions of an unfavourable reception in his own country, that he was inclined to have remained at Tongataboo, under the protection of his friend Feenou. At these Islands he squandered away a considerable part of his European treasure; and he was equally imprudent at Otaheite, till Capt. Cook put a stop to his profusion. He also formed such improper connections there, that Otoo, though at first disposed to countenance him, afterwards expressed openly his disapprobation of his conduct. He might, however, have recovered the favour of that chief, and have settled, to great advantage, in Otaheite, as he had formerly lived some years there, and was now, honoured with the notice of Towha, whose valuable present of a large double canoe has been already mentioned. But he continued undetermined to the last, and probably would not have adopted the plan of settlement in Huahine, if Capt. Cook had not so positively refused to employ force in restoring him to the possession of his father's property. Omiah's greatest danger, in his present situation, will arise from the very imprudent declarations of his antipathy to the Bolabolans; for those people, from motives of jealousy, will undoubtedly endeavour to render him obnoxious to the inhabitants of Huahine; and as they are now at peace with that Island, they may easily accomplish their designs. This circumstance he might, with great ease, have avoided; for they were not only free from any aversion to him, but the old chief, who is reputed by the natives of the Society Islands, to be a priest, or god, even offered to reinstate him in his father's lands: but he peremptorily refused this; and to the very last, continued fixed in his resolution to embrace the

first opportunity of satisfying his revenge in battle. To this he is perhaps not a little stimulated by the coat of mail he brought from England; clothed in which, and furnished with fire arms, he idly imagines he shall be invincible. But the defects in Omiah's character were considerably overbalanced by his great good nature, and docile tractable disposition. Capt. Cook, during the whole time he was with him, seldom had reason to be seriously displeased with his general conduct. His grateful heart ever retained the highest sense of the favours conferred on him in England; nor will he ever be unmindful of those who honoured him while in that kingdom, with their friendship and protection. Though he had a tolerable share of understanding, he shewed little application and perseverance in exerting it, so that he had but a general and imperfect knowledge of things. He was not a man much used to observation; otherwise, he might have conveyed to his native country many elegant amusements, and useful arts, to be found among the Friendly Islanders; but we never perceived, that he endeavoured to make himself master of any one of them. Such indifference is, indeed, the characteristic foible of his countrymen. Though they have been visited by Europeans, at times, for these ten years past, we could not discern the slightest vestige of any attempt to profit by this interview, nor have they hitherto imitated us but in very few respects. It must not, therefore, be expected, that Omiah will be able to introduce among them many arts and customs, or much improve those to which they have been familiarized by long habit. We trust, however, that he will exert his endeavours to bring to perfection the various fruits and vegetables that were planted by us, which will be no small acquisition. But the principal advantage these Islands are likely to receive from the travels of Omiah, will probably arise from the animals that have been left upon them; which, perhaps, they never would have obtained, if he had not come over to England. When these multiply, Otaheite, and the Society Isles, will equal any place in the known world,



with respect to provisions. Omiah's return, and the substantial proofs he had displayed of British liberality, encouraged many to offer themselves as volunteers to accompany us to Pretanne; but our Commodore took every opportunity of expressing his fixed determination to reject all applications of that kind: and Omiah, who was ambitious of remaining the only great traveller among them, being afraid the Commodore might be prevailed upon to place others in the same situation, as rivals, frequently reminded him of the declaration of the Earl of Sandwich, that no others of his countrymen were to be carried to England. When the Captain was about to bid farewell to Omiah, he gave him his last lessons of instruction how to act; directing him at the same time to send his boat over to Ulietea, his native Island, to let him know how the chiefs behaved to him in the absence of the ships. If well, he was to send by the messenger three white beads: if they seized upon his stock, or broke in upon his plantations, three red beads; or if things remained just as we left them, he was to send three spotted beads.

As soon as the boat, in which Omiah was conveyed ashore, had returned, with the remainder of the hawser, to the ship we hoisted her in, and stood over for Ulietea without delay. The next morning, being the 3rd, we made sail round the southern end of that Island, for the harbour of Ohamaneno. We met with light airs and calms alternately, so that at twelve o'clock we were still at the distance of a league from the mouth of the harbour; and while we were thus detained, Oreo, the chief of the Island, with his son and son-in-law, came off to pay us a visit. All the boats were now hoisted out, and sent a-head to tow, being assisted by a slight southerly breeze. This soon failing, and being succeeded by an easterly one, which blew right out of the harbour, we were obliged to anchor at its entrance, about two o'clock P. M. and to warp in, which employed us till night. We were no sooner within the harbour, than our ships were surrounded with canoes, filled with the natives who brought a supply of fruit and hogs, which they exchanged for our commodities.

The following day, the Resolution was moored close to the northern shore, at the entrance of the harbour, and the Discovery along side the southern shore. In the mean time, Capt. Cook returned Oreo's visit, and presented that chief with a red feathered cap from Tongataboo, a shirt, a linen gown, and a few other things of less value. Oreo, and some of his friends, then accompanied him on board to dinner.

On Thursday the 6th, we landed the remainder of our live stock, set up the observatories, and carried the necessary instruments on shore. The two succeeding days, Capt. Cook, Mr. King, and Mr. Bayley, observed the sun's azimuths, both on shore and aboard, with all the compasses, in order to discover the variation. Nothing remarkable happened, till very early in the morning of Thursday, the 13th, when a sentinel, at the observatory, named John Harrison, deserted, taking with him his musket and accoutrements. As soon as we had gained intelligence which way he was gone, a party was detached in search of him; but they returned in the evening without success. The next day the Captain applied to the chief concerning this affair, who promised to send a party of the Islanders after the fugitive, and gave us hopes that he should be brought back in the course of that day. This, however, did not happen; and we had reason to imagine, that the chief had taken no steps to find him. At this time a considerable number of the natives were about the ships, and several thefts committed, the consequences of which being apprehended by them, very few came to visit us the next morning. Oreo himself caught the alarm, and fled with his whole family. Capt. Cook considered this as a good opportunity to insist upon their delivering up the deserter; and having heard he was at a place called Hamoa, situate on the other side of the Island, he repaired thither with two armed boats, attended by a native. In our way, we met with the chief, who embarked with us. The Captain, with a few of his men, landing about a mile and a half from the spot, marched up to it with great expedition, lest the sight of the boats should give the



alarm, and allow the offender sufficient time to escape to the mountains. This precaution proved unnecessary; for the natives of that part of the Island having obtained information of the Captain's approach, were prepared to deliver the deserter. He was found with his musket lying before him, seated between two women, who, the instant that the Captain entered the house, rose up to plead in his vindication. As such proceedings deserved to be discouraged, the Captain with a stern look, bid them be gone; upon which they burst into tears, and retired. Paha, the chief of that district, now came with a sucking pig, and a plantain-tree, which he was on the point of presenting to Capt. Cook, as a peace-offering, who rejected it; and having ordered the chief to quit his presence, embarked with Harrison in one of the boats, and returned to the ships. After this, harmony was speedily restored. The delinquent made no other excuse for his conduct, than that the natives had enticed him away; which perhaps was in a great measure true, as Paha, and the two women above-mentioned, had been at the ship the day before his desertion. As he had remained upon his post till within a few minutes of time in which he was to have been relieved by another, the punishment he received was not very severe. About a fortnight after we had arrived at Ulitea, Omiah dispatched two of his people in a canoe, with intelligence, that he continued undisturbed by the inhabitants of Huaheine, and that every thing succeeded with him, except that his goat had died in kidding. This information was accompanied with a request, that Capt. Cook would send him another goat, and also two axes. Pleased with this additional opportunity of serving his friend, the Captain sent back the messenger to Huaheine, on the 18th, with the axes, and a male and female kid. On Wednesday, the 19th, our Commander of his Majesty's ship, the Resolution, delivered to Captain Clerke his instructions how to proceed in case of separation, after quitting these Islands, of which the following is, we believe, a true copy.

*Instructions delivered by Captain James Cook, to Captain Charles Clerke, Commander of his Majesty's ship, the Discovery, Wednesday, the 19th of November, 1777.*

"WHEREAS the passage from the Society Islands, to the northern coast of America is of considerable length, both in distance and in time, and as a part of it must be performed in the very depth of winter, when gales of wind and bad weather must be expected, and may possibly occasion a separation, you are to take all possible care to prevent this. But if notwithstanding all our care to keep company you should be separated from me, you are first to look for me where you last saw me. Not seeing me in five days, you are to proceed (as directed by the instructions of their lordships, a copy of which you have already received) for the coast of New Albion; endeavouring to fall in with it in the latitude of 45 deg. In which, and at a convenient distance from land, you are to cruize for me ten days. Not seeing me in that time, you are to put into the first convenient port, in, or to the north of that latitude, to recruit your wood and water, and to procure refreshments. During your stay in port, you are constantly to keep a good look-out for me. It will be necessary, therefore, to make choice of a station, situated as near the sea coast as possible, the better to enable you to see me, when I may appear in the offing. Should I not join you before the 1st of next April, you are to put to sea, and to proceed northward to the latitude of 56 deg. in which, and at a convenient distance from the coast, never exceeding fifteen leagues, you are to cruize for me till the 10th of May. Not seeing me at that time, you are to proceed northward, and endeavour to find a passage into the Atlantic Ocean, through Hudson's or Baffin's Bays, as directed by the above-mentioned instructions."

"But if you should fail in finding a passage through either of the said Bays, or by any other way, as the season of the year may render it unsafe for you to remain in high latitudes, you are to repair to the harbour of



St. Peter and St. Paul, in Kamptschatka, in order to refresh your people, and to pass the winter. Nevertheless, if you find, that you cannot procure the necessary refreshments, at the said port, you are at liberty to go where you shall think proper; taking care before you depart to leave with the governor an account of your intended destination, to be delivered to me upon my arrival: and in the spring of the ensuing year, 1779, you are to repair back to the above-mentioned port, endeavouring to be there by the 10th of May, or sooner. If on your arrival, you receive no orders from, or account of me, so as to justify your pursuing any other measures than what are pointed out in the before mentioned instructions, your future proceedings are to be governed by them. You are also to comply with such parts of the said instructions, as have not been executed, and are not contrary to these orders. And in case of your inability, by sickness, or otherwise, to carry these, and the instructions of their lordships into execution, you are to be careful to leave them with the next officer in command, who is hereby required to execute them in the best manner he can."

On Monday, the 24th, in the morning, Mr. M—, midshipman, and the gunner's mate, two of the Discovery's people, were missing. They had embarked in a canoe, with two of their Otaheitean misses, the preceding night, and were now at the other end of the Island. As the midshipman had expressed a desire of continuing at one of the Society Islands, it was extremely probable, that he and his companion had gone off with that intent. Capt. Clerke therefore, with two armed boats, and a detachment of marines, set out in quest of the fugitives, but returned in the evening without success. From the behaviour of the Islanders, he was of opinion, that they intended to conceal the deserters; and, with this view had deceived him with false information, directing him to seek for them where they could not be found. He was not mistaken; for, the next morning, intelligence was brought, that the two runaways were in the Isle of Otaha, with a view to continue their course to Otaheite, as

soon as they had furnished themselves with provisions for the voyage. These not being the only persons in the ships who were desirous of remaining at these favourite Islands, it was necessary, in order to give an effectual discouragement to any further desertion, to recover them at all events. Capt. Cook, therefore, determined to go in pursuit of them himself, having observed that the natives seldom attempted to amuse him with false information. He accordingly set out with two armed boats, accompanied by Oreo himself. They proceeded, without stopping at any place, till they came to the eastern side of Otaha, where they put ashore; and the chief dispatched a man before him, with orders to seize the fugitives, and keep them till the Captain and his attendants should arrive with the boats: but when arrived at the place where they expected to find them, they were informed, that they had quitted the Island, and proceeded to Bolabola the day before. The Captain, not chusing to follow them thither, returned to the ships, with a full determination to have recourse to a measure, which he had reason to believe would compel the natives to restore them. On Wednesday, the 26th, soon after day-break, Oreo, with his son, daughter, and son-in-law, having come on board the Resolution, the Commodore resolved to detain the three last, till our deserters should be delivered up. With the view Capt. Clerke invited them on board his ship; and, as soon as they had entered his cabin, a sentinel was placed at the door, and the window secured. This proceeding greatly surprized them; and Capt. Clerke having explained the reason of it, they burst into tears, and begged he would not kill them. He protested he would not, that the moment his people were brought back, they should be released. This, however, did not remove their uneasy apprehensions, and they bewailed their expected fate in silent sorrow. The chief being with Capt. Cook when he received intelligence of this affair, mentioned it immediately to him, imagining that this step had been taken without his knowledge and approbation. The Captain instantly undeceived him; and then he



began to entertain a fear with respect to his own personal safety, and his countenance indicated the greatest perturbation of mind; but the Captain soon quieted his fears, by telling him, that he was at liberty to quit the ship whenever he chose, and to take such steps towards the recovery of our two men, as he should judge best calculated for that purpose; and that if he should meet with success, his friends, on board the *Discovery*, should be released from their confinement: if not that they should be carried away with us. The Captain added, that the chief's conduct, as well as that of many of his countrymen, in not only assisting these two men in making their escape, but in endeavouring, at this very time, to prevail upon others to follow them would justify any measure that should serve to put a stop to such proceedings. All this was done, as we have already hinted, to interest the people of the Island in the pursuit after the fugitives, and, to this end, the Captain promised a reward of large axes, and other valuable articles, to any of the natives who should be instrumental in apprehending and bringing them back. The confinement of part of the royal family might seem hard usage, yet it had its effect, and without this steady resolute proceeding, the deserters would never have been recovered. The boats of the *Discovery* went day after day to all the adjoining Islands, without being able to learn the least trace of them; and this they continued, till having searched every Island within the distance of two days sail, they were obliged to give over any farther search, as fruitless. The explanation of the motives upon which Capt. Cook acted, seemed to remove, in a great degree, that general consternation into which Oreo, and his people present, were at first thrown. But, though relieved from all apprehensions with regard to their own safety, they were still under the deepest concern for the prisoners in the *Discovery*. Numbers of them went under the stern of the ship, in canoes, and lamented their captivity with long and loud exclamations. The name of Poedooa (which was that of Oreo's daughter) resounded from every quarter; and the women not

only made a most dismal howling, but struck their bosoms, and cut their heads with sharks' teeth, which occasioned a considerable effusion of blood.

The chief now dispatched a canoe to Bolabola, with a message to Opoony, king of that Island, informing him of what had happened, and requesting him to seize the two deserters, and send them back. The messenger, who was the father of Oreo's son-in-law Pootoe, came to receive the Captain's commands before his departure; who strictly enjoined him not to return without the fugitives, and to tell Opoony, from him, that, if they had left the Isle of Bolabola, he must send canoes in pursuit of them. But the impatient natives, not thinking proper to trust to the return of our people for the release of the prisoners, were induced to meditate an attempt, which, if it had not been prevented, might have involved them in still greater distress. Between five and six o'clock, Capt. Cook, who was then on shore, abreast of the ship, observed all their canoes, in and about the harbour, began to move off. He enquired, in vain, for the cause of this; till some of our people, calling to us from the *Discovery*, informed us, that a body of the Islanders had seized Capt. Clerke and Mr. Gore, as they were walking at a small distance from the ships. The Commodore, struck with the boldness of this scheme of retaliation, which seemed to counteract him in his own way, instantly commanded his people to arm; and, in a few minutes, a strong party, under the conduct of Mr. King, were sent to the rescue of the two gentlemen. At the same time two armed boats, and a party, under Mr. Williamson, were dispatched, to intercept the flying canoes in their retreat to the shore. These detachments had scarcely gone out of sight, when intelligence arrived, which convinced us that we had been misinformed; and they were immediately, in consequence of this, called in. However, it appeared from several corroborating particulars, that the natives had actually formed the design of seizing Capt. Clerke; and they even made no secret in speaking of it the following day. But the principal part of the plan of their operations



was to have secured the person of Captain Cook. He was accustomed to bathe every evening in the fresh water; on which occasions he frequently went alone, and was unarmed. Expecting him to go this evening, as usual, they had resolved upon seizing him, and Capt. Clerke likewise, if he had accompanied him. But our Commander, after confining the chief's family, had taken care to avoid putting himself in their power; and had cautioned Capt. Clerke and the officers, not to go to any considerable distance from the ships. Oreo, in the course of the afternoon, asked our Commodore, three or four times, if he would not go to the bathing place; till at length finding that the Captain could not be prevailed upon, he retired, with his people, notwithstanding all our intreaties to the contrary. Having no suspicion, at this time, of their design, Capt. Cook imagined, that a sudden panic had seized them, which would be soon over. Being disappointed with respect to him, they fixed upon those whom they thought more in their power. It was a fortunate circumstance that they did not succeed in their design, and that no mischief was done on the occasion: no muskets being fired, except two or three to stop the canoes; to which firing, perhaps Capt. Clerke and Mr. Gore owed their safety; but Mr. King ascribes this to the Captain's walking with a pistol in his hand, which, he says, he once fired; at which time a party of the Islanders, armed with clubs, were marching towards them, but dispersed on hearing the report of the muskets. This conspiracy was first discovered by a girl, who had been brought from Huaheine by one of our officers. Happening to overhear some of the Ulieteans say, that they would seize Capt. Clerke and Mr. Gore, she immediately ran to acquaint the first of our people that she met with the design. Those who had been intrusted with the execution of the plan, threatened to put her to death, as soon as we should quit Ulietea, for disappointing them. Being aware of this, we contrived that the girl's friends should come a day or two afterwards, and take her out of the ship, to convey her to a place where she might remain concealed,

till an opportunity should offer for her escaping to Huaheine.

On Thursday the 27th, the tents were struck, the observatories took down, which, with the live stock, were brought on board the ships. We then unmoored, and moved a little way down the harbour, where we anchored again. In the afternoon, the natives gathered round, and came on board our ships, as usual. One party acquainted Capt. Cook, that the fugitives were found, and that in a few days they would be brought back, requesting at the same time the release of the prisoners. But the Captain paid no regard to either their information or petition; on the contrary, he renewed his threatenings, which he declared he would put in execution, if the men were not delivered up. In the succeeding night the wind blew in hard squalls, which were accompanied with heavy showers of rain. In one of these squalls, the cable whereby the *Resolution* was riding at anchor, parted; but as we had another ready to let go, the ship was quickly brought up again. On the 29th, having received no account from Bolahola. Oreo set out for that Island, in search after the deserters, desiring Capt. Cook to follow him, the next day, with the ships. This was the Captain's intention; but the wind prevented our getting to sea. On the 30th, about five o'clock, P. M. a number of canoes were seen, at a distance, making towards the ships; and as they approached nearer we heard them sing and rejoice, as if they had succeeded in finding what they went in search of. About six, they came so nigh, that we could discern with our glasses, the deserters fastened together, but without their misses. They were no sooner brought on board, than the royal prisoners were released, to the unspeakable joy of all but the two fugitives, who were under great apprehensions of suffering death. Their punishment, however, was not so severe as might have been expected. S--- was sentenced to receive twenty-four lashes, and M--- was turned before the mast, where he continued to do duty while there was little or nothing to do; but on asking forgiveness, was restored to his former station on the quarter-



deck. It appeared that their pursuers had followed them from one Island to another from Ulietea to Otaha, from Otaha to Bolabola, from Bolabola to the little Island of Toobaee, where they were found, but where we never should have looked for them, had not the natives traced them out. They were taken by Pootoe's father, in consequence of the first message sent to Opoony.

On the 1st of December, notice was given to the Otaheitean misses, that they must all prepare to depart, the ships being in readiness to leave the country, and, perhaps, never to return to the Society Islands any more.

This news caused great lamentation and much confusion. They were now at a great distance from home, and every one was eager to get what she could for herself before she was parted from her beloved. Most of them had already stript their mates of almost every thing they possessed, and those who had still something in reserve led a sad life till they shared it with them. It was not till the 7th, to which time we were confined in the harbour by a contrary wind, that we could clear the ships of these troublesome gentry.

## CHAP. IX.

*The Resolution and Discovery leave Ulietea, and direct their course to the Island of Bolabola. Remarks on the present and former state of Ulietea ; The ships arrive at Bolabola, with Oreo and others ; Capt. Cook applies to Opoony for Mons. Bougainville's anchor ; Reasons for purchasing it ; They quit the Society Islands ; Bolabola and its harbour described : Bravery of its inhabitants ; Historical account of the reduction of Otaha and Ulietea ; Animals left at the above Islands ; Method of salting pork for the use of the ships ; Cursory remarks respecting Otaheite and the Society Islands ; Additional strictures to the former accounts of Otaheite, by Mr. Anderson ; Of the country in general ; Productions ; Natural history ; Description of the natives ; Their language ; Diet ; Liquors ; Different meals ; Connections between the two sexes ; Their customs ; System of religion ; Superstitions ; Traditions ; An historical legend ; Of the regal dignity ; Distinctions of rank, and punishments ; Peculiarities belonging to the adjacent Islands ; Their names and those of their Gods ; Limits of their Navigation ; The Resolution and Discovery prepare for sailing to the North, in quest of the grand and principal object of this voyage ; A curious geographical and historical description of the north-west parts of North America, and of the most remarkable Islands situated north of the Pacific Ocean, and in the Eastern Sea.*

**S**UNDAY, the 7th of December, at eight o'clock A. M. we weighed and made sail with a light breeze at the north-east point. During the preceding week, we had been visited by persons from all quarters of the Island, who afforded us a plentiful supply of hogs and green plantains, so that the time we remained wind-bound in the harbour was not totally lost ; for green plantains are an excellent succedaneum for bread, and will keep good for two or three weeks. Besides being furnished with these provisions, we also took in plenty of wood and

water. The Ulieteans appeared to be in general smaller, and blacker than the natives of the adjacent Islands, and seemed also less orderly, which may, perhaps be owing to their having become subjects to the inhabitants of Bolabola. Oreo, their chief, is only a kind of deputy to the Bolabolan monarch ; and the conquest seems to have diminished the number of subordinate chiefs resident among them : they are, therefore less under the immediate eye of those whose interest it is to enforce a proper obedience. Though Ulietea, is now reduced to this



humiliating state of dependence, it was formerly, as we were informed, the most eminent of this group of Islands, and, probably, the first seat of government, for the present royal family of Otaheite derives its descent from that which ruled here before the late revolution. The dethroned king of Ulietea, whose name is Ooroo, resides at Huaheine, furnishing, in his own person, an instance not only of the instability of power, but also of the respect paid by these Islanders to particular families of princely rank; for they allow Ooroo to retain all the ensigns which are appropriated by them to royalty, notwithstanding his having been deprived of his dominions. We observed a similar instance to this, during our stay at Ulietea, where one of our occasional visitants was Capt. Cook's old friend Oree, late chief of Huaheine. He still maintained his consequence, and was constantly attended by a numerous retinue.

We now had a brisk wind, and directed our course to Bolabola, accompanied by Oreo and others from Ulietea; and indeed, most of the natives, except the chief, would gladly have taken a passage with us to England. Our principal reason for visiting the Island of Bolabola was, to procure one of the anchors which had been left at Otaheite by Monsieur Bougainville. This we were informed, had been afterwards found by the natives there, and sent by them to Opoony, the chief of Bolabola. It was not on account of our being in want of anchors that we were anxious to get possession of it; but, having parted with all our hatchets, and other iron implements, in purchasing refreshments, we were now obliged to create a fresh assortment of trading articles, by fabricating them from the spare iron we could find on board; and even the greatest part of that had been already expended. Capt. Cook, therefore supposed Mons. Bougainville's anchor would in a great measure supply our want of this useful material; and he did not entertain a doubt that Opoony might be induced to part with it. At sun-set being off the south point of Bolabola, we shortened sail, and passed the night making short boards. On Monday, the 8th, at day-break,

we made sail for the harbour, on the west side of the Island. Having a scanty wind we were obliged to ply up; and it was nine o'clock before we were near enough to send away a boat to sound the entrance. When the master returned with the boat, he reported, that the entrance of the harbour was rocky at the bottom, but that there was good ground within; and the depth of water twenty-five and twenty-seven fathoms. In the channel he said, there was room enough to turn the ships, it being one third of a mile broad. Upon this information, we attempted to work the ships in; but the wind and tide being against us, we made two or three trips, and found it could not be accomplished till the tide should turn in our favour. Whereupon the Captain gave up the design of carrying the ships into the harbour; and, embarking in one of the boats, attended by Oreo and his companions was rowed in for the Island. As soon as they landed, our Commodore was introduced to Opoony, surrounded by a vast concourse of people. The necessary compliments being exchanged, the Captain requested the chief to give him the anchor; and, by way of inducement, produced the present he intended for him. It consisted of a linen night gown, gauze handkerchiefs, a shirt, a looking-glass, some beads, toys, and six axes. Opoony, however, refused to accept the present till the Commodore had received the anchor; and ordered three persons to go and deliver it to him, with directions to receive from him what he thought proper in return. With these messengers we set out in our boats for a neighbouring Island, where the anchor had been deposited, but it was neither so large nor so perfect, as we expected. By the mark that was upon it, we found it had originally weighed seven hundred pounds, but it now wanted the two palms, the ring, and part of the shank. The reason of Opoony's refusing Captain Cook's present was now apparent: he, doubtless supposed that the anchor, in its present state, was so much inferior to what was offered in exchange, that when the Captain saw it, he would be displeased. The Commodore, notwithstanding took the anchor as he found it, and sent the whole of



the present which he at first intended. This business being done, and the Captain returned on board, we hoisted in our boats, and made sail to the north. While we were thus employed, we were visited by some of the natives, who came off in three or four canoes to see the ships. They brought with them one pig, and a few cocoa-nuts. Had we remained at this Island till the next day, we should probably have been supplied with plenty of provisions; and the natives would, doubtless, be disappointed when they found we were gone; but having already a good stock of hogs and fruit on board, and not many articles left to purchase more, we had no inducement left to defer the prosecution of our voyage.

Oteavanooa, the harbour of Bolabola, situated on the west side of the Island, is very capacious; and, though we did not enter it, Capt. Cook had the satisfaction of being informed by those employed for the purpose, that it is a very proper place for the reception of ships. Towards the middle of this Island is a lofty double-peaked mountain, which appeared to be barren on the east side, but on the west side has some trees and bushes. The lower grounds towards the sea, like the other Islands of this ocean, are covered with cocoa-palms and bread-fruit trees. There are many little Islets that surround it, which add to the number of its inhabitants, and to the amount of its vegetable productions. Considering the small extent of Bolabola, being only twenty-four miles in circumference, it is remarkable that its people should have been able to conquer Ulietea and Otaha; the former being alone more than double its size. In each of Captain Cook's three voyages, the war that produced this great revolution was frequently mentioned; and as the history thereof may be an agreeable entertainment to our subscribers, we shall here give it as related by themselves.

Ulietea and Otaha had long been friends; or, as the natives express it emphatically, they were considered as two brothers, whose views and interests were the same. The Island of Huaheine was also admitted as a friend, but not in so eminent a degree. Like a traitor, Otaha leagued with Bolabola,

jointly to attack Ulietea; whose people required the assistance of their friends in Huaheine against these united powers. The inhabitants of Bolabola were encouraged by a prophetess, who predicted their success; and that they might rely on her prophecy, she desired that a man should be sent to a particular part of the sea, where from a great depth would arise a stone. He was accordingly sent off in a canoe to the place specified, and was going instantly to dive for the stone, when, behold, it started up spontaneously to the surface, and came immediately into his hand! All the people were astonished at the sight; the stone was deemed sacred, and deposited in the house of the Eatooa, where it is still preserved, as a proof that this prophetess was inspired with the divinity. Elevated with the hopes of victory, the canoes of Bolabola attacked those of Ulietea and Huaheine; the encounter lasted long, they being lashed strongly together with ropes; and, notwithstanding the pretended miracle, the Bolabola fleet would have been vanquished, had not that of Otaha arrived at the critical moment. The fortune of the day was now turned; victory declared in favour of the Bolabolans; and their enemies were totally defeated. Two days after, the conquerors invaded Huaheine, which they subdued, it being weakly defended, as most of its warriors were then absent. Many of its fugitives, however, having got to Otaheite, there related their melancholy tale. This so affected those of their own country, and of Ulietea, whom they found in that Island, that they obtained their assistance. They were furnished with only ten fighting canoes; with which inconsiderable force they effected a landing at Huaheine in the night; and, taking the Bolabola men by surprize, killed many of them, and dispersed the rest. Thus were they again, by one bold effort, possessed of their own Island, which at this day remains independent, and is governed by its own chiefs. When the combined fleets of Ulietea and Huaheine were defeated, the men of Bolabola were applied to by their allies of Otaha, to be allowed an equal share of the conquests. This being refused, the alliance broke; and,



during the war, Otaha was conquered, as well as Ulietea, both of which remain subject to Bolabola; the chiefs by whom they are governed, being only deputies to Opoony, the king of the Islands. Such is their account of the war; and in the reduction of the two Islands five battles were fought, at different places in which great numbers were killed on each side.

We have already observed, that these people are extremely deficient in recollecting the exact dates of past events. Respecting this war, though it happened but a few years ago, we could only guess at the time of its commencement and duration, the natives not being able to satisfy our enquiries with any precision. The final conquest of Ulietea which terminated the war, had been achieved before Capt. Cook was there in 1769; but it was very apparent that peace had not been long restored, as marks of recent hostilities having been committed were then to be seen. By attending to the age of Tee-reetareea, the present chief of Huaheine, some additional collateral proof may be gathered. He did not appear to be more than ten or twelve years of age, and his father, we were informed, had been killed in one of the engagements. Since the conquest of Ulietea and Otaha, the Bolabola men are considered as invincible; and their fame is so far extended, that, even at Otaheite, if not dreaded, they are respected for their valour. It is asserted, they never fly from an enemy, and that they are victorious against an equal number of the other Islanders. These ascribe much to the superiority of their god, who, they believed, detained us by contrary winds at Ulietea. The estimation in which the Bolabola men are held at Otaheite, may be gathered from M. de Bougainville's anchor having been sent to their sovereign. The intention of transporting the Spanish bull to their Island, must be ascribed to the same cause. They also had a third European curiosity, brought to Otaheite by the Spaniards. This animal had been so imperfectly described by the natives, that we had been much puzzled to conjecture what it could be. Some good, however, generally springs up out of evil. When

Capt. Clerke's deserters were brought back from Bolabola, they told us the animal had been shewn to them, and that it was a ram. Had our men not deserted, it is probable we should never have known more about it. In consequence of this intelligence, the Captain, when he landed to meet Opoony, took an ewe with him in the boat, of the Cape of Good Hope breed, whereby a foundation is laid for a breed of sheep at Bolabola. He also left with Oreo, at Ulietea, two goats, and an English boar and sow: so that the race of hogs will be considerably improved, in a few years, at Otaheite, and all the neighbouring Islands; and they will, perhaps be stocked with many valuable European animals. When this is really the case, these Islands will be univalled in abundance and variety of refreshments for the supply of future navigators. Even in their present state, they are hardly to be excelled. When the inhabitants are not disturbed by intestine broils, which has been the case for several years past, their productions are numerous and plentiful.

Had we been possessed of a greater assortment of goods, and a proper quantity of salt, we might have salted as much pork as would have been sufficient to last both ships almost a year: but we quite exhausted our trading commodities at the Friendly Isles, Otaheite, and its neighbourhood. Our axes, in particular, were nearly gone, with which, alone, hogs were, in general, to be purchased. The salt that remained aboard was not more than was requisite for curing fifteen puncheons of meat. The following process of curing pork has been adopted by Captain Cook in his several voyages. The hogs were killed in the evening; and, when cleaned, they were cut up; after which the bone was taken out. The meat was salted while hot, and laid in such a manner as to permit the juices to drain from it, till the next morning: it was then salted again, put into a cask, and covered with pickle. It remained in this situation four or five days, when it was taken out, and carefully examined; and if any of it appeared to be in the least tainted, which sometimes happened, it was separated from the rest, which was repacked, headed



up, and filled with good pickle. It was again examined in about eight or ten days time, but there appeared no necessity for it, as it was generally found to be all perfectly cured. Bay and white salt mixed together answers the best, though either of them will do alone. Great care was taken that none of the large blood-vessels remained in the meat; and that not too much should be packed together at the first salting, lest those pieces which are in the middle should heat, and hinder the salt from penetrating them. In tropical climates, meat ought not to be salted in rainy sultry weather. Europeans having of late so frequently visited these Islanders, they may, on that account, have been induced to breed a larger stock of hogs; knowing that, whenever we come, they may be certain of receiving what they esteem a valuable consideration for them. They daily expect the Spaniards at Otaheite, and in two or three years time, they will doubtless expect the English there, as well as at the other Islands. It is useless to assure them that you will not return, for they suppose you cannot avoid it; though none of them know or enquire the reason of your coming. It would, perhaps, have been better for the people to have been ignorant of our superiority in the accommodations and arts that make life comfortable, than, after once knowing it, to be abandoned to their original incapacity of improvement. They cannot be, indeed restored to their former happy mediocrity, should the intercourse between us be discontinued. It is in a manner incumbent on the Europeans to pay them occasional visits (once in three or four years) to supply them with those articles, which we, by introducing, have given them a predilection for. The want of such supplies may be severely felt, when it is too late to return to their old imperfect contrivances, which they have now discarded, and despise. When the iron tools with which we furnished them are worn out, their own will be almost forgotten. A stone hatchet is now as great a curiosity among them, as an iron one was seven or eight years ago; and a chissel made of bone, or stone, is no where to be seen. Spike nails have been substituted in the

room of the latter articles, and they are weak enough to imagine that their store of them is inexhaustible, for they are no longer sought after. Knives happened at this time, to be in high estimation at Ulietea; and axes and hatchets bore unrivalled sway at all the Islands. Respecting articles merely ornamental, these Islanders are as capricious as the most polished European nations; for an article which may be prized to-day will be rejected to-morrow, as fashion or whim may alter. But our iron implements are so evidently useful, that they must continue to be high in their estimation. They would indeed be miserable, if they should cease to receive supplies of what appears necessary to their comfortable existence, as they are destitute of the materials, and ignorant of the art of fabricating them.

Much has already been related respecting Otaheite; which though not comprehended in the number of what we have denominated the Society Islands, yet, being inhabited by the same race of men, agreeing in the same leading features of character and manners, it was fortunate that we happened to discover this principal Island before the others, as the hospitable reception we there met with, led us to make it the principal place of resort, in our successive voyages to this part of the Pacific Ocean. By our repeated visits, we have had better opportunity of knowing something about it and its inhabitants, than about the other similar, but less considerable Islands in its vicinity. Of these latter, however, we have seen enough to satisfy us, that all we have observed of Otaheite may, with trifling alterations, be applied to them. During our continuance at these Islands, we lost no opportunity of making astronomical and nautical observations. At Otaheite and Ulietea we particularly remarked the tide, with a view of ascertaining its grandest rise at the former place. Also, by the mean of 145 sets of observations, we determined the latitude and longitude of the three following places

Matavai Point, at Otaheite	17° 29' 15" S. lat. 216° 22' 26" E. lon.
Owharre harbour, at Huahine	16 42 45 ————— 208 52 24
Ohamaneno ditto, at Ulietea	16 45 30 ————— 208 25 22

It may be thought by some, the Island of Otaheite has been already and so often



accurately described, and the manners, customs, and ways of living of the inhabitants, so amply enlarged upon, in our history of former voyages, that little remains to be added: but, that there are still, however, many parts of the domestic, political, and religious institutions of the natives, which, after all our visits to them, are but imperfectly understood; and we doubt not, but that the following remarks, for which we are indebted to the ingenious Mr. Anderson, and which may be considered as finishing strokes to a picture, the outlines of which have been already given, will be highly acceptable to our numerous friends and subscribers, who, by their kind encouragement of this work, have given the strongest testimony in its favour.

“To what has been observed of Otaheite (says Mr. Anderson) in the accounts of the successive voyages of Capt. Wallis, M. de Bougainville, and Capt. Cook, it would, at first sight, seem superfluous to add any thing; as it might be supposed, that little could now be produced, but a repetition of what has been related before. I am, however, far from being of that opinion; and will venture to affirm, that, though a very accurate description of the country, and of the most obvious customs of its inhabitants, has been already given, especially by Captain Cook, yet much still remains untouched: that in some instances, mistakes have been made, which later and repeated observations have been able to rectify; and that, even now, we are strangers to many of the most important institutions that prevail among these people. The truth is, our visits, though frequent, have been but transient: many of us had no inclination to make enquiries; more were unable to direct the enquiries properly; and we all laboured, though not to the same degree, under the disadvantages attending an imperfect knowledge of the language of those, from whom alone we could receive any information. The Spaniards had it more in their power to surmount this bar to instruction; some of them having resided at Otaheite much longer than any other European visitors; by which superior advantage, they could not but have

had an opportunity of obtaining the fullest information on most subjects relating to this Island: their account of it would, probably, convey more authentic and accurate intelligence, than, with our best endeavours, any of us could possibly obtain. But, as I look upon it to be very uncertain, if not very unlikely, that we should ever have any communication from that quarter, I have here put together what additional intelligence about Otaheite, and its neighbouring Islands, I was able to procure, either from Omiah, while on board the *Resolution*, or by conversing with the other natives, while we had any intercourse, and were conversant with them.

“The wind, for the greatest part of the year, blows from between the E. S. E. and E. N. E. This is the true trade wind, or what the natives call *maaraee*; and it sometimes blows with considerable force. When this happens, the weather is often cloudy, with showers of rain; but when the wind is more moderate, it is clear, settled, and serene. Should the wind veer farther to the southward, and become S. E. or S. S. E. it then blows more gently, with a smooth sea, and is called *maoi*. In these months, when the sun is nearly vertical, that is in December and January, the winds and weather are both very variable; but it frequently blows from W. N. W. or N. W. This wind, called *Toerou*, is generally attended by dark cloudy weather, and frequently by rain. It sometimes blows strong, though generally moderate; but seldom lasts longer than six days without interruption; and is the only wind in which the people of the Islands to leeward come to this, in their canoes. If it happens to be still more northerly, it blows with less strength, and is called *Era-potaia*; which they say is the wife of *Toerou*, who, according to their mythology, is a male. The wind from the S. W. and W. S. W. is still more frequent than the former, and though, in general, gentle, and interrupted by calms, or breezes from the eastward, yet it sometimes blows in brisk squalls. The weather attending it is commonly dark, cloudy, and rainy, with a close hot air; and accompanied by a great deal of thunder and



lightning. It is called Etoa, and often succeeds the Toerou ; as does also the Farooa, which is still more southerly ; and, from its violence, blows down houses and trees, especially the cocoa-palms, from their loftiness ; but it is of short duration. The natives seem not to have a very accurate knowledge of these changes, and yet pretend to have drawn some general conclusions from their effects ; for when the sea has a hollow sound, and dashes slowly on the reef, they say it portends good weather ; but if it has a sharp sound, and the waves succeed each other fast, that the reverse will happen.

“ There is, perhaps, scarcely a spot in the universe, that affords a more luxuriant prospect than the S. E. part of the Island of Otaheite. The hills are high and steep and in many places, craggy : but they are covered to the very summits, with trees and shrubs, so that a spectator cannot help thinking, that the very rocks possess the property of producing and supporting their verdant clothing. The flat land which bounds those hills toward the sea, and the interjacent valleys, also teem with various productions that grow with the most exuberant vigour ; and, at once, fill the mind of the beholder with the idea, that no place on the earth can excel this, in the strength and beauty of vegetation. Nature has been no less liberal in distributing rivulets, which are found in every valley ; and as they approach the sea, often divide into two or three branches, fertilizing the flat lands through which they run. The habitations of the natives are scattered without order, upon these flats ; and many of them appearing toward the shore, presented a delightful scene, viewed from our ships ; especially as the sea, within the reef, which bounds the coast, is perfectly still, and affords a safe navigation, at all times, for the inhabitants, who are often seen paddling in their canoes indolently along, in passing from place to place, or in going to fish. On viewing these delightful scenes, I have often regretted my inability to transmit to those who have had no opportunity of seeing them, such a description as might, in some measure, convey an impression similar to what must be felt by every one,

who has been fortunate enough to be on the spot.”

“ It is, doubtless, the natural fertility of the country, combined with the mildness and serenity of the climate, that renders the natives so careless in their cultivation, that in many places, though abounding with the richest productions, the smallest traces of it cannot be observed. The cloth-plant which is raised from seeds brought from the mountains, and the ava, or intoxicating pepper, which they defend from the sun when very young by covering them with the leaves of the bread-fruit tree, are almost the only things to which they seem to pay any attention ; and these they keep very clean. I have inquired very carefully into their manner of cultivating the bread-fruit-tree ; but was always answered, that they never planted it. This, indeed, must be evident to every one who will examine the places where the young trees come up. It will be always observed, that they spring from the roots of the old ones ; which run near the surface of the ground : so that the bread-fruit-trees may be reckoned those that would naturally cover the plains, supposing that the Island was not inhabited, in the same manner that the white-barked-trees, found at Van Diemen's Land, constitute the forests there. And from this we may observe, that an inhabitant of Otaheite, instead of being obliged to plant his bread, will rather be under a necessity of preventing its progress ; which, I suppose, is sometimes done, to give room for trees of another sort, to afford him a variety in his food. The chief of these are the cocoa-nut and plantain ; the first of which can give no trouble, after it has raised itself a foot or two above the ground ; but the plantain requires a little more care : for after it is planted, it shoots up, and, in about three months, begins to bear fruit ; during which time it gives young shoots, which supply a succession of fruit ; for the old stocks are cut down as the fruit is taken off. The products of the Island however, are not so remarkable for their variety, as great abundance ; and curiosities of any kind are not numerous. Among these we may reckon a pond or lake of fresh water, at the top of one of the



highest mountains, to go to, and return from which, takes three or four days. It is remarkable for its depth; and has eels of an enormous size in it; which are sometimes caught by the natives, who go upon this water in little floats of two or three wild plantain-trees fastened together. This is esteemed one of the greatest natural curiosities of the country; insomuch, that travellers, who come from the other Islands, are commonly asked among the first questions, by their friends, at their return, if they have seen it? There is also a sort of water, of which there is only one small pond upon the Island, as far distant as the lake, and to appearance very good, with a yellow sediment at the bottom; but it has a bad taste: and proves fatal to those who drink any quantity of it, or makes them break into blotches, if they bathe in it.

"Nothing made a stronger impression, at first sight, on our arrival here, than the contrast between the robust make, and dark colour of the people of Tongataboo, and a sort of delicacy and whiteness, which distinguish the inhabitants of Otaheite. It was even some time before that difference could preponderate in favour of the Otaheiteans; and then only, perhaps, because we became accustomed to them, the marks which recommended the others began to be forgotten. Their women, however, struck us as superior in every respect; and as possessing all those delicate characteristics, which distinguish them from the other sex in many countries. The beard, which the men here wear long, and the hair which is not cut so short, as is the fashion at Tongataboo, made also a great difference; and we could not help thinking, that on every occasion, they shewed a greater degree of timidity and fickleness. The muscular appearance, so common among the Friendly Islanders, and which seems a consequence of their being accustomed to much action, is lost here, where the superior fertility of their country enables the inhabitants to lead a more indolent life; and its place is supplied by a plumpness and smoothness of the skin; which, though perhaps more consonant with our ideas of beauty, is no real advantage; as it seems to be attended

with a kind of langour in all their motions, not observable in the others. This remark is fully verified in their boxing and wrestling, which may be called little better than the feeble efforts of children, if compared to the vigour with which they are performed at the Friendly Islands.

"Among these people, personal endowments are in great esteem, and they have recourse to several methods of improving them according to their notions of beauty. It is a practice, in particular, especially among the Erreoes, or unmarried men of some consequence, to undergo a kind of physical operation to render them fair. This is done by remaining a month or two in the house; during which time they wear a quantity of clothes, eat nothing but bread-fruit, to which they ascribe a remarkable property in whitening them. They also speak, as if their corpulence and colour, at other times, depended on their food, as they are obliged, from the change of seasons, to use different sorts at different times. Their common diet is made up of, at least, nine tenths of vegetable food; and I believe, more particularly, the Mahee, or fermented bread-fruit, which is a part of almost every meal, has a remarkable effect on them, preventing a costive habit, and producing a very sensible coolness about them, which could not be perceived in us who fed on animal food, and it is, perhaps, owing to this temperate course of life, that they have so few diseases among them. They reckon only five or six, which might be called chronic, or national disorders; among which are the dropsy, and the fesai, or indolent swellings, frequent at Tongataboo. But this was before the arrival of the Europeans; for we have added to this short catalogue a disease which abundantly supplies the place of all others, and is now almost universal. For this they seem to have no effectual remedy. The priests, indeed, give them a medly of simples; but they own that it never cures them. And yet, they allow that in a few cases, nature, without the assistance of a physician, exterminates the poison of this fatal disorder, and a perfect recovery is produced.

"Their behaviour, on all occasions, seems



to indicate a great openness, and generosity of disposition. Omiah, indeed, who as their countryman, should be supposed rather willing to conceal their defects, has often said, that they are sometimes cruel in the treatment of their enemies. According to his account they torment them very deliberately; at one time tearing out small pieces of flesh from different parts; at another taking out the eyes; then cutting off the nose; and lastly, killing them by ripping up the belly. But this only happens on particular occasions. If cheerfulness argues a conscious innocence, one would suppose that their life is seldom sullied with crimes. This, however, I rather impute to their feelings, which, though lively, seem in no case permanent; for I never saw them in any misfortune, labour under the appearance of anxiety, after the critical moment was past. Neither does care ever seem to wrinkle their brow. On the contrary, even the approach of death does not appear to alter their usual vivacity. I have seen them when brought to the brink of the grave by disease, and when preparing to go to battle; but, in neither case, ever observed their countenances overclouded with melancholy or serious reflection. Such a disposition leads them to direct all their aims only to what can give them pleasure and ease. Their amusements all tend to excite and continue amorous passions, and their songs, of which they are immoderately fond, answer the same purpose. But as a constant succession of sensual enjoyments must cloy, we found they frequently varied them to more refined subjects, and had much pleasure in chanting their triumphs in war, and their occupations in peace; their travels to other Islands, and adventures there; and the peculiar beauties, and superior advantages of their own Island over the rest, or of different parts of it over other less favourite districts. This marks their great delight in music; and though they rather expressed a dislike to our complicated compositions, yet were they always delighted with the more melodious sounds produced singly on our instruments, as approaching nearer to the simplicity of their own. Neither are they strangers to the soothing effects produced by

particular sorts of motion, which, in some cases, seem to allay any perturbation of mind, with as much success as music. Of this I met with a remarkable instance: for walking, one day, about Matavia point, where our tents were erected, I saw a man paddling, in a small canoe, so quickly, and looking about him with such eagerness on each side, as to command all my attention. At first, I imagined that he had stolen something from one of the ships, and was pursued: but, on waiting patiently, saw him repeat his amusement. He went out from the shore, till he was near the place where the swell begins to take its rise; and, watching its first motion very attentively, paddled before it, with great quickness, till he found that it overtook him, and acquired sufficient force to carry his canoe before it, without passing underneath. He then sat motionless, and was carried along at the same swift rate as the wave, till it landed him on the beach. Then he started out, emptied his canoe, and went in search of another swell. I could not help concluding, that this man felt the most supreme pleasure, while he was driven on, so fast and so smoothly, by the sea; especially as, though the tents and ships were so near, he did not seem in the least to envy, or even to take any notice of the crowds of his countrymen, collected to view them as objects that were rare and curious. During my stay, two or three of the natives came up, who seemed to share his felicity, and always called out, when there was an appearance of a favourable swell, as he sometimes missed it, by his back being turned, and looking about for it. By them I understood, that this exercise, which is called *ehorooe*, was frequent among them; and they have probably more amusements of this sort, which afford them, at least, as much pleasure as skating.

“The language of Otahete, though doubtless radically the same with that of new Zealand, and the Friendly Isles, is destitute of that guttural pronunciation, and of some consonants, with which those latter dialects abound. The specimens we have already given are sufficient to mark wherein the variation chiefly consists, and to shew, that, like



The manners of the inhabitants, it has become soft and soothing. During the former voyage, I had collected a copious vocabulary, which enabled me the better to compare this dialect with that of the other Islands; and, during this voyage, I took every opportunity of improvement by conversing with Omiah before we arrived, and by my daily intercourse with the natives, while we now remained there." (In our history of Capt. Cook's former voyage, we have given to the public very copious specimens of the language of Otaheite, New Zealand, &c. which we flatter ourselves will be thought sufficient for their information, amusement, and every useful purpose.) "It abounds with beautiful and figurative expressions, which were it perfectly known, would, I make no doubt, put it upon a level with many of the languages that are most in esteem for their warm and bold images. For instance; the Otaheiteans express their notions of death very emphatically, by saying, "That the soul goes into darkness: or rather into night." And if you seem to entertain any doubt, in asking the question, "If such a person is their mother?" they immediately reply, with surprise, "Yes, the mother that bore me." They have one expression, that corresponds exactly with the phraseology of the scriptures, where we read of the "yearning of the bowels." They use it on all occasions, when the passions give them uneasiness; as they constantly refer pain from grief, anxious desire, and other affections, to the bowels, as its seat; where they suppose all the operations of the mind are performed. Their language is so copious, that for the bread-fruit alone, in its different states, they have above twenty names; as many for the taro root; and about ten for the cocoa-nut. Add to this, that besides the common dialect, they often expostulate, in a kind of stanza, or recitative, which is answered in the same manner.

"Their arts are few and simple; yet, if we may credit them, they perform cures in surgery, which our extensive knowledge in that branch has not as yet, enabled us to imitate. In simple fractures, they bind them up with splints; but if part of the substance of the bone be lost, they insert a piece of

wood between the fractured ends, made hollow like the deficient part. In five or six days, the rapao, or surgeon, inspects the wound, and finds the wood partly covered with the growing flesh. In as many more days, it is generally entirely covered; after which, when the patient has acquired some strength, he bathes in the water, and recovers. We know that wounds will heal over leaden bullets; and sometimes though rarely over other extraneous bodies. But what makes me entertain some doubt of the truth of so extraordinary skill, as in the above-mentioned instance, is, that in other cases that fell under my own observation, they are far from being so dextrous. I have seen the stump of an arm which was taken off, after being shattered by a fall from a tree, that bore no marks of skilful operation, though some allowance be made for their defective instruments: and I met with a man going about with a dislocated shoulder, some months after the accident, from their being ignorant of the method to reduce it; though this be considered as one of the simplest operations of our surgery. They know fractures or luxations of the spine are mortal, but not fractures of the skull; and they likewise know, from experience, in what part of the body, wounds prove fatal. They have sometimes pointed out those inflicted by spears, which if made in the direction they mentioned, would certainly have been pronounced deadly by us; and yet these people would have recovered. Their physical knowledge seems more confined, and that probably, because their diseases are fewer than their accidents. The priests, however, administer the juices of the herbs in some cases; and women who are troubled with after-pains, or other disorders, the consequences of child-bearing, use a remedy which one would think needless in a hot country. They first heat stones, as when they bake their food; then they lay a thick cloth over them, upon which is put a quantity of a small plant of the mustard kind; and these are covered with another cloth. Upon this they seat themselves, and sweat plentifully to obtain a cure. They have no emetic medicine.



“Notwithstanding the extreme fertility of the Island, a famine frequently happens, in which, it is said, many perish. Whether this be owing to the failure of some seasons, to over population, which must sometimes almost necessarily happen, or to wars, I have not been able to determine; though the truth of the fact may fairly be inferred, from the great economy that they observe with respect, to their food, even when there is plenty. In times of scarcity, after their bread-fruit and yams are consumed, they have recourse to various roots which grow, without cultivation, upon the mountains. The patarra, which is found in vast quantities, is what they use first. It is not unlike a very large potatoe or yam, and good when in its growing state; but, when old, is full of hard stringy fibres. They then eat two other roots; one not unlike the taro; and lastly, the ehoe. This is of two sorts; one of them possessing deleterious qualities, which obliges them to slice and macerate it in water, a night before they bake and eat it. In this respect it resembles the cassava-root of the West-Indies; but it forms a very insipid, moist paste, in the manner they dress it. However, I have seen them eat it at times when no such scarcity reigned. Both this and the patarra are creeping plants; the last, with ternate leaves. Of animal food, a very small portion falls, at any time, to the share of the lower class of people; and then it is either fish, sea-eggs, or other marine productions; for they seldom or ever eat pork. The eree de hoi, (as Mr. Anderson calls the king, but which word Capt. Cook writes eree rahie) is, alone, able to furnish pork every day; and inferior chiefs, according to their riches, once a week, fortnight, or month. Sometimes they are not even allowed that; for, when the Island is impoverished by war, or other causes, the chief prohibits his subjects to kill any hogs; and this prohibition, we are told, is in force, sometimes, for several months, or even for a year or two. During that constraint, the hogs multiply so fast, that there are instances of their changing their domestic state, and turning wild. When it is thought proper to take off the prohibition,

all the chiefs assemble at the king's place of abode; and each brings with him a present of hogs. The king then orders some of them to be killed, on which they feast; and, after that, every one returns home with liberty to kill what he pleases for his own use. Such a prohibition was actually in force, on our last arrival here; at least, in all those districts of the Island that are immediately under the direction of Otoo. And, lest it should have prevented our going to Mata-vai, after leaving Oheitepeha, he sent a message to assure us, that it should be taken off, as soon as the ships arrived there. With respect to us, we found it so; but we made such a consumption of them, that, I have no doubt it would be laid on again, as soon as we sailed. A similar prohibition is also, sometimes, extended to fowls. It is also among the better sort, that the ava is chiefly used. But this beverage is prepared somewhat differently from that which we saw so much of at the Friendly Islands: for they pour a very small quantity of water upon the root here; and sometimes roast, and bake, and bruise the stalks, without chewing it previously to its infusion. They also use the leaves of the plant here, which are bruised, and water poured upon them, as upon the root. Large companies do not assemble to drink it, in that sociable way which is practised at Tongataboo. But its pernicious effects are more obvious here; perhaps, owing to the manner of preparing it; as we often saw instances of its intoxicating, or rather stupifying powers. Some of us, who had been at these Islands before, were surprized to find many people, who when we saw them last, were remarkable for their size and corpulency, now almost reduced to skeletons, and, upon enquiring into the cause of this alteration, it was universally allowed to be the use of the ava. The skins of these people were rough, dry, and covered with scales, which, they say, every now and then fall off, and their skin is, as it were, renewed. As an excuse for a practice so destructive, they alledge, that it is adopted to prevent their growing too fat; but it evidently enervates them; and, in all probability shortens their days. As its effects



had not been so visible, during our former visits, it is not unlikely, that this article of luxury had never been so much abused as at this time. If it continues to be fashionable, it bids fair to destroy great numbers.

“The times of eating, at Otaheite, are very frequent. Their first meal, (or rather, as it may be called) their last, as they go to sleep after it, is about two o'clock in the morning; and the next is at eight. At eleven they dine; and again, as Omiah expressed it, at two, and at five: and sup at eight. In this article of domestic life, they have adopted some customs that are exceeding whimsical. The women, for instance, have not only the mortification of being obliged to eat by themselves, and in a different part of the house from the men; but, by a strange kind of policy, are excluded from a share of most of the better sorts of food. They are not permitted to taste turtle, nor fish of the tunny kind, which is much esteemed; nor some particular sorts of the best plantains; and it is very seldom that even those of the first rank eat pork. The children of each sex also eat apart; and the women, generally, serve up their own victuals; for they would certainly starve, before any grown man would do them such a service. In this, as well as in some other customs relative to their eating, there is a mysterious conduct, which we could never thoroughly comprehend. When we enquired into the reasons of it, we could get no other answer, but that it is right and necessary it should be so. In other customs, respecting the females, there seems to be no obscurity; especially as to their connections with the men. If a young man and woman, from mutual choice, cohabit, the man gives the father of the girl such things as are necessary in common life, as hogs, cloth, and canoes, in proportion to the time they are together; and if he thinks that he has not been sufficiently paid for his daughter, he makes no scruple of forcing her to leave her friend, and to cohabit with another person who may be more liberal. The man, on his part, is always at liberty to make a new choice; but should his consort become pregnant, he may kill the child; and after that,

either continue his connection with the mother, or leave her. But if he should adopt the child, and suffer it to live, the parties are then considered as in the married state, and they commonly live together ever after. However, it is thought no crime in the man to join a more youthful partner to his first wife, and to live with both. Their custom of changing their connections, is, however, much more general than this last; and it is a thing so common, that they speak of it with great indifference. The errooes are only those of the better sort, who, from their fickleness, and their possessing the means of purchasing fresh connections, are constantly roaming about; and, from having no particular attachment, seldom adopt the more settled method mentioned above. And so agreeable is this licentious manner of life to their disposition, that the most beautiful of both sexes thus commonly spend their youthful days, habituated to the practice of enormities, which would disgrace the most savage tribes; but are peculiarly shocking among a people whose general character, in other respects, has evident traces of the prevalence of humane and tender feelings. When an errooe woman is delivered of a child, a piece of cloth dipped in water, is applied to the mouth and nose, which suffocates it. As in such a life, their women must contribute a very large share of its happiness, it is rather surprising besides the humiliating restraints they are laid under with regard to food, to find them often treated with a degree of harshness, or rather brutality, which one would scarcely suppose a man would bestow, on an object for whom he had the least affection. Nothing, however is more common, than to see the men beat them without mercy; and unless this treatment is the effect of jealousy, which both sexes, at least, pretend to be sometimes infected with, it will be difficult to account for it. It will be less difficult to admit this as the motive, as I have seen several instances where the women have preferred personal beauty to interest; though I must own, that even in these cases, they seem scarcely susceptible of those delicate sentiments, that



are the result of mutual affection ; and, I believe that there is less platonic love in Otaheite, than in any other country.

“ Their religious system is extensive, and, in many instances, singular ; but few of the common people have a perfect knowledge of it ; that being confined chiefly to their priests, who are pretty numerous. They do not seem to pay respect to one god as possessing pre-eminence ; but believe in a plurality of divinities, who are all very powerful ; and in this case, as different parts of the Island, and the other Islands in the neighbourhood, have different ones, the inhabitants of each, no doubt, think that they have chosen the most eminent, or, at least, one who is invested with power sufficient to protect them, and to supply all their wants. If he should not answer their expectations, they think it no impiety to change ; as has very lately happened at Tiaraboo, where, in the room of two divinities formerly honoured, Olla, god of Bolabola, has been adopted, I should suppose, because he is the protector of a people who have been victorious in war ; and as, since they have made this change, they have been very successful themselves against the inhabitants of Otaheite-nooe, they impute it entirely to Olla, who as they literally say, fights their battles. Their assiduity in serving their gods is remarkably conspicuous. Not only the whattas, or offering places of the morais, are commonly loaded with fruits and animals ; but there are few houses where you do not meet with a small place of the same sort near them. Many of them are so rigidly scrupulous, that they will not begin a meal, without first laying aside a morsel for the eatooa ; and we had an opportunity during this voyage, of seeing their superstitious zeal carried to a pernicious height, in the instance of human sacrifices, the occasions of offering which, I doubt, are too frequent. Perhaps, they have recourse to them when misfortunes occur ; for they asked, if one of our men, who happened to be confined, when we were detained by a contrary wind, was taboo ? Their prayers are also very frequent, which they chant much after the manner, of the songs in their festive entertainments. And the women, as in other

cases, are also obliged to shew their inferiority in religious observances ; for it is required of them, that they should partly uncover themselves, as they pass the morais ; or take a considerable circuit to avoid them. Though they have no notion that their god must always be conferring benefits, without sometimes forgetting them, or suffering evil to befall them, they seem to regard this less than the attempts of some more inauspicious being to hurt them. They tell us, that etee is an evil spirit, who sometimes does us mischief, and to whom, as well as to their good being, they make offerings. But the mischiefs they apprehend from any superior invisible agents, are confined to things merely temporal. They believe the soul to be both immaterial and immortal. They say, that it keeps fluttering about the lips during the pangs of death ; and that then it ascends, and mixes with, or, as they express it, is eaten by the deity. In this state it remains for some time ; after which, it departs to a certain place destined for the reception of the souls of men, where it exists in eternal night ; or, as they sometimes say in twilight or dawn. They have no idea of any permanent punishment after death, for crimes they have committed on earth ; for the souls of good and bad men are eat indiscriminately by the deity ; but they certainly consider this coalition with him as a kind of purification necessary to be undergone, before they enter into a state of bliss ; for according to their doctrine, if a man refrain from all connection with women some months before death, he passes immediately into his eternal mansion, without such a previous union, as if already, by this abstinence, he were pure enough to be exempted from the general lot. They are, however, far from entertaining such sublime conceptions of happiness, which our religion, and, indeed reason gives us room to expect hereafter. The only great privilege they seem to think they shall acquire by death, is immortality, for they speak of spirits being, in some measure, not totally divested of those passions which actuated them when combined with material vehicles. Thus if souls, who were formally enemies, should meet, they have many



conflicts ; though it should seem, to no purpose, as they are accounted invulnerable in this invisible state. There is a similar reasoning with regard to a man and his wife when they meet. If the husband dies first, the soul of his wife is known to him on its arrival in the land of spirits. They resume their former acquaintance in a spacious house called *tourooa*, where the souls of the deceased assemble to recreate themselves with the gods. She then retires with him to his separate habitation, where they remain for ever, and have an offspring, which, however, is entirely spiritual as they are neither married, nor are their embraces supposed to be the same as with coporeal beings. Some of their notions about the deity, are extravagantly absurd. They believe, that he is subject to the power of those very spirits to whom he has given existence ; and that, in their turn, they frequently eat or devour him, though he possess the power of recreating himself. They doubtless, use this mode of expression, as they seem incapable of conversing about immaterial things, without constantly referring to material objects to convey their meaning. And in this manner they continue the account, by saying, that in the *Tourooa*, the deity enquires, if they intend, or not, to destroy him ? And that he is not able to alter their determination. This is known to the inhabitants on earth, as well as to the spirits ; for when the moon is in its wane, it is said, that they are then devouring their *eatooa* : and that, as it increases, he is renewing himself. And to this accident, not only the inferior, but the most eminent gods are liable. They also believe, that there are other places for the reception of souls after death. Thus, those who are drowned in the sea, remain there ; where they think that there is a fine country, houses, and every thing that can make them happy. But what is more singular, they maintain, that not only all other animals, but trees, fruit, and even stones, have souls, which at death, or upon being consumed, or broken, ascend to the divinity, with whom they first mix, and afterwards pass into the mansion allotted to each. They imagine, that their punctual performance of

religious offices procures them every temporal blessing. And as they believe, that the animating and powerful influence of the deity is every where diffused, it is no wonder that they join to this, many superstitious opinions about its operations. Accordingly, they believe that sudden deaths, and all other accidents, are effected by the immediate action of some divinity. If a man only stumble against a stone, and hurt his toe, they impute it to an *eatooe* ; so that they may be literally said, agreeable to their system, to tread on enchanted ground. They are startled, in the night, on approaching a *toopapoo*, where the dead are exposed, in the same manner that many of our ignorant and superstitious people are with the apprehensions of ghosts, at the sight of a churchyard ; and they have an equal confidence in dreams, which they suppose to be communications either from their god, or from the spirits of their departed friends, enabling those favoured with them to foretel future events ; but this kind of knowledge is confined to particular people. *Omiab* pretended to have this gift. He told us, that the soul of his father intimated to him in a dream, on the 26th of July, 1776, that he should go on shore, at some place, within three days ; but he was unfortunate in this first attempt to persuade us that he was a prophet ; for it was the 1st of August before we got into *Teneriffe*. Among them, however, the dreamers possess a reputation little inferior to that of their inspired priests and priestesses, whose predictions they implicitly believe, and are determined by them in all undertakings of consequence. The priestess who persuaded *Opoony* to invade *Ulietea*, is much respected by him ; and he never goes to war without consulting her. They also, in some degree, maintain our old doctrine of planetary influence ; at least, they are sometimes regulated, in their public counsels, by certain appearances of the moon ; particularly when lying horizontally, or much inclined on the convex part, on its first appearance after the change, they are encouraged to engage in war, with confidence of success.

“They have traditions concerning the creation, which as might be expected, are



complex, and clouded with obscurity. They say, that a goddess having a lump or mass of earth suspended in a cord, gave it a swing, and scattered about pieces of land, thus creating Otaheite and the neighbouring Islands. They have also notions of an universal creation, and of lands, of which they have now no other knowledge than what is mentioned in their traditions. Their most remote account reaches to Ta-too-ma and Tapu-pa, male and female stones or rocks, who support the mass of land and water or our globe underneath. These produced Totorro, who was killed, and divided into land; and after him, Otaia and Oroo were begotten, who afterward were married, and produced first land, and then a race of gods. Otaia is killed, and Oroo marries a god, her son, called Teorraha, whom she orders to create more land, the animals, and all sorts of food, found upon the earth; as also the sky, which is supported by men called Teeferei. The spots observed in the moon, are supposed to be groves of a sort of trees which once grew in Otaheite, and being destroyed by some accident, their seeds were carried up thither by doves, where they now flourish."

"They have also many legends, both historical and religious, one of which, relative to the practice of eating human flesh, I shall give the substance of, as a specimen of their method. A long time since, there lived in Otaheite two men, called Taheei; the only name they yet have for cannibals. None knew from whence they came, or in what manner they arrived at the Island. Their habitation was in the mountains, from whence they used to issue, and kill many of the natives, whom they afterwards devoured; and, by that means, prevented the progress of population. Two brothers being determined to rid their country of such a formidable enemy, used a stratagem for their destruction, with success. These lived farther upward than the Taheei, and in such a situation, that they could speak with them, without greatly hazarding their own safety. They invited them to accept of an entertainment that should be provided for them, to which they readily consented. The bro-

thers then taking some stones, heated them, and thrusting them into pieces of mabe, desired one of the Taheei to open his mouth. On which, one of these pieces was dropped in, and some water poured down, which made a boiling or hissing noise, in quenching the stone, and killed him. They intreated the other to do the same; but he declined it, representing the consequences of his companion's eating. However they assured him, that the food was excellent, and its effects only temporary; for that the other would soon recover. His credulity was such that he swallowed the bait, and shared the fate of the first. The natives then cut them in pieces, which they buried; and conferred the government of the Island on the brothers, as a reward for delivering them from such monsters. Their residence was in the district called Whapaneenoo; and to this day there remains a bread-fruit-tree, once the property of the Taheei. They had also a woman, who lived with them, and had two teeth of a prodigious size. After they were killed, she lived at the Island Otaia, and, when dead, was ranked among their deities. She did not eat human flesh, as the men; but from the size of her teeth, the natives still call any animal that has a fierce appearance, or is represented with large tusks, Taheei. Every one must allow, that this story is just as natural as that of Hercules destroying the Hydra, or the more modern one of Jack, the giant-killer: nor do I find, that there is any moral concluded under it, any more than under most old fables of the same kind; which have been received as truths only during the prevalence of the same ignorance that marked the character of the ages in which they were invented. It however, has not been improperly introduced, as serving to express the horror and detestation entertained here, against those who feed on human flesh. And yet, from some circumstances, I have been led to think, that the natives of these Isles were formerly cannibals. Upon asking Omiali, he denied it stoutly; yet mentioned a fact, within his own knowledge, which almost confirms such an opinion. When the people of Bolabola, one time, defeated those of



Huaheine, a great number of his kinsmen were slain. But one of his relations had afterward, an opportunity of revenging himself, when the Bolabola men were worsted in their turn, and cutting a piece out of the thigh of one of his enemies, he broiled and eat it. I have also frequently considered the offering of the person's eye, who is sacrificed, and offered to the chief, as a vestige of a custom which once really existed to a greater extent, and is still commemorated by this emblematical ceremony."

"The being invested with the maro, and the presiding at human sacrifices, seem to be peculiar characteristics of the sovereign. To these, perhaps may be added the blowing a conch-shell, which produces a very loud sound. On hearing it, all his subjects are obliged to bring food of every sort to his royal residence, in proportion to their abilities. On some occasions, they carry their veneration for his very name, to an extravagant and very destructive pitch. For if, on his accession to the maro, any words in their language be found to have a resemblance to it in sound, they are changed for others; and if any man be bold enough not to comply, and continue to use those words, not only he, but all his relations, are immediately put to death. The same severity is exercised toward those who shall presume to apply this sacred name to any animal. And, agreeably to this custom of his countrymen, Omiah used to express his indignation, that the English should give the names of prince or princess to their favourite dogs or horses. But while death is the punishment for making free with the name of their sovereign, if abuse be only levelled at his government, the offender escapes with the forfeiture of land and houses. The king never enters the house of any of his subjects, but has in every district, where he visits, houses belonging to himself. And if at any time, he should be obliged, by accident, to deviate from this rule, the house thus honoured with his presence, and every part of its furniture, is burnt. His subjects not only uncover to him, when present, down to the waist; but if he be at any particular place, a pole, having a piece of cloth tied

to it, is set up somewhere near, to which they pay the same honours. His brothers are also intitled to the first part of the ceremony; but the women only uncover to the females of the royal family: in short, they seem even superstitious in their respect to him, and esteem his person little less than sacred. And it is, perhaps, to these circumstances, that he owes the quiet possession of his dominions. For even the people of Ti-araboo allow him the same honours as his right; though at the same time, they look upon their own chiefs as more powerful; and say, that he would succeed to the government of the whole Island, should the present reigning family become extinct. This is the more likely, as Waheiadooa not only possesses Ti-araboo, but many districts of Opooreano. His territories, therefore, are almost equal, in extent, to those of Otoo; and he has, besides, the advantage of a more populous and fertile part of the Island. His subjects, also have given proofs of their superiority; by frequent victories over those of Otaheite-nooe, whom they affect to speak of as contemptible warriors, easily to be worsted, if at any time, their chief should wish to put it to the test."

"The ranks of people, besides the eree de hoi, and his family, are the erees, or powerful chiefs; the manahoone, or vassals; and the teou or toutou, servants, or rather slaves. The men of each of these, according to the regular institution, form their connections with women of their respective ranks; but if with any inferior one, which frequently happens, and a child be born, it is preserved, and has the rank of the father, unless he happens to be an eree, in which case it is killed. If a woman of condition should chuse an inferior person to officiate as an husband, the children he has by her are killed: and should a toutou be caught in an intrigue with a woman of the blood-royal, he is put to death. The son of the eree de hoi succeeds his father in title and honours, as soon as he is born; but if he should have no children, the brother assumes the government at his death. In other families, possessions always descend to the eldest son; but he is obliged to



maintain his brothers and sisters, who are allowed houses on his estates.

"The boundaries of the several districts, into which Otaheite is divided, are generally, either rivulets or low hills, which in many places, jut out into the sea. But the subdivisions into particular property, are marked by large stones, which have remained from one generation to another. The removal of any of these gives rise to quarrels, which are decided by arms; each party bringing his friends into the field. But if any one complain to the *ere de hoi*, he terminates the difference amicably. This is an offence, however not common; and long custom seems to secure property here as effectually as the most severe laws do in other countries. In conformity also to ancient practice established among them, crimes of a less general nature are left to be punished by the sufferer, without referring them to a superior. In this case, they seem to think, that the injured person will judge as equitably as those who are totally unconcerned; and as long custom has allotted certain punishments of different sorts he is allowed to inflict them, without being amenable to any other person. Thus, if any one be caught stealing, which is commonly done in the night, the proprietor of the goods may put the thief instantly to death; and if any one should enquire of him after the deceased, it is sufficient to acquit him, if he only informs them of the provocation he had to kill him. But so severe a punishment is seldom inflicted, unless the articles that are stolen be reckoned very valuable, such as breast plates, and plaited hair. If only cloth, or even hogs be stolen, and the thief escape, upon his being afterward discovered, if he promise to return the same number of pieces of cloth, or of hogs, no further punishment is inflicted. Sometimes, after keeping out of the way for a few days, he is forgiven, or at most, gets a slight beating. If a person kills another in a quarrel, the friends of the deceased assemble, and engage the survivor and his adherents. If they conquer they take possession of the house, lands, and goods, of the other party; but if conquered, the reverse takes place. If a *manahoone*

kills the *toutou*, or slave of a chief, the latter sends people to take possession of the lands and house of the former, who flies either to some other part of the Island, or to some of the neighbouring Islands. After some months, he returns, and finding his stock of hogs much increased, he offers a large present of these, with red feathers, and other articles, to the *toutou's* master, who generally accepts the compensation, and permits him to repossess his house and lands. This practice is the height of venality and injustice; and the slayer of the slave seems to be under no farther necessity of absconding, than to impose upon the lower class of people, who are the sufferers. For it does not appear, that the chief has the least power to punish this *manahoone*; but the whole management marks a collusion between him and his superior, to gratify the revenge of the former, and the avarice of the latter. Indeed, we need not wonder, that the killing of a man should be considered as so venial an offence among a people, who do not consider it as any crime to murder their own children. When talking to them about such instances of unnatural cruelty, and asking, whether the chiefs or principals were not angry, and did not punish them? I was told, that the chief neither could nor would interfere in such cases; and that every one had a right to do with his own child what he pleased."

"Though the productions, the people, the customs and manners of all the Islands in the neighbourhood, may in general be reckoned the same as at Otaheite, there are a few differences which should be mentioned, as this may lead to an enquiry about more material ones hereafter, if such there be, of which we are now ignorant. With regard to the little Island of Mataia, or Osnaburgh Island, which lies twenty leagues east of Otaheite, and belongs to a chief of that place, who gets from thence a kind of tribute: there a different dialect from that of Otaheite is spoken. The men of Mataia also wear their hair very long; and when they fight, cover their arms with a substance which is beset with sharks teeth, and their bodies with a sort of shagreen, being skin of



fishes. At the same time, they are ornamented with polished pearl-shells, which make a prodigious glittering in the sun; and they have a very large one that covers them before, like a shield or breast-plate. But Otaheite is remarkable for producing great quantities of that delicious fruit we called apples, which are found in one of the other Islands except Eimeo. It has also the advantage of producing an odoriferous wood, called Eahoi, which is highly valued at the other Isles, where there is none; nor in the south-east peninsula, or Tiaraboo, though joining it. Huaheine and Eimeo again, are remarkable for producing greater quantities of yams than the other Islands. And at Mouroua there is a particular bird, found upon the hills, much esteemed for its white feathers; at which place there is also said to be some of the apples, though it is the most remote of the Society Islands from Otaheite and Oimeo, where they are produced.

“Though the religion of all the Islands is the same, each of them has its particular or tutelar god, whose names, according to the best information I could obtain, are enumerated in the following list.

Gods of the ISLES.	
Tanne - - - -	Huaheine
Ooro - - - -	Ulietea
Tanne - - - -	Otaha
Olla - - - -	Bolabola
Otoo, ee weiahoo -	Mouroua
Tamouee - - -	Toobaee
Taroa - - -	{Tabooymanoo, or Sannder's Island, subject to Huaheine.
Oroo hadoo - -	Eimeo
Ooroo - - - -	{Otaheite and Otaheite nooe
Opoonoo and Whatooteree	{Tiaraboo
Tooboo, toobooai } and Ry maraiva }	{Mataia or Osnaburgh Island
Tammaree - - -	{The low Islands east- ward.

“Besides the cluster of high Islands from Mataia to Mouroua inclusive, the people of

Otaheite are acquainted with a low uninhabited Island, which they name Mopeeha, and seems to be Howe's Island, laid down to the westward of Mouroua in our late charts of this ocean. To this the inhabitants of the most leeward Islands sometimes go. There are also several low Islands to the north-eastward of Otaheite, which they have sometimes visited, but not constantly; and are said to be only at the distance of two days sail with a fair wind. They are thus named Mataeeva, Oanaa or Oannah, Taboohoe, Awehee, Kaoora, Orootooa, and Otavaoo, where are large pearls.

“The inhabitants of these Islands come frequently to Otaheite and the other neighbouring high Islands, from whose natives they differ in being of a darker colour, with a fiercer aspect, and differently punctured. I was informed, that at Mataeeva, and other's of them, it is the custom for the men to give their daughters to strangers who arrive among them; but the pairs must be five nights lying near each other, without presuming to proceed farther. On the sixth evening, the father of the young woman treats his guest with food, and informs his daughter, that she must that night receive him as her husband. The stranger, however, must not offer to express the least dislike, though the bed-fellow allotted him be ever so disagreeable; for this is considered as an unpardonable affront, and is punished with death. Forty men of Bolabola, who, incited by curiosity, had roamed as far as Mataeeva in a canoe, were treated in this manner; one of them having incautiously mentioned his dislike of the woman who fell to his lot, in the hearing of a boy who informed her father. In consequence of this, the Mataeevans fell upon them; but these warlike people killed three times their own number, though with the loss of all their party, except five. Those hid themselves in the woods, and took an opportunity, when the others were burying their dead, to enter some houses, where, having provided themselves with victuals and water, they carried them on board a canoe, in which they made their escape; and, after passing Mataia, at which they would not



touch, at last arrived safe at Eimeo. The Bolabolans, however, were sensible enough that their travellers had been to blame; for a canoe from Mateeva arriving some time after at Bolabola, so far were they from retaliating upon them for the death of their countrymen, that they acknowledged they had deserved their fate, and treated their visitors with much hospitality. These low Isles are, doubtless the farthest navigation, which those of Otaheite, and the Society Islands, perform at present. It seems to be a groundless supposition, made by Mons. de Bougainville, by whom we are told, that these people sometimes navigate at the distance of more than three hundred leagues. I do not believe they make voyages of this prodigious extent; for it is reckoned a sort of prodigy, that a canoe, once driven by a storm from Otaheite, should have fallen in with Mopeeha, or Howe's Island, though so near, and directly to leeward. The knowledge that they have of other distant Islands, is, no doubt, traditional; and has been communicated to them by the natives of those Islands, driven accidentally upon their coasts, who, besides giving them the names, could easily inform them of the direction in which the places lie from whence they came, and of the number of days they had been upon the sea. In this manner, it may be supposed, that the natives of Wateo have increased their catalogue by the addition of Otaheite, and its neighbouring Isles, from the people we met with there, and also of the other Islands these had heard of. We may thus account for that extensive knowledge attributed, by the gentlemen of the Endeavour, to Tupia, in such matters. And with all due deference to his veracity, I presume that it was by the same means of information, that he was able to direct the ship to Oheteroa, without having ever been there himself, as he pretended; which, on many accounts, is very improbable." Here ends Mr. Anderson's strictures on Otaheite, and its neighbouring Islands.

One year and five months had now elapsed, since our departure from England; during which period we had not been, upon the whole, unprofitably employed. Capt. Cook,

was sensible, that with respect to the principal object of his instructions, our voyage might be considered, at this time, as only at its commencement; and therefore, his attention to whatever might contribute towards our safety and final success, was now to be exerted, as it were, anew. We had with this view, examined into the state of our provisions at the Islands we had last visited; and having now, on leaving them, proceeded beyond the extent of former discoveries, an accurate survey was ordered to be taken of all the stores that were in each ship, that by being fully informed of the quantity and condition of every article, we might know how to use them to the greatest advantage. We had also, before we had quitted the Society Isles, taken every opportunity of enquiring of the natives, whether there were any Islands situate in a northerly or north-westerly direction from them, but it did not appear that they knew of any.

We should now proceed with the progress of the voyage, after our leaving the Society Islands; but shall defer it for the commencement of the next chapter; in order to lay before our readers an historical and geographical account of the north-west parts of North America, beginning from the isthmus of Darien: also an account of the most remarkable Islands situated in the high latitudes which with the descriptions already given, in the course of this work, of several Islands in the Indian seas, will form a complete, full, and perfect history of all the places, or old and new discoveries, mentioned and touched at, by all our most celebrated circumnavigators:

Americus Vespucio, a Florentine by birth, being in 1497, sent to improve the discoveries made in 1491, by Columbus, gave to the fourth quarter of the world, the name of America. This vast continent, (at least what has hitherto been discovered) reaches from latitude 78 deg. N. to 56 deg. S. That is, 134 degrees, which, taken in a straight line, amount to upwards of eight thousand and forty miles in length. Its breadth is very irregular, being in some places three thousand six hundred and ninety miles, and in others, as at the distance of Darien or



Panama, not above sixty or seventy. The boundaries ascribed to it, are the land about the pole on the north; the Atlantic Ocean, which separates it from Europe and Asia on the east; another vast ocean on the south, and the Pacific Ocean, usually called the South Sea, which divides it from Asia on the west. How or when America was first peopled, cannot be ascertained; but it is most likely to have been from the north of Asia; for the natives of both these parts still bear a great resemblance to one another in many respects. North America, which constitutes a grand division of this vast continent, and of which we propose now to treat, is separated from the southern part by the isthmus of Darien, and extends from that isthmus to within a few degrees of the north pole. In the period of more than two centuries and a half, geographers were not able to ascertain the limits of the northern extremity; this was a task to be performed by Capt. Cook in his third and last voyage.

Old Mexico, or New Spain, a rich and extensive country, was once a mighty empire, ruled by its own monarchs, till the Spaniards, by whom it was at first discovered in 1598, afterwards conquered it, under the command of Fernando Cortez. It lies between 7 deg. 30 min. and 30 deg. 40 min. north latitude, is two thousand miles long, six hundred broad where widest, has the isthmus of Darien on the south, New Mexico on the north, the gulf of Mexico on the east, and the Pacific Ocean on the west. It is divided into the audiences of Guadalajara, Mexico, and Guatimala, and is governed by a viceroy. Mexico, considering its situation in the torrid zone, enjoys a temperate air. No country under heaven abounds more with grain, delicious fruits, roots, and vegetables. On the western coast, near the Pacific Ocean, are some high mountains, most of which are said to be volcanoes. Several rivers rise in these mountains, and fall, some into the gulf of Mexico, and some into the South Sea, on both which there are several capes and bays. In the rocky, barren parts of the country, are the gold and silver mines. There are, it is said, several of the former, and no fewer

than one thousand of the latter. Gold is also found in grains or dust, in the sands of rivers or torrents. Whoever discovers a mine of gold or silver is at liberty to work it, paying the king a tenth of the produce, and limiting himself within fifty yards round the place upon which he has fixed. All the silver and gold dug or found in grains, is entered in the royal exchequer; and it is reported, that notwithstanding great quantities are run and concealed, no less than two millions of silver marks weighing eight ounces each, are entered yearly, out of which they coin seven hundred thousand marks into pieces of eight, quarter pieces, rials, and half-pieces, the latter being about three-pence sterling value. The trade of Spanish America has been carried on for some years past by vessels, called register ships; and the chief commodities of this country are gold, silver, exquisite marble, porphyry, jasper, precious stones, pearls, amber, ginger, tobacco, hides, tallow, salt, dying woods, drugs, balsams, honey, feathers, chocolate, cochineal, silk, sugar, cotton, wool, &c. The inhabitants are, at present, a mixed people, consisting of Indians, Spaniards, and other Europeans; the creoles, mestichoes, or issue of the Spaniards by Americans, the mestiches, or the issue of such issue; the terceroons dez Indies, or the children of the last, married to Spaniards; and the quarteroons dez Indies, whose descendants are allowed the same privileges as true Spaniards. The negroes are likewise pretty numerous, being imported from the coast of Africa for various purposes, and many of them admitted to their freedom. The issue of an European and a negro constitutes another distinction, called mulatto; besides all which there is a mixed breed of negroes and Indians, which is generally deemed the lowest rank.

The principal places are (1) Mexico, which stands in the middle of a great lake of its own name, about one hundred and seventy miles west of the gulph of Mexico. The number of inhabitants is computed at three hundred thousand; most of them live beyond their fortunes, and terminate a life of profusion in the most wretched indigence.



A prodigious quantity of jewels, gold and silver plate, and toys, together with the most valuable commodities of Europe and Asia, are exposed to sale in the streets.

California, a peninsula, is the most northern of all the Spanish dominions on the continent of America. It extends from the north coasts into the Pacific Ocean, eight hundred miles from Cape Sebastian, in 43 deg. 30 min. north latitude, towards the south-east as far as Cape St. Lucar, in 22 deg. 32 min. north latitude. The eastern coast lies nearly parallel with that of Mexico opposite to it, and the sea between is called the lake or gulf of California. Its breadth is very unequal; towards the north it is near two hundred miles, but at the south extremity it tapers away, and is scarcely fifty miles over. The more southern part was known to the Spaniards soon after the discovery of Mexico; for Cortez discovered it in 1535, but they did not till lately penetrate far into it, contenting themselves with the pearl fishery there. Several kinds of fruit are produced here; there are two species of deer peculiar to this country; also a particular breed of sheep, buffaloes, beavers, or animals much resembling them; a peculiar species of wild hogs, lions, wild cats, and many other wild beasts. The horses, mules, oxen, and other quadrupeds, that have been imported hither from Spain and Mexico, multiply exceedingly. Of the two species of deer peculiar to California, that called taye by the natives is greatly esteemed, and its flesh as well tasted as venison. The coast is plentifully stocked with birds, and there is a great variety of fish in the gulf of California, the Pacific Ocean, and the rivers. Though insects swarm here, as in most hot countries, yet on account of the dryness of the soil and climate, they are neither noxious nor troublesome. There is one of the richest pearl fisheries in the world, on the coast, and there are supposed to be mines in the country. Here are two considerable rivers, namely Rio Collorado, and Rio du Carmel, with several smaller streams, and fine ports, creeks, and roads, both on the east and west side, which is the reason of its having been so much frequented by

English privateers. There are in the heart of the country plains of salt quite firm, and clear as crystal. A great variety of savage tribes inhabit California. Those who live on the east side of the peninsula are great enemies to the Spaniards; but in other parts, they seem to be very hospitable to all strangers. The inland country, especially towards the north, is populous. The Indians resemble those described in other parts of America.

Siberia, a part of Russian, Tartary is bounded by the Frozen Ocean on the north; by China, and the Pacific Ocean, on the east; by Tibet, Usbeck Tartary, the Caspian Sea, and Astracan Tartary, on the south; and by European Russia, on the west; and is situate between sixty and one hundred and thirty degrees of eastern longitude, and between forty and seventy-two degrees of north latitude, being upwards of two thousand miles in length, and one thousand five hundred in breadth.

The Tobel and Irtis are the chief cities of Siberia, which running from north to south, join the Oby, the united stream falling into the Frozen Ocean, and dividing Asia from Europe: the Lena and Jenissa, which run from north to south, fall also into the Frozen Ocean: the Yamour and Argun which divide the Russian from the Chinese dominions, whose united streams fall into the bay of Corea. There are also a great many large lakes in this vast tract of land, of which the largest are those of Baikal and Kisan.

The only part of Siberia, fit for human beings to live in, is the southern, where the soil appears to be capable of cultivation, and that it might be rendered fertile; but, for want of inhabitants, very little corn is produced. But the northern part exhibits nothing but impenetrable woods, snow-topped mountains, fens, lakes, marshes, &c. and, being exposed to the bleak winds, is quite barren and desolate. Not a bird appears to give notice of any change of season; even rooks and magpies quit these deserts, where nature becomes quite torpid. The natives are obliged to make passages through heaps of snow, and the delights of summer are not experienced here but about three months



during which short space of time the inhabitants sow rye, oats, pease, and barley; but these seldom repay the husbandman's toil. The natives are generally shut up in their cottages for nine months in the year, scarcely ever venturing out: fir-trees of considerable height bend under the weight of snow; a melancholy gloom spreads all around, and the stillness is interrupted only by the cries of some wretched travellers in sledges. To these dreary regions the czars of Muscovy banish their courtiers and other great persons, who incur their displeasure. Some are banished for a limited term of years, and others for life, with the allowance of only one penny per day, and sometimes without any allowance at all; so that, as they are sent destitute from court, these miserable exiles pass a most dreadful life. They shoot for their livelihood, and are obliged to send an annual tribute of firs to the czars, or they are most severely punished by the task-masters.

**Kamtschatka.** This peninsula is, bounded on the east by the ocean, which separates it from America; its western boundary is Penschinska. The southern part is in 51 degrees north latitude, and in 143 degrees east longitude from London. This peninsula is divided into two parts by a chain of hills running from north to south. Its chief rivers are the Awatscha, Kamtschatka, the Teghil, and what is called the Great River. There are many extensive lakes in it.

Their spring and summer do not continue more than four months; but the latter is far from being agreeable; for as the adjacent hills are covered with snow, the air, even in the middle of summer, is sometimes pretty cold, attended with frequent rains; the winter however is not very inclement.

In many places mines of iron and copper have been discovered: the iron ore hath been found to be compact, of a yellow colour, inclining to red; and in some parts, black metallic particles have been observed, more compact than the rest of the ore. This ore, when crude, could not be attracted by the load stone, but, when calcined, became so in a small degree. A solid iron

ore has also been discovered here, similar to that found to the south-west of Echaterinenburg: its surface was found to be covered with a yellow oaker, of a reddish brown in the breakings of its solid parts. The ore, when crude, was not acted upon by the load-stone, though, after calcination, slightly attracted by it. The copper mines are like some of those produced on the Ryphean mountains having the malachites, in the form of stalactites and stataguites, in their cavities, very beautiful, and capable of being polished.

There is great choice of timber for a variety of uses in Kamtschatka, as well as abundance of shrubs of divers kinds, they have also several excellent medicinal plants. Barley, oats, peas, turnips, &c. grow likewise here. The grass springs up so fast, that they have three harvests; and the blades are frequently five feet in height.

This country abounds with tame and wild fowls. The wild animals are, black and white bears, wolves, lynxes, boars, elks, and a kind of stag very much like the fallow-deer. The bear never attacks a man, unless they find him asleep, when they tear the scalp off the back part of the head, and sometimes entirely destroy him. Foxes are also very numerous, some are white some reddish-yellow; some grey, with a black streak on the back, and are much valued; the white ones, however, are also valued, as being scarcer. There are also black-chestnut and blue breasted foxes; and they are in general too crafty for their pursuers, their sagacity exceeding that of the other species. The opulence of the country consists in its sables and ermines; the sables which are sold at a high price, excel those found in any other part of the globe: the natives eat the flesh, and esteem it very fine food.

Here is also found the gulo, or glutton; likewise other kinds of beaver, as the atlas, rein-deer, and sayga. The natives collect themselves in companies to hunt these animals; they go at the close of the winter from the month of March to the end of April, taking provisions with them. The glutton, which hath a very fine fur, is a terrible enemy to the deer: it will dart itself



from a tree upon a deer's back, and, fixing between the creature's horns, tear out his eyes: the afflicted animal, with excess of agony, falls to the ground, when the glutton strips his flesh from his bones.

Dogs are very numerous in this country: they resemble the European, and live much upon mice and fish; they scratch up the ground for the former, and seize the others from their streams. These dogs are extremely serviceable to the natives, in drawing their sledges over the snow: in the most dreadful weather, they scarce ever lose their way.

Several sorts of amphibious animals are also in Kamtschatka. One is the sea-cow, about thirty feet in length, and weighing six or seven thousand pounds, the skin of which is so hard, that scarce an hatchet or axe will penetrate it. The flesh of a young sea-cow, when properly boiled, has a good taste; the lean part is somewhat like veal, and the fat part like pork. The method of catching this animal is, by an iron hook struck into it by some men in a small vessel, then by a rope held by people on shore, the sea-cow is drawn gradually to the land; while those in the vessel cut the creature with instruments in several parts of the body, till it expires. It is not very difficult to take the sea-cow from its elements, for it seldom raises its head above the surface of the water, though its sides and back are often seen.

Sea-horses and sea-cats are also met with here: the latter have long hairs standing out on each side of their mouths like those of a cat, and they weigh from five to eight thousand pounds: their eyes are as large as a bull's and they will fly at people in boats; even if they are blinded by stones thrown at them, they will not retire, but gnaw the very stones that are thrown; however, when once deprived of sight, there is no great danger to be apprehended from them. The male and female differ both in form and disposition; so much in form, that they might be taken for different animals; and as to disposition, the female is mild, inoffensive, and timid, as a proof of this when an attempt is made to seize a young sea-cat, and the male, by vig-

orously defending it, affords the female an opportunity of taking it off in its mouth; if, in this case, the female should happen to drop it, the male abandons its adversary, and flying directly at the female, seizes her with all imaginable fury; when the latter, by licking his paws, and shewing every kind of submission, endeavours to mitigate his rage. The seas also abound with seals, which are caught by different methods: sometimes they are taken in the water, and at other times they are killed while sleeping on the rocks. Here are whales from seven to fifteen fathoms long.

Amongst a variety of fish, here is the sterlet, which is so much like the sturgeon, that there is scarce any difference, except that it is smaller and more delicate; it is so fat that it may be fried without oil.

Some of the birds of Kamtschatka are, eagles, hawks, pelicans, swans, geese, widgeons, ducks, cuckoos, magpies, snipes, partridges, &c. A bird called the red neck diver is very curious; it has a beautiful spot on the lower part of its neck; beneath this spot, there are feathers of a brown colour in the middle, and edged all round with white; the breast, belly and legs, are of a very beautiful white.

Sea-fowls are very numerous on the coast of the eastern ocean, as peacocks, sea-pies, green shanks, puffins, &c. Here too are the cormorant, sea-raven, and urile.

Clouds of dragon-flies, locusts; and gnats, are sometimes seen in this country. The latter are so troublesome, that the inhabitants are obliged to veil their faces, to avoid them. The dragon-flies, forming columns, fly with incredible swiftness.

The natives of Kamtschatka inhabit the southern part of the peninsula; the northern part is inhabited by the Koreki, and the southern by the Kuriles; but the Russians call the whole country Kamtschatka, though it has several names given it from particular circumstances. The Kamtschadales are short in stature, and resemble most of the other inhabitants of Siberia, except that their faces are somewhat shorter, their mouths larger, and their cheeks fuller; they have dark hair, hollow eyes, sharp noses, and tawny complexions; the latter is said



to be principally owing to the influence of the sun reflected from the snow in the spring-season, when the snow lies thick on the ground. Some of the natives, who are obliged to be in the woods, cover their faces with a kind of netting, to prevent the effects of the sun-beams darting on the snow; for the eye-sight suffers by this refraction, as well as the complexion. These people dress in deer-skins, with the fur outward; they use also, for this purpose, the skins of dogs and other animals. They often wear two coats, the sleeves of the outer coat reaching down to the knees; they have a hood to it, which in bad weather serves to cover the head; and they adorn the back part with shreds of skins, and sometimes of silks of different colours. The women wear the same sort of garments as the men, though their coat, or rather waistcoat, sits closer to their bodies, and is decorated with slips of red, blue, and yellow cloth, and sometimes ribband, or woollen list. To this waistcoat is joined a sort of petticoat coming about half way down the leg. The men wear a leather belt round them, and their legs are covered with different coloured skins; they wear seal-skin caps or hats, and sometimes a cap or hat of birch bark; some have caps of brass plaited. The women let their hair grow much longer than the men; they plait it, and hang brass trinkets to it: they have fur caps, that are black without, and white within. The men plait their hair, as well as the women. They never wash themselves, but live in a most beastly manner: they neither cut their nails, nor comb their hair. They eat raw flesh, carrion, stale-fish, or any thing they can get, how filthy soever it be. They live in huts under-ground, covered with grass or earth, and sometimes with the skins of the animals they have killed in the field, undressed, and yielding a noisome stench. They place benches in their hovels, with a fire-place in one corner, and on these benches they repose themselves. Some of the huts are covered and lined with mats. These are their winter dwellings; nor are their summer retreats much more elegant, except that they are built on the surface of the earth, and with rather more regularity.

These, it is true, are built high on pillows, with beams thrown across them, on which a floor is fixed, with a roof rising from each side to a central point; and, indeed it is necessary that their summer habitations should be thus high, else the inhabitants would be in continual danger from the wild beasts. They eat out of bowls, or troughs, with their dogs, and never wash them afterwards.

We shall now take notice of their marriages. When a man hath met with a young woman that he likes, he engages into the service of her parents, and, after the expiration of a limited time of servitude, obtains either permission to marry her, or is dismissed with a requital for his service. If he has leave to marry, the nuptials commence immediately, and the whole ceremony consists in stripping the bride naked, whose clothes however, are so fast bound by straps and girdles, that he finds it no easy task to accomplish his purpose; at this crisis several women shelter and protect her from him; who, however, seeking an opportunity to find her less guarded, makes fresh efforts to undress her: but if she cries out, and her exclamations bring assistance, the women who come, fall upon the man, scratching his face, tearing his hair, and otherwise roughly treating him; till the bride, shewing some concern for his situation, and the women becoming less violent in their assaults, the man at length succeeds, and then retires from her, who however calls him back, and acknowledges in a soft plaintive tone, that he has conquered her. Thus the ceremony ends, and the next day the happy couple repair to the hut of the husband. In about a week afterwards they make a visit to the wife's parents, where they celebrate the marriage feast with the relations of both parties. Some of the men marry three wives, who in general live friendly together, and are never jealous. It is deemed a very capital offence in a woman to procure abortion, yet if twins are born, one of them must be destroyed. The women put their infants in a basket fastened to an elastic pole, which is easily moved with the foot, to rock them. As soon as they can stand



on their legs, their mothers leave them to themselves, suffering them to roll on the ground any where ; they are most commonly half naked, and begin to walk at a time when a child in Europe would not be able to stand.

These people never bury their dead, but often give them to the dogs ; and say, that as the deceased are thus devoured by dogs, they will ensure to themselves a pleasant carriage in sledges drawn by fine dogs in the other world. This abominable custom, however, is not universally practised ; some leaving their dead in their hut, and seek a new habitation. The apparel of the deceased person is always thrown away, from a superstitious notion, that whoever should wear it would meet with some dreadful calamity.

They travel on sledges drawn by dogs ; their number is generally four, which are driven by a whip. The person in the sledge is seated on the right side of it, with his feet hanging over, and is obliged to balance himself with great care, lest the sledge should upset. Where the roads are in tolerable condition, they can travel to a great distance in a short time, carrying with them provisions, &c. They sometimes travel, in this manner, about thirty wersts, that is, upwards of twenty-three miles in a day. They hunt the bear, among other animals ; on which occasion they use racks to walk upon the snow with, arming themselves with pikes and taking dogs with them to provoke the animal. They then wait till he comes out of his enclosure, for they would attack him to great disadvantage while he remained there ; because the snow being very firm in that place, the bear would be able to avail himself of all his strength ; but the instant he comes out, he sinks into the snow, and while he is striving to disengage himself, the hunters with their pikes easily destroy him. They dress their seal-skins in the following manner : they first wet and spread out the skin, and with stones fixed in wood, scrape off all the fat ; then they rub it with caviar, roll it together, and tread on it ; they afterwards scrape it again, and repeat the first part of their

process till the skin is thoroughly cleaned and soft. They prepare in the same manner, skins of beaver, deer, dogs, &c. When the men are not employed in hunting, or fishing, they weave nets, and construct sledges and boats ; and in the spring and summer they procure the necessaries of life, and lay up a store for the succeeding winter. The women make shoes, sew clothes, dye skins, &c. they also make glue of the dried skins of fishes, and particularly of the whale. They use a board of dry wood to light their fires ; in this board are several round holes, into one of which putting the end of a small round stick, they roll it backwards and forwards till the wood takes fire by the friction.

The people of this country are arrant cowards, and yet seem to despise life, through an innate kind of stupidity. They never attack their enemies openly, unless compelled to it ; but steal privately to their huts, and treat them most barbarously, cutting them to pieces, and even tearing out their entrails : these cruelties are exercised with triumph and shouts of joy. Whenever they hear of a foe advancing towards them, they retire to some mountain, and fortify it as strongly as possible : if there be a probability of the enemy getting the better of them, they immediately cut the throats of their wives and children, and then meet their assailants with a frantic rage, selling their lives as dear as possible. Their weapons are bows and arrows, and spears.

The religious notions of the Kamtschadales are pretty singular. They erect a sort of pillar on some plain, and cover it with a parcel of rags. Whenever they pass by this pillar, they throw at it some fish or flesh, and avoid killing any bird or beast near it. They think that woods and burning mountains are inhabited by evil spirits, whom they live in great fear of, and make them offerings ; some of them have idols in their huts. They have a very imperfect idea of a supreme Being, and think he can neither dispense happiness nor misery : the name, which they have for the deity, is Kutchu. They reverence some particular animals, from which they apprehend danger, and



sometimes offer fires at the holes of foxes ; they implore wolves not to hurt them, and beseech amphibious animals not to overset their boats. Many of them, however adopt the Russian manners, and condemn the customs of their country ; they have been instructed by Russian missionaries in the Christian religion ; and schools have been erected for their children. They strictly observe the law of retaliation ; if one man kills another, the relations of the person killed destroy the murderer. They punish theft, by burning the fingers of the thief. Before the Russians conquered them, they had such frequent intestine broils, that a year rarely passed without some village being ruined.

Great havoc is made in this country by the small-pox. The scurvy, with the irregularities of parents, bring a variety of diseases upon their offspring, to cure which, they apply roots, herbs, &c. The manner in which these people live in their huts, and their excess of debauchery, contribute to make the venereal disease very frequent among them. They have a disorder called the sushutoh, which is a sort of scab, to which they apply the raw skin of a hare to cause a suppuration. They are likewise subject to the palsy, jaundice, boils, cancers, and other disorders.

There are three volcanoes in Kamtschatka, the first is that of Awatcha, to the northward of the bay of that name ; it is a chain of mountains, the base of which is covered with trees, and extends to the bay. The middle forms a kind of amphitheatre, and the various summits which are spiral cannot be viewed without exciting the most awful ideas. They always emit smoke, but rarely fire. There was indeed a terrible eruption of smoke and cinders in the summer of the year 1737, but it only continued one day ; many of the cinders weighed almost two pounds avoirdupoise. This eruption was the forerunner of a terrible earthquake, which happened on the sixth of the ensuing October, and in a quarter of an hour overturned all the tents and huts of the Kamtschadales, being accompanied by a singular ebbling and flowing of the sea, which at first

rose to the height of twenty feet, then sunk, and retired to an unusual distance ; it soon after rose higher than at first, and suddenly sinking again, retired so astonishingly far from the common low-water mark, that it was for a considerable time lost to the eye. At length the earthquake was repeated, the sea returned once more, and rose to the height of two hundred feet, overwhelmed the whole coast, and then finally retired, after having destroyed the goods, cattle, and many of the lives of the inhabitants, and left several lakes of salt-water in the lower grounds and adjacent fields. The second volcano issues from some mountains situated between the river of Kamtschatka and that of Tobolski. Nothing was ever known to exhale from this but smoke, till the year 1739, when it vomited a torrent of flames, which destroyed all the neighbouring forests. The third volcano issues from the highest mountains in Kamtschatka, on the banks of the river of that name. It is environed by a cluster of lesser mountains, and the head is rent into long crevices on every side. Its greatest eruption began September 25th, 1737, and continued a week, which, with an earthquake that followed, did very considerable damage. In the southern extremity of Kamtschatka there are hot springs : they form rivulets, and run almost the length of the river Ozernaya which issues from the lake Kurilsky, and then join that stream ; the waters, however, have no very considerable degree of heat in them.

There is a mountain near the river Pandia, from whose summit a prodigious cataract of boiling waters run to a considerable distance ; and continue boiling up to the height of a foot, till they lose themselves in several lakes, which contain a great number of Islands. From this mountain the inhabitants obtain some beautiful stones, on which they set a great value, on account of their admirable variegated colours, which are merely the effects of the different powers of heat, humidity, and friction ; for these stones are washed from the mountains, and are polished by the above mentioned hot and impetuous waters.

During the winter, a great quantity of



fish harbour in the river of Kamtschatka. In the spring when the ice breaks, they attempt to get to the sea; but the natives watch the heads of the rivers, and take a great number of them in a kind of net; some they dry in the summer, and lay by for their winter food; and from others they extract the fat, or oil, by means of red hot stones, which they carefully reserve for a great variety of uses.

New Albion. This vast tract of land, and all the N. W. parts of America, are put down by all our geographers, in their maps and charts, as Terra incognita, or parts entirely unknown. Sir Francis Drake, indeed, discovered a port in nearly 40 deg. N. latitude, which he entered, and where he re-

mained five weeks. In 1603 Martin Aguilar entered a strait in latitude 45 deg. N. and another was discovered by Juan de Fuca in 1592. All the other parts of the coast, except Cape Elias in latitude 60 deg. and some land discovered by the Spaniards, have remained objects of investigation, to be explored and accurately marked by our gallant Commander, Capt. Cook, whose discoveries in these parts, as high as Cape Prince of Wales, near the Artic Circle; together with an account of his death at an Island, called Owhyhee, near Kamtschatka, will be the subjects of some of the following chapters, in the continuation of this history of his third and last voyage, to which we shall now proceed.

## CHAP. X.

*The Resolution and Discovery, after their departure from the Society Isles, prosecute their voyage; Christmas Island discovered, where they are supplied plentifully with fish and turtle; A Solar Eclipse observed; Two mariners lose their way on shore; A singular method of refreshing himself practiced by one of the stragglers; An inscription left in a bottle; A description of Christmas Island; Three Islands described; Others discovered; Their names; The whole group denominated Sandwich Islands; A complete account of their soil, productions, inhabitants, &c. Customs of the natives agree with those of Tongataboo and Otaheite; Extent of this nation throughout the Pacific Ocean; and remarks on the useful situation of Sandwich Islands; The Resolution and Discovery proceed to the northward; Nautical observations made at Sandwich Islands; Progress of the voyage; Arrival of the two ships on the coast of America; Description of the country; Difficulties of Cape Foulweather; Stormy, and unfavourable winds; Strictures on Martin d' Aguilar's River and jealousy of Juan de Fuca's pretended strait; The Resolution and Discovery anchor in an inlet in Hope Bay, where they are visited by numbers of the natives; An account of their behaviour; The two ships enter the sound, and moor in a commodious harbour; Various incidents and transactions during our intercourse with the natives; Their behaviour at their villages, while we made a progress round the sound; A remarkable visit from strangers; A second visit to one of the villages; Grass purchased; Departure of the ships after an exchange of presents; Directions for sailing into the sound; Its name; A copious and entertaining description, with several curious observations, on the adjacent country, and its inhabitants; Remarks on and specimen of the language in Nootka Sound; Astronomical and nautical remarks; A storm after leaving the sound, in which the Resolution springs a leak; The strait of Admiral de Fonte passed unexamined.*

ON Monday the 8th, of December, having quitted Bolabola, and the Society Isles, we steered to the northward, with the wind between N. E. and E. scarce ever

having it in the S. E. point, till after we had crossed the equator; nor did we meet with any thing by which the vicinity of land was, indicated, till we began, about the



latitude of 8 deg. S. to see boobies, men-of-war birds, terns, tropic birds, and a few other sorts. Our longitude, at this time, we found to be 205 deg. east. In the night, between the 22nd, and 23rd, we passed the line; and, on Wednesday the 24th, soon after day-break, we descried land, bearing N. E. by E. We perceived upon a nearer approach, it was one of those low Islands, so frequently met with in this ocean between the tropics; that is, a narrow bank of land, inclosing a sea or lake within. In two or three places we saw some cocoa-nut trees; but the land in general has a very sterile aspect. It extended, at noon from N. E. by E. to S. by E. half E. and distant about four miles. On the western side we found the depth of water to be from forty to fourteen fathoms, over a sandy bottom. The Captain, being of opinion that turtle might be procured at this Island, resolved to examine it; accordingly, we dropped our anchors in thirty fathoms water; and a boat was immediately dispatched to search for a commodious landing place. When she returned, the officer who had been employed in this search, reported, that he found no place where a boat could land; but that fish greatly abounded in the shoal water, without the breakers. On the 25th, being Christmas-day, two boats were sent, one from each ship, to examine more accurately whether it was practicable to land; and, at the same time, two others were ordered out, to fish at a grappling near the shore. These last returned about eight o'clock, A. M. with as many fish as weighed upwards of two hundred weight. Encouraged by this success, they were dispatched again after breakfast, and the Captain himself went in another boat to view the coast, and attempt landing, which, however he found to be impracticable. The two boats that had been sent on the same search, returned about noon; and the master belonging to the Resolution, reported to Capt. Cook, that about four or five miles to the northward, he had discovered a break in the land, and a channel into a lagoon, consequently there was a proper place for landing; and that he had found off this entrance the same soundings

as we had where we now were stationed. On the strength of this report, we weighed, and, after two or three trips, anchored again over a bottom of fine dark sand, before a little Island lying at the mouth of the lagoon, on each side of which is a channel leading into it, but fit only for boats; the water in the lagoon itself is likewise very shallow. In the morning of the 26th, Capt. Clerke was ordered to send out a boat, with an officer, to the south-east part of the lagoon, in quest of turtle; and Capt. Cook went himself with Mr. King, each in a boat, to the north-east part. It was his intention to have gone to the eastern extremity: but the wind not permitting it, he and Mr. King landed more to leeward, on a sandy flat, where they caught one turtle. They waded through the water to an Island, where they found only a few birds. Capt. Cook, leaving Mr. King here to observe the sun's meridian altitude, proceeded to the land that bounds the sea toward the north-west, which he found even more barren than the last mentioned Isle; but walking over to the sea-coast, he observed three turtles close to the shore, one of which he caught. He then returned on board, as did Mr. King soon afterwards. Though so few turtles were observed by these two gentlemen, we did not despair of a supply; for some of the officers of the Discovery, who had been ashore to the southward of the channel leading into the lagoon, had more success, and caught many. The next morning, being Saturday, the 26th, the cutter and pinnace were dispatched under the command of Mr. King, to the south-east part of the Island, within the lagoon, to catch turtle; and at the same time the small cutter was sent towards the north for the same purpose. Some of Captain Clerke's people having been on shore all night, had been so fortunate as to turn upwards of forty turtles on the sand, which were this day brought on board; and, in the course of the afternoon, the party detached to the northward returned with half a dozen, and being sent back again, continued there till we quitted the Island, having, upon the whole, pretty good success. Sunday, the 28th, Capt. Cook,



accompanied by Mr. Bailey, landed on the Island situate between the two channels into the lagoon, to prepare the telescopes for observing the solar eclipse that was expected to be visible on the 30th. Towards noon, Mr. King returned with one boat, and eight turtles; seven were left behind to be brought by the other boat, whose people were employed in catching more; and in the evening the same boat conveyed them provisions and water. The next day the two boats, laden with turtles, were sent back to the ship by Williamson, who, at the same time, in a message to Capt. Cook, requested, that the boats might be ordered round by sea, as he had discovered a landing place on the south-east side of the Island, where the greatest number of turtle were caught; so that, by dispatching boats thither, the trouble of carrying them over the land, as we had hitherto done, to the inside of the lagoon, would be saved.

Tuesday the 30th, two gentlemen belonging to the Discovery returned, who, accompanied by Simon Woodroff, the gunner's mate, and ten seamen, had directed their course, on the 26th, to the north east quarter, in the cutter, having each man a pint of brandy, and a good quantity of water on board. About noon, they arrived at the neck of land, over which they were to travel on foot, to come at the place where the turtle were known to harbour; and where it was dangerous to attempt to approach them by sea, on account of the surf. Here they secured safely their cutter, and erected near the shore a kind of hut, to which they carried their provisions, and sat down to refresh. This done, they agreed to divide, and pursue their sport in different parties. Accordingly they set out, and before the next morning they had sent in several turtles. This they did by placing them across a couple of oars in the manner of a bier, and in keeping a man employed in conveying them from the place where they were turned, to the cutter. When they grew tired of their diversion, they repaired to the place of rendezvous; but it was some surprize to the rest, when, at nine in the morning, the two gentlemen and the gunner's mate were miss-

ing. It was concluded, that they had gone too far within land, and that they had either lost their way, or some accident had befallen them, perhaps by some natives lurking secretly in the woods, though none had openly appeared. Under these apprehensions, two of their mariners, Bartholomew Loreman and Thomas Trecher, were sent out in search of them, each carrying a gallon of water, with brandy, and other refreshments, in case they should meet with the gentlemen in their way. In a wild uncultivated country, overrun with bushes and close cover, any reader, who has never been bewildered, can have no idea of men being lost in the short space of a few miles; but so, however, it happened to our gentlemen; who, invited by the mixed melody of the birds in the woods, left their people as soon as they had properly stationed them, and entered an adjoining thicket, with their guns. The sport they met with led them on till night began to close upon them; when they found themselves at a great distance from the turtles, and in the midst of a trackless cover, with nothing but tall trees to direct their return; but what was more alarming the sun was no sooner set than a thick fog succeeded, which involved the woods in darkness, though the open beach remained clear. In vain they attempted to regain the shore; for instead of being able to discern the trees they had marked to secure their return, they could hardly see one another at three yards distance. In this situation, they soon began to lose all knowledge of their way; and lest, instead of proceeding in the right course, they should pursue a contrary direction, they agreed to sit down to rest, and for that purpose, chose the first convenient spot that chance threw in their way. Though their minds were troubled, they had scarce set themselves down, when sleep got the better of anxiety, and they lay composed till attacked by swarms of black ants, (creatures more poisonous than bugs) with which they were in a manner covered when they awoke, and so disfigured and tormented with their bites and blisters, that it is hardly possible to describe their distress. Thus circumstanced, their first care was to clear themselves



from these vermin by stripping themselves naked, and sweeping them off with brushes made of the wings of the birds they had killed: this done they clothed themselves again, in order to renew their attempts to recover the shore; but all in vain. The farther they walked, as it appeared afterwards, the farther they went astray. At length, suspecting their error, they resolved to remain stationary, and each man, placing himself against an adjoining tree, endeavoured to console himself as well as he could till morning, when the appearance of the sun enabled them to judge of the course they were to pursue; but, in a trackless wilderness, how were they to make their way? The woods in many places were overgrown with thick grass and brambles reaching to their middles, and in others, so thickly intersected with boughs and matted with leaves, that it was hardly possible for them to keep company, or to penetrate with their utmost efforts (when these obstructions happened) one hundred yards in as many minutes. They were now glad to abandon their game, happy if they could regain the open country with the loss of every thing about them. The shirts and trowsers they had on were soon in rags, their shoes could hardly be kept on their feet, and their linen caps and handkerchiefs were rendered unserviceable, by the frequent repetition of the uses to which they had been applied. In short, no degree of distress, either of body or mind, could exceed that to which these unfortunate gentlemen were now exposed. To their minds it was some alleviation, when, about ten in the morning, they heard the sound of guns fired from the ships, on purpose to lead them right, supposing them to have lost their way. But this was poor comfort, when they reflected, that the ships were at a great distance, and that if they ventured to take them for their guide, they should never live to see an end to their journey. Still labouring, therefore, to advance by the sun, they at length, all at once, observed an opening, that led, as they thought, to the long-wished-for shore. The heart of man, dilated with the most exquisite joy, can only be sensible of the

inexpressible pleasure which these gentlemen felt on perceiving this ray of hope. They forgot for the moment, the pains of their lacerated bodies, though all torn with briars and besmeared with blood, and comforted themselves with this dawn of deliverance; but they had still much to suffer; for when they rushed with extasy from the cover, and came to survey the open country, they discovered to their great mortification, that they were yet at a great distance from the neck of land over which the people had passed: that this opening had brought them to another creek or inlet of the sea, and that they had yet to travel round a vast circle of the thicket before they could come to the bay that was even now scarce within their knowledge. On this discovery, despair had almost taken place of hope, when they heard, or thought they heard, a sound like that of a man's voice far within the thicket. This, in a short time, was answered by a sound not unlike the former, but fainter. It was then rightly conjectured that these sounds proceeded from men sent in search of them, and they all endeavoured to raise a halloo in their turn; but their throats were so parched, that with their utmost efforts they could scarce rise above a whisper. They now lamented the waste of powder, which they had fruitlessly expended during the night in making signals of distress, and rummaged their cases to muster up a single charge. This in some measure, had the desired effect. The report was heard by one of the seamen who were in pursuit of them (as will be seen hereafter,) both of whom had been struggling with equal difficulties, and toiling under greater incumbrances, without the least prospect of succeeding in their search. These men were now bewildered themselves, and hallooed to each other, as well for the sake of keeping company, as for signals to the gentlemen, should they be within hearing. By this time the day was far advanced; and partly with fatigue, and for want of refreshment, the gentlemen were almost spent: they had been ever since the morning's dawn engaged in the most painful exertion of bodily strength to extricate themselves from



the labyrinth in which they had been involved, that ever men experienced, and in consequence an equal waste of spirits, without any thing to recruit them; and now, though less entangled, they were more exposed to the heat of the sun, which brought on an intolerable thirst that was no longer supportable; they therefore, as the last resource, repaired to the nearest beach, where, to their comfort, they found a turtle, killed it, and drank the blood, in order to allay their thirst. One of them then undressed himself, and lay down for a short time in the shallow water; a singular method of refreshing himself, when fatigued. After this they took shelter in the hollow of a rock till the violent heat abated, during which time a refreshing sleep gave them some relief, and enabled them to perform a journey of three or four leagues, which, otherwise, they must have perished, before they could have accomplished. When they arrived at the hut, to their great concern, they found it deserted, and destitute of every kind of provisions; but casting their eyes towards the ships they perceived the boats hastening to their relief. The crew, and the officer who attended them, waited at the hut till all their provisions were expended, and, and not knowing how to proceed, had repaired to the ship for a fresh supply, and fresh orders; and he was now returning fully furnished and instructed. On his arrival, he was struck with astonishment at the sight of three such miserable objects as the gentlemen and the gunner's mate appeared to be. Their cry was for grog, which was dealt to them sparingly, and they were conveyed on board to be properly taken care of. The first enquiry they made was, whether any of the ship's company had been sent after them? And being answered in the affirmative, and that they were not yet returned, they could not help expressing their doubts whether they would return; adding their wishes at the same time, that no means might be omitted to effect their recovery. Natural it is for men who have just experienced any signal deliverance, to feel poignantly for the safety of others under the same critical circumstances. It was there-

fore no small satisfaction, when they were told, that every possible means would be tried for their relief; and to enable them, who were to be sent on that errand, the better to direct their search, the gentlemen described as well as they could, the place where they were heard. The evening, however, was now too far advanced, to undertake with any probability of success, their deliverance. There were now twenty of the crew (seamen and marines) who had been dispatched from on board, for recovering the gentlemen. These had orders from Capt. Clerke, to traverse the thicket in a body, till they should find them either living or dead, for, till the gentlemen appeared, nothing could be concluded with certainty concerning them. The majority were of opinion, that, if they had been alive, they would certainly have returned as soon as it was dark, as they could have no motive to pursue their sport in the night; and it was by no means probable, that they should be bewildered, because they might surely have found the same way out of the cover, by which they went into it. This was very plausible; but some on board, who had sailed with Commodore Byron, and who remembered the almost impenetrable thickets in the Island of Tinian, where men could not see one another in the open day, at the distance of three yards, knew well how the gentlemen might be entangled, and how hard it would fare with them if it should so happen.

Early in the morning the party, and their plan of proceeding were formed, which was to march in lines at such a distance from each other, as to be within hearing, and their rout was proposed to be towards the spot where the sound of the voices were heard by the gentlemen. After a diligent search of six hours, Bartholomew Loreman was discovered in a most miserable condition, almost blinded by the venomous bites of the vermin, added to the scorching heat of the sun, and speechless for want of something to eat. He made signs for water, and some was given him. He was moving about, but totally stupid, having no sense of danger, or of the miserable condition in



which he was found. It fortunately happened, that the boats from both ships were previously sent round the point of land, and planted along the coast, as it trended, for the convenience of taking the gentlemen on board, in case they should have been found strayed to any considerable distance. Had this precaution not been observed, the man must have perished before he could have been conveyed by any other means to the place of rendezvous, and it was with the utmost difficulty that he was carried to the nearest boat. As soon as he could be brought to his speech, he said, that he had parted from his companion, Trecher, in the morning, not in anger, but by reason of a difference in opinion about the way back. He said, they had travelled the day before as long as they could in search of the gentlemen without success, and that when overcame with fatigue, they sat down to refresh themselves, and he believed, drank a little too freely of their grog, which occasioned them both to fall asleep. They were frightened when they awoke to find it night; and although they felt their faces and hands covered with vermin, the thoughts of having neglected their duty, and the dread of the consequences so distracted their minds, that they were not sensible of any other pain. As rest was now no longer their object, they rose and wandered, they neither knew nor cared where, till day began to break upon them, and then they endeavoured to recollect their way, with a view to rejoin their companions; but, after walking and winding about, as they could find a passage through the bushes, they at last began to discover that they were going from the place of rendezvous instead of making towards it. Fatigued to the last degree with walking, and perplexed in their minds, they began to grow careless about living or dying, and in that humour sat down to lighten their burden by making an end of their grog and provisions. This they had no sooner done, than sleep again surprised them, and notwithstanding the vermin, with which they found themselves covered when they awoke, they found themselves again in the dark, and again rose up to wander about, which they continued to

do as before, lamenting their melancholy situation, and consulting what course to take. Several wild projects came into their heads. They had heard of Robinson Crusoe's living many years upon an uninhabited Island, and why might they not live in this? But hitherto they had seen no four-footed animal, nor any thing on which they could subsist, but turtle and fowls, the latter of which they had no means to attain, and they were totally unprovided with every earthly thing but what they carried about them. That scheme therefore appeared too romantic. They next thought of climbing the highest tree, to try if they could discover any hill or eminence, from whence they might take a view of the country, in order to be certain whether it was inhabited or not. This was approved by both, and Trecher mounted the loftiest tree within his reach, from whence, he said, he could discern, towards the S. W. a mountain of considerable height, and as that was the point that led to the ships, thither he proposed that they should go; but Loreman rather chose to depend upon Providence, and endeavour to regain the shore, as he judged by a report of a gun, which he thought he heard the day before, that it must lie in the direction from whence the sound proceeded, and thither he was endeavouring to make his way, till his eyesight failed him, and he lost all sense of action. His companion, he said, who was at some distance farther in the thicket, and who did not hear the report of the gun, did not believe what he said; whereupon they agreed to part. What course Trecher took, he could not tell, but he believed to the S. W. Loreman was judged in too dangerous a way to admit of any delay: he was therefore sent off in a boat, and being put under the care of the surgeon, soon recovered.

After this detail it was debated, whether to resign Trecher to his fate, or to continue the search. The humanity of the officer who had the command of the party prevailed. In consequence of this, the whole party, in the morning, about ten o'clock, after taking some refreshment, set out to scour the thickets, and, by hallooing, beating of drums, and pursuing different courses, determined



he should hear them if he were alive. It was no easy task to penetrate a trackless cover, overgrown with underwood, and abounding with insects, of which the mosquitoes were the least troublesome. But numbers make that easy, which, to individuals would be impracticable. They went on cheerfully at first; but before a few hours were elapsed, even the gentlemen, who were inspirited by their success in killing game, began to be tired, and it was thought advisable to rest and refresh themselves during the intense mid-day heat, and to renew the pursuit after they had dined. As yet they had not been able to discover any trace or track of the man they were pursuing, though it had been agreed between Trecher and his companion, to cut boughs from the trees, as they passed along, by way of mark or guide to each other, in case of separation. This was no small discouragement; and few had any relish to renew a labour attended with so much fatigue, and so little prospect of success. The officers alone were bent on the pursuit. The men, though they were no less willing, were not equally able to endure the fatigue, and some of them were even ready to drop, before their dinner and grog had revived their spirits. The only expedient, that now remained to be tried, was, that which Trecher had hit upon, namely, to climb the highest tree that appeared in view, in order to look for the mountain, to which it was thought probable that he might direct his course. This was no sooner proposed than executed, and the high land seemed at no great distance from the place where the party had dined. It was now agreed to make the best of their way to the eminence, but this proved not so easy a task as it at first appeared to be. When they thought themselves just ready to mount, they met with a lagoon, that interrupted their progress; and coasting it along, they discovered the skeleton of a creature that, by its length, appeared to be an alligator. In viewing this narrowly, something like the track of a large animal was observed to have passed it, and the high grass on the margin of the lagoon to have been fresh trodden. This excited the curi-

sity of the whole party, who imagined that some monster inhabited the lagoon, against which it was prudent for them to be on their guard. The waters of the lagoon were salt as brine, and every where skirted with a kind of reed and sedge, that reached as high as a man's head, and could not be penetrated without danger from scorpions, or other venomous reptiles, several of which had been seen in the bushes. All attempts therefore of succeeding by this course appeared to be labour lost, and as no other were thought more probable, it was resolved to relinquish the pursuit, and to return to the boats; but the day being already too far spent to make their return practicable before the morning, it was agreed to coast it along the lake, to endeavour to find access to the opposite hills; and this was the more easily effected, as between the sedgy border and the thicket, there was an open space of unequal breadth, only sometimes intersected with patches of brambles that joined the lake, but of no great extent. Through these they made their way with little opposition till the lake appeared to deepen, and a most stubborn woody copse seemed to bid defiance to their further progress. This difficulty, however, was with much labour surmounted, and it was no sooner passed, than the lake was found to terminate, and the ground to rise. The country now began to put on a new face. The prospect which had hitherto presented nothing but a wild and almost impenetrable thicket, as they ascended the rising ground, became delightful; and when they had attained the summit of the eminence, was exceedingly picturesque. Here they determined to pass the night within a pleasant grove, which seemed to be designed by nature for a place of rest. The whole party now assembled, and orders were given by the commanding officers to erect temporary tents to shelter them from the evening damps. These tents were only boughs and leaves of trees set up tent fashion. In this service some were employed in cutting down and preparing materials, while others were busied in disposing and putting them together: some were ordered to collect fuel, and others to



carry it to an adjoining hill, in order to be kindled at the close of day, and kept burning during the night, by way of signal, to let the boats know that the party were safe, and that they had not yet relinquished the search. Add to these orders, that a sentinel was to attend the fire in the night, and a watch to be regularly set, and relieved, to guard the tents. In the mean time, the gentlemen amused themselves by taking a view of the lagoon from the hills, and observing its extent. It is bounded on three sides by a ridge of hills, and open only to the N. W. from which quarter they had approached it. They also observed an open down to trend towards the shore, by which the low grounds were divided, and hence they concluded, that their return would be much shortened. Before night set in, the tents were completed, and the orders that had been given were carried punctually into execution; the fire was lighted; the sentinel at his station; the watch set; and the party all retired to rest. About midnight the sentinel, who attended the fire, was surprised by a four-footed monster, that had stole upon him with a slow and solemn pace, and was just ready to seize him, when he started suddenly from it, and flew down to the tents to apprise the watch. The officer on duty was presently made acquainted with the impending danger, who immediately called to their assistance the serjeant of marines, the second mate, and the armourer, the stoutest men of the party. With this reinforcement they marched up the hill in form, Mr. Hollingsby and Mr. Dixon in front, the serjeant and the sentinel in the next line, and two sailors in the rear. As they approached the fire, the sentinel, peeping from behind the armourer, beheld the monster through the smoke, as tall again as he appeared before, and desired the front line to kneel and fire; but the armourer, fearing neither devil nor monster, determined to face the enemy. He therefore advanced boldly, and looking sharply, took the monster for a man, and called to him to speak, in the usual phrase of a seaman. But what was their astonishment, when they beheld the very identical Thomas Trecher,

of whom they had been in search so long, crawling upon all fours, for his feet were so blistered that he could not stand, and his throat so parched that he could not speak. It is hard to say which was predominant, their surprize or joy. No time, however, was lost in administering relief. Some ran to the tents to tell the news, and to bring some refreshment, while the rest strove to ease him, by supporting him in their arms. In a few minutes, he was surrounded by the whole party, some eager to hear his story, and all to give him relief. The officers brought him cordials, which they administered sparingly till he was brought to his speech. He was a most affecting spectacle, blistered from head to foot by poisonous insects, whose venomous stings had caused such an intolerable itching, that his very blood was inflamed by constant rubbing. By anointing him with oil, the acrimony in some degree abated, and by frequently giving him small quantities of tea mixed with a little brandy, they brought him to his speech; but it was some days before he recovered the perfect use of his senses. As soon as they had recovered him so far, by proper refreshments, as to entertain hopes of saving his life, they carried him to bed, and ordered one of his mess-mates to attend him. In the morning his fever was abated; but there arose a difficulty, how he was to be conveyed more than twelve miles, through a country, such as has been described, in his weak condition. To English sailors nothing that is not impossible, is impracticable. One of them remembered, that when he was a boy, his school-fellows used to divert themselves with making sedan chairs of rushes, and he thought it an easy matter to frame such a one from the materials in the thicket, that would answer the purpose. This was no sooner proposed than executed, and a machine contrived, in which they took it by turns to carry him through almost insurmountable obstructions. The gentlemen, had indeed, discovered a less encumbered passage than that, through which they had made their way the day before; but it reached very little farther than they could see with the naked eye; all the



low ground beyond was swampy and reedy, and abounding with insects of various kinds. In the evening, inexpressibly fatigued, they reached the beach, where the *Discovery's* cutter was grounded, and where likewise the *Resolution's* boat, that had been waiting all the day before on the opposite side of the peninsula, was arrived. After some slight refreshment, each party repaired to their own ship; and Trecher, being committed to the surgeon's care, recovered gradually, but it was some weeks before he was fit to do duty. Considering what strange people the generality of sailors are while on shore, we might, instead of being much surprised, that the two seamen should lose their way, rather wonder that no more of them were missing.

This day, (Tuesday, the 30th) Capt. Cook, and Messrs. King and Bailey, repaired in the morning to the small Island, to observe the eclipse of the sun. The sky was overcast at times; but it was clear when the eclipse ended. Having some yams and cocoa-nuts on board, in a state of vegetation, we planted them on this spot, and some seeds of melons were sown in another place. The Captain also left on this little Isle a bottle, having this inscription

*Georgius Tertius, 31 Decembris, 1777.*

*Naves* { *Resolution, Jac. Cook, Pr*  
           { *Discovery, Car. Clerke, Pr.*

On Thursday the 1st of January, 1778, our boats were sent out to bring on board our different parties employed on shore, who, in the course of a week, had taken more than a hundred turtle, from one hundred and fifty to three hundred pound weight, but we had not been able to discover any fresh water. It being late before this business was completed, the Captain thought proper to defer sailing till the next morning. The turtle we procured at this Island were all of the green sort, and, perhaps, not inferior in goodness to any in the world. We also caught with hook and line, a great quantity of fish, principally consisting of cavallies, snappers, and a few rook fish of two species, one with whitish streaks scattered about, and the other with numerous

blue spots. The soil of this Island, (to which the name of Christmas Island was given, because we kept that festival here,) is, in some places, light and blackish, and composed of sand, the dung of birds, and rotten vegetables. In other parts, it is formed of broken coral stones, decayed shells, and other marine productions. These are deposited in long, narrow ridges, lying parallel with the sea-coast; and must have been thrown up by the waves, though they do not reach at present, within a mile of these places. This seems to prove incontestibly, that the Island has been produced by different accessions from the sea, and is in a state of augmentation; the broken pieces of coral, and likewise many of the shells, being too large and heavy to have been brought from the beach by any birds to the places where they are now lying. Though we could not, after repeatedly digging, find a drop of fresh water, we met with several salt ponds, which, as they had no communication with the sea, were probably filled by the water filtrating through the sand during the time of high tides. One of the men who lost their way found some salt on the south-eastern part of the Island. We could not discover the smallest traces of any human creature having ever been here before us; and, indeed should any one be accidentally driven on the Island, or left there, he would hardly be able to prolong his existence: for though there are birds and fish in abundance, there are no visible means of allaying thirst, nor any vegetable that would serve as a substitute for bread, or correct the bad effects of animal diet. On the few cocoa-nut trees upon the Island, we found very little fruit, and that little not good. A few low trees were observed in some parts, besides several small shrubs and plants, which grew in a very languid manner. We found a sort of purslain, a species of sida, or Indian mallow, and another plant that seemed, from its leaves, to be a *me sembrianthemum*; with two sorts of grass. Under the low trees sat vast numbers of a new species of tern, or egg-bird, black above, and white below, having a white arch on the forehead. These birds



are somewhat larger than the common noddy; their eggs are blueish, and speckled with black. There were likewise many common boobies; a sort greatly resembling a gannet; and a chocolate-coloured species, with a white belly. Men-of-war birds, curlews, plovers, and tropic birds, are to be found here. We saw numbers of land-crabs, small lizards, and several rats smaller than ours. This Island is supposed by Capt. Cook to be between fifteen and twenty leagues in circuit. Its form is semicircular; or like the moon in her last quarter, the two horns being the north and south points. The west side, or the small Island situate at the entrance into the lagoon, lies in 202 deg. 30 min. east longitude, and in the latitude of 1 deg. 59 min. north. Like most of the other Isles in this ocean, Christmas Island is surrounded by a reef of coral rock, extending but a little way from the shore; and further out than this reef, on the western side, is a bank of sand, which extends a mile into the sea. There is good anchorage on this bank, in any depth between eighteen and thirty fathoms. During our continuance here, the wind generally blew a fresh gale at E. by S. E. and we had constantly a great swell from the northward, which broke on the reef in a very violent manner.

Friday, the 2nd, at day-break, we unmoored, set sail, and resumed our northerly course, with the *Discovery* in company. As we were now clear of land, had a prosperous gale, and plenty of provisions, the men were allowed turtle to boil with their pork, which in a few days was discontinued by the advice of the surgeon, and turtle substituted in the room of every other kind of meat. This was found both healthy and nourishing, and was therefore continued till within a few days of our arrival at another Island, where we met with fresh provisions and water equal to any we brought with us from the Society Isles. On the 3rd, the wind shifted, and a storm came on, preceded by a lowering darkness, that presaged some violent convulsion, and soon after it broke forth in thunder, lightning, wind and rain, which in two hours increased to such a

raging degree, as no man on board had ever known the like. Fortunately, it was but of short continuance; but in that little time, the sea broke over our quarter, and cleared the decks of every thing that was loose. After this we had a gentle breeze at E. and E. S. E. which continued till we arrived in the latitude of 7 deg. 45 min. N. and in 205 deg. east longitude, where we had one day of perfect calm. A N. E. by E. wind then succeeded, which blew faintly at first, but freshened as we proceeded northward. We daily observed tropic birds, boobies, &c. and between the latitude of 10 and 11 deg. N. we saw several turtles. Though all these are considered as signs of the proximity of land, we discovered none till early in the morning of Sunday, the 18th, when an Island appeared bearing N. E. by E. Not long after more land was seen, which bore N. and was totally detached from the former. At noon, the first was supposed to be eight or nine leagues distant. Our longitude at this time, was 200 deg. 41 min. E. and our latitude 21 deg. 12 min. N. The next day, at sun-rise, the Island first seen bore E. distant seven leagues. Not being able to reach this, we shaped our course for the other; and soon after, observed a third Island, bearing W. N. W.

We had now a fine breeze at E. by N. and, at noon the second Island, named *Atooi*, for the east end of which we were steering, was about two leagues distant. As we made a nearer approach, many of the inhabitants put off from the shore in their canoes, and very readily came alongside the ships. We were agreeably surprised to find, that they spoke a dialect of the *Otaheitean* language. They could not be prevailed on, by any entreaties, to come on board. We conveyed to those in the nearest canoe some brass medals, tied to a rope; and they, in return, fastened some mackarel to the rope, by way of an equivalent. This was repeated; and some nails or pieces of iron, were given them; for which they returned in exchange some more fish, and a sweet potatoe: a sure indication of their having some notion of bartering,



or, at least, of returning one present for another. One of them even offered for sale the piece of stuff which he wore about his waist. These people did not exceed the ordinary size, but are stoutly made. Their complexion is brown; and though there appears but little difference in the casts of their colour, there is a considerable variation in their features. Most of them have their hair cropped short; a few had it tied in a bunch at the top of the head; and others suffered it to flow loose. It seemed to be naturally black; but the generality of them had stained it with some stuff which communicated to it a brownish colour. Most of them had pretty long beards. They had no ornaments about their persons; nor did we observe that they had their ears perforated. Some of them were tattooed on the hands, or near the groin; and the pieces of cloth, worn by them round their middle, were curiously coloured with white, black and red. They seemed to be mild and good natured; and were furnished with no arms of any kind except some small stones, which they had manifestly brought for their own defence; and these they threw into the sea when they found there was no occasion for them. Perceiving no signs of an anchoring place, at this eastern extremity of the Island, we bore away to leeward, and ranged along the S. E. side of the coast, at the distance of about a mile and a half from the shore. The canoes left us when we made sail; but others came off, as we proceeded along the coast, and brought with them pigs and some excellent potatoes, which they exchanged for whatever we offered to them; and several small pigs were purchased by us for a six-penny nail each. We passed divers villages; some of which were situated near the sea, and others further up the country. The inhabitants of all of them came in crowds to the shore, and assembled on the elevated places to take a view of the ships. On this side of the Island the land rises in a gentle acclivity from the sea to the bottom of the mountains, which occupy the central part of the country, except at one place near the eastern end, there they rise immediately from the sea: they seemed to be composed

of stone, or rocks lying in an horizontal strata. We observed a few trees about the villages; near which we could also discern several plantations of sugar-canes and plantains. We continued to sound, but did not strike ground with a line of fifty fathoms, till we came abreast of a low point, near the N. W. extremity of the Island, where we found from twelve to fourteen fathoms, over a rocky bottom. Having passed this point, we met with twenty fathoms, then sixteen, and at last five, over a bottom of sand. We spent the night in standing off and on, and the next morning, being Tuesday, the 20th, stood in for the land. We were met by several canoes filled with natives, some of whom ventured to come on board. None of the inhabitants we were ever before conversant with, in any other country or Island, were so astonished as these people, upon entering our ship. Their eyes were incessantly rolling from one object to another; and the wildness of their looks and gestures fully indicated their perfect ignorance with respect to every thing they beheld; and strongly marked to us, that they had never, till the present time, been visited by Europeans, nor been acquainted with any of our commodities, except iron. This metal, however, they had in all probability only heard of, or had perhaps known it in some inconsiderable quantity, brought to them at a remote period. They asked for it by the appellation of *hamaite*, referring probably to some instrument, in making which iron could be serviceably employed; for they applied that name to the blade of a knife, though they had no idea of that particular instrument, which they could not even handle properly. They also frequently called iron by the name of *toe*, which signifies a hatchet, or adze. On our shewing them some beads, they first asked what they were; and then whether they were to be eaten. But on their being informed, that they were to be hung in their ears, they rejected them as useless. They were equally indifferent with regard to a looking-glass that we offered them, and returned it for a similar reason. China cups, plates of earthen ware, and



other things of that kind, were so new to them, that they asked whether they were made of wood. They were in many respects naturally polite; or, at least, cautious of giving offence. Some of them just before they ventured aboard, repeated a long prayer; and others, afterwards sang, and made various motions with their hands. On their first entering the ship, they attempted to steal every thing that they could lay hands on, or rather take it openly, as if they supposed, that we should either not resent such behaviour, or not hinder it. But we soon convinced them of their error; and when they observed we kept a watchful eye over them, they became less active in appropriating to themselves what did not belong to them.

About nine o'clock, the Captain dispatched Lient. Williamson, with three armed boats, to look out for a proper landing place, and for fresh water; with orders, that if he should find it necessary to land in search of the latter, he should not allow more than one man to accompany him out of the boats. The very moment they were putting off from the ship, one of the Islanders having stolen a cleaver, leaped overboard, got into his canoe, and hastened towards the shore, while the boats pursued him in vain. The reason of the Commodore's order, that the crews of the boats should not go ashore, was, that he might prevent, if possible, the importation of a dangerous disease into this Island, which he knew some of our people now laboured under, and which we, unfortunately, had received from, and communicated to, other Islands in this ocean. From the same humane motive, he commanded, that all female visitants should be excluded from both the ships. Many persons of this sex had come off in the canoes. Their features, complexion, and stature were not very different from those of the men; and though their countenances were extremely open and agreeable, few traces of delicacy were visible either in their faces or other proportions. The only difference in their dress was their having a piece of cloth about their bodies, reaching from near the middle almost down to the knees, instead of the *maro* worn by

the male sex. They were as much inclined to favour us with their company on board, as some of the men were; but the Commodore was extremely desirous of preventing all connection, which might, in all probability, convey an irreparable injury to themselves and afterwards, through their means, to the whole nation. Another prudent precaution was taken, by strictly enjoining, that no person, capable of communicating the infection, should be sent on duty out of the ships. Capt. Cook had paid equal attention to the same object, when he first visited the Friendly Isles; but he afterwards found, to his great regret, that his endeavours had not succeeded. And there is reason to apprehend, that this will constantly be the case, in such voyages as ours; whenever it is necessary that many people should be employed on shore. The opportunities and incitements to an amorous intercourse, are then too numerous to be effectually guarded against; and however confident a commander may be of the health of his men, he is often undeceived too late. Among a number of men, there are in general to be found some, who endeavour to conceal any venereal symptoms, and there are others so profligate and abandoned, as not to care to whom they communicate this disease. We had an instance of this last observation at Tongataboo, in the gunner of the *Discovery*, who had been stationed on shore. After knowing that he had contracted this disorder, he continued to have connections with different women, who were supposed to have been, till that time, free from any infection. His companions remonstrated to him on this scandalous behaviour without effect, till Captain Clerke, being informed of it, ordered him to repair on board.

During the time the boats were employed in reconnoitering the coast, we stood off and on with the ships. Towards noon our lieutenant returned, and reported, that he had observed, behind a beach near one of the villages, a large pond, said by the natives to contain fresh water, and that there was tolerable anchoring ground before it. He also had made an attempt to land in another place, but was prevented by the Islanders,



who coming down in great numbers to the boats, endeavoured to take away the oars, muskets, and every other article they could lay hold of; and crowded so thick upon him and his people, that he was under the necessity of firing, by which one man was killed. This unfortunate circumstance, however, was not known to Capt. Cook till after we had quitted the Island, so that all his measures were directed as if no affair of that kind had happened. Mr. Williamson informed him, that as soon as the man fell, he was taken up and carried off by his countrymen, who then retired from the boats; but still they made signals for our people to land, which they declined. It did not appear, that the natives had the least intention of killing or even hurting any of them, but were excited by curiosity alone, to get from them what they had, being prepared to give, in return, any thing that appertained to themselves. Capt. Cook then dispatched one of the boats to lie in the best anchoring ground; and, when she had gained this station, we bore down with the ships, and cast anchor in twenty-five fathoms water, over a sandy bottom. The eastern point of the road, which was the low point already mentioned, bore south 31 deg. east; the west point north 65 deg. west; and the village near which the fresh water was said to be, was one mile distant. The ships being thus stationed, between three and four in the afternoon, the Captain went ashore with three armed boats, and twelve of the marines, with a view of examining the water, and trying the disposition of the natives, who had assembled in considerable numbers on a sandy beach before the village; behind it was a valley, in which was the piece of water. The moment he leaped on shore, all the Islanders fell prostrate upon their faces, and continued in that posture, till, by signs, he prevailed on them to rise. They then presented to him many small pigs, with plantain trees, making use of nearly the same ceremonies which we had seen practised, on similar occasions, at the Society, and other Isles, and a long oration or prayer being pronounced by an individual, in which others of the assembly joined

occasionally. The Captain signified his acceptance of their proffered friendship, by bestowing on them, in return, such presents as he had brought ashore. This introductory business being ended, he stationed a guard upon the beach, and was then conducted by some of the natives to the water, which was extremely good, and so considerable a collection, that it might be denominated a lake. After this, he returned on board, and gave orders, that preparations should be made for filling our water casks in the morning, at which time we went ashore with some of our people, having a party of marines for our guard. We had no sooner, landed, than a trade was entered into for potatoes and hogs, which the Islanders bartered for nails and pieces of iron. Far from giving any obstruction to our men, who were occupied in watering, they even assisted them in rolling the casks to and from the pool, and performed with alacrity whatever was required of them. Leaving the command of this station to Mr. Williamson, who landed with us, we made an excursion up the country, into the valley, accompanied by Messrs. Anderson and Webber, and by a numerous train of natives, one of whom, who had been very active in keeping the others in order, the Captain made choice of as our guide. This man, from time to time, proclaiming the approach of our gentlemen, every person who met them fell prostrate on the ground, and remained in that position till we had passed. This, as we were afterwards informed, is the method of shewing respect to their own chiefs. At every village, as the ships ranged along the coast, we had descried one or more elevated white objects, resembling obelisks; one of which, supposed to be at least fifty feet high, was very conspicuous from our anchoring place, and seemed to be at a small distance up this valley. To have a nearer view of it was the principal motive of our walk; but it happened to be in such a situation that we could not get at it, the pool of water separating it from us. However, as there was another of the same kind about half a mile distant upon our side of the valley, we set out to visit that. We



found it to be situated in a burying ground, or morai, which bore a striking resemblance, in several respects, to those we had seen at Otaheite, and other Islands. It was an oblong space, of considerable extent, environed by a stone wall, four or five feet high. The inclosed space was loosely paved, and at one end of it was placed the obelisk or pyramid, called by the natives *henananoo*, which was an exact model of the larger one we had seen from the ships. It was about twenty feet in height, and four feet square at the base. Its four sides were formed of small poles, interwoven with twigs and branches, thus composing an indifferent wicker-work, hollow within, from the top to the bottom. It appeared to be in a ruinous state, and had been originally covered with a thin greyish cloth. On each side of it were long pieces of wicker-work, termed *hereanee*, in a condition equally ruinous, with two poles inclining towards each other at one corner, on which some plantains were placed on a board, fixed at the height of about six feet. This the Islanders call *herairemy*, and they said the fruit was offered to their deity. Before the *henananoo* were several pieces of wood, carved in some resemblance of human figures. There was also a stone near two feet in height, covered with cloth. Adjoining to this, on the outside of the morai, was a small shed, which they call *hareepahoo*; and before it was a grave, where the remains of a woman had been deposited. On the further side of the area of the morai was a house, or shed, called *hemanaa*, about forty feet in length, ten in breadth, but narrower at each end: though considerably longer, it was lower than their common habitations. Opposite the entrance into this house stood two images, near three feet high, cut out of one piece of wood, with pedestals: they were said to be *Eatooa no Veheina*, or representations of goddesses, and were not very indifferent either in design or execution. On the head of one of them was a cylindrical cap, not unlike the head-dress at Otaheite, called *tomou*; and on that of the other, a carved helmet, somewhat resembling those of the ancient warriors, and both of them had

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pieces of cloth fastened about their loins, and hanging down a considerable way. At the side of each was also a piece of carved wood, with cloth hung on it. Before the pedestals, lay a quantity of fern, that had been placed there at different times. In the middle of the house, and before the images, was an oblong space, inclosed by an edging of stone, and covered with shreds of cloth: this was the grave of seven chiefs, and was called *heneene*. We had already met with so many instances of resemblance, between the morai we were now visiting, and those of the Islands we had lately visited, that we entertained little doubt in our own minds of the similarity in their rites, and particularly in the horrid oblation of human sacrifices. Our suspicions were soon confirmed; for on one side of the entrance into the *hemanaa* we observed a small square place, and another still smaller; and on asking what these were, we were informed by our conductor, that in one of them was interred a man, and in the other a hog, both which had been offered up to the deity. At no great distance from these were three other square inclosed places, with two pieces of carved wood at each of them, and a heap of fern upon them. These were the graves of three chiefs, and before them was an inclosed space of an oblong figure, called *Tangataboo*, by our guide, who declared to us, that three human sacrifices, one at the funeral of each chief, had been buried there. Indeed, every appearance induced us to believe, that this inhuman practice was very general. In many spots within this burying-ground, were planted trees of the *morinda citrifolia*, and *cordia sebastina*, besides several plants of the *Etee*, with the leaves of which the *hemanaa* was thatched. Our journey to and from this morai, lay through the plantations. We observed most of the ground was perfectly flat, with ditches intersecting different parts, and roads that seemed to have been raised to some height by art. The intervening spaces, in general, were planted with taro, which grew with great vigour. There were several spots where the cloth mulberry was planted, in regular rows; this also grew,



vigorously. The cocoa-trees were in a less thriving condition, and were all low; but the plantain-trees made a pretty good appearance. Upon the whole, the trees that are most numerous around this village, are the cordia sebastina. The greatest part of the village is near the beach, and consists of upwards of sixty houses there, and we saw near forty more scattered about towards the morai. After we had carefully examined whatever was worthy of notice about the morai, we returned by a different rout. We found a multitude collected at the beach, and a brisk trade for fowls, pigs, and vegetables, going on, with the greatest order and decorum: at noon Capt. Cook went on board to dinner, and then sent Mr. King to take the command of the party on shore. During the afternoon he landed again, accompanied by Capt. Clerke, intending to make another excursion up the country; but before he could execute this design the day was too far spent; he therefore relinquished his intention for the present, and no opportunity afterwards occurred.

Towards sun-set, the Captain and our people returned on board, after having procured, in the course of this day, nine tons of water, and (principally by exchanging nails, and pieces of iron) seventy pigs, some fowls, plantains, potatoes, and taro roots. In this commercial intercourse, the Islanders deserved our best commendations, making no attempts to cheat us, either along side our ships, or on shore. Some of them, indeed, as we have already related, betrayed at first a pilfering disposition, or perhaps, they imagined that they had a right to all they could lay their hands on; but they quickly desisted from a conduct, which we convinced them, could not be persevered in with impunity. Among the various articles which they brought to barter this day, we were particularly pleased with a sort of cloak and cap, which, even in more polished countries, might be esteemed elegant. These cloaks are nearly of the shape and size of the short ones worn by the men in Spain, and by the women in England, tied loosely before, and reaching to the middle of the back. The ground of them is a net work,

with the most beautiful red and yellow feathers so closely fixed upon it, that the surface, both in point of smoothness and glossness, resembles the richest velvet. The methods of varying the mixture are very different, some of them having triangular spaces of yellow and red alternately; others a sort of crescent; while some were entirely red, except that they had a broad yellow border. The brilliant colour of the feathers, in those cloaks that were new, had a very fine effect. The natives, at first, refused to part with one of these cloaks for any thing we offered in exchange, demanding no less price than one of our muskets. They afterwards, however, parted with some of them for very large nails. Those of the best sort were scarce; and it is probable, that they are used only on particular occasions. The caps are made in the form of a helmet, with the middle part or crest, frequently of a hand's breadth. They sit very close upon the head, and have notches to admit the ears. They consist of twigs and osiers, covered with net-work, into which feathers are wrought, as upon the cloaks, but somewhat closer, and less diversified; the major part being red with some yellow, green, or black stripes, on the sides. These caps, in all probability, complete the dress, with the cloaks; for the Islanders appeared sometimes in both together. We could not conjecture from whence they obtained such a quantity of these beautiful feathers; but we soon procured intelligence respecting one sort; for they afterwards brought for sale great numbers of skins of a small red species of birds, frequently tied up in bunches of twenty or upwards, or having a wooden skewer run through them. At first, those that were purchased consisted only of the skin from behind the wings forward; but we afterwards obtained many with the hind part, including the feet and tail. The former instantly suggested to us the origin of the fable of the birds of paradise being destitute of legs, and sufficiently explained that particular. The reason assigned by the inhabitants of Atooi for the custom of cutting off the feet of these birds, is, that by this practice they can preserve them the



more easily, without losing any part which they consider as more valuable. According to Mr. Anderson, the red bird of this Island is a species of merops, about as large as a sparrow; its colour a beautiful scarlet, with the tails and wings black; a bill arched, and twice as long as the head, which, with the feet, is of a reddish line. The contents of the heads were taken out, as in the birds of paradise; but we did not find that they practiced any other mode of preserving them, than that of simple drying.

On Thursday the 22nd, we had almost continual rain for the whole morning. The wind was at S. E. S. S. E. and S. and the surf broke so high upon the shore, that our boats were prevented from landing. We were not in a very secure situation, there being breakers within the length of little more than two cables from the Resolution's stern. The natives, notwithstanding the surf, ventured out in their canoes, bringing off to us hogs and vegetables, which they exchanged, as before, for our commodities. One of their number, who offered some fish-hooks for sale, was observed to have a very small parcel, fastened to the string of one of them, which he carefully separated, and reserved for himself, when he had disposed of the hook. Upon being asked what it was, he pointed to his belly; saying, at the same time, it was bad. He was requested to open the parcel, which he did with great reluctance, and we found that it contained a small thin piece of flesh, which had, to all appearance, been dried, but was at present wet with salt water. Imagining that it might be human flesh, we put the question to the producer of it, who answered, that the flesh was part of a man. Another of the Islanders who stood near him was then asked, whether it was a custom among them to eat their enemies who had been slain in battle; and he immediately replied in the affirmative. In the afternoon we had some intervals of fair weather. The wind then changed to the E. and N. E. but, towards the evening, it veered back again to S. S. E. The rain also returning, continued the whole night, but was not attended with much wind. On the 23rd, at seven

o'clock A. M. a north-easterly breeze springing up, our anchors were ordered to be taken up, with a view of removing the Resolution further out. As soon as the last anchor was up, the wind veering to the east, rendered it necessary to make all the sail we could, for the purpose of clearing the shore; so that before we had good sea-room, we were driven considerably to leeward. We endeavoured to regain the road, but having a strong current against us, and very little wind, we could not accomplish that design. Our Commodore therefore dispatched Messrs. King and Williamson ashore, with three boats, to procure water and refreshments, sending at the same time, an order to Capt. Clerke, to put to sea after him, if he should find that the Resolution was unable to recover the road. Having hopes of finding perhaps a harbour, at the west end of the Island, we were the less anxious of regaining our former station; but boats having been sent thither, we kept as much as possible to windward, notwithstanding which, at noon, our ship was three leagues to leeward. As we approached the west end, we found that the coast rounded gradually, to the N. E. without forming a cove, or creek, wherein a vessel might be sheltered from the violence of the swell, which rolling in from the northward, broke against the shore in an amazing surf: all hopes, therefore, of meeting with a harbour here soon vanished. Many of the natives, in their canoes, followed us as we stood out to sea, bartering various articles. As we were extremely unwilling, notwithstanding the suspicious circumstances of the preceding day, to believe that these people were cannibals, we now made some further enquiries on this subject. A small instrument of wood, beset with shark's teeth, had been purchased, which, as it resembled the saw or knife made use of by the savages of New Zealand, to dissect the bodies of their enemies, was suspected by us to be employed here for the same purpose. One of the Islanders being questioned on this point, informed us, that the instrument above mentioned served the purpose of cutting out the fleshy part of the belly, when any person was slain. This explained and



confirmed the circumstance before related, of the man's pointing to his belly. The native, however, from whom we now received this intelligence, being asked whether his countrymen eat the part thus cut out, strongly denied it; but when the question was repeated, he shewed some degree of apprehension, and swam off to his canoe. An elderly man, who sat foremost in the canoe, was then asked whether they eat the flesh, and he answered in the affirmative. The question being put to him a second time, he again affirmed the fact; adding that it was savoury food. In the evening, about seven o'clock, the boats returned with a few hogs, some roots, plantains, and two tons of water. Mr. King reported to our Commodore, that the Islanders were very numerous at the watering place, and had brought great numbers of hogs to barter; but our people had not commodities with them sufficient to purchase them all. He also mentioned, that the surf had run so very high, that it was with extreme difficulty our men landed, and afterwards got back into the boats.

On Saturday, the 24th, at day-break, we found that our ship had been carried by the currents to the N. W. and N. so that the western extremity of Atooi, bore E. at the distance of one league. A northerly breeze sprung up soon after, and, expecting that this would bring the Discovery to sea, we steered for Oneeheow, a neighbouring Island, which then bore S. W. with a view of anchoring there. We continued to steer for it till past eleven, when we were distant from it about six miles: but not seeing the Discovery, we were apprehensive lest some ill consequences might arise from our separating so far; we therefore relinquished the design of visiting Oneeheow for the present, and stood back to Atooi, intending to cast anchor again in the road, in order to complete our supply of water. At two o'clock the northerly wind was succeeded by calms and variable light airs, which continued till eleven at night. We stretched to the S. E. till early in the morning of the 25th, when we tacked and stood in for Atooi road; and, not long after, we were joined by the

Discovery. We remained several days beating up, but in vain, to regain our former birth; and by the morning of Thursday, the 29th, the currents had carried us to the westward, within nine miles of Oneeheow. Weary with plying so unsuccessfully, we laid aside all thoughts of returning to Atooi, and resumed our intention of paying a visit to Oneeheow. With this view the master was dispatched in a boat to sound along the coast, and search for a landing place, and afterwards fresh water. In the mean time the ships followed under an easy sail. The master, at his return reported, that there was tolerable anchorage all along the coast; and that he had landed in one place, but could not find any fresh water: but being informed by some of the natives, who had come off to the ships, that fresh water might be obtained at a village in sight, we ran down and cast anchor before it, about six furlongs from the shore, the depth of water being twenty-six fathoms. The Discovery anchored at a greater distance from the shore, in twenty-three fathoms. The south-eastern point of Oneeheow bore south 65 deg. E. about one league distant; and another Island which we had discovered the preceding night, named Tahoorā, bore S. 61 deg. W distant seven leagues.

Before we anchored, several canoes had come off to us, bringing potatoes, yams, small pigs, and mats. The people resembled in their persons the inhabitants of Atooi, and, like them, were acquainted with the use of iron, which they asked for by the names of *toe* and *hamaite*, readily parting with all their commodities for pieces of that metal. Some more canoes soon reached our ships, after they had come to anchor; but the Islanders who were in these had apparently no other object than to make us a formal visit. Many of them came on board, and crouched down on the deck; nor did they quit that humble posture, till they were requested to rise. Several women, whom they had brought with them remained along-side the canoes, behaving with much less modesty than the females of Atooi; and, at intervals, they all joined in a song, which though not very melodious,



was performed in the exactest concert, by beating time upon their breasts with their hands. The men who had come on board did not continue long with us; and before their departure, some of them desired permission to lay down locks of hair on the deck. This day we renewed the enquiry whether these Islanders were cannibals, and the subject did not arise from any questions put by us, but from a circumstance that seemed to remove all doubt. One of the natives, who wished to get in at the gun-room port, was refused, and he then asked, whether we should kill and eat him, if he should come in? accompanying this question with signs so expressive, that we did not entertain a doubt with respect to his meaning. We had now an opportunity of retorting the question, as to this practice; and a man behind the other, in the canoe, instantly replied, that if we were killed on shore, they would not scruple to eat us; not that he meant they would destroy us for that purpose, but that their devouring us would be the consequence of our being at enmity with them. In the afternoon, Mr. Gore was sent with three armed boats, in search of the most commodious landing-place; being also directed to look for fresh water when he should get ashore. He returned in the evening, and reported, that he had landed at the village, and had been conducted to a well about half a mile up the country; but that the water it contained was in too small a quantity for our purpose, and the road that led to it was extremely bad.

On Friday the 30th, Mr. Gore was sent ashore again, with a guard, and a party to trade with the inhabitants for refreshments. The Captain's intention was to have followed soon afterwards; and he went from the ship with that design: but the surf had so greatly increased by this time, that he was apprehensive, if he got ashore, he should not be able to make his way back again. This circumstance really happened to our people who had landed with Mr. Gore; for the communication between them and the ships, by our own boats, was quickly stopped. They made a signal in the evening, for the boats, which were accordingly sent;

and in a short time afterwards returned with some good salt, and a few yams. A considerable quantity of both these articles had been obtained in the course of the day; but the surf was so exceedingly high that the greatest part of both had been lost in bringing them off to the boats. The officer and twenty men, not venturing to run the risque of coming off, remained all night on shore, by which unfortunate circumstance, the very thing happened, which Capt. Cook, as we have already related, so eagerly wished to prevent, and imagined he had guarded effectually against. However, the violence of the surf did not deter the natives from coming off in canoes to our ships. They brought with them some refreshments, for which we gave them in exchange, some nails, and pieces of iron hoops; and we distributed among the women in the canoes, buttons, bracelets, and many pieces of ribbon. Some of the men had representations of human figures punctured upon their breasts, and one of them had a lizard represented. These visitants told us no chief was over this Island, but that it was subject to one of the chiefs of Atooi, whose name was Teneooneoo. Among other articles which they now brought off to us, was a small drum, that had a great resemblance to those of Otaheite. Between ten and eleven o'clock at night, the wind became southerly, and the sky seemed to indicate an approaching storm. In consequence of these threatening appearances, orders were given for the anchors to be taken up; and the ships being carried into forty fathoms water, came to again in a more secure station: yet this proved an unnecessary precaution; for the wind, not long after, veering to the N. N. E. blew a fresh gale, with squalls, and violent showers of rain. This weather continued for the whole succeeding day, during which, the sea ran so high, that all communication with our party on shore, was totally intercepted, and the Islanders themselves would not venture out to the ships in their canoes. Towards the evening, the Commodore sent the master in a boat to the S. E. point of the Island, to try whether he could land in that quarter. He



returned with a favourable report; but it was now too late to send for our party, so that they were obliged to stay another night on shore.

On Sunday the 1st of February, on the appearance of day-light, a boat was dispatched to the S. E. point, with orders to Lieutenant Gore, that, if he could not embark his people from the spot where they at present were, he should march them up to the point. The boat being prevented from getting to the beach, one of the crew swam to the shore, and communicated the instructions. On the return of our boat, Capt. Cook went himself with the launch and pinnace up to the point, in order to bring off our party from the land. We took with us three goats, one male, the others female; a young boar and sow of the English breed; and also the seeds of onions, pumpkins, and melons. With great ease, we landed under the west side of the point, where we found our party, in company with some of the natives. To one of these, who assumed some degree of authority over the rest, the Captain gave the goats, pigs, and seeds. He intended to have left these useful presents at Atooi, had we not been unexpectedly driven from that Island. While our people were employed in filling some water-casks, from a little stream which the late rains had occasioned, Capt. Cook made a short excursion into the country, accompanied by the Islander above mentioned, and followed by two others, who carried the pigs. When arrived upon a rising ground, the Captain stopped to look around him, and immediately observed a woman, on the opposite side of the valley in which he had landed, calling out to her countrymen who attended him. Upon this the man who acted as chief began to mutter something, as if he was praying; and the two bearers of the pigs continued walking round him all the time, making about a dozen circuits before the other had made an end of his oration. This strange ceremony being performed, they proceeded on their walk, and met people coming from all parts, who upon being called to by the Captain's attendants, fell prostrate on their faces till he

was out of sight. The ground over which he passed, though it was uncultivated and very stoney, was covered with plants and shrubs, some of which perfumed the air with the most delicious fragrance.

Our party who had been detained so long on shore, found in those parts of the Island they had traversed, several salt ponds, some of which had a small quantity of water remaining, but others had none. They saw no appearance of a running stream; and though in some small wells the fresh water was pretty good, it seemed to be scarce. The houses of the natives were thinly inhabited, and scattered about; and it was supposed, that there were not more than five hundred persons in the whole Island. The method of living among these people was decent and cleanly. No instance was observed of the men and women eating together; and the latter seemed in general to be associated in companies by themselves. The oily nuts of the dooe dooe are burned by these Islanders for lights during the night; and they dress their hogs by baking them in ovens, splitting them through the whole length of the carcase. Our people met with a sufficient proof of the existence of the taboo among them; for one woman was employed in feeding another, she being under that interdiction. Several other mysterious ceremonies were also observed; one of which was performed by a woman, who threw a pig into the surf, which was drowned; she then tied up a bundle of wood, and disposed of it in the same manner. At another time, the same female beat a man's shoulders with a stick, after he had seated himself for that purpose. An extraordinary veneration seemed to be paid here to owls, which they keep very tame. It is a pretty general practice among them, to pull out one of their teeth; and when they were asked the reason of this remarkable custom, the only answer they gave was, it is teeha; which was also the reason assigned by them for giving a lock of hair. After our water casks had been filled, and some roots, salt, and salted fish, had been purchased from the natives, we returned on board with all our people, intending to make another visit



to the Island the next day: but about seven in the evening, the anchor of our ship started, and she drove off the bank. By this accident, we found ourselves, at day-break the next morning, being the 2nd, nine miles to the leeward of our last station; and the Captain foreseeing that it would require more time to regain it than he chose to employ, made the signal for the *Discovery* to weigh anchor and join us. At noon both ships took their departure, and steered to the northward, in prosecution of their voyage. But before we proceed to the northern hemisphere, in order to make new discoveries, we shall present the friends and subscribers to this history of voyages, with the observations, made by several of our gentlemen, on this whole cluster of Isles, which Capt. Cook distinguished by the name of Sandwich Islands, in honour of the Earl of Sandwich. Those which we saw are situated between the latitude of 21 deg. 30 min. and 22 deg. 15 min. N. and between the longitude of 199 deg. 20 min. and 201 deg. 30 min. E.

They are not inferior in beauty and fertility to the Friendly Islands in the southern hemisphere, nor are the inhabitants less ingenious or civilized. It is worthy of observation, that the Islands in the Pacific Ocean, which have been discovered in the course of our late voyages, have been generally found situate in groups; the single intermediate Isles, hitherto met with, being few in proportion to the rest; though, in all probability, there are many more of them yet unknown, which serve as gradations or steps between the several clusters. Of what number this new-discovered archipelago is composed, must be left to the decision of future navigators. We observed five of them, whose names are *Woahoo*, *Atooi*, *Oneeheow*, *Oreehoua*, and *Tahoora*. This last is a small elevated Island, at the distance of four or five leagues from the S. E. point of *Oneeheow*. We were told, that it abounds with birds its sole inhabitants. We also gained intelligence of the existence of a low uninhabited Island in the neighbourhood, named *Tammata-pappa*. Besides these six, we were told that there were some

other Islands both to the eastward and westward. There seems to be a remarkable conformity (observes one of our gentlemen) between these Islands and those of the opposite hemisphere, not only in their situation, but in their number, and in their manners, customs, arts, and manufactures of the inhabitants; yet, it can scarcely be imagined, that they could ever have any communication, as the globe is now constituted, being more than two thousand miles distant one from the other: but from this general conformity among the tropical Islanders, some have been led to believe, that the whole middle region of the earth, was once one entire continent, and that what is now the Great South Pacific Ocean, was, in the beginning, the Paradise of the World.

With respect to *Woahoo*, the most easterly of these Islands, seen by us, we could get no other information, than that it is high land, and inhabited. But as to *Oneeheow*, concerning which some particulars have been already mentioned, this lies seven leagues to the westward of our anchoring-place at *Atooi*, and does not exceed fifteen leagues, or forty-five miles, in circumference. Yams are its principal vegetable production. We procured some salt here, called by the natives *patai*, which is produced in salt ponds. With it they cure both fish and pork; and some salt fish, which we purchased from them were kept very well, and extremely good. This Island is chiefly low land, except the part opposite *Atooi*, which rises immediately from the sea to a considerable height; as does also its S. E. point, which terminates in a round hill. We know no other particulars concerning *Oneeheow*: and of *Oreehoua* we can only say, that it is a small elevated Island, lying close to the north side of *Oneeheow*.

*Atooi* was the principal scene of our operations, and the largest Island we saw. From our observations, we think it to be at least thirty miles in length from E. to W. from whence its circumference may nearly be determined, though it appears to be much broader at the E. than at the W. point. The road, or anchoring place, which our vessels occupied, is on the S. W. side of the Island,



about two leagues from the west end, before a village, named Wymoa. As far as we sounded, we found the banks free from rocks; except to the eastward of the village, where there projects a shoal, on which are some rocks and breakers. This road is somewhat exposed to the trade wind; notwithstanding which, it is far from being a bad station, and greatly superior to those which necessity continually obliges ships to use, in countries where the winds are not more variable, but more boisterous; as at Madeira, Teneriffe, the Azores, &c. The landing too, is not so difficult as at most of those places; and, unless in foul weather, is always practicable. The water in the neighbourhood is excellent, and may be conveyed with ease to the boats. But no wood can be cut at any convenient distance, unless the Islanders could be prevailed upon to part with the etooa trees, (for that is the name they give to the cordia sebastina) that grow about their villages, or a species called dooe dooe, which grows farther up the country. The land does not in the least resemble, in its general appearance, any of the Islands we have visited within the tropic of Capricorn; if we except its hills near the centre, which are high, but slope gradually towards the sea, or lower lands. Though it presents not to the view the delightful borders of Otaheite, or the luxuriant plains of Tongataboo, covered with trees, which at once afford a shelter from the scorching rays of the sun, a beautiful prospect to the eye, and food for the natives; yet its possessing a greater portion of gently rising land, renders it, in some degree, superior to the above-mentioned favourite Islands, as being more capable of improvement. The height of the land within, and the clouds which we saw, during the whole time of our continuance, hanging over it, and not unfrequently on the other parts, seem to indicate that there is a sufficient supply of water, and that there are some running streams which we had not an opportunity of seeing, particularly in the deep vallies, at the entrance of which, the villages are, in general, situated. The ground, from the woody part to the sea, is covered with an excellent

kind of grass, about two feet in height, which sometimes grow in tufts, and appeared capable of being converted into abundant crops of fine hay. But on this extensive space not even a shrub grows naturally. In the narrow valley leading to the Morai, the soil is of a dark brown colour, rather loose; but on the high ground, it is of a reddish brown, more stiff and clayey. It is probably the same all over the cultivated parts; for what adhered to most of the potatoes that we purchased, which, doubtless, came from very different spots, was of this sort. Its quality, however, may be better estimated from its productions, than from its appearance: for the vale, or moist ground, produces taro, much larger than any we had ever seen; and the more elevated ground furnishes sweet potatoes, that seldom weigh less than two or three pounds, and frequently weigh ten, and sometimes fourteen pounds.

Were we to judge of the climate from our experience, it might be said to be very variable; for according to the general opinion, it was, at this time, the season of the year when the weather is supposed to be most settled, the sun being at his greatest annual distance. The heat was now very moderate; and few of those inconveniences to which many of the countries lying within the tropics are subject, either from heat, or moisture, seem to be experienced here. Nor did we find any dews of consequence: a circumstance which may partly be accounted for, by the lower part of the country being destitute of trees. The rock that constitutes the sides of the valley, is a dark grey ponderous stone; but honey-combed, with some spots of a rusty colour, and some very minute shining particles interspersed. It is of an immense depth, and seems to be divided into strata, though nothing is interposed for the large pieces always broke off to a determinate thickness, and did not appear to have adhered to those that were below them. Other stones are, in all probability, much more various than in the southern Islands. For during the short time we remained here, besides the lapis lydius, we found a species of cream-coloured whet-stone, sometimes variegated with whiter or blacker



veins like marble; and common writing-slate, as well as some of a coarser sort; and the natives brought us some pieces of a coarse whitish pumice stone. We also procured a brown sort of hæmatites, which from its being strongly attracted by the magnet discovered the quantity of metal it contained. What we saw of this was cut artificially, as were also the slates and whetstones.

Of vegetables, birds, fish, and tame animals, we saw various kinds. Besides the vegetables purchased by us as refreshments, among which were, at least, five or six varieties of plantains, the Island produces bread-fruit, and the sugar-cane; the former seems to be scarce, as we only saw one tree of that species; but the latter appears to be indigenous to these Islands, and rare in those on the other side of the line. There are also here a few cocoa-palms; some yams; the kappe of the Friendly Isles, or Virginian arum; the etooa tree, and odoriferous gardenia, or Cape Jasmine. We saw several trees of the dooe dooe, that bear the oily nuts, which are stuck upon a kind of skewer, and made use of as candles. They are used in the same manner at Oneheow. We were not ashore at Atooi except in the daytime, and then we observed the Islanders wearing these nuts, hung on strings, round their necks. There is a species of sida, or Indian mallow; also the morinda citrifolia, which is here called none; a species of convolvulus; the ava, or intoxicating pepper, besides great quantities of gourds. These last grow to a very large size, and are remarkable for their variety of shapes, the effect, perhaps, of art. Upon the dry sand, about the village grows a plant, that had never been seen by us in this ocean, of the size of a common thistle, and prickly; but bearing a fine flower, greatly resembling a white poppy. The scarlet birds, brought for sale, were never met with alive; but we saw a small one, about the size of a canary bird, of a deep crimson colour. We also saw a large owl, two brown hawks, or kites, and a wild duck. We heard from the natives the names of some other birds; among which were the otoo, or bluish heron, and the torata, a sort of whimbrel. It is proba-

ble that the species of birds are numerous, if we may judge by the quantity of fine yellow, green, and small velvet-like blackish feathers, used upon the cloaks, and other ornaments worn by these people. Fish and other productions of the sea, were, to appearance, not various; for, besides the small mackarel, we only saw common mullets; a species of a chalky colour; a small brownish rock-fish, adorned with blue spots; a turtle, which was penned up in a pond; and three or four sorts of fish salted. The few shell-fish seen by us, were chiefly converted into ornaments, though they were destitute of the recommendation either of beauty or novelty. The only tame or domestic animals that we found here were hogs, dogs, and fowls, which were all of the same kind that we met with at the Islands of the South Pacific. There are also small lizards; and some rats, resembling those of every Island we had hitherto visited.

The inhabitants of Atooi are of the middle size, and not much tattooed. In general they are stoutly made, with a lively open countenance; but they are remarkable for having neither a beautiful shape, nor striking features. Their visage, particularly that of the women, is sometimes round; but in others long; nor can it justly be said, that they are distinguished, as a nation, by any peculiar cast of countenance. Their complexion is nearly of a nut brown; but some individuals are of a darker hue. We have already mentioned the women as being little more delicate than the men in their formation; and we may add, that, with few exceptions, they have little claim to those peculiarities that distinguish the sex in most other parts of the world. There is, indeed, a very remarkable equality in the size, colour, and figure, of the natives of both sexes: upon the whole, however, they are far from being ugly, and have, to all appearance, few natural deformities of any kind. Their skin is not very soft, nor shining; but their eyes and teeth are, for the most part, pretty good. Their hair in general, is straight; and though its natural colour is usually black, they stain it, as at the Friendly and other Islands. We perceived



but few instances of corpulence, and these more frequently among the women than the men; but it was principally among the latter that personal defects were observed; though if any of them can lay claim to a share of beauty, it appeared to be most conspicuous among the young men. They are active, vigorous, and most expert swimmers; leaving their canoes upon the most frivolous occasion; diving under them; and swimming to others, though at a considerable distance. We have frequently seen women with infants at the breast, when the surf was so high as to prevent their landing with canoes, leap overboard, and swim to the shore, without endangering their little ones. They appear to be of a frank, cheerful disposition; and are equally free from the fickle levity which characterizes the inhabitants of Otaheite, and the sedate cast, observable among many of those of Tongataboo. They seem to cultivate a sociable intercourse with each other; and, except the propensity to thieving, which is, as it were innate in most of the people we have visited in these seas, they were extremely friendly to us. And it does no small credit to their sensibility, without flattering ourselves, that when they saw the different articles of our European manufactures, they could not refrain from expressing their astonishment, by a mixture of joy and concern, that seemed to apply the case as a lesson of humility to themselves; and on every occasion, they appeared to have a proper consciousness of their own inferiority; a behaviour that equally exempts their national character from the ridiculous pride of the more polished Japanese, and of the ruder native of Greenland. It was pleasing to observe with what affection the women managed their infants, and with what alacrity the men contributed their assistance in such a tender office; thus distinguishing themselves from those savages who consider a wife and child as things rather necessary than desirable, or worthy of their regard or esteem. From the numbers that we saw assembled at every village, as we coasted along, it may be conjectured, that the inhabitants of this Island are pretty numerous. Inclu-

ding the straggling houses, there may perhaps be, in the whole Island, sixty such villages, as that near which our ships anchored; and, if we allow five persons to each house, there will be, in every village five hundred, or thirty thousand upon the Island. This number is by no means exaggerated, for there were sometimes three thousand people, at least, collected upon the beach; when it could not be supposed that above a tenth part of the whole were present.

The ordinary dress of both sexes has been already described. The women have often much larger pieces of cloth wrapped about them, extending from just below the breasts to the ham, and sometimes lower; and several were observed with pieces thrown loosely over their shoulders, which covered the greatest part of their body; but the children, when very young, are entirely naked. They wear nothing upon the head; but the hair, both of men and women, is cut in various forms; and the general fashion, particularly among the latter, is to have it short behind, and long before. The men frequently had it cut on each side in such a manner, that the remaining part somewhat resembled the crest of their caps, or that, which, in horses manes, is called hogging. Both sexes, however, seemed to be very careless about their hair, and had no combs, nor any thing of the kind, to dress it with. The men sometimes twist it into a number of separate parcels, like the tails of a wig, each about as thick as a finger; though most of those which are so long as to reach far down the back, are artificially fixed upon the head, over their own hair. Contrary to the general practice of most of the Islands in the Pacific Ocean, the inhabitants of the Sandwich Isles have not their ears perforated, nor do they wear any ornaments in them. Both men and women, however, adorn themselves with necklaces composed of bunches of small black cord, like our hat strings, often above a hundred fold; entirely resembling those we saw worn at Wateoo, except that, instead of the two little balls in the middle before, they fix a small piece of wood, stone, or shell, about



two inches in length, with a broad hook, well polished. They have also necklaces of many strings of very small shells, or of the dried flowers of the Indian mallow; and they sometimes hang round their necks a small human figure of bone, about the length of three inches. The women likewise wear bracelets of a single shell, pieces of black wood, with bits of ivory interspersed, and neatly polished, fastened together by a string drawn closely through them; or others of logs teeth, placed parallel to each other, with the concave part outward, and the points cut off; some of which, formed only of large boar's tusks, are very elegant. The men sometimes fix on their heads plumes of feathers of the tropic bird; or those of cocks; fastened round neat polished sticks, two feet in length; and, for the same purpose, they sew the skin of a white dog's tail over a stick, with its tuft at the end. They also, not unfrequently, wear on the head a kind of ornament, of the thickness of a finger, or more, covered with yellow and red feathers, curiously varied, and tied behind; and, on that part of the arm which is above the elbow, a sort of broad shell work, grounded upon net-work. The men sometimes puncture themselves upon their hands or arms, and near the groin; but frequently we saw no marks at all; though a few individuals had more of this species of ornament than we had usually seen at other places, and curiously executed in a great variety of lines and figures, on the arms and fore-part of the body.

Near many of their villages, there is no appearance of defence, or fortifications; and the houses are scattered about, without the least order. Some of these habitations are large and commodious, from forty to fifty feet in length, and twenty or thirty in breadth; while others of them are contemptible hovels. Their figure resembles that of hay-stacks, or perhaps a better idea may be perceived of them, by supposing that the roof of a barn placed on the ground, in such a manner as to form a high acute ridge, with two low sides. The gable at each end, corresponding to the sides, makes these abodes close all round, and they are well thatched

with long grass, which is laid on slender poles. The entrance is made either in the end or side, and is an oblong hole, extremely low; often shut up by a board of planks, fastened together, which serves as a door; but as it has no hinges, must be removed occasionally. No light enters the house except by this opening; and though such close habitations may be comfortable places of retreat in bad weather, they seem but ill adapted to the warm climate of this country. They are kept remarkably clean, and the floors are strewed with dried grass, over which mats are spread to sit and sleep on. At one end stands a bench, about three feet high, on which the domestic utensils are placed. These consist of gourd shells, which the natives convert into vessels that serve as bottles to hold water, and as baskets to contain various articles; also a few wooden bowls, and trenchers of various sizes. From what we saw growing, and from what was brought to market, we have no doubt, that sweet potatoes, taro, and plantains, constitute the principal part of their vegetable diet; and that yams and bread-fruit are rather to be considered as rarities. Of animal food, they appear to be in no want, having great numbers of hogs, which run, without restraint, about the houses; and, if they eat dogs, which is not improbable, their stock of these seemed very considerable. The quantities of fishing hooks found among them, indicates that they procure a tolerable supply of animal food from the sea. They have a custom of salting fish, and likewise pork, which they preserve in gourd-shells. The salt used for this purpose is of a reddish colour, but not very coarse, and seems to be nearly the same with what our stragglers found at Christmas Island. Its colour is doubtless derived from a mixture of mud, at the bottom of the place where it is found; for some of it, which had adhered in lumps, was of a tolerable whiteness. They bake their vegetable articles of food with heated stones; and, from the great quantity which we saw dressed at one time, we imagined, that all the inhabitants of a village, or at least a considerable number of people, joined in the use of a common oven.



We did not perceive them dress any animal food at this Island. The only artificial dish we saw them dress was a taro pudding, which, though very sour, was devoured with avidity by the natives. They eat off a sort of wooden trenchers; and, as far as we were enabled to judge from one instance, the women, if restrained from feeding on the same dish with the men, as is the custom at Otaheite, are at least allowed to eat in the same place near them.

The amusements of these people are various. We did not see the dances at which they use the feathered cloaks and caps; but from the motions they made with their hands, on other occasions, when they sung, we judged that they were similar to those we met with at the southern Islands, though not so skilfully performed. They had not amongst them either flutes or reeds, and the only two musical instruments seen by us, were of an exceeding rude kind. One of them does not produce a melody superior to that of a child's rattle. It consists of what may be denominated a conic cap inverted, but very little hollowed at the base, made of a sedge-like plant; the upper part of which, and likewise the edges, are embellished with beautiful red feathers; and to the point, or lower part, is fixed a gourd-shell. Into this they put something to rattle, which is done by holding the instrument by the small part, and shaking it briskly before the face, at the same time striking the breast with the other hand. The other instrument was a hollow vessel of wood, not unlike a platter, accompanied with two sticks, whereon one of our gentlemen saw a man performing. He held one of the sticks, about two feet in length, with one hand, in the same manner as we hold a violin, and struck it with the other, which was smaller, and resembled a drum-stick, in a quicker or slower measure, beating with his foot, at the same time, upon the hollow vessel, that lay upon the ground inverted, and thus producing a tone, that was not disagreeable. This music was accompanied by the vocal performance of some women, whose song had a pleasing effect. They have great numbers of small polished rods, of the length of between four

and five feet, rather thicker than the rammer of a musket, with a tuft of long dog's hair fixed on the small end. These they probably make use of in their diversions. We saw a native take one of them in his hand, and holding it up, gave a smart stroke, till it was brought into an horizontal position, striking the ground with his foot, on the same side, and beating his breast with his other hand. They play at bowls with pieces of the whet-stone, shaped somewhat like a cheese, but rounded at the edges and sides, which are very neatly polished. They have other bowls made of a reddish-brown clay, glazed over with a composition of the same colour, or of a dark grey coarse slate. They also use as quoits, small, flat, roundish pieces of writing slate, scarcely a quarter of an inch thick.

As to the manufactures of these people, they discover an extraordinary degree of ingenuity and neatness. Their cloth is made from the *morus papyrifera*, and doubtless, in the same manner, as at Tongataboo and Otaheite; for we bought some of the grooved sticks with which they beat it. Its texture, however, though thicker is inferior to that of the cloth of either of the places just mentioned; but, in colouring or staining it, the inhabitants of Atooi display a superiority of taste, by the infinite variety of figures which they execute. Their colours, indeed, are not very bright, except the red; but the regularity of the figures and stripes is amazing, for, as far as we know, they have nothing like stamps or prints, to make the impressions. We had no opportunity of learning in what manner they produce their colours; but, besides the variety of variegated sorts, they have some pieces of plain white cloth, and others of a single colour, particularly light blue, and dark brown. In general, the pieces brought to us were about the breadth of two feet, and four or five yards in length, being the form and quantity made use of by them for the common dress, or *maro*; and even some of these were composed of pieces sewed together. They have also a particular sort that is thin and greatly resembles oil-cloth, and which is either oiled, or soaked in some kind of varnish. They



fabricate numbers of white mats, which are strong, with many red stripes, rhombuses, and other figures interwoven on one side. These, in all probability, make occasionally, a part of their dress, for when they offered them to sale they put them on their backs. They manufacture others of a coarser sort, plain and strong, which they spread over their floors to sleep upon. They stain their gourd-shells neatly with undulated lines, triangles, and other figures of a black colour. They also seem to be acquainted with the art of varnishing, for some of their stained gourd-shells are covered with a sort of lacker; and, on other occasions, they make use of a strong size, or glutinous substance, to fasten things together. Their wooden dishes and bowls out of which they drink their ava, are of the Ettoa tree, extremely neat and well polished. They likewise make small square fans of mat or wicker-work, with handles of the same, or of wood, tapering from them, which are curiously wrought with small cords of hair, and cocoa-nut fibres, intermixed. Their fishing hooks are ingeniously made, some of bone, many of pearl-shell, and others of wood, pointed with bone. The bones are for the most part small, and consist of two pieces, and the various sorts have a barb, either on the inside, like our's, or on the outside; but others have both, the exterior being farthest from the point. Of the latter sort one was procured nine inches in length, made of a single piece of bone, the elegant form and polish of which could not be exceeded by any European artist. They polish their stones by constant friction, with pumice stone in water; and such of their tools as we saw, resembled those of the southern Islanders. Their hatchets, or rather adzes, were exactly of the same pattern, formed either of a blackish stone, or of a clay-coloured one. They have also small instruments composed of a single shark's tooth, some of which are fixed to the fore-part of the jaw-bone of a dog, and others to a thin wooden handle of a similar shape; and at the other end there is a bit of string fastened through a little hole. These serve occasionally as knives, and are probably used

in carving. The only iron tools seen among them, and which they possessed before our arrival, were a piece of iron hoop, about the length of two inches, fitted into a wooden handle; and another edge-tool, which we supposed to have been made of the point of a broad sword. Their having the actual possession of these, and their being well acquainted with the use of this metal, inclined some of our people to imagine, that we were not the first European visitors of these Islands. But the very great surprise which they testified on seeing our ships, and their perfect ignorance of the use of fire-arms, cannot be reconciled with such an opinion. There are several means, by which such people may obtain pieces of iron, or acquire, the knowledge of the existence of that metal, without having had an immediate connection with those nations that use it. We doubt not, that it was unknown to all the inhabitants of the Pacific Ocean, till Magellan led the way into it; for no navigator, immediately after his voyage, found any of this metal in their possession; though, in the course of our late voyages, it has been remarked, that the use of it was known at several Islands, which no former European vessels had ever, to our knowledge, visited. At all the places where Magellan touched, during his two voyages, some of it must have been left; and this would, doubtless, extend the knowledge of it to all the various Islands, with which the people, whom he visited, had any immediate intercourse. It might even have been carried farther, and where specimens of this valuable article could not be met with, descriptions might, in some degree, serve to make it known afterwards, when seen. The next voyage to the southward of the equator, in which any intercourse was had with the people who inhabit the Islands of this ocean, was that of Quiros, who landed at Sagittaria, the Island of handsome people, and at Tierra del Espiritu Santo, at all which places, as well as at those with which they had any communication, it must undoubtedly have been made known. To him succeeded, in this navigation, Le Maire, and Schouten, whose connections with the natives



began much farther to the eastward, and terminated at Cocos and Horn Islands. It is certain that the inhabitants of Otaheite and the Society Isles, had a knowledge of iron, and purchased it with the greatest avidity, when Captain Wallis discovered Otaheite; and they could only have acquired this knowledge through the mediation of those neighbouring Islands at which it had been originally left. They acknowledge, indeed, that this was really the case; and they have since informed us, that they held it in such estimation, before the arrival of Captain Wallis, that an Otaheitean chief, who had gained possession of two nails, received no small emolument, by letting out the use of them to his neighbours, for the purpose of boring holes. The natives of the Society Isles, whom we found at Wateoo, had been driven to that place long after the knowledge and use of iron had been thus introduced among their countrymen; and though, perhaps, they had no specimen of it with them, they would naturally communicate at that Island, by description, their knowledge of this useful metal. From the people of Wateoo, again, those of Harvey's Island might derive that inclination for it, of which we had sufficient proofs during our short intercourse with them. The consideration of these facts will shew how the knowledge of iron has been conveyed throughout the Pacific Ocean, to Islands that have never had an immediate connection with Europeans; and it may easily be imagined, that, wherever the history of it only has been reported, or a very inconsiderable quantity of it has been left, the greater eagerness will be shewn by the inhabitants to procure plentiful supplies of it. The application of these particulars, to the object of our present consideration, is manifest. The natives of Atooi, and Oneehow, without having ever been visited by Europeans before us, might have received this metal from intermediate Islands, situated between them and the Ladrons, which the Spaniards have frequented almost ever since the period of Magellan's voyage. Or, if the distant western position of the Ladrões, should detract from the probability

of this solution, is there not the American continent to windward, where the Spaniards have been settled for upwards of two centuries and a half, during which long space of time, shipwrecks must frequently have happened on its coasts? It cannot be deemed surprising, that part of such wrecks, containing iron, should, by the easterly trade winds, be occasionally cast upon some of those Islands, that are scattered about this immense ocean. The distance of Atooi from America is no argument against this supposition; and even if it were, it would destroy it. This ocean is annually traversed by Spanish vessels, and it is highly probable that, besides the accident of losing a mast and its appendages, casks with iron hoops, and many other things that contain iron, may fall, or be thrown overboard, during so long a passage, and thus find their way to land. These are not mere conjectures, for one of Capt. Cook's people actually saw some wood in a house at Wymoa, which he supposed to be fir: it was worm-eaten, and the natives informed him, that it had been driven ashore by the waves; and we had their own express authority, that they had obtained, from some place to the eastward, the specimens of iron found among them. From this digression (if it can justly be called one) let us return to the observations made during our continuance at Atooi.

The canoes of these people are commonly about four and twenty feet in length, and have the bottom, in general, formed of a single piece of wood, hollowed out to the thickness of an inch, or more, and brought to a point at each end. The sides are composed of three boards, neatly fitted and lashed to the bottom. The extremities both at head and stern, are a little elevated, and both are made sharp, somewhat resembling a wedge, but they flatten more abruptly; so that the two side boards join each other, side by side, for upwards of a foot. As they seldom exceed a foot and a half in breadth, those that go single (for they sometimes join them) have out-riggers, which are shaped and fitted with more judgment than any we had seen before. They are rowed by paddles, such as we had observed at other



Islands, and some of them have a light triangular sail, extended to a mast and boom. The ropes which they use for their boats, and the smaller cords for their fishing tackle, are strong and neatly made. They are by no means novices in the art of agriculture. The vale-ground is one continued plantation of taro, and some other articles, which have all the appearance of being carefully attended to. The potatoe-fields, and spots of sugar cane, or plantains, on the higher grounds, are planted with great regularity; but neither these, nor the others, are enclosed with any fence, unless we consider the ditches in the low grounds as such, which it is more than probable, are designed to convey water to the taro. The abundance and excellence of these articles may perhaps, be as much owing to skilful culture, as the natural fertility of the soil, which seems better adapted to them than to bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees; the few of these latter we saw, not being in a thriving state: and yet notwithstanding this skill in agriculture, the Island, from its general appearance seemed to be capable of more extensive improvement and of maintaining twice as many inhabitants as are now upon it; for those parts that now lay waste, are apparently, as good a soil, as those that are cultivated. Hence we cannot but conclude, that these people do not increase in that proportion, which would render it necessary for them to take advantage of the extent of their Island, towards raising a greater quantity of its vegetable productions for their maintenance.

During our stay in these parts, we did not see one chief of any note; but we were informed by the Islanders, that several at Atooi have their residence, to whom they prostrate themselves as a mark of homage and respect. This prostration appeared similar to the *moe moea*, paid to the chiefs at the Friendly Islands, and is here denominated *hamoea*, or *moe*. After we had left the Island, one of these great men visited Capt. Clerke, going off to the *Discovery*, in his double canoe, and, like the sovereign of the Friendly Isles, paid no regard to the small canoes that chanced to be in his way, but ran against, or over them, without making

the least attempt to avoid them: nor was it possible for the poor people to avoid him, it being a necessary mark of their submission, that they should lie down till he had passed. He was assisted in getting on board the *Discovery* by his attendants, who placed him in the gang-way, where they stood round him, holding each other by the hands, nor would they suffer any one but Captain Clerke to approach him. He was a young man, apparelled from head to foot. His name was said to be Tamahano. Captain Clerke having made him some presents, received in return, a large bowl, supported by two figures of men, the carving whereof displayed a degree of skill, both with respect to the design and execution. This bowl used to be filled with Kava, or, in the language of Otaheite, *Ava*, which is prepared and drank here, as at the other Islands of the Pacific Ocean. Capt. Clerke could not prevail upon this chief to go below, nor to move from the spot where his attendants had first placed him. After remaining some time in the ship, he was carried back into his canoe, and returned to the Island. The next day several messages were sent to Capt. Clerke, inviting him to return the visit on shore, and giving him to understand, that the chief had prepared a considerable present on the occasion; but the Captain being anxious to get out to sea, and join the *Resolution*, did not think proper to accept of the invitation.

Our imperfect intercourse with the natives did not enable us to form an accurate judgment of the form of government established among them; but from the general similarity of customs, and particularly from what we observed of the honours paid to their chiefs, it seems reasonable to imagine, that it is of the same nature with that which prevails in all the Islands we had hitherto visited; and, in all probability, their wars among themselves are equally frequent. This, indeed, might be inferred, from the number of weapons we found in their possession, and from the excellent order in which they kept them. But we had proofs of the fact from their own confession; and, as we were informed, these wars are carried



on between the different districts of their own Island, as well as between it and the neighbouring inhabitants of the Isles of Oneeheow and Oreehoqa.

Besides their spears, formed of a fine brownish wood, beautifully polished, some of which are barbed at one end, and flattened to a point at the other, they have another kind of weapon, which we had never met with before. It somewhat resembles a dagger, and is, in general, about eighteen inches in length, sharpened at one or both ends, and secured to the hand by a string. Its use is to stab in close combat, and seems well adapted to that purpose. Some of these may be denominated double daggers, having a handle in the middle, with which they are the better enabled to strike different ways. They have likewise bows and arrows; but, both from their slender construction, and their apparent scarcity, it is probable that they never make use of them in battle. The knife or saw, already mentioned, with which they dissect the dead bodies of their enemies, may also be ranked among their weapons, as they both strike and cut with it when engaged in close fight. It is a small wooden instrument, about a foot in length, of an oblong shape, rounded at the corners: its edges are surrounded with shark's teeth, strongly fixed to it, and pointed outwards; and it has generally a hole in the handle, through which passes a long string, and this they wrap several times round the wrist. We are of opinion, that, on some occasions, they use slings, for we procured some pieces of the hæmatites, or blood-stone, made artificially of an oval form, divided longitudinally, with a narrow groove in the middle of the convex part. To this the person who had one of them, applied a thin cord, but would not dispose of it, though he was not unwilling to part with the stone, which, as it weighed a pound, must prove fatal when thrown with some degree of force. We likewise saw some pieces of whetstone neatly polished, of an oval figure, but somewhat pointed towards each end, nearly resembling in shape some stones seen by Capt. Cook at New Caledonia in 1774, and made use of there in slings.

Some of their religious institutions, and their method of disposing of their dead, strongly indicate an affinity between the manners of these people, and of the natives of the Friendly and the Society Islands. The inhabitants of Tongataboo bury their dead with great decency, and they also inter their human sacrifices; but they do not, to our knowledge, offer any other animal, or even vegetable, to their deities. The Otaheiteans do not inter their dead, but expose them to waste and putrefaction, though they afterwards bury their bones; and this being their custom, it is remarkable, that they should inter the bodies of their human sacrifices. They are far from being attentive to the condition of the places, where they celebrate their solemn rites; most of their morais being in a ruinous state, and shewing manifest tokens of neglect. The people of Atooi resemble also those of Otaheite, in offering vegetables and animals to their gods. The taboo likewise prevails in Atooi in its full extent, and apparently with greater strictness, than even at Tongataboo: for the natives always asked here, with eagerness, and with indications of fear of offending, whether any particular thing, which they desired to see, was taboo, or as they pronounced the word, *tafoo*? The *maia* rail, or prohibited articles, at the Society Islands, though undoubtedly the same thing, did not appear to be so rigorously observed by them, except with regard to the dead, respecting whom we thought they were more superstitious than any others we had been conversant with. But whatever resemblance we might discover between the general manners of the inhabitants of Atooi, and those of Otaheite, these were less striking than the similarity of language.

The languages of both places may indeed be said to be almost entirely the same. The people of Atooi, in general, have neither the strong guttural pronunciation of the New Zealanders, nor that smaller degree of it, which also distinguishes the Friendly Islanders; and they have not only adopted the whole idiom of their language, but the same measure and cadence in their songs. It is true, at first hearing, a stranger may perceive



some disagreement; but it should be considered, that the natives of Otaheite, from their frequent connections with the English, had learned, in some measure, to adapt themselves to our imperfect knowledge of their language, by using the most common and even corrupted expressions in conversation with us; whereas when they talked with each other, and used the several parts necessary to propriety of speech, they were hardly at all understood by those among us, who had made the greatest progress in the knowledge of their tongue.

Had the Sandwich Islands been discovered at an early period, by the Spaniards, they would doubtless have availed themselves of so excellent a situation, and have made use of Atooi, or some other Islands, as a place of refreshment for the ships that sail annually between Manilla and Acapulco. They lie almost mid-way between the last mentioned place and Guam, one of the Ladrões, which is at present their only port in traversing this vast ocean; and to touch at them would not be a week's sail out of their ordinary route. An acquaintance with the Sandwich Isles would also have been equally favourable to our Buccaneers, who have sometimes passed from the coast of America to the Ladrões, with a stock of provisions and water scarcely adequate to the support of life. Here they might always have met with a plentiful supply, and have been within a month's sail of the very part of California, which the Manilla ships are obliged to make. How happy would Lord Anson have been, and what difficulties would he have avoided, had he known that there was a cluster of Islands half way between America and Tinian where all his wants might have been effectually relieved!

At these Islands, the tides are so inconsiderable, that with a great surf breaking against the shore, it was difficult, at all times to determine whether we had high or low water, or whether it ebbed or flowed. On the south side of Atooi, a current generally set to the westward, or north-westward: but when we were at anchor off Oneehew, we found a current setting nearly N. W. and S. E. six hours each way. This

was doubtless a regular tide, and the flood appeared to come from the N. W.

The longitude of Sandwich Islands, was determined by seventy-two sets of lunar observations; some of which were made while we were at anchor, in the road of Wymoa; others, before we arrived, and after we had left it, and reduced to it, by the watch, or time-keeper. By the mean result of the observations, the longitude of the road is 200 deg. 13 min. E. and the latitude, by the mean of two meridian observations of the sun 21 deg. 56 min. 15 sec. N. We now return to the progress of our voyage.

On Monday, the 2nd of February, the Discovery having joined us, we stood away to the northward, with a gentle gale from the E. On the 7th, we were in the latitude of 29 deg. N. longitude 200 deg. E. the wind having veered to the S. E. which enabled us to steer N. E. and E. This course we continued till the 12th, when the wind having changed, we tacked, and stood to the northward, in latitude 30 deg. N. longitude 206 deg. 15 min. E. In this advanced latitude, and even in the winter season, we had only begun to feel a sensation of cold in the mornings and evenings; a proof of the equal and durable influence of the heat of the sun, at all times, to 30 degrees on each side the line. After that, the disproportion is known to be very great. This must be attributed principally to the direction of the sun's rays, independent of the bare distance, which is not equal to the effect. On Thursday the 19th, being in latitude 37 deg. N. longitude 206 deg. E the wind veered to the S. E. and we were again enabled to steer to the E. inclining to the N. On the 25th, we reached the latitude of 42 deg. 30 min. longitude 219 deg. when we began to meet with the rock-weed, mentioned in Lord Anson's voyage, by the name of the sea-leek, which is generally seen by the Manilla ships. Since we left Sandwich Islands, we had scarcely beheld a bird, or any other oceanic animal.

On Sunday, the 1st of March, in latitude 44 deg. 49 min. N. and in longitude 228 deg. E. we had moderate and mild weather, which appeared to us very extraordinary, when we were so far N. and so near an



extensive continent, at this time of the year. Another singular circumstance is, that we should meet with so few birds, compared to those we saw in the same latitudes, to the S. of the line. Hence we may conclude, that, in the southern hemisphere, beyond 40 deg. the species are much more numerous and the Islands more plentifully scattered, than any where near that latitude, between the coast of California and Japan. On the morning of the 2nd, during a calm, part of the sea appeared to be covered with a kind of slime, and small sea animals. When they swam about, which they did with ease in various directions, they emitted the brightest colours of the most valuable gems, according to their position, respecting the light. Some of them were taken up and put into a glass of salt water, when, at one time, they appeared pellucid, at another displaying the various tints of blue, from a pale saphirine to a violet, mixed with a kind of ruby, and glowing with sufficient strength to illuminate the glass of water. When the vessel was held to the strongest light, the tints appeared most vivid; but almost vanished when the animals subsided to the bottom, and they had then a brownish appearance. By candle-light, the colour was, principally, a beautiful pale green, with a kind of burnished gloss: and, in the dark, it faintly exhibited a glowing fire. They are a new species of *oniscus*, called by Mr. Anderson, *oniscus fulgens*, and supposed to be an animal which contributes to that lucid appearance often observed at sea in the night.

On Friday the 6th, at noon, in latitude 44 deg. N. longitude 234 deg. 30 min. E. we saw two seals, and several whales; and on the 7th, early in the morning, the long expected coast of New Albion, so named by Sir Francis Drake, was descried, at the distance of ten leagues, extending from N. E. to S. E. At noon we were in latitude 44 deg. 33 min. N. longitude 235 deg. 20 min. E. and the land about eight leagues distant. This formed a point at the northern extreme, which our Commodore named Cape Foul-weather, from the exceeding bad weather we afterwards met with. After several attempts attended with many difficulties, on Monday

the 9th, we tacked, and stood in again for the land; but the wind continually shifting, and blowing in squalls, with hail and sleet, obliged us to stand off and on, without seeing the least sign of a harbour. The land which we approached on our different tacks, is moderately high, but in many places it rises still higher within. It is diversified with hills and rising grounds, many of which are covered with tall straight trees; and others, not so high, grew in spots, like clumps, but the spaces between, and the sides of the rising grounds were clear. Such a prospect in summer might be very agreeable, but at this season, it had an uncomfortable appearance, the bare grounds along the coast being covered with snow, which seemed to lie in abundance between the hills and rising grounds, and in many places, towards the sea, had at a distance, the appearance of white cliffs. On the rising grounds, the snow was thinner spread; and farther inland, there seemed to be none at all. Hence it might perhaps, be concluded, that the snow which we had seen towards the sea, had fallen the preceding night; which was, indeed, the coldest we had experienced since our arrival on this coast: a kind of sleet fell sometimes; and the weather became very unsettled. The coast appeared almost straight in every part, not having any opening or inlet, and terminated in a kind of sandy beach; though it was imagined by some on board, that such appearance was owing to the snow. Each extreme of the land shot out into a point; the northern one was that which we had seen on the 7th, and therefore the Captain called it Cape Perpetua. Its latitude is 44 deg. 6 min. N. and its longitude 235 deg. 52 min. E. The southern extreme was named Cape Gregory. It lies in the latitude of 43 deg. 30 min. N. and in the longitude of 235 deg. 57 min. E. At five o'clock the wind veered to the W. and S. W. which induced us once more to stand out to sea. At this time Cape Perpetua bore N. E. by N. and the farthest land to the S. of Cape Gregory S. by E. distant about ten or twelve leagues: consequently, its latitude is 43 deg. 10 min. and its longitude 235 deg. 55 min. E. This is nearly the



situation of Cape Blanco, discovered the 19th of January 1603, by Martin d'Agnilar. It is remarkable that in this very latitude, geographers have placed a large entrance or strait, ascribing the discovery of it to the same navigator; whereas, nothing more is mentioned in his voyage, than his having discovered a large river in this situation, which he would have entered, but was hindered by the currents.

The wind being now very unsettled, blowing in squalls, attended with snow showers, we were obliged to stretch to the southward to get clear of the coast. On Friday, the 13th, the gale abated, and we stood in again for land. On Saturday, the 21st in the morning, a breeze sprung up at S. W. This being attended with fair weather, we steered north-easterly; and on the 22nd, about eight o'clock A. M. we came in sight of land distant about nine leagues, being now in latitude 47 deg. 5 min. N. and our longitude 235 deg. 10 min. E. At length we perceived a small opening between what we supposed to be an Island, and the northern extreme of the land; here we expected to find a harbour; but our hopes vanished as we drew nearer; and we were soon convinced, that the opening was closed by low land. Our disappointment occasioned the point of land, to the north, to be named Cape Flattery. Its latitude is 48 deg. 15 min. N. and its longitude 235 deg. 3 min. E. In this latitude geographers have placed the pretended strait of Juan de Fuca. But nothing of that kind presented itself to our view, nor is it probable that any such thing ever existed.

On Sunday, the 29th, we were in latitude 49 deg. 29 min. N. and in the longitude of 232 deg. 29 min. E. when we again saw land, the nearest part six leagues distant. A low point is formed, at the S. E. extreme, off which are several breakers, on account of which it was called Point Breakers. Its latitude is 49 deg. 15 min. N. and its longitude 233 deg. 20 min. E. The latitude of the other extreme is about 50 deg. and the longitude 232 deg. This last was named Woody Point. Between these two points, a large bay is formed, which the Captain call-

ed Hope Bay; hoping, as he said, to find in it a good harbour; and the event proved that he was not mistaken. As we approached the coast, we saw the appearance of two inlets; one of which was in the N. W. and the other in the N. E. corner of the Bay. We bore up for the latter, and passed some breakers about a league from the shore. As we advanced, the existence of the inlet no longer remained doubtful. At five o'clock we reached the west point of it; and soon after a breeze sprung up at N. W. with which we stretched into an arm of the inlet, running in to the N. E. Here we were becalmed, and found it necessary to anchor in eighty-five fathoms water, and so near the shore as to be able to reach it with a hawser. The Discovery was becalmed before she got within the arm, where she anchored in seventy-five fathoms.

At the place where we were first becalmed, three canoes came off to the ship, in one of which were two men, in another six, and in the other ten. Advancing pretty near us, a person stood up in one of them, and spoke for a considerable time, inviting us as we supposed, by his gestures to go ashore; and, at the same time continued strewing handfuls of feathers towards us. Some of his companions also threw a red powder in the same manner. One, in particular, sung a most agreeable air, accompanied with a melodious softness. The word *haela* was repeated frequently as the burden of the song. Soon after a breeze springing up brought us closer to the shore, when the canoes came to visit us in great numbers; having, at one time, no less than thirty-two of them about the ship, containing from three to seven or eight persons each, and of both sexes. One attracted particularly our notice, by its having a peculiar head, with a bird's eye, and an enormous large beak, painted upon it. The chief who was in it, appeared equally remarkable for his singular appearance; having a large quantity of feathers hanging from his head, and being smeared in a very extraordinary manner. In his hand he had a carved bird made of wood, the size of a pigeon, with which he often rattled, like the person before-mentioned;



and was equally vociferous in his harangue, which was accompanied with many expressive gestures. Not any of these visitors could be prevailed upon to come on board. They were very ready, however, to part with any thing they had, and received whatever we offered them in exchange; but they were very solicitous after iron, and appeared to be no strangers to that valuable metal.

Having found such excellent shelter for our ships, in an inlet whose coasts appeared to be inhabited by an inoffensive race of people, we lost no time, after coming to anchor in searching for a commodious harbour, where we might be stationed during our continuance in the sound. Upon this service, three armed boats were sent; and on the N. W. of the arm, at a small distance from the ships, we found a convenient cove: but apprehended we could not transport our ships to it, and moor them properly, before night would overtake us, we thought it prudent to continue where we were till the next morning. The whole day we were surrounded with plenty of canoes; and a reciprocal trade was commenced between us, conducted with the strictest harmony and integrity on both sides. Their articles of commerce were the skins of various animals, such as bears, sea-otters, wolves, foxes, deer, racoons, martins, and pole-cats. They also produced a kind of clothing, fabricated from the bark of a tree, or a plant resembling hemp: besides which articles, they had bows, arrows, fish-hooks, and various kinds of instruments; wooden vizors, representing horrid figures; a sort of woollen stuff; carved work; beads; and red ochre; also several little ornaments of thin brass and iron resembling an horse-shoe, which they wear pendant at their noses. However, among all the articles which they exposed to sale, the most extraordinary were human skulls, and hands, with some of the flesh remaining on them; which they acknowledged they had been feeding on; and some of them, indeed, bore evident marks of their having been on the fire. For the various articles they brought, they received in exchange knives, chisels, nails, looking-glasses, buttons or any kind of

metal. They had not much inclination for beads, and rejected every kind of cloth.

On Tuesday the 31st, we were employed in hauling the ships into the cove, where they were moored. The *Resolution* was now become very leaky in her upper works; on which account the carpenters were ordered to caulk her, and to repair any other defects they might discover. In the course of this day, the news of our arrival brought vast numbers of the natives about our ships. At one time we counted above a hundred canoes, each of which, on an average, had five people on board; few containing less than three; many having seven, eight, or nine; and one was manned with seventeen. Many of these were new visitors, which we discovered by their orations and ceremonies. If they, at first, had apprehended that we meant to be hostile, their fears were now removed; for they ventured on board the ships, and mixed with our people with the utmost freedom and familiarity. We discovered, however, by this intercourse, that they were as fond of pilfering as any we had met with during our voyage; and they were much more mischievous than any of the other thieves we had found; for, having sharp instruments in their possession, they could, the instant that our backs were turned, cut a hook from a tackle, or a piece of iron from a rope. They stripped our boats of every piece of iron that was worth taking away, though some of our men were always left in them as a guard. They were, indeed so dextrous in effecting their purposes, that one fellow would contrive to amuse our people at one end of the boat, while his confederate was forcing off the iron work at the other. If an article that had been stolen, was immediately missed, the thief was easily detected, as they were fond of impeaching each other: but the prize was always reluctantly given up by the guilty person; and sometimes compulsive means were obliged to be used in order to regain it.

Wednesday, April the 1st, having safely moored our ships, we proceeded to other necessary business. The observatories were taken ashore, and placed on a rock, on one side of the cove. A party of men was



stationed to cut wood, and clear a place for watering. Having plenty of pine-trees here, others were employed in brewing spruce-beer. The forge was also erected to make the necessary iron-work for repairing the foremast. We were daily visited by a considerable number of new comers, who had a singular mode of introducing themselves on their first appearance, by paddling, with their utmost strength and activity, round both the ships, while a chief, standing up with a spear in his hand, bawled most vociferously all the time. The face of this orator was sometimes covered with a mask, representing either a human countenance, or that of some other animal; and, instead of a spear, he had a kind of rattle in his hand. Frequently, before they came along side, or on board our ship, they would entertain us with a song, in which their whole company joined. During these visits our principal care was to guard against their thievery.

But on Saturday, the 4th of April, we had a very serious alarm, for our party on shore perceived the natives in all quarters arming, and those who had not proper weapons were collecting sticks and stones. The Captain, hearing this, ordered all our workmen to repair to the rock, whereon our observatories had been placed; thus leaving the supposed enemy in possession of the ground where they assembled, which was within about one hundred yards of our stern. We soon found however, that these hostile preparations were directed against a body of their own countrymen, who were advancing to attack them; and our friends of the sound, perceiving our apprehensions, exerted their best endeavours to convince us, that this was really the case. The adverse party, on board about twelve large canoes, at length drew up in line of battle, off the South point of the cove. A negotiation for the restoration of peace was now commenced; in the course of which several people in canoes passed between the two parties, and some debates ensued. At length the matter in dispute appeared to be adjusted; but the strangers were not permitted to approach our ships. It is most likely we were the prin-

cipal occasion of the quarrel; the strangers, perhaps, insisting on having a right of sharing in the advantages of a trade with us; and our first friends resolving to engross us entirely to themselves. We were convinced of this on many other occasions; nay, even among those who lived in the sound, the weaker were often obliged to submit to the stronger party, and were plundered of every thing, without even attempting to make any resistance.

Sunday, the 5th, the carpenter discovered the cheeks of the foremast to be rotten, and began to supply it with new ones. It was fortunate that these defects should be discovered, when we were so commodiously situated, as to be able to procure the materials that were requisite. On the 7th, while the foremast was repairing, the Captain ordered a new set of main-rigging to be fitted. From our putting into the sound to this day, the weather had been remarkably fine; but in the morning of the 8th we had rain with a fresh gale, and in the evening it blew extremely hard: but though these tempestuous blasts succeeded each other quickly, they were of short duration: yet we had the misfortune to have our mizen-mast give way at the head. About eight o'clock, the gale abated, but the rain continued, almost without intermission. During these squalls the natives frequently brought us small cod, small bream, or sardine, and a supply of other fish. Sunday the 12th, in the evening, we received a visit from a tribe of natives, whom we had not seen before, and who, in general, made a better appearance than our old friends. When conducted into the cabin, there was not an object that fixed their attention; all our novelties were looked on with indifference, except by a very few, who shewed a certain degree of curiosity. On Thursday the 16th, when our carpenters had made a considerable progress on the mizen-mast, they discovered that the tree on which they were at work, was wounded, owing, it was imagined, to some accident in cutting it down. It therefore became necessary to procure another tree out of the woods, on which work all hands were employed about half a day. During



this operation, many of the natives were gazing on with an inexpressible surprise, which, from their general inattention, we did not expect. On Saturday, the 18th, a party of strangers, in seven or eight canoes, came into the cove, and after looking at us for some time, retired. We concluded, that our old friends would not suffer them to have any dealings with us. It was evident, indeed, that the neighbouring inhabitants engrossed us entirely to themselves; and that they carried on a traffic with more distant tribes, in those articles they had received from us: for they frequently disappeared four or five days together, and returned with fresh cargoes of curiosities and skins. Such of them as visited us daily, after having disposed of their trifles, employed themselves in fishing, and we always partook of what they caught; we also procured from them a considerable quantity of good animal oil, which they brought to us in bladders. Some indeed, attempted to cheat us, by mixing water with oil; and once or twice they so far imposed upon us, as to fill their bladders with water only. In exchange for their articles of traffic, metal was generally demanded by our visitors; and brass had now supplanted iron, being sought after with such eagerness, that before we left the sound, scarcely a bit of it was to be found in the ships, except what constituted a part of our necessary instruments: suits of clothes were stripped of their buttons; bureaus of their furniture; kettles, canisters, and candlesticks all went to rack; so that our American friends procured from us a greater variety of things, than any other nation we had visited.

On Sunday, the 19th, most of our work being now finished, Captain Cook set out the next morning to survey the sound. Proceeding first to the west point, we discovered a large village, and, before it a very snug harbour, with from nine to four fathoms water. The inhabitants of this village, who were numerous, and to many of whom the Commodore was no stranger, received him with great courtesy, every one pressing him to enter his apartment; for several families have habitations under the same roof. He ac-

cepted politely the invitations, and the hospitable friends whom we visited, testified every mark of civility and respect. In many of these habitations women were employed, in making dresses of the bark or plant already mentioned, and executed their business much like the natives of New Zealand: others were busy in opening sardines; large shoals of which we have seen brought on shore, and measured out to several people, who carried them home, where they performed the operation of curing them: this is done by smoke-drying. They are hung upon small rods; at first, about a foot over the fire; they are then removed higher and higher, to make room for others. When dried, they are closely packed in bales, and the bales covered with mats. Thus they are preserved till wanted, and are not unpleasant food. They also cure cod, and other large fish in the same manner; but these are sometimes dried in the open air. Leaving this village, we proceeded up the west side of the sound. For near three miles we saw several small Islands, so situated as to form some convenient harbours, the depths being from thirty to seven fathoms. About two leagues within the sound, on the same side, an arm runs in the direction of N. N. W. and another in the same direction about two miles farther. About a mile above the second arm we found the ruins of a village. The framings of the houses remained standing, but the boards or roofs were taken away. Behind this deserted village is a small plain, covered with the largest pine-trees we had ever seen. This was singular, as most of the elevated ground on this side the sound appeared rather naked. Passing from hence to the east side, we observed what we had before imagined, that it was an Island, under which the ships lay; and that many smaller ones lay scattered about on the west side of it. Upon the main land, opposite the north end of our Island, we saw a village, and landed there, but our Commodore was not so politely received by the inhabitants, as by those of the other village he had visited. This cold reception was occasioned by one surly chief, who would not suffer him to enter their houses, making expressive signs,



that he was impatient for him to be gone. Capt. Cook endeavoured in vain to sooth him with presents; these he did not refuse, though he continued the same kind of behaviour. But notwithstanding this treatment from the inhospitable chief, some of the young women expeditiously apparelled themselves in their best habiliments, assembled in a body, and, joining in an agreeable song, gave us a hearty welcome. Evening now drawing on, Capt. Cook proposed returning, and we proceeded for the ships, round the north end of the Island. When returned aboard, we were informed that in our absence, some strangers from the S. E. had visited our people in the ships, who purchased of them two silver table spoons, that appeared to be of Spanish manufacture. They were worn round the neck of one of those visitors by way of ornament.

Wednesday, the 22nd, about eight o'clock A. M. we were visited by a number of strangers from the southward. After their departure the two Captains, Cook, and Clerke, went in their own boats to the village at the west point, where our Commodore had been two days before, and had observed that plenty of grass was to be had near it; and it was necessary to get a supply of this, for the few remaining goats and sheep that were still on board. We received the same welcome reception as before, and our Commodore ordered some of the people to begin cutting: not imagining the natives would object to our furnishing ourselves with what could not be of any use to them, though essentially necessary for us. In this, however, we were mistaken, for as soon as our men began cutting the grass, some of the inhabitants would not permit them to proceed, saying, "Makook," signifying, that we must buy them first. During this event, Capt. Cook was in one of the houses, but, hearing of it, he repaired immediately to the field, where he found about us, a dozen claimants of different parts of the grass, that grew on the premises. The Commodore treated with them for it, and having complied with the terms of his purchase, thought we had now full liberty to cut whatever we pleased. Here he was again mistaken; for he had so

liberally paid the first pretended proprietors, that fresh demands were made from others, so that every single blade of grass might have had a separate owner; and so many of them were to be satisfied, that his pockets presently became empty. When they were convinced of this last striking circumstance, they ceased to be importunate, and we were permitted to cut where we thought proper, as much as we pleased. Here it is worthy of observation, that we never met with any uncivilized nation, or tribe, who possessed such strict notions of their having an exclusive property in the produce of their country, as the inhabitants of this sound. They even wanted our people to pay for the wood and water that were carried aboard. Had Capt. Cook been present when these demands were made, he would doubtless have complied with them; but our workmen thought differently, and paid little or no attention to such claims. The natives thinking we were determined not to pay the least consideration, at length ceased to apply for the same: but they frequently took occasion to remind us, that their esteem for us had induced them to make us a present of wood and water. Having completed all our operations at this village, the natives and the two Captains took a friendly leave of each other, and we returned to the ships in the afternoon.

The 23rd, 24th, and 25th, were employed in preparing for sea; the sails were bent; the observatories and other articles were removed from the shore; and both ships put into a proper condition for sailing. On Sunday the 26th, the Commodore intended to have set sail, but having both wind and tide against us, we were under a necessity of waiting till noon, when the tide turning in our favour, the ships were towed out of the cove. At four o'clock P. M. the mercury in the barometer sunk uncommonly low, and we had every appearance of an approaching storm from the southward: but the Captain's anxiety to prosecute the voyage, and the fear of losing so good an opportunity of getting out of the sound, operated more strongly upon his mind than the apprehension of danger, and he resolved to



put to sea. We were attended by the natives till we were almost out of the sound ; some in their canoes, and others on board the ships. One of the chiefs who had particularly attached himself to Capt. Cook, was among the last who parted from us. The Captain a little time before we got under way, made him a small present ; for which he received, in return, a beaver skin of much superior value. For this reason the Captain made an addition to his present, which pleased the chief so highly, that he presented to the Commodore the beaver-skin cloak which he then wore, and of which he was particularly fond. Struck with this instance of generosity, and wishing him not to be a sufferer by his gratitude, Capt. Cook insisted upon his acceptance of a new broadsword, with a brass hilt, with which he appeared greatly delighted. We were earnestly importuned by the chief, and many of his countrymen, to pay them another visit ; who, by way of inducement, promised to procure a large stock of skins. Before we continue the progress of our voyage, we think it may be no small entertainment to our readers, to comprise in the remainder of this chapter further particulars relative to the country and its inhabitants.

The inlet in which our ships were moored is called by the natives Nootka, but Capt. Cook gave it the name of King George's Sound. The entrance is in the east corner of Hope Bay, in latitude 49 deg. 33 min. N. longitude 233 deg. 12 min. E. The east coast is covered by a chain of sunken rocks, and, near the sound, are some Islands and rocks above water. We entered the sound between two rocky points, lying E. S. E. and W. N. W. from each other, distant four miles. The sound widens within these points, and extends to the northward at least four leagues. In the middle of it are a number of Islands of various sizes. The depth of water, not only in the middle of the sound, but also close to some parts of the shore, is from forty-seven to ninety fathoms or more. Within its circuit, the harbours and anchoring places are numerous. The cove, where our ships anchored, is on the east side of the sound, and also on the east of the largest

Island. Its principal recommendation is that of being covered from the sea ; for it is exposed to the S. E. winds, which sometimes blow with great violence. Upon the sea coast, the land is tolerably high ; but, within the sound, it rises into steep hills, which have a uniform appearance, ending in roundish tops, with sharp ridges on their sides. Many of these hills are high ; all of them are covered to their summits with the thickest woods. The soil upon them is produced from rotten mosses and trees, of the depth of about two feet. Their foundations are nothing more than stupendous rocks ; of a grey or whitish cast when exposed to the weather ; but, when broken, are of a bluish grey colour. The rocky shores consist entirely of this ; and the beaches of the little coves in the sound are composed of fragments of it.

The climate appears to be infinitely milder than that on the east coast of America, under the same parallel of latitude. We perceived no frost in any of the low ground ; but, on the contrary, vegetation proceeded very briskly ; for, at this time, we saw grass upwards of a foot long. The trees of which the woods are composed are the Canadian pine, white cypress, and two or three other sorts of pine. The two first are in the greatest abundance. At a distance they resemble each other ; but they are easily distinguished on a nearer view, the cypress being of a paler green than the other. In general, the trees grow here with great vigour, and are of a large size. About the rocks and borders of the woods, we saw some strawberry plants, raspberry, currant, and gooseberry bushes, all in a flourishing state. We found also a few black alder trees ; a species of sow-thistle ; some cow's-foot with a fine crimson flower, and two sorts of anthericum. We met with some wild rose-bushes, just budding ; some young leeks ; a small sort of grass, and some water-cresses ; besides a great abundance of andromeda. The season of the year did not permit us to acquire much knowledge of the vegetables of this country ; and being in a cove, or an Island, all the animals that we saw alive were two or three racoons, martins, squirrels :



and some of our people who landed on the continent, on the south-east side of the sound, observed the prints of a bear's feet, not far from the shore; but we could only judge of the quadrupeds from the skins purchased of the inhabitants, and these were sometimes so mutilated, that we could not even guess to what species of animals they belonged, though others were so perfect as not to admit a doubt about them. The most common of these last sorts were bears, deer, foxes, and wolves. Bear-skins are in abundance, but not very large; their colour is generally a shining black. The deer-skins are not so plentiful, and appear to belong to what the inhabitants of North-Carolina in America, call the fallow-deer; but Mr. Millar, in his *New System of Natural History* distinguishes it by the name of Virginian deer, and thinks it quite a different species from our's.

The sea animals seen off the coast were whales, porpoises and seals; the last of these seem only of the common sort. Though sea-otters are amphibious, yet we may consider them as belonging to this class, as living principally in the water. The fur of these animals, as mentioned in the Russian accounts, is certainly softer and finer than that of any other animals known by the Europeans; consequently the discovery of this part of the continent of North-America, where so valuable an article of commerce may be met with, cannot be a matter of indifference. Mr. Coxe, in his *Russian discoveries*, on the authority of Mr. Pallas, says, that the old and middle-aged sea-otters skins are sold at Kiatchta by the Russians, to the Chinese, from 80 to 100 rubles a skin, that is from 16l. to 20l. each.

The birds that frequent the waters and the shores are far from being numerous: they are very shy, owing perhaps, to their being continually harrassed by the natives, either to eat, or for their feathers to be worn as ornaments. We met with humming birds, different in some respects from the various sorts already known of this delicate little animal. Shags and gulls are also frequent in the sound. Some swans too were seen flying to the northward, but we knew

not their haunts. Here are two sorts of wild ducks; one black, with a white head; the other white, with a red bill, but of a larger size: also the greater lumme, or diver, found in the northern parts of Europe. On the shores we found a sand-piper, not unlike the burre, a plover, resembling our common lark, and two kinds of wood-peckers, one smaller than a thrush, the other larger and more elegant.

Fish are more plentiful than birds. The principal sorts we found were the common herring, not exceeding seven inches in length; a smaller sort, of the same kind as the anchovy, though rather larger: a silver coloured bream, and another of a brown colour, with narrow blue stripes. Sharks sometimes frequent the sound, for the natives have some of their teeth in their possession. About the rocks there is an abundance of large muscles, many of a span long; in some of which are large pearls; but they are not pleasing either in colour or shape. Red coral is to be found either on the coast or in the sound, large branches of it having been seen in the canoes of the natives. The only reptiles observed here were brown snakes, about two feet in length, having whitish stripes on the back and sides; and brownish water lizards. The former are quite harmless. The insect tribe seem to be much more numerous.

We found here both iron and copper, but we do not think either of them belong to this place. We did not see the ores of any metals, except a coarse red ochre substance, used by the natives in painting or staining their faces and bodies; they had also a black and white pigment made use of for the same purpose. Exclusive of the rock, which forms the shores and mountains, we found among the natives some things made of a hard black granite, not very compact, nor fine grained; also a greyish whet-stone; the common oil stone; and a black sort, little inferior to the hone stone. They had likewise pieces of rock chrystal. We could not obtain this from them without a very valuable return.

As to the natives, their persons, in general, are under the common stature; usually



pretty plump, but not muscular; the forehead low; the eyes small, black, and rather languishing, than sparkling; the mouth round, with large, thick lips; the teeth tolerably equal and well set. Their eyebrows are also scanty, and always narrow: but the hair of the head is in great abundance, very coarse and strong; and, without a single exception, black, strait, and lank. Some have no beards; others only a thin one on the point of the chin; for they pluck it out elsewhere by the roots: and those who do not thus eradicate it, have not only considerable beards, on every part of the chin, but also whiskers, or mustachios, running from the upper lip to the lower jaw obliquely downward; whence we may conclude, that it is a mistaken notion, though espoused by eminent writers, that American Indians have no beards. The limbs, in all of them, are small in proportion to the other parts; besides they are crooked and ill-formed, having projecting ancles, and large feet, awkwardly shaped. Their colour could never be determined positively, as their bodies were incrustated with paint and dirt. The women are nearly the same size with the men, from whom it is not easy to distinguish them, as they possess no natural delicacies sufficient to render their persons agreeable. A certain sameness characterizes both sexes; dulness, and want of expression, being visibly portrayed in every visage. In common, their dress is a flaxen kind of mantle, ornamented with a narrow stripe of fur, on the upper edge, and fringes at the lower one. Passing under the left arm, it is tied by tassels over the right shoulder. Sometimes they fasten the mantle round the waist with a girdle of coarse matting; over which is worn a small cloak of the same substance, fringed at the bottom, and reaching to the waist. They wear a cap, in the shape of a flower-pot, made of very fine matting, ornamented with a bunch of leathern tassels, and having a string passing under the chin, to prevent its blowing off. Besides the above dress, which is common to both sexes, the men throw frequently over their other garments the skin of a bear, wolf, or sea-otter, with the hair outward.

and tie it as a cloak, near the upper part, wearing it sometimes before, and sometimes behind. Was this dress kept clean, it would by no means be inelegant; but as they are continually rubbing their bodies over with a red paint, mixed with oil, their garments become greasy, and contract a rancid offensive smell. The appearance, indeed, of these people is both wretched and filthy, and their heads and garments swarm with lice. So lost are they to every idea of cleanliness, that we frequently saw them pick off these vermin, and eat them with the greatest composure. Their faces are ornamented with a variety of colours; a black, a bright red, or a white colour; the last of these gives them a ghastly appearance. Over the paint they strew the brown martial mica, which causes it to glitter. Many of their ears are perforated in the lobe, where they make a large hole, and two smaller ones higher up on the outer edge. In these holes are hung bits of bone, quills fastened upon a leathern thong, shells, bunches of tassels, or thin pieces of copper. In some, the septum of the nose is also perforated, and a piece of cord drawn through it. Others wear at the same place, pieces of copper, brass, or iron, shaped somewhat like a horse-shoe, the narrow opening receiving the septum, so that it may be pinched gently by the two points, and thus the ornament hangs over the upper lip. Their bracelets, which they wear about their wrists, are bunches of white bogle beads, or thongs with tassels, or a black, broad, horny, shining substance. Round their ancles they wear frequently leathern thongs, or the sinews of animals curiously twisted. Besides these, their ordinary dresses, they have some that are used only when going forth to war, and exhibiting themselves to strangers in ceremonial visits. Among these are the skins of bears or wolves, tied on like their other garments, but edged with broad borders of fur, ornamented ingeniously with various figures. They are worn separately, or over their common clothing. The most usual head-dress, on these occasions, is a quantity of withe, wrapped about the head, with large feathers, particularly those of eagles stuck in it, or entirely covered



with small white feathers. At the same time the face is variously painted, the upper and lower parts being of opposite colours, and the strokes having the appearance of large gashes ; or it is besmeared with a kind of fat or tallow, mixed with paint, formed into a great variety of figures, somewhat like carved work. The hair, sometimes, is separated into small parcels, and tied, at intervals, with thread : others tie it behind, after the English fashion. Thus equipped, they have a truly savage and ridiculous appearance, which is much heightened when they assume their monstrous decorations. These consists of a great variety of wooden masks, applied to the face, forehead, or upper part of the head. Some of the visors resemble human faces, having hair, beards, and eye-brows ; others represent the heads of birds, and various animals, such as deer, porpoises, wolves, &c. Such kind of representations exceed generally the natural size, and they are frequently strewed with pieces of the mica, which makes them glitter, and augments their deformity. In these imaginary decorations, they sometimes run into greater excess, and fix large pieces of carved work upon the head, projecting to a considerable distance, and resembling the prow of a canoe. Whether these extravagant masquerade ornaments are used on any religious occasion, or in any kind of diversion, or whether they are intended to intimidate by their monstrous appearance, or as decoys when hunting animals, is uncertain. One of the dresses seems peculiarly adapted to war : It is a thick tanned leathern mantle, double, and appears to be the skin of an elk, or buffalo. This is fastened on in the ordinary manner, and is so contrived as to cover the breast quite up to the throat ; part of it, at the same time, falling down to their heels. This garment is curiously painted, and is strong enough, as we understood from them, to resist even spears ; so that it may be considered as their completest defensive armour. Though we cannot view these people without a kind of horror, when they are thus strangely apparelled, yet when divested of these extravagant dresses, and beheld in their common habit, they seem to be of a

quiet, phlegmatic disposition ; though deficient in vivacity, to render themselves agreeable in society. They are rather reserved than loquacious ; but their gravity seems constitutional, and not the result of any particular mode of education : for the orations made by them on public occasions, are little more than short sentences, or only single words forcibly repeated in one tone of voice, accompanied with a single gesture at every sentence. From their offering human skulls and bones to sale, there is not the least reason to doubt of their treating their enemies with a savage cruelty ; but as this circumstance rather marks a general agreement of character among almost every uncivilized tribe, in every age and country, they are not to be reproached with any charge of peculiar inhumanity. We had not any reason to judge unfavourable of their disposition in this respect : they appear to be docile, courteous, and good-natured ; but, notwithstanding their phlegmatic temper, they are quick in resenting injuries ; yet, like all passionate people, they forget them quickly. It must be admitted that they are not wholly unsusceptible of the tender passions, which is evident from their being fond of music and that too of the pathetic kind.

Their songs are generally slow and solemn. Sonnets were sung by single performers, keeping time by striking the hand against the thigh. A rattle, and a small whistle, are the only instruments of music which we saw among them. The rattle is used when they sing ; but upon what occasions the whistle is employed, we know not, unless it be when they assume the figures of particular animals, and endeavour to imitate their howl or cry. We once saw one of these people dressed in the skin of a wolf, with the head covering his own, striving to imitate that animal, by making a squeaking noise with a whistle he had in his mouth. The rattles are generally in the shape of a bird, with the small pebbles in the belly, and the tail is the handle. We observed another sort, which resembles a child's rattle.

In trafficking with us, some of them displayed a disposition to knavery ; taking



away our goods without making any return. But the instances of this were rare, and we had abundant reason to approve the integrity of their conduct. However, their eagerness to possess iron, brass, or any kind of metal, was so great, that when an opportunity presented itself, few of them could resist the temptation to steal it. The inhabitants of the South-sea Islands in their petty larcenies were actuated by a childish disposition, rather than a thievish one. The novelty of the object excited their curiosity, and was a sufficient inducement for them to get possession of it by any means; but the natives of Nootka, who made free with our property, are entitled to no such apology. The appellation of thieves is certainly applicable to them; for they well knew that what they pilfered from us would be subservient to the private purposes of utility: and it was fortunate for us, that metals were the only articles upon which they set any value; but thefts are very common among themselves, producing continually quarrels, of which we saw several instances.

The two villages we visited are probably the only inhabited parts of the sound. The number of inhabitants may be computed from the canoes that visited our ships the second day after our arrival. They consisted of about a hundred, which upon an average, contained, at least, five persons each; but as there were very few women, children, or young men among them, we may reasonably suppose, that the number of souls in the two villages, could not be less than four times the number of our visitors, being in the whole two thousand. The village, situated at the entrance of the sound, stands on the side of a pretty steep ascent, extending from the beach to the wood. There are holes, or windows, in the sides of the houses to look out at, having bits of mat hung before them, to prevent the rain getting in. Their houses, in the inside, may, with propriety, be compared to a long English stable with a double range of stalls, and a board passage in the middle; for the different families are separated only by a piece of plank. Close to the sides, in each of these parts, is a bench of boards, raised five or six feet higher than

the rest of the floor, and covered with mats, whereon the family sit and sleep. These benches are commonly seven or eight feet long, and four or five broad. In the middle of the floor, between them, is the fire-place, which has neither hearth nor chimney. This part appeared common to them all. The nastiness and stench of their houses are at least equal to the confusion within; for, as they dry their fish within doors, they also gut them there, which, with their bones and fragments, thrown down at meals, and the addition of other sorts of filth, lying every where in heaps, and are, it should seem, never carried away, till they become troublesome, from their size, to walk over them. In a word, their houses are as filthy as hog-sties; every thing in, and about them stinking of fish, train oil and smoke. Their furniture consists chiefly of chests and boxes of various sizes, piled upon each other, at the sides or ends of each house, wherein they deposit all their valuables, such as skins, garments, masks, &c. Many of these boxes are painted black, and studded with the teeth of animals or rudely decorated with figures of birds carved. To complete the scene of confusion, in different parts of their habitations are hung up implements of fishing, and other articles. Among these we may reckon their images, which are nothing more than the trunks of large trees, of the height of about four feet, placed at the upper end of the apartment, with a human face carved on the front, and the hands and arms upon the sides. These figures are variously painted, and make, upon the whole, a ridiculous appearance. They are called generally Klumma. A sort of curtain, made of mat, usually hung before the images, which the natives were sometimes unwilling to remove; and when they did consent to unveil them, they seemed to express themselves in a very mysterious manner; and yet they were held in no very extraordinary degree of estimation, seeing, with a small quantity of brass or iron, all the idols in the place might have been purchased. Mr. Webber, when drawing a view of the inside of a house, wherein those figures were placed, was interrupted in his work by one of the



**Inhabitants.** Mr. Webber, thinking a bribe would have a proper effect, presented to him a metal-button from his coat, which immediately operated as was intended: soon after he was again interrupted by the same man, who held a mat before the figures: our gentleman therefore gave him another button, and was again suffered to proceed. The man then renewed his former tricks, till Mr. Webber had parted with every single button; after which he received not any farther molestation,

As to the domestic life of these people, the men seem to be chiefly employed in fishing and killing animals, for the sustenance of their families, few of them being engaged in any household business; but the women were employed in manufacturing their garments; and in curing sardines, which they also carry from the canoes to their houses. They also go in small canoes, to gather muscles, and other shell-fish. In the labour of the paddle they are as dextrous as the men, who shew them very little respect or attention on this, or any other occasion. But the young men are remarkably indolent, sitting generally about in scattered companies, basking in the sun, or wallowing in the sand upon the beach, like so many hogs, without any kind of covering. This disregard of decency was, however, confined solely to the males for the females were always clothed, and behaved with great propriety, meriting justly commendation for a modest bashfulness, so becoming that sex. In the women of this place, it is the more meritorious, as the men have not the least sense of shame. Both sexes pass much of their time in their canoes, especially in the summer: in which they eat, sleep, and frequently lie to bask themselves in the sun; for these purposes they are sufficiently spacious, and are, in rainy weather, more comfortable habitations than their filthy houses.

Though their food, strictly speaking may be said to consist of every thing animal or vegetable that they can procure, yet the quantity of the latter bears an exceeding small proportion to that of the former. Their greatest reliance for food is upon the sea, as

affording fish, muscles, smaller shell-fish, and sea animals. Among the first are herrings, sardines, two species of bream, and some small cod. The herrings and sardines not only serve to be eaten fresh in their season, but to be dried and smoked as stores. The roes of these also, strewed upon the branches of the Canadian pine, or prepared upon a long sea grass, afford them another grand resource for food. They also eat the roe of some other large fish, that has a very rancid smell and taste. The large muscles are found in great abundance in the sound. After having roasted them in their shells, they are stuck upon long wooden skewers, and taken off as they are wanted to be eaten. They require no other preparation, though they are sometimes dipped in oil, as sauce. The porpoise is a food more common among them, than that of any other animal in their sea; the flesh and rind of which they cut into large pieces, dry them as they do herrings, and eat them without farther preparation. They also make a sort of broth from the porpoise, when fresh, in a very singular manner. They put some pieces of it into a wooden vessel, containing a sufficient quantity of water, into which they throw heated stones. This operation is repeated till the contents are supposed to be stewed enough. This is a common dish among them, and seems to be a strong nourishing food. They likewise feed probably upon whales, seals, and sea-otters, the skins of the two latter being common among them, and they are furnished with implements of all sorts for their destruction, though perhaps they may not be able, at all seasons, to catch them in great plenty. However, from these, and other sea animals, they procure oil in great abundance, which they use, mixed with other food, as sauce; and often sip it alone with a kind of horn-scoop. Their fresh skins, at this time, were very scarce; as were the land animals; for we saw no flesh belonging to the latter; and, though their skins were to be had in plenty, they might perhaps, have been procured from other tribes. From these, and other circumstances, it plainly appeared to us, that these people are furnished with the principal part



of their animal food by the sea ; if we except a few gulls, and some other birds, which they shoot with their arrows. Their only winter vegetables seem to be the Canadian pine-branches, and sea-grass ; but, as the spring advances, they use others as they come in season. The most common of these were two sorts of roots of a mild sweetish taste, which are eaten raw ; as is also a small sweetish root, about the thickness of sarsaparilla. As the season advances, they have doubtless many others which we did not see : for, though there is not the least appearance of cultivation among them, there are plenty of elder, gooseberry, and currant bushes. One of the conditions, however, which they seem to require in all their food, is, that it should be of the less acrid kind ; for they would not touch the leak or garlic, though they sold us great quantities of it, when they understood it was what we liked. They seemed not to relish any of our food, and rejected our spirituous liquors as disgusting and unnatural. It is their ordinary practice to roast or broil their food ; for they are absolute strangers to our method of boiling, as appears from their manner of preparing porpoise broth ; besides, as they have only wooden vessels, it is impossible for them to perform such an operation. Their manner of eating corresponds with the nastiness of their houses and persons ; for the platters and troughs, out of which they eat their victuals, seem never to have been washed since their original formation ; the dirty remains of a former meal, being only swept away by a succeeding one. Every thing solid and tough, they tear to pieces with their hands and teeth ; for though their knives are employed in cutting off the larger portions, they have not yet endeavoured to reduce these to mouthfuls by the same means, though more cleanly and convenient. But they do not possess even an idea of cleanliness, and eat constantly the roots which are dug out of the ground, without attempting to shake off the soil that adheres to them. Whether they have any set times for their meals we never could find out, having seen them eat at all hours in their canoes. But having observed

several messes of porpoise broth preparing about noon, when we went to the village, they may probably make a principal meal about that time.

These people have bows, and arrows, spears, slings, short truncheons made of bone, and a small pick-axe somewhat resembling the common American tomahawk. Some of the arrows are pointed with iron, and others with indented bone : the spear has usually a long point made of bone. The tomahawk is a stone of the length of seven or eight inches one end terminating in a point and the other fixed in a wooden handle. This is indented to resemble the head and neck of a human figure ; the stone being fixed in the mouth so as to represent a tongue of a great magnitude. To heighten the resemblance, human hair is also fixed to it. This weapon is called *taaweesh* ; and they have another made of stone, which they call *seeaik*, about ten or twelve inches long, having a square point. From the number of their weapons it may be reasonably concluded, that they engage frequently in close combat ; and we had very disagreeable proofs of their wars being both frequent and bloody, from the quantity of human skulls that were offered to us for sale.

With respect to the design and execution of their manufactures, and mechanic arts, they are more extensive and ingenious than could possibly be expected from the natural disposition of the people, and the little progress they have made in civilization. The flaxen and woollen garments engage their first care, as being the most material of those that may be classed under the head of manufactures. The former are fabricated from the bark of the pine-tree, beat into a mass resembling hemp. After having been prepared in a proper manner, it is spread upon a stick, fastened to two others in an erect position. The manufacturer, who sits on her hams at this simple machine, knots it across, at the distance of about half an inch from each other, with small plaited threads. Though it cannot, by this method, be rendered so close and firm as cloth that is woven, it is sufficiently impervious to the air, and is likewise softer and more pliable.



Their woollen garments have much the appearance of woven cloth ; but the supposition of their being wrought in a loom is destroyed, by the various figures that are ingeniously inserted in them ; it being very improbable that these people should be able to produce such a complex work, except immediately by their hands. They are of different qualities ; some resembling our coarsest sort of blankets ; and others not much inferior to our finest sort, and certainly both softer and warmer. The wool of which they are manufactured, seems to be procured from different animals, particularly the fox and brown lynx. That from the lynx is the finest, and nearly resembles our coarser wools in colour ; but the hair, which also grows upon the animal, being intermixed with it, causes the appearance to be somewhat different when wrought. The ornamental figures in these garments are disposed with great taste, and are generally of a different colour, being usually dyed either of a deep brown, or a yellow ; the latter of which, when new, equals in brightness, the most vivid in our best carpets.

Their taste for carving on all their wooden articles, corresponds with that of working figures upon their garments. Nothing is to be seen without a kind of freeze-work, or a representation of some animal upon it ; but the most common one is that of the human face. The general design of these figures conveys a sufficient knowledge of the objects they are intended to represent ; and in the execution of many of the masks and heads, they prove themselves to be ingenious sculptors. They preserve, with the greatest exactness, the general character of their own faces, and finish the more minute parts with great accuracy and neatness. That these people have a fondness for works of this sort is observable in a variety of particulars. Representations of human figures, birds, beasts, fish, and models of house-hold utensils, were found among them in a very great abundance. To their skill in the imitative arts, we may add their drawing them in colours. The whole process of their whale-fishery has been represented, in this manner, on the caps they wear. The exe-

cution was indeed rude, but hereby we were convinced, that though they have not the knowledge of letters amongst them, they have a notion of representing actions in a lasting way, exclusive of recording them in their songs and traditions.

The structure of their canoes is simple, yet they are well calculated for every useful purpose. The largest sort, which in each one will contain upwards of twenty people, are formed of a single tree. The length of many of them is forty feet, the breadth seven, and the depth three. They become gradually narrower from the middle towards the end, the stern ending perpendicularly, with a knob at the top. The fore-part stretches forwards and upwards, and ends in a point, or prow, much higher than the sides of the canoe, which are nearly straight. The greatest part of them are without any ornament ; but some have a little carving, and are studded with seals teeth on the surface. They have neither seats, nor any other supporters, on the inside, except some small round sticks, about the size of a walking cane, placed across, about half the depth of a canoe. They are very light, and, on account of their breadth and flatness, swim firmly, without an out-rigger, of which they are all destitute. Their paddles, which are small and light, resemble a small leaf in shape, being pointed at the bottom, broad in the middle, and gradually becoming narrower in the shaft ; the whole length being above five feet. By constant practice, they have acquired great dexterity in the management of these paddles ; but they never make use of any sails.

In their employment of fishing and hunting, their instruments are ingeniously contrived, and completely made. They consist of nets, hooks, lines, harpoons, gigs, and an instrument resembling an oar. The last is about twenty feet in length, four or five inches in breadth, and of the thickness of half an inch. The edges for about two thirds of its length, are set with sharp bone-teeth ; the other third serving for a handle. With this instrument they strike herrings, sardines, and other fish that come in shoals, which are taken either upon or in the teeth.



Their hooks, made of bone and wood, display no great ingenuity; but the harpoon, used in striking whales, and other sea animals, manifests evident contrivance. It consists of a piece of bone, formed into barbs, in which the oval blade of a large muscle shell, and the point of the instrument are fixed. Two or three fathoms of rope is fastened; to one end of which the harpoon is fixed so as to leave the shaft floating, as a buoy upon the water, when the animal is struck.

As to their manner of catching land animals, or killing them, we are strangers; but, it is probable that they shoot the smaller sorts with their arrows, and encounter bears, wolves, and foxes, with their spears. Sometimes they decoy them, by covering themselves with their skins, and running upon all fours, at which sport they are remarkably nimble. For the same purposes the masks, or carved heads, as well as the dried heads of different animals, are used.

Every particular of the rope kind which they use in making their various articles, is formed either from thongs of skins, and sinews of animals, or from the flaxen substance, of which they manufacture their mantles. The sinews were sometimes so remarkably long, that it was hardly possible they could have belonged to any other animal than the whale. The assistance they receive from iron tools contributes to their dexterity in wooden performances. Their implements are almost wholly made of iron. One chissel indeed we saw made of bone. This consists of a flat long piece, fastened into a wooden handle. A stone is their mallet, and a bit of fish-skin their polisher. Some of these chissels were nine or ten inches in length, and three or four in breadth; but they were, in general considerably smaller. The chissel and the knife are the principal forms that iron assumes among them. Some of their knives are very large, having crooked blades; the edge being on the back, or convex part. They are sharpened upon a coarse slate whetstone, and kept continually bright. What we saw among them, were about the breadth and thickness of an iron hoop; and their singular form plainly

proves, that they are not of European make. Iron is called by the natives seeken-alle, a name which they also give to tin, and other white metals. It being so common among these people, we were anxious to discover how it could be conveyed to them. On our arrival in the sound, we perceived that they had a knowledge of traffic, and an inclination to pursue it; and we were afterwards convinced, that they had not acquired this knowledge from a cursory interview with strangers; but with whom they carried on this traffic we could not learn; for though we saw several articles of European manufactures, such as brass and iron, yet it does not follow, that they were received from European nations. We could not obtain the least information of their having seen ships like our's before, nor of their having been engaged in commerce with such civilized people. Many circumstances corroborate to prove this beyond doubt. On our arrival, they were earnest in their enquires, whether we meant to settle among them, and whether we were friendly visitors, informing us, at the same time, that they gave us wood and water from motives of friendship. This proves sufficiently, that they considered themselves as proprietors of the place, and dreaded no superiority: for it would have been an unnatural enquiry, if any ships had been here before, and had supplied themselves with wood and water, and then departed; for they might then reasonably expect that we should do the same. It must be admitted, indeed, that they exhibited no marks of surprise at beholding our ships; but this may, with great propriety, be attributed to their natural indolence of temper, and their wanting a thirst of curiosity. They were never startled at the report of a musquet, till they, one day, shewed us that their hide dresses were impenetrable to their spears and arrows, when one of our people shot a musquet ball through one of them that had been six times folded. Their astonishment at this plainly indicated their ignorance of the effect of fire-arms. This was afterwards very frequently confirmed, when we used to shoot birds, at which they appeared greatly confounded. Our expla-



nation of the piece, together with the nature of its operation, with the aid of shot and ball, struck them so forcibly, as to convince us of their having no previous ideas on this matter. Though some account of a voyage to this coast, by the Spaniards, in 1774, or 1775, had arrived in England before we sailed, the circumstances just mentioned, prove, that these ships had never been at Nootka. It is also evident, that iron could not have been in so many hands, nor would the use of it have been so well known, if they had so lately obtained the first knowledge of it. From their general use of this metal, it probably comes from some constant source, in the way of traffic, and they have perhaps been long supplied with it: for they use their tools with as much dexterity as the longest practice can acquire. The most natural conjecture therefore, is, that they trade for their iron with other Indian tribes, who may have some communication with European settlements upon that continent, or receive it through several intermediate nations. By the same means they probably obtain their brass and copper. Not only the rude materials, but some manufactured articles seem to have found their way hither. The brass ornaments for noses are made in so masterly a manner, that the Indians cannot be supposed capable of fabricating them. We are certain, that the materials are European, as all the American tribes are ignorant of the method of making brass; but copper has been frequently met with, and, from its ductility, might be easily fashioned into any shape, and polished. If such articles are not used by our traders to Hudson's Bay and Canada, in their traffic with the natives, they must have been introduced at Nootka from Mexico; whence, it is probable, the two silver table spoons were originally derived.

With respect to the religious and political institutions established among these people, we cannot be supposed to have acquired much knowledge. However, we discovered, that there were such men as chiefs, distinguished by the title of *acweek*, to whom the others are, in some degree, subordinate.

But the authority of each of these great men, seems to extend no farther than to his own family, who acknowledge him as their head. Nothing that we saw could give us an insight into their notions of religion, except the figures already mentioned, called *klumma*. These, perhaps, were idols; but as the word *acweek* was frequently mentioned when they spoke of them, we suppose they may be the images of some of their ancestors, whose memories they venerate. This however is all conjecture; for we could receive no information concerning them, as we knew little more of their language than to enable us to ask the names of things, and being incapable of holding any conversation with the natives relative to their traditions, or their religious institutions. The word *wakash* was frequently in their mouths. It seemed to express approbation, applause and friendship. Whenever they appeared to be pleased or satisfied, they would call out *wakash! wakash!* It is worthy of remark, that as these people differ from the natives of the Islands in the Pacific Ocean, in their persons, customs, and language, we cannot suppose their respective progenitors to have belonged to the same tribe, when they emigrated into those places where we now find their descendants.

Their language is, by no means, harsh or disagreeable, farther than their pronouncing the *k* and *h* with a stronger aspiration, or more force than we do. They have one sound, which is very frequent, and not used by us. It is formed in a particular manner by clashing the tongue partly against the roof of the mouth. It is difficult to represent this sound by any composition of our letters, unless from *lszthl*; which is generally used as a termination. The next is composed of *tl*; and many words end with *z* and *ss*. A specimen or two of each of these is here put down.

- Opulszthl* - - *The Sun*
- Onulszthl* - - *The Moon*
- Kahsheetl* - - - *Dead*
- Teesheheetl* - - - *To throw a stone*
- Koomitz* - - - *A human skull*
- Quahmiss* - - *Fish roe*



## NUMERALS

Tsawack	- - -	<i>One</i>
Akkla	- - -	<i>Two</i>
Katsitsa	- - -	<i>Three</i>
Mo, or Moo	- -	<i>Four</i>
Sochah	- - -	<i>Five</i>
Nofpo	- - -	<i>Six</i>
Atslepoo	- - -	<i>Seven</i>
Atlaquolthl	- -	<i>Eight</i>
Tsawaquithl	- -	<i>Nine</i>
Haeeoo	- - -	<i>Ten</i>

With respect to the composition of their language we can say very little, having been scarcely able to distinguish the several parts of speech. We can only infer from their manner of speaking, which is very slow and distinct, that it has very few prepositions or conjunctions; and, as far as we could discover, is destitute of even a single interjection, to express admiration or surprise. From having few conjunctions, it may be conceived, that each single word, with them, will comprehend a great number of single ideas; which seems to be the case; but, for the same reason, the language will be defective in other respects, not having words to distinguish or express differences which really exist; and hence not sufficiently copious. This was observed to be the case, in many instances, particularly with respect to the names of animals. The relation or affinity it may bear to other languages, either on this, or the Asiatic continent, we have not been able sufficiently to trace, for want of proper specimens to compare it with, except those of the Equimaux, and Indians about Hudson's Bay; to neither of which it has the least resemblance. On the other hand, from the few Mexican words we have been able to procure, there is the most obvious disagreement in the terminations of words.

In Nootka Sound it is high water, in the days of the new and full moon, at twenty minutes after twelve: the perpendicular rise and fall being eight feet, nine inches; which is to be understood of the day tides, and those which happen two or three days after the full and new moon. The night tides,

at this time, rise near two feet higher. Some circumstances that occurred daily, relating to this, deserve particular notice. In the cove where we got wood and water, was a great deal of drift-wood cast ashore, a part of which we had to remove, to come at the water. Now it frequently happened, that large pieces of trees, that we had removed in the day, out of the reach of the then high water, were found by us floated again in our way the next morning; and all our spouts for conveying water, thrown out of their places, which were immoveable during the day-tides. We found likewise wood, which we had split up for fuel, and had placed beyond the reach of the day-tide, floated away during the night. Some of these circumstances occurred every night and morning, for three or four days in the height of the spring tides. To render our account of the transactions in Nootka Sound complete we must add, that by a variety of astronomical and nautical observations, we found its latitude to be 49 deg. 36 min. 6 sec. North, and its longitude 233 deg. 17 min. 14 sec. East.

It has been already related, that we put to sea on the 26th of April, in the evening, with manifest indications of an approaching storm; and by these signs we were not deceived, for we had scarce sailed out of the Sound, when the wind shifted from N. E. to S. E. by E. and blew a strong gale, with squalls and rain, the sky being at the same time, uncommonly black. Apprehensive of the wind's veering more to the south, which would expose us to the danger of a lee-shore, we got the tacks on board, and made all the sail we could to the S. W. It fortunately happened, that the wind veered no farther towards the S. and S. E. so that early the next morning we were entirely clear of the coast. The Discovery being at some distance astern, we brought to till she came up, and then both vessels steered a north-westerly course. Between one and two o'clock P. M. there was a perfect hurricane, insomuch that our commodore thought it exceeding dangerous to run any longer before it; we therefore, agreeable to his order, brought the ships to, with their



heads to the south. In this situation our ship, the *Resolution*, sprung a leak in her starboard quarter, which at first alarmed us greatly; but after the water was baled out, which kept us employed till midnight, we kept it under by means of the pump. In the evening, the wind having shifted to the southward, its fury in some measure abated; upon which we stretched to the west: but about eleven, the gale again increased, and continued till five the next morning, when the storm seemed to have spent its force, and became moderate. The weather now clearing up, we were able to see several leagues around us, and steered more to the north. At noon we steered N. W. by N. with a fresh gale and fair weather. But, towards the evening, the wind again blew hard, with squalls and rain. With this weather we continued the same course till

the 30th, when we steered N. by W. intending to make the land. Capt. Cook regretted that we could not do it sooner, as we were now passing the spot where the pretended strait of Admiral de Fonte has been placed by geographers. Though the Captain gave no credit to such vague and improbable stories, he was desirous of keeping the coast of America aboard, that this point might be cleared up beyond dispute: but at the same time, he considered, that it would have been very imprudent to have engaged with the land while the weather was so tempestuous, or to have lost the advantage of a fair wind, by waiting for less stormy weather. This day, at noon by observation, we found our latitude to be 53 deg. 22 min. north, and our longitude 225 deg. 14 min. east.

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## CHAP. XI.

*Progress of the Resolution and Discovery along the north-west coast of America; They anchor near Cape Hinchinbrook; Behaviour of the natives; Progress up the sound, and departure from thence; Montague Island; Inhabitants of Prince William's Sound described; The two ships proceed along the coast; Several capes named; Cook's river discovered; Lieu enant King take possession of the country; His reception by the natives; Departure of the ships from Cook's river; Pass St. Hermogenes, and several Capes and Islands; Conjectures concerning a Russian letter brought on board the Discovery; A providential escape; The ships arrive at Oonalashka; Description of the harbour of Samganoodeha; Prosecution of the voyage to the north; Mr. Williamson lands at Cape Newenham; his report; Bristol Bay; Extent of it; The ships obliged to return by reason of the shoals; Point Upright; Death and character of Mr. Anderson.*

ON Friday the 1st of May, not seeing land, we steered to the N. E. having a fresh breeze at the S. S. E. attended with squalls, showers of hail and rain. About seven o'clock, P. M. we descried land, distant twelve leagues. At four o'clock the next morning the coast was seen S. E. to N. by W. the nearest part distant five leagues. At the same time, the northern point of an inlet, or at least what appeared to be one, bore E. by S. from whence to

the northward along the coast, there seemed to be many bays and harbours. At six, approaching nearer to the land, we pursued the direction of it, steering N. W. by N. and between eleven and twelve we passed a cluster of small Isles, situated near the continent, to the northward of the southern point of an extensive bay. An arm of this bay seemed to reach towards the north, behind a round lofty mountain, that stands between it and the sea. To this eminence



Capt. Cook gave the name of Mount Edgecumbe; and the point of land projecting from it, was called Cape Edgecumbe. The Cape lies in latitude 57 deg. 3 min. N. and in long. 224 deg. E. The land, except what is contiguous to the sea, is of considerable height, abounding with hills. Mount Edgecumbe, which far out-tops all the rest, was entirely covered with snow, as were also the other elevated hills; but the lower ones, and the spots rising near the sea, were covered with wood. Pursuing our course to the northward, we found the coast to trend to the N. and N. E. for six or seven leagues, and there formed a spacious bay. Some Islands being in the entrance of it, we gave it the name of the Bay of Islands.

On Sunday the 3rd, at half an hour past four, P. M. Mount Edgecumbe bore south 54 deg. E. a large inlet, N. 50 deg. E. and the most advanced point of land towards the N. W. lying under a very lofty mountain, which was called Mount Fair-Weather, bore N. 32 deg. west. The inlet was named Cross Sound, it being first observed on the day so marked in our calendar. An eastern promontory forms the south-eastern point of this sound; this we distinguished by the name of Cross-Cape. Under the above-mentioned peaked mountain is a point, which was named Cape Fair-Weather. At noon, this cape was distant thirteen leagues. Having for several days light breezes, we steered S. W. and W. S. W. till the morning of the fourth, when we tacked, and stood towards the shore. At noon Mount Fair-Weather bore north, 63 deg. E. This mount is the highest of a chain or ridge of mountains, that rise at the north-western of Cross Sound, and extend towards the N. W. parallel with the coast. They are covered with snow, from the highest summit down to the sea-coast, except in a few places, where we could discern trees that seemed to rise, as it were from the sea. About five o'clock, P. M. the top of a high mountain appeared above the horizon, bearing N. 26 deg. W. forty leagues distant. This we supposed to be the mount Elias of Commodore Beering. In the course of the day we

observed a brownish duck, with a dark indigo head and neck; likewise several whales, porpoises, seals, &c. Having light winds, with occasional calms, we made but little way. On Wednesday the 6th, the nearest land being distant eight leagues, we perceived, in a north-easterly direction, the appearance of a bay, and an Island, by its southern point, covered with wood. This is probably the place where Beering anchored: Capt. Cook, therefore, in honour of the first discoverer, named it Beering's bay; southward of which the ridge of mountains is interrupted by a plain of several leagues in extent, beyond which the sight was unbounded. On the seventh, at noon, we were five leagues distant from the shore; from which station we observed a bay under the high land, with low woodland on each side of it. We now perceived, that the coast trended considerably to the west. On the ninth, at noon, Mount Elias bore N. 30 deg. E. distant 19 leagues. This stands twelve leagues inland, lat. 60 deg. 27 min. N. long. 219 deg. E.

Sunday, the 10th, we observed in lat. 59 deg. 51 min. and in long. 215 deg. 56 min. being only three leagues distant from the coast of the continent, which extended from E. half N. to N. W. half W. as far as the eye could reach. To the westward of the latter direction we saw an Island, distant six leagues. A point, which the Commodore named Cape Suckling, projects towards the north-eastern end of the Island: Within this cape stands a hill of considerable height, divided from the second range of mountains by low land; so that the cape, at a distance, has the appearance of an Island. A bay is seated on the north side of Cape Suckling, seemingly extensive, and sheltered from most winds. Before night, we had approached near enough to the cape to see some low land projecting from it to the N. W. we also observed some small Islands in the bay, and several elevated rocks between the cape and the north-eastern extremity of the Island. Early the next morning the wind shifted from N. E. to N. which being against us, the Commodore relinquished his design of going into the bay, and bore up for the west end of the Island. Having a calm



about ten o'clock, we embarked in a boat, and landed on the Island, with a view of seeing what lay on the other side ; but finding the hills to be at a greater distance than was expected, we laid aside that intention. On a small eminence near the shore, the Captain left, at the foot of a tree, a bottle containing a paper, on which the names of our ships, and the date of our discovery were described : he inclosed also two silver two-penny pieces of English coin, which, with many others, had been furnished him by Dr. Kaye, now dean of Lincoln ; and in testimony of his esteem for that gentleman, Capt. Cook called the Island Kaye's Island. It does not exceed thirty-six miles in length, and its breadth is not above four miles in any part. The S. W. point is a naked rock, elevated considerably. Its lat. is 59 deg. 49 min. north, long. 216 deg. 58 min. east. Towards the sea, the Island terminates in bare sloping cliffs, with a beach consisting of large pebbles, intermixed in some places with a clayey sand. Some parts of the shore are interrupted by small valleys and gullies, in each of which a rivulet or torrent rushes down with a considerable degree of impetuosity ; lasting perhaps no longer than the whole of the snow is dissolved. The valleys are filled with pine-trees ; and these, indeed, abound in other parts of the Island, which is covered as it were with a broad girdle of wood. The trees, however, are far from being of an extraordinary growth : on which account, they would be of no great service for shipping, except as materials for making top-gallant masts, and other small things. Neither Canadian, nor Cypress pines, are to be seen among them, but we saw some currant, and hawberry bushes, a yellow flowered violet, and the leaves of other plants not yet in flower. A crow was seen flying about the wood : two or three white-headed eagles, like those of Nootka, were also observed ; besides another species, equally large, which has a white breast. In our passage from the ship to the shore, we saw a number of fowls sitting on the water, or flying about ; the principal of which were gulls, burres, shags, ducks, or large petrels, divers, and quebrantahueses. There was also a single

bird flying about apparently of the gull kind, whose colour was a snowy white, with some black along part of the upper sides of its wings. We saw one fox near a wood ; also two or three small seals were seen on the shore ; but not any traces of inhabitants could be found.

In the afternoon Capt. Cook, with those who accompanied him, returned on board ; after which we set sail, and, with a light breeze from the east, we steered for the south-west side of the Island, which we got round by eight o'clock in the evening ; we stood for the westernmost land, now in sight. At the north-east end of Kaye's Island stands another, extending N. W. and S. E. about nine miles, to within the same distance of the north-western boundary, to which the name of Comptroller's Bay was given. The next morning, being Tuesday the 12th, Kaye's Island was still in sight bearing E. by S. At noon, when in lat. 61 deg. 11 min. the eastern point of a spacious inlet bore west-north-west three leagues distant. From Comptroller's Bay to this point, which the Commodore named Cape Hinchinbrook, the direction of the coast is nearly E. and W. Beyond this it appeared to incline towards the south ; a direction very different from that marked out in the modern charts, founded on the late discoveries of the Russians ; insomuch, that we had some reason to expect, that we should find, through the inlet before us, a passage to the N. and that the land to the W. and S. W. was a groupe of Islands. We had no sooner reached the inlet, than the weather became exceeding foggy ; it was therefore thought necessary that the ships should be secured during the continuance of the fog. With this view we hauled close under Cape Hinchinbrook, and cast anchor in eight fathoms water, at the distance of about two furlongs from the shore. Soon after the boats were hoisted out, some to fish, and others to sound. At intervals, the fog cleared away, and gave us a prospect of the neighbouring land. The cape was one league distant ; the western point of the inlet five leagues ; and the land on that side extended to W. by N. Between this point and N. W. by W. we



could discern no land. The most westerly point we had in view on the north shore, was at the distance of two leagues. Betwixt this point, and the shore under which our ships now lay at anchor, is a bay about three leagues deep, on the south-eastern side of which are several coves; and in the middle are placed some rocky Islands. To these Mr. Gore was dispatched in a boat, in order to shoot some birds. He had scarcely reached them, when about twenty natives appeared in two large canoes; upon which he returned to the ship, and they followed him. They were unwilling, however, to venture along-side, but kept at a little distance, shouting aloud, and claspings and extending their arms alternately. They then began a song, much after the manner of King George's, or Nootka Sound. Their heads were strewed with feathers, and one of them held out a white garment, which we supposed was intended as a token of friendship; while another, for near a quarter of an hour stood up in the canoe, entirely naked, with his arms extended like a cross, and motionless. Their canoes were constructed upon a different plan from those of Nootka. The frame consisted of different laths, and the outside was formed of the skins of seals, or other animals of a similar kind. Though some of our people repeated the most common words of the language of Nootka, they did not appear to understand them. After they had received some presents that were thrown to them, they retired towards the shore, intimating by signs, that they would pay us another visit the next morning. Two of them came off to us in the night, each in a small canoe, hoping, perhaps, they might have an opportunity of pilfering; for they went away as soon as they perceived themselves discovered. The wind, during the night, blew hard in squalls, with rain, and thick hazy weather.

On Wednesday the 13th, at ten o'clock, A. M. the wind becoming more moderate, we got up our anchors, and made sail, in order to search for some convenient place where we might stop the leak, as our present situation was too much exposed for that purpose. We at first intended to have

gone up the bay before which our ships had anchored; but, by the clearness of the weather, we were afterwards induced to steer towards the north, further up the great inlet. Having passed the N. W. point of the above-mentioned bay, we found that the coast, on that side, inclined to the eastward: we did not follow it, but proceeded on our course to the northward, for a point of land which we observed in that direction. In the afternoon, before two o'clock the foul weather returned, with so thick a fog, that we could discern no other land but the point just mentioned, off which we arrived between four and five o'clock, and found it to be a little Island, situate at the distance of about two miles from the neighbouring coast, being a point of land on the eastern side of which we discovered an excellent bay, or rather harbour: to this we plied up, while the wind blew in very hard squalls, accompanied with rain. In passing the Island, we found a muddy bottom, at the depth of twenty-six fathoms. At length, about eight o'clock, we were obliged, by the violence of the squalls, to cast anchor in thirteen fathoms water, before we had proceeded so far into the bay as the Commodore intended; but we thought ourselves fortunate enough in having the ships already secured, for the night was exceedingly tempestuous. But, notwithstanding the weather was so turbulent, the natives were not deterred from paying us a visit. Three of them came off in two canoes: two of them in one, and one in the other, being the number that each canoe could carry; for they were constructed nearly in the same manner with those of the Esquimaux, except that in one of them were two holes for two persons to sit in, and in the other but one. The men had each a stick, about three feet long, with the large feathers, or wings of birds, fastened to it, which they probably held up to us as tokens of peace. The treatment these three received, induced many others to visit us, between one and two o'clock the following morning, in both great and small canoes. Some of them ventured on board the *Resolution*, though not before some of our people had stepped into their boats. Among



those who came on board, was a middle-aged man, who, as we afterwards found, was a chief. His dress was made of the skin of the sea-otter, and he had on his head such a cap as is worn by the inhabitants of Nootka, embellished with sky-blue glass beads. Any kind of beads seemed to be in high estimation among these people, who readily gave in exchange for them whatever they had, even their fine sea-otter skins. They coveted particularly iron, but absolutely rejected small bits, and required pieces nine or ten inches long at least, and three or four fingers broad. But they obtained little of this commodity from us, as by this time it was become rather scarce. The points of some of their spears were of this metal; others were of copper, and a few were bone; of which last the points of their arrows, darts, &c. were formed. The chief could not be prevailed upon to venture below the upper deck, nor did he and his companions continue long aboard. While they staid with us, it was necessary to watch them narrowly, as they soon manifested an inclination for thieving. At length, when they had been three or four hours along side the *Resolution*, they all quitted her, and repaired to the *Discovery*, which ship none of them had before been aboard of, except one man, who came from her at this very time, and immediately returned to her, in company with the others. As soon as they had departed from our ship, Captain Cook dispatched a boat to sound the head of the bay; for, as the wind was moderate at present, it was intended to lay the ship ashore, if a proper place could be found for the process of stopping the leak. Soon afterwards all the Americans quitted the *Discovery*, and made their way towards our boat that was employed in sounding. The officer who was in her observing their approach, returned to the ship, and all the canoes followed him. The crew of the boat had no sooner repaired on board, leaving in her by way of guard two of their number, than several of the natives stepped into her, some of whom presented their spears before the two men, while others loosed the rope by which she was fastened to the ship, and

the rest were so daring as to attempt to tow her away; but the moment they saw we were preparing to oppose them, they let her go, stepped into their own boats, and made signs, in order to persuade us to lay down our arms, being to all appearance perfectly unconcerned. This attempt, though a very bold one, was scarce equal to what they had meditated on board Capt. Clerke's ship. The man, whom we mentioned before as having conducted his countrymen from the *Resolution* to the *Discovery*, had first been aboard of the latter; where, looking down all the hatchways, and observing no one, except the officer of the watch, and two or three more, he doubtless imagined that she might be plundered with ease, particularly as she was stationed at some distance from the *Resolution*. It was unquestionably with this intent, that the natives went off to her. Several of them repaired aboard without the least ceremony, and drawing their knives, made signs to the officer to keep off, and began to search for plunder. The first thing they laid their hands on was the rudder of one of our boats, which they immediately threw overboard to those of their party, who continued in the canoes. But before they could find another object that struck their fancy, the ship's crew were alarmed, and many of them, armed with cutlasses, came upon deck. The plunderers no sooner saw this, than they all sneaked off into their canoes, with evident marks of indifference. It was at this time that our boat was employed in sounding, as we have already mentioned; and the natives, without delay, proceeded towards her, after the disappointment they had met with at the *Discovery*. Their visiting us so early in the morning was undoubtedly with a view of plundering, on a supposition that they should find all our people asleep. We were now on the point of weighing anchor, in order to proceed further up the bay, when the wind began to blow as violently as before, and was attended with rain, insomuch that we were obliged to bear away the cable again, and lie fast. In the evening, perceiving the gale of wind did not abate, and thinking it might be some time before the



opportunity of getting higher up presented itself, the Commodore was determined to heel the ship in our present station; and, with that view caused her to be moored with a kedge anchor and hawser. One of the sailors, in heaving the anchor out of the boat, was carried over-board by the buoy-rope, and accompanied the anchor to the bottom. In this hazardous situation he had presence of mind sufficient to disengage himself, and came up to the surface of the water, where he was immediately taken up, with a dangerous fracture in one of his legs.

On Friday the 15th, at day-break, we gave our ship a good heel to port, in order to stop the leak, which, on ripping off the sheathing, was found to be in the seams. While the carpenters were employed in this business, others of our people filled the water-casks at a stream not far from our station. On the 16th, towards the evening, the weather cleared up, and we then found ourselves encompassed with land. Our station was on the eastern side of the sound, in a place distinguished by the appellation of Snug-corner Bay. The Captain, accompanied by some of his officers, went to take a survey of the head of it, and they found it to be sheltered from all winds, having a muddy bottom at the depth of seven to three fathoms. The land near the shore is low, partly woody, and partly clear: the clear ground was covered with snow, but very little remained in the woods. The summits of the hills, in the neighbourhood, were covered with wood; but those that were at a greater distance inland had the appearance of naked rocks, covered with snow. Our leak being at length stopped, on the 17th, at four o'clock, A. M. we weighed anchor, and steered a N. W. course with a gentle breeze at E. N. E. Soon after we had made sail, the Americans visited us again. When we had reached the north-western point of the arm wherein we had anchored, we observed that the flood tide came into the inlet, by the same channel through which we had entered. This circumstance did not much contribute to the probability of a passage to the north through the inlet, though it did not make entirely

against it. Having past the point just mentioned, we met with much foul ground, and many sunken rocks: the wind failed us, so that we had some difficulty in extricating ourselves from the danger with which we were threatened; however, about two o'clock P. M. we cast anchor under the eastern shore in thirteen fathoms, and four leagues distant from our last station. The weather soon after cleared up, and we had a distinct view of all the surrounding land, particularly towards the north, where it appeared to close. This gave us but little hope of meeting with a passage that way; but, in order to form a right judgment, Lieutenant Gore was sent out with two armed boats to examine the northern arm; and, at the same time, the master was dispatched with two other boats, to survey another arm that seemed to incline towards the east. Both returned at night. By the master we were informed, that the arm, to which he had been sent, communicated with that we had last quitted, and that one side of it was formed by a cluster of Islands. Mr. Gore reported, "that he had seen the entrance of an arm, which, he was of opinion, extended a long way to the N. E. and that probably by it a passage might be found." On the other hand, Mr. Roberts, one of the mates, who had been sent with Mr. Gore to sketch out the parts they had examined, was of opinion that they saw the head of this arm. "The disagreement of these two opinions (observes Capt. Cook) and the circumstances of the flood-tide entering the sound from the south, rendered the existence of a passage this way very doubtful. And, as the wind in the morning had become favourable for getting out to sea, the Captain told us, he resolved to spend no more time in searching for a passage in a place that promised so little success. Besides, if the land on the west should prove to be Islands, agreeable to the late Russian Discoveries, we could not fail of getting far enough to the north, and that in good time; provided we did not lose the season in searching places, where a passage was not only doubtful, but improbable. We were now upward of five hundred and twenty leagues westward of



any part of Baffin's, or of Hudson's Bay, and whatever passage there may be, it must be, or at least part of it must lie to the north of latitude 72 deg. Who could expect to find a passage or strait of such extent? Notwithstanding the plausibility in the face of this reasoning, our readers will see, it is little more than mere conjecture; and might we hazard our opinion against the judgment of so able a navigator, we must confess, that the latter is not coincident with his usual precision; nor can we think his conduct, in the above search, corresponds in all particulars with his usual assiduity. This is certain, the arm near Cape Hinchinbrook, above alluded to, and the northern part of Hudson's Bay, lie between the same parallels of latitude; and it has been the united opinion of all our most skillful navigators and geographers, that if a N. W. passage does exist, it must be through Hudson's or Baffin's bay. As to the Russian Discoveries, or those of any other monopolizing, trading companies, they have been of little service hitherto to navigation, and, with respect to their credit, of very small value. It were therefore to be wished, that the report of so able an officer as Mr. Gore had been more particularly attended to; for we think, if the desirable passage can be found, it must be in a lower latitude than 72 deg. and through some arm or strait. This is our own private opinion, and we do not wish to infringe upon the judgment of others, we wish this sacred privilege always to remain inviolate, with every member of civil society.

On Monday, the 18th, about three o'clock A. M. we weighed, and made sail to the southward, down the inlet, with a light northerly breeze. We were enabled to shorten our run out to sea, by discovering another passage into this inlet, to the S. W. of that by which we entered. It is separated from the other, by an Island that extends eighteen leagues in the direction of S. W. and N. E. to which our Commodore gave the name of Montague Island. In this south-western channel are several Islands. Those situated in the entrance next the open sea, are elevated and rocky. Those that lie within are low; and as they were totally

free from snow, they were, for this reason, called Green Islands. At two o'clock, P. M. the wind veered to the S. W. by S. which put us under the necessity of plying. We first stretched over to within the distance of two miles of the eastern shore, and tackled in fifty-three fathoms. When we stood back to Montague Island, we discovered a ledge of rocks, some under water, and others above the surface. We afterwards met with some others towards the middle of the channel. These rocks rendering it dangerous to ply during the night, we spent it in standing off and on, under Montagne Island; for the depth of water is so great, that we could not cast anchor. The next morning, at break of day, we steered for the channel between the Green Island and Montague Island, which is between two and three leagues in breadth. About eight in the evening, we had a perfect calm; when we let go our anchors at the depth of twenty-one fathoms, over a muddy bottom, distant about two miles from Montague Island. After the calm had continued till ten o'clock the succeeding morning, a slight breeze sprung up from the north, with which we again weighed and made sail.

Having got out into the open sea, by six in the evening, we discovered that the coast trended W. by S. as far as the eye could reach. To the place we had just left the Commodore gave the name of Prince William's Sound. It seems to occupy, at least, one degree and a half of latitude, and two degrees of longitude, exclusive of the branches or arms, with whose extent we are unacquainted. The natives, in general, are of a middling stature, though many of them are under it. They are square, or strong chested, with short, thick necks, and large broad visages, which are, for the most part, rather flat. The most disproportioned part of their body appeared to be their heads, which were of great magnitude. Their teeth were of a tolerable whiteness, broad, well set, and equal in size. Their noses had full, round points, turned up at the tip; and their eyes, though not small, were scarcely proportioned to the largeness of their faces. They have black hair, strong, straight, and



thick. Their beards, were in general thin, or deficient; but the hairs growing about the lips of those who have them, were bristly or stiff, and often of a brownish colour. Some of the elderly men had large, thick, straight beards. The variety of their features is considerable. Very few, however, can be said to be handsome, though their countenance usually indicates frankness, vivacity, and good nature; and yet some of them shewed a reserve and sullenness in their aspect. The faces of some of the women are agreeable; and many of them, but principally the younger ones, may easily be distinguished from the other sex, by the superior softness of their features. The complexion of some of the females, and of the children, is white, without any mixture of red. Many of the men, whom we saw naked, had rather a swarthy cast, which was scarcely the effect of any stain, it not being a custom among them to paint their bodies. Both sexes, young and old, of this sound, are all clothed in the same manner. Their ordinary dress is a sort of close frock, or rather robe, which sometimes reaches only to the knees, but generally down to the ankles. It has, at the upper part a hole just sufficient to admit the head, with sleeves reaching to the wrist. These frocks are composed of the skins of various animals, and they are commonly worn with the hairy side outwards. Some of the natives have their frocks made of the skins of fowls, with only the down left on them, which they glue upon other substances. The seams, where the different skins are sewed together, are usually adorned with fringes or tassels of narrow thongs, cut out of the same skins. A few have a sort of cape or collar, and some have a hood; but the other is the most customary form, and appears to constitute the whole of their dress in fair weather. When it is rainy, they put over this another frock, made with some degree of ingenuity from the intestines of whales, or some other large animal, prepared with such skill, as to resemble, in great measure, our gold-beater's leaf. It is formed so as to be drawn tight round the neck, and its sleeves extend down to the wrist, round which they

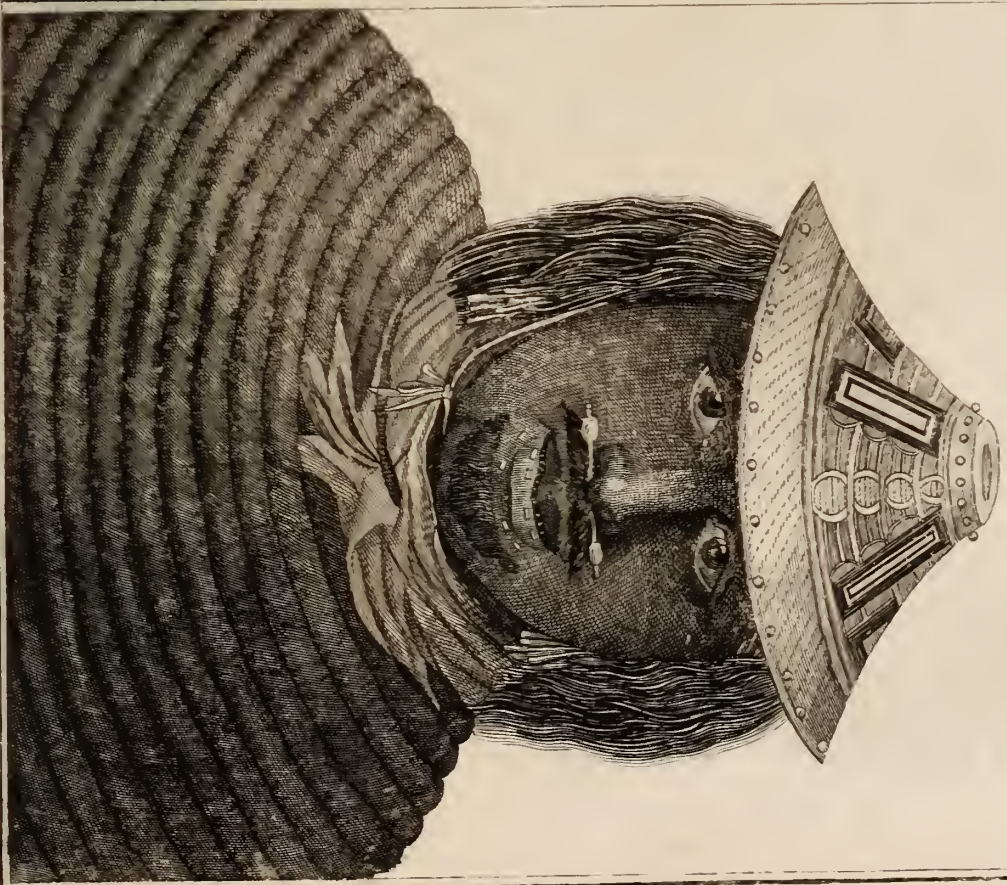
are fastened with a string. When in their canoes, they draw the skirts of this frock over the rim of the hole in which they sit, so that the water by this means is prevented from entering: at the same time it keeps the men dry upwards, for no water can penetrate through it. Yet, if not constantly kept moist, it is apt to crack or break. This frock, as well as the common one made of skins, is nearly similar to the dress of the natives of Greenland. Though the inhabitants of this inlet, in general, do not cover their legs or feet, yet some of them wear a kind of skin-stockings, reaching half way up their thighs. Few of them are without mittens for their hands, formed from the skin of a bear's paw. Those who wear any thing on their heads, resembled, in this particular, the people of Nootka Sound, having high truncated conical caps, composed of straw, and sometimes of wood. The hair of the men is commonly cropped round the forehead and neck, but the females suffer it to grow long; and the greatest part of them tie a lock of it on the crown, while a few, after our custom, club it behind. Both men and women perforate their ears with several holes, about the outer and lower part of the edge, wherein they suspend small bunches of beads. They likewise perforate the septum of the nose, through which they often thrust the quill-feathers of birds, or little bending ornaments, made of a tubulous shelly substance, strung on a stiff cord, of the length of three or four inches, which give them a ridiculous and grotesque appearance. But the most extraordinary fashion, adopted by some of the natives of both sexes, is their having the under-lip cut quite through lengthwise, rather below the swelling part. This incision frequently exceeds two inches in length, and, either by its natural retraction while the wound is still fresh, or by the repetition of some artificial management, assumes the appearance and shape of lips, and becomes sufficiently large to admit the tongue through. When a person with his under-lip thus slit, was first seen by one of our sailors, he immediately exclaimed, that the man had two mouths; which, indeed, it greatly resembles.





Portrait of a woman of Prince William's Sound.

Published by



Portrait of a man of Prince William's Sound.

W. Smith, Westchester







## AND ROUND THE WORLD.

They fix in this artificial mouth, a flat, narrow kind of ornament, made principally out of a solid shell or bone, cut into small narrow pieces, like teeth, almost down to the base, or thick part, which has, at each end, a projecting bit, that serves to support it when put into the divided lip, the cut part then appearing outwards. Some of them only perforate the lower-lip into separate holes; on which occasion the ornament consists of the same number of distinct shelly studs, the points of which are thrust through these holes, and their heads appear within the lip, not unlike another row of teeth under their natural ones. Such are the native ornaments of these people: but we observed among them many beads of European manufacture, chiefly of a pale blue colour, which are hung in their ears, or about their caps, or are joined to their lip ornaments, which have a little hole drilled in each of the points to which they are fastened, and others to them, till they sometimes hang even as low as the point of the chin. In this last case, however, they cannot remove them with such facility; for, with respect to their own lip-ornaments, they can take them out with their tongues at pleasure. They likewise wear bracelets of beads made of a shelly substance resembling amber, and of a cylindrical form. They are, in general, so fond of ornaments of some kind or other, that they fix a variety of things in their perforated lip; one of them appeared with two of our iron nails projecting like prongs from it; and another man attempted to put a large brass button into it. The men often paint their faces of a black colour, and of a bright red, and sometimes of a blueish or leaden hue, but not in any regular figure. The women puncture or stain the chin with black, that comes to a point in each of their cheeks; a custom similar to which is in vogue, as we have been informed, among the Greenland females. Upon the whole, we have not in any country seen savages, who take more pains than these do to disfigure their persons with imaginary ornaments.

They have two sorts of canoes; the one large and open, the other small and covered.

They differ no otherwise from the great boats in Greenland, than in the form of the head and stern, particularly of the former, which somewhat resembles a whale's head. The framing consists of slender pieces of wood; and the outside is composed of the skins of seals, or other sea animals, stretched over the wood. Their small canoes are constructed nearly of the same form and materials with those of the Esquimaux. Some of these carry two persons. The fore part is curved like the head of a violin. Their weapons and implements for hunting and fishing, are the same with those used by the Greenlanders. Many of their spears are headed with iron, and their arrows are generally pointed with bone. Their larger darts are thrown by means of a piece of wood, about a foot long, with a small groove in the middle, which receives the dart: at the bottom is a hole for the reception of one finger, which enables them to grasp the piece of wood much firmer, and to throw with greater force. For defensive armour they have a sort of jacket, or a coat of mail, formed of laths, fastened together with sinews, which render it very flexible, though it is so close as not to admit a dart or arrow. It serves only to cover the trunk of the body, and may, not improperly, be compared to the stays worn by our women.

We had not an opportunity of seeing any of the habitations of the natives, as none of them dwelt in the bay where our ships anchored, or where any of us landed: but with respect to their domestic utensils, they brought, in their canoes, some round and oval wooden dishes, rather shallow; and others of a cylindrical form, and considerably deeper. The sides are one piece bent round, after the manner of our chip-boxes, but thick, and neatly fastened with thongs, the bottoms being neatly fixed in with small pegs of wood. Others were somewhat smaller, and of a more elegant figure, not unlike a large oval butter-boat, without any handle, but shallower; these were composed of a piece of wood, or some horny substance, and were sometimes neatly carved. They had in their possession a great number of little square bags, made of the same gut.



with their exterior frocks curiously adorned with very small red feathers interwoven with them, in which were contained several very fine sinews, and bundles of small cord, made out of them, plaited with extraordinary ingenuity. They likewise had some models in wood of their canoes; chequered baskets, wrought so closely as to hold water, and a considerable number of little images, four or five inches high, either of wood, or stuffed, which were covered with a piece of fur, and embellished with quill-feathers, with hair fixed on their heads. We could not determine whether these were intended merely as children's toys, or were applied to superstitious purposes. They have many instruments formed of two or three hoops, or concentric pieces of wood, having a cross bar fixed in the middle, by which they are held. To these they fix a number of dried barnacle shells, with threads, which, when shaken, produce a loud noise, and thus serve the purpose of a rattle. This contrivance is probably a substitute for the rattling bird at King George's Sound. It is uncertain with what kind of tools their wooden utensils, frames of canoes, &c. are made; the only one that we observed among them being a sort of stone-adze, somewhat resembling those of Otaheite, and other Islands in the Pacific Ocean. They have a great quantity of iron knives, some of which are rather curved, others straight, and some very small ones, fixed in longish handles, with the blades bent upwards. They have also knives, some of which are almost two feet in length, shaped, in a great measure like a dagger, with a ridge towards the middle. These they wear in sheaths of skin, hung by a thong round their necks, under their robe or frock. It is probable, that they use them only as weapons, and that their other knives are applied to different purposes. Whatever they have, is as well made as if they were provided with a complete chest of tools; and their plaiting of sinews, sewing, and small-work on their little bags, may be found to vie with the neatest manufactures in any part of the globe. Upon the whole, considering the uncivilized state of the natives of this sound,

their northerly situation, amidst a country almost continually covered with snow, and the comparative wretched materials they have to work with, it appears, that with respect to their skill and invention, in all manual operations, they are at least upon a footing with any other people in the Islands of the great Pacific Ocean.

The animal food, we saw them eat, was either roasted, or broiled: they feed also on dried fish. Some of the former that was purchased, had the appearance of bear's flesh. They likewise eat a larger sort of fern-root, either baked, or dressed in some other method. Some of our company observed them to eat freely of a substance, which we imagined was the interior part of the pine bark. Their drink, in all probability, is water; for, in their canoes, they brought snow in their wooden vessels, which they swallowed by mouthfuls. Their manner of eating is decent and cleanly, for they constantly took care to remove any dirt that might adhere to their food: and though they would sometimes eat the raw fat of a sea animal, yet, they did not fail to cut it carefully into mouthfuls. To all appearance, their persons were always free from filth; and their utensils, in general, were kept in excellent order, as were also their boats.

The language of these people seemed difficult to be understood; this, perhaps, was not owing to any confusion, or indistinctness in their sounds, but to the various significations which their words bear: for they frequently made use of the same word on different occasions; though, probably, if we could have had a longer intercourse with them, this might have proved a mistake on our part.

On Wednesday the 20th of May, having took our departure from Prince William's Sound, we directed our course to the S. W. with a gentle breeze. This was succeeded by a calm, at four o'clock, the next morning, which was soon followed by a breeze from the S. W. This veering to the N. W. we continued to stretch to S. W. and passed a lofty promontory, in the latitude of 59 deg. 10 min. long. 207 deg. 45 min. It



having been discovered on Princess Elizabeth's birth-day, Capt. Cook gave it the name of Cape Elizabeth. As we could see no land beyond it, we flattered ourselves, that it was the western extremity of the continent: but fresh land soon appearing in sight, bearing W. S. W. convinced us of our mistake. The wind had increased to a strong gale, and forced us to a considerable distance from the coast: but, on the 22nd, P. M. the gale abated, and we stood for Cape Elizabeth. On Saturday the 23rd, at noon, Cape Elizabeth bore W. distant 10 leagues; at which time, new land was seen, bearing S. W. which, it was imagined, connected Cape Elizabeth with the land we had seen towards the west. We stood to the southward till the next day, at noon, when we were three leagues from the coast, which we had seen on the 22nd. More land was discovered, extending to the southward, whereon was seen a ridge of mountains, whose summits were covered with snow. This point of land lies in latitude 58 deg. 15 min. Its longitude is 207 deg. 42 min. And by what the Commodore could gather from Beering's voyage and chart, he supposed it to be, what he called Cape St. Hermogenes. But the account of that voyage, as well as the chart, is so extremely inaccurate, that it is almost impossible to discover any one place, which the navigator either saw or touched at. In the chart a space is pointed out, where Beering is supposed to have seen no land. This favoured Mr. Stæhlin's account, who makes Cape St. Hermogenes, and the land discovered by Beering to the S. W. of it, to be a cluster of Islands, and that St. Hermogenes is one of those that are destitute of wood. This appeared to be confirmed by what we now saw; and we entertained the pleasing hopes of finding here a passage northward, without being obliged to proceed any farther to the S. W.

We were detained by light airs and calms off the Cape, till two o'clock, A. M. of the 25th, when a breeze springing up, we steered along the coast, and perceived that the land of Cape St. Hermogenes was an Island, about six leagues in circumference,

separated from the coast by a channel, one league in breadth. Some rocks are to be seen above water to the north of this Island; and on the N. E. side of the rocks, we had from thirty to twenty fathoms water. At noon, St. Hermogenes bore S. E. distant eight leagues; the land to the N. W. extending from S. half W. to near W. In this last direction, it ended in a low point, named Point Banks. The ship was, at this time, in latitude 58 deg. 41 min. longitude 207 deg. 44 min. In this station the land was in sight bearing N. W. which, it was thought, connected Cape Elizabeth with this S. W. land. When we approached it, we observed it was an unconnected group of high Islands and rocks; and from the nakedness of their appearance, the Captain named them the Barren Isles: they are situated in latitude 59 deg. three leagues distant from Cape Elizabeth, and five from Point Banks. It was our intention to have passed through one of the channels by which these Islands are divided; but a strong current setting against us, we went to leeward of them all. The weather, which had been thick and hazy, cleared up towards the evening, when we perceived a very lofty promontory, whose elevated summit appeared above the clouds, forming two exceeding high mountains. Capt. Cook named this promontory Cape Douglas, in honour of his friend Dr. Douglas, canon of Windsor. It is situated twelve leagues from Point Banks, and ten to the westward of the Barren Isles; in latitude 58 deg. 56 min. and longitude 206 deg. 10 min. Between this point and Cape Douglas is a large deep bay, which, from our observing some smoke upon Point Banks, received the name of Smoky Bay. At day break on the 26th, being to the northward of the Barren Isles, we discovered more land, extending from Cape Douglas to the north. It consisted of a chain of very high mountains; one of which, being much more conspicuous than the rest, obtained the name of Mount St. Augustine. Having a fresh gale we stood to the N. W. till eight, when we found, that what we had supposed to be Islands were summits of mountains, connected by the lower land. This was



## VOYAGE TOWARDS THE NORTH POLE,

covered wholly with snow, from the tops of the mountains down to the sea-beach; and had in every other respect, the appearance of a great continent. Capt. Cook was now fully convinced, that no passage could be discovered by this inlet; and his continuing to explore it was more to satisfy others, than to confirm his own opinion. At this time Mount St. Augustine bore N. W. distant three leagues. It is of a conical figure, and rises to a prodigious height; but whether it be an Island, or part of the continent, is not yet ascertained. Perceiving that nothing was to be done to the west, we stood over to Cape Elizabeth, under which we fetched at about five in the afternoon. Between Cape Elizabeth and a lofty promontory, which was named Cape Bede, is a bay, wherein we might have anchored; but, the Captain having no such intention, we tacked and stood to the westward, with a very strong gale, accompanied with rain and hazy weather. Next morning the gale abated, and about three o'clock in the afternoon, the weather cleared up; Cape Douglas bearing S. W. by W. and the depth of water being forty fathoms, over a rocky bottom. From Cape Bede the coast trended N. E. by E. with a chain of mountains inland, in the same direction. We had now the mortification to discover low land in the middle of the inlet, extending from N. N. E. to N. E. by E. but as it was supposed to be an Island, we were not much discouraged.

On Thursday, the 28th, A. M. having but little wind, the ship drove to the southward, and in order to stop her, we dropped a kedge-anchor, with an eight inch hawser. But, in bringing the ship up, we lost both that and the anchor. However, we brought the ship up, with one of the bowers, and spent a considerable part of the day in sweeping for them, but without effect. We were now in the latitude of 59 deg. 51 min. the low land extended from N. E. to S. E. the nearest part distant two leagues; and the land on the western shore about seven leagues. A strong tide set to the southward, out of the inlet; it was the ebb, and ran almost four knots in an hour. At ten

o'clock it was low water. Though the water had become thick, and resembled that in rivers, we were encouraged to proceed, by finding it as salt as in the ocean, even at low water. Three knots was the strength of the flood tide; and the stream continued to run up till four in the afternoon. At eight o'clock in the evening we stood up the inlet, to the north. Soon after the wind veered to this quarter, and blew in squalls, attended with rain; but this did not hinder us from plying up while the flood continued, which was till the next morning at near five o'clock, when we anchored about two leagues from the eastern shore; and our latitude was 60 deg. 8 min. Some low land, which we supposed to be an Island, lay under the western shore, distant between three and four leagues. The weather clearing up, a ridge of mountains appeared; and two columns of smoke were visible on the eastern shore. At one o'clock A. M. we weighed, and plied up under double reefed top-sails, having a strong gale at N. E.

On Saturday the 30th, the gale having much abated, we plied up from two o'clock A. M. till near seven, and then anchored under the shore to the eastward, in nineteen fathoms water. At noon two canoes, with a man in each, came off to the ship, nearly from that part where we had seen the smoke the day before. They resembled strongly those we had seen in Prince William's Sound, both in dress and person: their canoes were also constructed in the same manner; and one of them had a large beard, and a countenance like the common sort of people in the Sound. When the flood made, we weighed, stood over to the western shore, and fetched under a bluff point to the N. W. This, with the point on the opposite shore, contracted the breadth of the channel to about four leagues, through which a prodigious tide ran. It had a terrible appearance, and we were ignorant whether the water was thus agitated by the stream, or by the dashing of the waves against sands or rocks. We kept the western shore aboard, that appearing to be the safest. In the evening, about eight o'clock, we anchored under a point of land, bearing



N. E. distant about three leagues, and lay there during the ebb. Till we arrived at this station, the water retained an equal degree of saltness, both at high and low water, and was as salt as that which is in the ocean: but now the appearances of a river evidently displayed themselves. The water, taken up at this ebb, was much fresher than any we had tasted: whence we concluded that we were in a large river, and not in a strait, which had a communication with the northern seas: but, having proceeded thus far, Capt. Cook was anxious to have stronger proofs; therefore, on the 21st, in the morning, we weighed with the flood, and drove up with the tide, having but little wind. Near eight o'clock, many of the natives, in one large canoe, and several small ones, paid us a visit. The latter had only one person on board each; but the larger ones contained men, women, and children. We bartered with them for some of their fur dresses, made of the skins of animals, particularly those of sea-otters, martins, and hares, also salmon, halibut, and a few of their darts; for which, in return, we gave them old clothes, heads, and pieces of iron. These last they call goone; but in general, their language is nearly the same as that used in Prince William's Sound. At nine o'clock, we anchored in sixteen fathoms water, almost two leagues from the western shore, the ebb being already began. It ran but three knots an hour at its greatest strength, and fell, after we had anchored, twenty-one feet upon a perpendicular. In order to determine the direction, and other particulars respecting the inlet, Capt. Cook dispatched two boats, and when the flood tide made, followed them with the two ships; but after driving about ten miles, we anchored, having a dead calm, and strong tide against us. At the lowest of the ebb, the water at and near the surface, was perfectly fresh, though retaining a considerable degree of saltness, if taken above a foot below it. Besides this, we had other convincing proofs of its being a river, such as thick muddy water, low shores, trees, and rubbish of various kinds, floating backward and forward with the tide. In the afternoon

we received another visit from the natives, who bartered largely with our people, without so much as attempting one dishonest action.

On Monday the 1st, of June, at two o'clock, A. M. the master, who commanded the two boats, returned, informing us that he found the inlet or river contracted to one league in breadth, and that it took a northerly course through low land on each side. He advanced about three leagues through this narrow part, which he found from twenty to seventeen fathoms deep. While the stream ran down the water was perfectly fresh, but it became brackish when it ran up, and more so near high water. Three leagues to the northward of this search, the master discovered another separation in the eastern chain of mountains, through which he supposed it probable, the river ran in a direction N. E. but this was thought by the Captain to be only another branch, and that the main channel continued in a northern direction between the two chains of mountains. The pleasing hopes of finding a passage were no longer entertained; but as the ebb was spent, we took the advantage of the next tide to get a closer view of the eastern branch: in order to determine whether the low land on the east was an Island or not. For this purpose we weighed with the first of the flood, and stood over for the eastern shore. At eight o'clock a breeze sprang up in a direction opposite to our course, so that we despaired of reaching the entrance of the river. By reason of this untoward circumstance, two boats were dispatched, under the command of Lieutenant King, to make such observations as might enable us to form some tolerable idea of the nature and course of the river. About ten o'clock, the Resolution and Discovery anchored in nine fathoms water. The Commodore observing the strength of the tide to be so powerful, that the boats could not make head against it, made a signal for them to return, before they had proceeded half way to the entrance of the river. The only knowledge concerning the grand question, obtained by this tide's work, was, that all the low land, which we had imagined



to be an Island, was one continued tract from the great river to the foot of the mountains, terminating at the south entrance of this eastern branch, which the Commodore denominated the river Turnagain.

The low land begins again on the north side of this river, and extends from the foot of the mountains, to the bank of the great river, forming before the river Turnagain a large bay. Having entered this, the flood set very strong into the river, the water falling twenty-feet upon a perpendicular, from which circumstances it was evident, that a passage was not to be expected by this side the river, any more than by the main branch: but, as the water at ebb, though much fresher, retained a considerable degree of saltness, it is probable that both these branches are navigable by ships much farther; and that a very extensive inland communication lies open, by means of this river and its several branches. We had traced it to the latitude of 61 deg. 30 min. and the long. of 210 deg. which is upwards of two hundred and ten miles from its entrance, and saw no appearance of its source. The time we spent in the discovery, (here the Commodore having left a blank in his journal, which he had not filled up with any particular name, the earl of Sandwich very properly directed it to be called Cook's river.) of Cook's river ought not to be regretted, if it should hereafter prove useful to the present, or any future age: but the delay thus occasioned was an essential loss to us, who had a greater object in view. The season was far advanced, and it was now evident, that the continent of North America extended much farther to the west than we had reason to expect from the most approved charts.

In the afternoon, Lieutenant King was again sent, with orders from the Captain to land on the S. E. side of the river, where he was to display the flag; and, in his majesty's name, to take possession of the country and Cook's river. He was ordered also to bury a bottle in the earth, containing some English coin of 1772, and a paper, whereon were written the names of our ships, and the date of our discovery. In the mean

time the ships were got under way; but a calm ensued, and the flood tide meeting us, we found it necessary to cast anchor; the point where Mr. King landed bearing S. distant two miles. This point of land was named Point Possession. On Mr. King's return we were informed, that after he had landed he saw several of the natives with their arms extended, an attitude, he supposed, meant to signify their peaceable disposition, and to convince him that they were without weapons. Observing his attendants were armed with muskets, they were alarmed, and requested, by expressive signs, that he would make these lay them down. This was immediately complied with, and then Mr. King and his party were permitted to walk up to them. They now appeared to be very sociable and cheerful. Mr. Law, surgeon of the Discovery, being one of the party, purchased a dog, and taking it towards the boat, immediately shot it dead. At this they seemed exceedingly surprized; and, not thinking themselves safe in such company, they walked away; but it presently appeared, that they had concealed their spears and other weapons in the bushes close behind them.

At high-water we weighed anchor, and with a faint breeze stood over to the west shore, where the next morning, being Tuesday the 2nd, we anchored, on account of the return of the flood. Soon after, we were visited by several of the natives in canoes, who bartered their skins, and afterwards parted with their garments, many of them returning perfectly naked. Among others, they brought a great quantity of the skins of white rabbits, and red foxes, but only two or three of those of otters. We also purchased some pieces of halibut and salmon. They preferred iron to every thing we offered them in exchange. The lip-ornaments were less in fashion among them than at Prince William's Sound; but those which pass through the nose were more frequent, and in general considerably longer. They had likewise more embroidered work on their garments, quivers, knife-cases, and other articles. At half past ten we weighed, and plied down the river with a gentle



breeze at south; when, by the inattention of the man at the lead, our ship struck upon a bank, nearly in the middle of the river. It is pretty certain that this bank occasioned that strong agitation of the stream, with which we were so much surprized when turning up the river. We had twelve feet of water about the ship, at the lowest of the ebb, but the bank was dry in other parts. When our ship came aground Capt. Cook made a signal for the *Discovery* to anchor. We were afterwards informed that she had been almost ashore on the west side of the bank. About five o'clock in the afternoon, as the flood tide came in, the ship floated off without sustaining any damage, or occasioning the least trouble. We then stood over to the west shore, where we anchored, in deep water, to wait for the ebb, the wind being still unfavourable to us. At ten o'clock at night we weighed with the ebb, and about five the next morning, the 3rd, the tide being finished, we cast anchor on the west shore, about ten miles below the bluff point. In this station we were visited by many of the natives, who attended us all the morning: their company was highly acceptable to us, as they brought with them a quantity of fine salmon, which they exchanged for some of our trifles. Several hundred weight of it was procured for the two ships. The mountains now, for the first time after our entering the river, were free from clouds, and we saw a volcano in one of those on the western side. Its latitude is 60 deg. 23 min. and it is the first high mountain north of Mount St. Augustin. The volcano is near the summit, and on that part of the mountain next the river. It emits a white smoke, but no fire. The wind continuing southerly, we still tided it down the river.

On Friday the 5th, in the morning, we arrived at the place where we had lost our kedge anchor, which we attempted, though unsuccessfully, to recover. Before our departure from hence, we were again visited by some of the natives in six canoes from the eastern shore. The points of their spears and knives are made of iron; some of the former, indeed, are made of copper. Their

spears resemble our spontoons; and their knives, for which they have sheaths, are of considerable length. Except these and a few glass beads, every thing we saw among them was of their own manufacture. A very beneficial fur trade might certainly be carried on with the natives of this vast coast; but without a northern passage, it is too remote for Great Britain to be benefited by such commerce. It should however be noted, that almost the only valuable skins, on this west side of North America, are those of the sea-otter; their other skins are of an inferior quality. As the skins are used by these people only for clothing themselves, they, perhaps, are not at the trouble of dressing more of them, than they require for this purpose. This is probably the chief cause of their killing the animals, for they receive principally their supply of food from the sea and rivers: but if these were accustomed to a constant trade with foreigners, such an intercourse would increase their wants, by acquainting them with new luxuries, to be enabled to purchase which, they would become more assiduous in procuring skins; and in this country, without doubt, a plentiful supply might be obtained.

This day, the ebb-tide making in our favour, we weighed, and with a gentle breeze at S. W. plied down the river: the flood obliged us to anchor again; but the next morning of Saturday the 6th, we got under sail with a fresh breeze, passed the Barren Islands about eight o'clock, A. M. and at noon Cape St. Hermogenes bore S. S. E. eight leagues distant. We intended to go through the passage between the Island of that name and the main land, but the wind soon after failed us; on which account we abandoned the design of carrying the ships through that passage: northward of it the land forms a bay, a low rocky Island lying off the N. W. point. Some other Islands, of a similar appearance, are scattered along the coast between here and Point Banks. At eight in the evening, St. Hermogenes extended from S. half E. to S. S. E. and the rocks bore S. E. distant three miles. About midnight we passed the rocks, and bore up to the southward; and on the 7th, at noon



St. Hermogenes bore N. distant four leagues. The southernmost point of the main land lay N. half W. five leagues distant. The latitude of this promontory is 58 deg. 15 min. and its longitude 274 deg. 24 min. It was named after the day in our calendar, Cape Whitsunday; and a large bay to the west of it was called Whitsuntide Bay. At midnight we stood in for the land, and at seven in the morning of the 8th, we were within four miles of it, and less than two miles from some sunken rocks, bearing W. S. W. Here we anchored in thirty-five fathoms water. To the west of the bay are some small Islands. To the southward the sea coast is low, with projecting rocky points, having small inlets between them. We were now in the latitude of 57 deg. 52 min. 34 sec. The land here forming a point, it was named Cape Greville, in lat. 57 deg. 33 min. long 207 deg. 15 min. distant from St. Hermogenes fifteen leagues. On the 9th, 10th, and 11th, we continued plying up the coast.

On Friday the 12th, in the evening the fog clearing up, we descried land twelve leagues distant, bearing W. and we stood in for it early the next morning. At noon an elevated point, which we called Cape Barnabas, in lat 57 deg. 13 min. bore N. N. E. distant ten miles. The point to the S. W. had an elevated summit, which terminated in two round hills, and was therefore called Two-headed Point. At six in the evening, being about midway between Cape Barnabas and Two-headed Point, a point of land was observed bearing S. 69 deg. W. On the fourteenth, at noon, we observed in lat. 56 deg. 49 min. The land seen the preceding evening, now appeared like two Islands. We were up with the southern part of it the next morning, and perceived it to be an Island, which we named Trinity Island. It lies in lat. 56 deg. 36 min. long. 205 deg. distant from the continent three leagues, between which, rocks and Islands are interspersed. In the evening, at eight, we were within a league of the small Islands. The westernmost point of the continent, now in view, we called Cape Trinity, it being a low point facing Trinity Island.

Having reason at this time to expect foggy weather, we stretched out to sea, and passed two or three rocky Islots near the east end of Trinity Island. This we weathered, and in the afternoon steered west-southerly, with a gale at S. S. E. No land appearing on Monday the 15th, at noon, and the gale and fog increasing, we steered W. N. W. under such sail as we could haul the wind with; sensible of the danger of running before a strong gale, in the vicinity of an unknown coast and in a thick fog. It was however become necessary to run some risk, when the wind was favourable to us; as we were convinced that clear weather was generally accompanied with westerly winds.

On Tuesday, the 16th, at four o'clock, A. M. the fog being now dispersed, we found ourselves, in a manner, surrounded with land. The extreme of the main, at N. E. was a point of land we had seen through the fog, and was therefore named Foggy Cape. It is situated in latitude 56 deg. 31 min. About nine o'clock, we discovered the land to be an Island, nine miles in circumference, in lat 56 deg. 10 min. long. 202 deg. 45 min. we named it Foggy Island; and we supposed, from its situation, that it is the Island on which Beering had bestowed the same appellation. Three or four Islands bore N. by W. A point, with pinnacle rocks upon it, bore N. W. by W. called Pinnacle Point; and a cluster of Islots, S. S. E. about nine leagues from the coast. On the 17th, at noon, the continent extended from S. W. to N. by E; the nearest part distant seven leagues: at the same distance from the continent, a group of Islands was seen to the N. W. On the 18th, we had clear, pleasant weather, and it was a calm the greatest part of the day. One of our people, on board a boat dispatched to the Discovery, shot a most beautiful bird. It is smaller than a duck, and the colour is black, except that the fore-part of the head is white: behind each eye, an elegant yellowish-white crest arises: the bill and feet are of a reddish colour. The first of these birds were seen to the southward of Cape St. Hermogenes; after which we saw them daily, and frequently in large flocks. We



were also visited by most of the other sea-fowls, that are usually met with in the northern oceans; and seldom a day passed without our seeing whales, seals, and other fish of great magnitude. In the afternoon we steered west, for the channel between the Islands and the continent. On Friday, the 19th, at day break, we were not far from it, and perceived several other Islands, within those we had already seen, of various dimensions. Between these Islands, and those we had seen before, there appeared to be a clear channel, for which we steered; and, at noon our latitude was 55 deg. 18 min. in the narrowest part of the channel. Of this group of Islands, the largest was now upon our left, and is called Kodiak, as we were afterwards informed. Other Islands appeared to the southward, as far as an Island could be seen. They begin in the longitude of 200 deg. 15 min. east, and extend about two degrees to the westward. Most of these Islands are tolerably high, but very barren and rugged, exhibiting romantic appearances, and abounding with cliffs and rocks. They have several bays and coves about them; and some fresh-water streams descend from their elevated parts, but the land is not adorned with a single tree or bush. Plenty of snow still remained on many of them, as well as on those parts of the continent which appeared between the innermost Islands. By four o'clock, in the afternoon, we had passed all the Islands to the south of us; and soon after we had got through the channel, the Discovery, which was two miles astern, fired three guns, and brought to, making a signal to speak with us. A boat being sent off to her, returned immediately with Capt. Clerke. He informed the Commodore, that some natives in three or four canoes, having followed his ship for some time, at last got under the stern; one of whom made many signs, having his cap off, and bowing in the European manner. A rope was then handed down from the ship, to which he fastened a thin wooden box, and after he had made some more gesticulations, the canoes left the Discovery. Soon after, the box was opened, and found to contain a piece of paper care-

fully folded up, whereon some writing appeared, which was supposed to be in the Russian language. To this writing was prefixed the date of 1778, and a reference was made therein to the year 1776. Though unable to decypher the alphabet of the writer, we were convinced by his numerals, that others had preceded us in visiting these dreary regions. At first Capt. Clerke imagined, that some Russians had been shipwrecked here; and that seeing our ships, these unfortunate persons were induced thus to inform us of their situation. Deeply impressed with sentiments of humanity on this occasion, he was in hopes the Resolution would have stopped till they had time to join us; but no such idea ever occurred to Capt. Cook. If this had really been the case, he supposed, that the first step such persons would have taken, in order to secure relief, would have been, to send some of their people off to the ships in the canoes. He therefore, rather thought the paper was intended to communicate some information, from a Russian trader, who had lately visited these Islands, to be delivered to any of his countrymen who should arrive; and that the natives supposing us to be Russians, had brought off the note. In consequence of this opinion, the Captain ordered sail to be made, and we steered westward. At midnight, we beheld a vast flame ascend from a burning mountain, and observed several fires within land.

On Saturday, the 20th, at two o'clock A. M. some breakers were seen, distant two miles; others appeared a head; on our larboard side they were innumerable; and also between us and the land. We cleared them, though with difficulty, by holding a southern course. These breakers were produced by rocks, many of which were above water: they are very dangerous, and extend seven leagues from land. We got on the outside of them about noon, when we observed in latitude 54 deg. 44 min. longitude 198 deg. The nearest land was an elevated bluff point, which we called Rock Point. It bore N. distant eight leagues; and a high round hill, called Hakbut Head, bore S W. distant thirteen leagues. On the 21st,



Halibut Island extended from N. by E. to N. W. This Island is seven leagues in circumference, and except the head, is very low and barren. We were kept at such a distance from the continent, by the rocks and breakers, that we had but a very imperfect view of the coast between Halibut Island and Rock Point. We could however, perceive the main land covered with snow; particularly some hills, whose elevated tops towered above the clouds to a most stupendous height. A volcano was seen on the most south-westerly of these hills, which perpetually threw up immense columns of black smoke: it is at no great distance from the coast, and lies in the latitude of 54 deg. 48 min. and in longitude 195 deg. 45. min. Its figure is a complete cone; and the volcano is at the summit of it: remarkable as it may appear, the wind, at the height to which the smoke of the volcano rose, often moved in an opposite direction to what it did at sea, even in a fresh gale. In the afternoon, having three hours calm, upwards of a hundred halibuts were caught by our people, some of which weighed upwards of a hundred pounds, and none of them less than twenty each. They were highly acceptable to us. We fished in thirty-five fathoms water, about four miles distant from the shore; during which time, we were visited by a man in a small canoe, who came from a large Island. When he drew near to the ship, he uncovered his head and bowed, as the other had done the preceding day, when he came off to the Discovery. It appeared very plain to us, that the Russians had some communication with these people, not only from their politeness, but from an additional proof that we now were favoured with: for our new visitor had on a pair of green cloth breeches, and a jacket of black cloth, under the frock of his own country. He had with him a grey fox skin, and some fishing implements: also a bladder, wherein was some liquid, which we supposed to be oil: he opened it, drank a mouthful, and then closed it up again. His canoe was smaller than any one of those we had seen before, though of the same construction: like others who had visited the

Discovery, he used the double-bladed paddle. His features resembled those of the natives of Prince William's Sound, but he was perfectly free from any kind of paint: and his lip had been perforated in an oblique direction, but at this visit he had not any kind of ornament in it. Many of the words frequently used by the natives of the Sound, were repeated to him, but he did not seem to understand any of them, owing either to his ignorance of the dialect, or our erroneous pronunciation. On Monday the 22nd, the wind shifted to the S. E. and, as usual, was attended with thick rainy weather. In the evening, fearing we might fall in with land, we hauled to the southward, till two the next morning, and then bore away west; yet we made but little way. At five o'clock P. M. we had an interval of sun-shine, when we saw land bearing N. 59 deg. W. On Wednesday, the 24th, at six o'clock A. M. we saw the continent; and at nine it extended from N. by E. to S. W. by W. the nearest part distant four leagues. The next morning we had clear weather, insomuch, that we clearly saw the volcano, the other mountains, and all the main land under them. A large opening was likewise seen between several Islands and a point of the land. We now steered to the southward; when, having got without all the land in sight, we steered west, the Islands lying in that direction. By eight o'clock we had passed three of them, all of a good height; and more were now observed to the westward. In the afternoon, the weather became gloomy, and afterwards turned to a mist, the wind blowing fresh at east; we therefore hauled the wind to the southward till day break, on Friday the 26th, when we resumed our course to the west. We derived but little advantage from day-light, the weather being so thick that we could not discover objects at the distance of a hundred yards; but as the wind was moderate, we ventured to run. About half an hour after four, the sound of breakers alarmed us on our larboard bow. We brought the ship to, and anchored in twenty-five fathoms water. The Discovery who was not far distant anchored also. Some



hours after, the fog being a little dispersed, we discovered the imminent danger we had escaped. We were three quarters of a mile from the N. E. side of an Island: two elevated rocks were about half a league from us, and from each other. Several breakers also appeared about them; and yet Providence had safely conducted the ships through in the dark, between those rocks, which we should not have attempted to have done in a clear day; and to so commodious an anchoring-place, which, on account of our miraculous escape, received the name of Providence Bay. During the night, the wind blew fresh at south, but in the morning was more moderate, and the fog, in a great measure dispersed. At seven o'clock, we weighed, and steered between the Island near which we had anchored, and a small one not far from it. The breadth of the channel does not exceed a mile, and the wind failed before we could pass through it. We were therefore glad to anchor in 34 fathoms water. Land now presented itself in every direction. That to the south extended, in a ridge of mountains, to the S. W. which we afterwards found to be an Island, called Oonalashka. Between this, and the land to the north, which we supposed to be a group of Islands, there appeared to be a channel in a N. W. direction. On a point, west from the ships, and at a distance of three quarters of a mile, we perceived several natives and their habitations. To this place we saw two whales towed in, which we supposed had just been killed. A few of the inhabitants came off, at different times, to the ships, and engaged in a little traffic with our people, but never continued with us above a quarter of an hour at a time. They seemed, indeed, remarkably shy; though we could readily discover they were not unacquainted with vessels, similar, in some degree to ours. Their address expressed a degree of politeness which we had never experienced among any of the savage tribes. Being favoured, about one o'clock, P. M. with a light breeze, and the tide of flood, we weighed, and directed our course to the channel last mentioned; expecting when we had passed through, either to find

the land trend away to the northward, or that we should discover a passage out to sea, to the west; and we soon found we were right in our conjectures. After we had got under sail, the wind veered to the N. and we were obliged to ply. In the evening, the ebb made it necessary for us to anchor within three leagues of our last station.

On Sunday, the 28th, at day-break, we got again under sail, and were wafted up the passage by a light breeze at south; this was succeeded by variable light airs from all directions. We had, however, a rapid tide in our favour, and the *Resolution* got through before the ebb made. The *Discovery* was not equally fortunate, for she was carried back, got into the race, and found a difficulty in getting clear of it. Being now through the channel, we observed the land on one side, trending W. and S. W. and that on the other side to N. This encouraged us to hope that the continent had taken a new direction in our favour. Finding our water ran short, and expecting to be driven about in a rapid tide, without wind sufficient to govern the ship, we stood for a harbour on the south side of the passage, but were driven beyond it; and, that we might not be forced back through the passage, anchored near the southern shore, in twenty-eight fathoms, and out of the reach of the strong tide, though even here it ran five knots an hour. In this station we were visited by several of the natives, in separate canoes. They bartered some fishing implements for tobacco. A young man among them overset his canoe, while he was along side of one of our boats. He was caught hold of by one of our people, but the canoe was taken up by one of his countrymen, and carried ashore. In consequence of this accident, the youth was obliged to come into the ship, where he accepted an invitation into the cabin, without any surprise or embarrassment. He had on an upper garment, resembling a skirt, made of the gut of a whale, or some other large sea-animal. Under this he had another of the same form, made of the skins of birds with the feathers on, curiously sewed together; the feathered side placed next the skin.



It was patched with several pieces of silk stuff, and his cap was embellished with glass beads. His clothes being wet, we furnished him with some of our own, which he put on with as much readiness as we could have done. From the behaviour of this youth, and that of several others, it evidently appeared that these people were no strangers to Europeans, and to many of their customs. Something in the appearance of our ships, however, greatly excited their curiosity; for, such as had not canoes to bring them off, assembled on the neighbouring hills, to have a view of them. At low water we towed the ship into the harbour, where we anchored in nine fathoms water, the *Discovery* arriving soon after. A boat was now sent off to draw the seine, but we caught only a few trout, and some other small fish. We had scarce anchored, when a native of the Island brought another note on board, similar to that which had been given to Capt. Clerke. He presented it to our Commodore, but as it was written in the Russian language, neither he, nor any of our company, could read it. As it could not be of any use to us, and might be of consequence to others, Capt. Cook returned it to the bearer, accompanied with a few presents; for which he expressed his thanks, as he retired, by several low bows. On the 29th, we saw along the shore, a group of the natives of both sexes, seated on the grass, partaking of a repast of raw fish, which they seemed to relish exceedingly. We were detained by thick fogs and contrary winds, till Thursday the 2nd of July, in this harbour. It is called by the natives Samganoodha, and is situated on the north side of the Island of Oonalashka, in lat. 53 deg. 55 min. long. 193 deg. 30 min. and in the strait which separates this Island from those to the north. It is about a mile broad at the entrance, and runs in about four miles S. by W. It narrows towards the head, the breadth there not exceeding a quarter of a mile. Plenty of good water may be procured here, but not a stick of wood of any kind.

On Thursday, the 2nd, of July, we steered from the harbour of Samganoodha, having

a gentle breeze at S. S. E. to the northward, and met with nothing to obstruct our course: for on the one side, the Isle of Oonalashka trended S. W. and on the other, no land was to be seen in a direction more northerly than N. E. all which land was a continuation of the same group of Islands that we had fallen in with, on the 25th, of the preceding month. That which is situated before Samganoodha, and constitutes the north-eastern side of the passage, through which we came, is called Oonella; and its circumference is twenty-one miles. Another Island, lying to the northward of it, bears the name of Accotan: it is much superior in size to Oonella, and has in it some very lofty mountains, at this time covered with snow. It appeared that we might have passed with great safety between these two Islands and the continent, whose south-western point opened off the north-eastern point of Accotan, and proved to be the same point of land that we had discerned when we left the coast of the continent, the 25th, of June, in order to go without the Islands. It is called by the natives Oonemack; and is situated in lat. 54 deg. 30 min long. 192 deg. 30 min. E. Over the Cape, which is high land, we perceived a round elevated mountain, at present covered with snow. At six o'clock A. M. this mountain bore E. 2 deg. N. and two hours afterwards not any land was to be seen. Concluding, therefore, that the coast of the continent had now inclined to the north-eastward, we steered the same course till one o'clock the following morning, when the watch stationed on deck gave intimation of their seeing land. Upon this we wore, and for the space of about two hours stood towards the S. W. after which we renewed our course to the E. N. E. At six we discovered land a-head, bearing S. E. distant five leagues. As we advanced we discovered a connected chain of land. At noon we perceived that it extended from S. S. W. to E. the part nearest to us being at the distance of five leagues. We now observed in lat. 55 deg. 21 min. long. 195 deg. 18 min. E. At six o'clock A. M. we sounded and found a bottom of black sand, at the depth of forty-eight fathoms. At this time



we were four leagues from the land, and its eastern part in sight was in the direction of E. S. E. to appearance an elevated round hillock.

On Saturday the 4th, at eight o'clock, A. M. we saw the coast from S. S. W. and E. by S. and at intervals we could discern high land behind it, covered with snow. Soon after we had a calm, when all hands were employed in fishing; and as our people were now put on two thirds allowance, what each caught he might eat or sell. Fortunate for them, they caught some tons of fine fish, which proved a most seasonable supply; for the ship's provisions, were with salt and maggots eating into the beef and pork, and the rats and the weavils devouring the heart of the bread, the one was little better than putrid flesh, and the other, upon breaking, would crumble into dust. Among the fish we caught with hook and line, were a great number of excellent cod. At noon we had an easterly breeze and clear weather, when we were about six leagues from the land, which extended from S. by W. to E. S. and the hillock, seen the preceding evening, bore S. W. by S. nine leagues distant. A great hollow swell convinced us, that there was no main land westward near us. At six o'clock, P. M. we steered a northerly course, when the wind veering to the S. E. enabled us to steer E. N. E. The coast lay in this direction, and the next day, at noon, was four leagues distant. On the 6th, and 7th, we made but little way, the wind being northerly. On Wednesday, the 8th, the coast extended from S. S. W. to E. by N. and was all low land, and it is not improbable that this extends to a considerable distance towards the S. W. and that those places which we sometimes supposed to be inlets or bays, are nothing more than valleys between the mountains. This day we booked plenty of fine cod.

On Thursday the 9th, in the morning, having a breeze at N. W. we steered E. by N. in order to make a nearer approach to the coast. At noon we observed in latitude 57 deg. 49 min. long. 201 deg. 33 min. E. at the distance of two leagues from land, which was observed to extend from S. by E. to N.

E. being all a low coast, with points projecting in several places. In advancing towards the N. E. we had found that the depth of water gradually decreased, and the coast trended more and more northerly; but we observed the ridge of mountains behind it continued to lie in the same direction as those that were more westerly; so that the extent of the low land between the coast and the foot of the mountains insensibly increased. Both the low and high grounds, were totally destitute of wood; but apparently covered with a green turf, the mountains excepted, which were covered with snow. As we proceeded along the coast, with a light westerly breeze, the water shoaled gradually from fifteen to ten fathoms, though we were eight or ten miles distant from the shore. About eight o'clock in the evening a lofty mountain, which had been some time within sight, bore S. E. by E. distant twenty-one leagues. Several other mountains, forming the same chain, and much farther distant, bore E. 3 deg. N. The coast was seen to extend as far as N. E. half N. where it seemed to terminate in a point, beyond which it was both our hope and expectation that it would assume a more easterly direction. But not long afterwards we perceived low land, that extended from behind this point, as far as N. W. by W. where it was lost in the horizon; and behind it we discerned high land, appearing in hills detached from each other. Thus the fine prospect we had of getting to the northward, vanished in an instant. We stood on till nine o'clock, and then the point before-mentioned was one league distant, bearing N. E. half E. Behind the point is a river, which, at its entrance, seemed to be a mile in breadth. The water appeared somewhat discoloured, as upon shoal; but a calm would have given it a similar aspect. It seemed to take a winding direction, through the extensive flat which lies between the chain of mountains towards the S. E. and the hills to the north-westward. It abounds, we apprehend, with salmon, as many of those fish were seen leaping before the entrance. The mouth of this river, which we distinguished by the name of



Bristol River, lies in lat. 58 deg. 27 min. and in long. 201 deg. 55 min. E.

On the 10th, at day-break we made sail to the W. S. W. with a light breeze at N. E. At eleven o'clock A. M. thinking that the coast towards the N. W. terminated in a point, bearing N. W. by W. we steered for that point, having ordered the Discovery to keep a-head; but before that vessel had run a mile, she made a signal for shoal water. At that very time we had the depth of seven fathoms, yet before we could get the head of our ship the other way, we had less than five; but the Discovery's soundings were less than four fathoms. We now stood back three miles to the N. E. but observing a strong tide setting to the W. S. W. in a direction to the shoal, we brought the ships to anchor in ten fathoms, over a sandy bottom. Two hours after the water fell upwards of two feet, which proved that it was the tide of ebb that came from Bristol River. In the afternoon, the wind having shifted to the S. W. we weighed at four o'clock, and made sail towards the S. having several boats a-head employed in sounding. When we had passed over the south end of the shoal, in six fathoms water, we afterwards got into fifteen fathoms, in which we let go our anchors again between eight and nine in the evening; some part of the chain of mountains on the south-eastern shore being in sight, and bearing S. E. half S. and the most westerly land on the other shore bearing N. W. In the course of this day we had descried high land which bore N. 60 deg. W.

On Saturday the 11th, at two o'clock A. M. we weighed anchor, with a gentle breeze at S. W. by W. and plied to windward till nine, when judging the flood tide to be against us, we anchored in twenty-four fathoms. At one o'clock P. M. the fog, that had this morning prevailed, dispersing, and the tide becoming favourable, we weighed and plied to the south-westward. Towards the evening we had some thunder. We had heard none before from the time of our arrival on this coast, and what we now heard was at a great distance. In the morning of the 12th, we steered a N. W. course,

and at ten o'clock saw the continent. At noon it extended from N. E. by N. to N. N. W. quarter W. and an elevated hill appeared in the direction of N. N. W. distant ten leagues. This we found to be an Island, to which, on account of its figure, Capt. Cook gave the name of Round Island. It is situated in the latitude of 58 deg. 37 min. and in longitude 200 deg. 6 min. E. distant from the continent seven miles. At nine in the evening, having steered a northerly course to within three leagues of the shore, we tacked in fourteen fathoms; the extremities of the coast bearing S. E. half E. and W. We stretched along shore till two the next morning, when we suddenly got into six fathoms water, being at the same time two leagues from shore. After we had edged off a little, our depth of water gradually increased, and at noon we sounded in twenty fathoms. Round Island at this time bore N. 5 deg. E. and the western extreme of the coast N. 16 deg. W. It is an elevated point, and having calm weather while we were off it, for this reason it was named Calm Point. On the 14th, and 15th, having little wind, we advanced but slowly. At times a very thick fog came on. Our soundings were from twenty-six to fourteen fathoms. We had pretty good success in fishing, for we caught plenty of cod and some flat fish.

On Thursday the 16th, at five o'clock A. M. the fog clearing up, we found ourselves nearer the shore than we expected. Calm Point bore N. 72 deg. E. and a point about eight leagues from it, in a westerly direction, bore N. 3 deg. E. only three miles distant. Between these two points the coast forms a bay, in several parts of which the land could scarcely be seen from the mast-head. Another bay is on the north-western side of the last-mentioned point, between it and a high promontory, which now bore N. 36 deg. W. at the distance of sixteen miles. About nine o'clock the Commodore dispatched Lieutenant Williamson to this promontory, with orders to go ashore and observe what direction the coast took beyond it, and what might be the produce of the country, which, when viewed from the ships, had but a sterile appearance. We here found



the flood-tide setting strongly towards the N. W. along the coast. At noon it was high water, and we cast anchor at the distance of twelve miles from the shore, in twenty-four fathoms. About five in the afternoon, the tide beginning to make in our favour, we weighed, and drove with it, there being no wind. When Mr. Williamson returned, he reported that he had landed on the point, and having ascended the most elevated hill, found that the most distant part of the coast in sight was nearly in a northerly direction. He took possession of the country in the name of his Britannic Majesty, and left on the hill a bottle containing a paper, on which the names of our ships and of their commanders, and the date of the discovery, were inscribed. The promontory, which he named Cape Newenham, is a rocky point, of considerable height, and is seated in latitude 58 deg. 42 min. and in longitude 197 deg. 36 min. E. Over, or within it, two lofty hills arise one behind another, of which the innermost, or easternmost, is the highest. The country, as far as Mr. Williamson could discern, produces not a single tree or shrub. The hills were naked, but on the lower grounds there grew grass and plants of various kinds, very few of which were at this time in flower. The Lieutenant met with no other animals than a doe with her fawn, and a dead sea-horse or cow that lay on the beach: of the latter animals we had seen a considerable number from the ships. Cape Newenham is the northern boundary of the extensive gulph or bay, situated before the river Bristol, which, in honour of the Admiral, Earl of Bristol, received from the Commodore the distinction of Bristol Bay. Cape Ooneemak forms the southern limit of this bay, and is eighty-two leagues distant, in the direction of S. S. W. from Cape Newenham. At eight o'clock in the evening, we steered to the N. W. and N. N. W. round the cape, which at noon the next day was four leagues distant, bearing S. by E. The most advanced land towards the north, bore N. 30 deg. E. and the nearest part of the coast was three leagues and a half distant. During the afternoon there was but little wind, so that by ten o'clock in the evening,

we had only proceeded three leagues on a northerly course.

Saturday the 18th, at eight o'clock A. M. we were steering N. by W. when the depth of water suddenly decreased to seven and five fathoms; on which account we brought to, till a boat from each of the ships was sent a-head to sound, and then we steered to the N. E. At noon, when the water deepened to seventeen fathoms, Cape Newenham was twelve leagues distant, bearing S. 9 deg. E. the north-eastern extremity of the land in sight, bore N. 66 deg. E. and the distance of the nearest shore was four leagues. Our latitude was 59 deg. 16 min. N. Before one o'clock the boats a-head displayed the signal for shoal-water. They had only two fathoms; but at the same time the ships were in six. By hanting more to the north, we continued nearly in the same depth till between five and six o'clock, when our boats finding less and less water, Capt Cook made the signal to the Discovery, which was then a-head, to cast anchor, and both ships soon came to. In bringing up the Resolution, her cable parted at the clinch, so that we were obliged to make use of the other anchor. We rode in six fathoms water, over a bottom of sand, at the distance of about five leagues from the continent. Cape Newenham now bore S. distant sixteen leagues. The farthest hills we could perceive towards the north, bore N. E. by E. and low land stretched out from the more elevated parts as far as N. by E. Without this there was a shoal of stones and sand, dry at half ebb. The two masters having been sent, each in a boat, to sound between this shoal and the coast, reported, on their return, that there was a channel, in which the soundings were six and seven fathoms, but that it was rather narrow and intricate. At low water, we attempted to get a hawser round the lost anchor, but did not then succeed: however, being resolved not to leave it behind us, while there remained the prospect of recovering it, we persevered in our endeavours; and at length, in the evening of the 20th, we had the desired success. While thus employed, the Commodore ordered Capt. Clerke to send his master in a boat to search



for a passage in a S. W. direction. He accordingly did so, but could find no channel in that quarter; nor did it appear, that there was any other way to get clear of the shoals, than by returning by the same track in which we had entered: for though, by following the channel we were now in, we might, perhaps, have got farther down the coast; and though this channel might have probably carried us at last to the northward, clear of the shoals, yet the attempt would have been attended with extreme hazard; and, in case of ill-success, there would have been a great loss of time, that we could not conveniently spare. These reasons induced the Commodore to return by the way which had brought us in, and thus avoid the shoals. The latitude of our present station, by lunar observations, was 59 deg. 37 min. 30 sec. N. and our longitude 197 deg. 45 min. 48 sec. E. The most northern part of the coast that we could discern from this station, was supposed to be situate in latitude 60 deg. It formed, to appearance, a low point, to which was given the name of Shoal Ness. The tide of flood sets to the northward, and the ebb to the southward: it rises and falls five or six feet upon a perpendicular, and we reckon that it is high water at eight o'clock on the full and change days.

On Tuesday the 21st, at three o'clock A. M. having a gentle breeze at N. N. W. we set sail, with three boats a-head employed in sounding. Notwithstanding this precaution, we met with greater difficulty in returning than we had in advancing; and were at length under the necessity of anchoring, to avoid the danger of running upon a shoal that had only a depth of five feet. While we lay at anchor, twenty-seven Americans, each in a separate canoe, came off to the ships, which they approached with some degree of caution. As they advanced they hallooed, and extended their arms; thereby intimating, as we understood, their peaceable intentions, and how cordially they were ready to receive us. Some of them at last came near enough to receive a few trifling articles, which we threw to them. This gave encouragement to the others to venture alongside; and a traffic quickly commenced

between them and our people, who obtained wooden vessels, bows, darts, arrows, dresses of skins, &c. in exchange for which the natives accepted whatever we offered them. They appeared to be the same sort of people, with those we had met with all along this coast; and they wore in their lips and noses the same sorts of ornaments; but they were not so well clothed, and were much more dirty. We thought them to be perfectly unacquainted with any civilized nation; they were ignorant of the use of tobacco; nor did we observe in their possession any foreign article, unless a knife may be considered as such. This indeed was nothing more than a piece of common iron fitted in a handle made of wood, so as to serve the purpose of a knife. However, these people understood so well the value and use of this instrument, that it seemed to be almost the only article they thought worth purchasing. The hair of most of them was shaved, or cut short off, a few locks being left on one side and behind. They wore for a covering on their heads, a hood of skins, and a bonnet seemingly made of wood. One part of their dress, which we procured, was a kind of girdle of skin, made in a very neat manner, with trappings depending from it, and passing between the thighs, so as to conceal the adjacent parts. From the use of this girdle, it is probable, that they sometimes go in other respects, naked, even in this high northern latitude; for it can scarcely be supposed that they wear it under their other clothing. Their canoes were covered with skins, like those we had lately seen; but they were broader, and the hole wherein the person sits was wider, than in any of those we had before met with. Our boats returning from sounding, gave them some alarm, so that they all departed sooner than perhaps they otherwise would have done.

On Wednesday the 22nd, we got clear of the shoals, yet we could not venture to steer towards the west during the night, but spent it off Cape Newenham. On the 23rd, at day-break, we stood to the northward, the *Discovery* being ordered to go a-head. When we had proceeded two leagues, our soundings



decreased to six fathoms. Being apprehensive, that, if we continued this course, we should meet with less water, we hauled to the south. This course brought us gradually into eighteen fathoms water; upon which we ventured to steer a little westerly, and afterwards due west, when we at length found twenty-six fathoms. At noon, by observation, we were in lat. 58 deg. 7 min. long. 194 deg. 22 min. east. We now steered W. N. W. the depth of water increasing gradually to thirty-four fathoms. On Saturday the 25th, in the evening, having little wind, and an exceeding thick fog, we let go our anchors in thirty fathoms. At six o'clock the next morning, the weather clearing up, we set sail, and stood to the northward. After we had proceeded on this course for the space of nine leagues, the wind veered to the N. so that we were obliged to steer more westerly. On Tuesday the 28th, at noon, we had clear sunshine for a few hours, during which several observations were made, which determined our lat. to be 59 deg. 55 min. and our long 190 deg. 6 min. but the time-keeper gave 189 deg. 59 min. difference only 7 min. On the 29th, in the morning we discovered land, bearing N. W. by W. distant six leagues. We stood towards it till between ten and eleven, when we tacked in twenty-four fathoms, being then a league from the land, which bore N. N. W. It was the south-eastern extreme, and formed a perpendicular cliff of great height; upon which it received from the Captain the name of Point Upright. Its lat. is 60 deg. 17 min. long. 187 deg. 30 min. east. More land was perceived to the westward of this point; and, at a clear interval, we discerned another portion of high land, bearing W. by S. and this seemed to be perfectly separated from the other. On Thursday the 30th, at four o'clock P. M. Point Upright bore N. W. by N. distant six leagues. A light breeze now springing up at N. N. W. we steered to the north-east-

ward till four the next morning, when the wind veered to the east; we then tacked, and stood to the N. W. The wind, not long after, shifting to S. E. we steered N. E. by N. and continued this course with soundings, from thirty-five to twenty fathoms, till noon the following day.

Saturday, August the 1st, we observed in lat. 60 deg. 58 min. long. 191 deg. east. The wind now becoming north-easterly, we first made a stretch of about ten leagues towards the N. W. and then, as we observed no land in that direction, we stood back to the E. for the space of fourteen or fifteen leagues, and met with a considerable quantity of drift-wood. On the 2nd, we had variable light winds, with showers of rain the whole day. In the morning of Monday, the 3rd, we resumed our northward course. At noon, by observation, our lat. was 62 deg. 34 min. long. 192 deg. E. Between three and four o'clock this afternoon, Mr. Anderson, Capt. Cook's surgeon of the *Resolution*, expired, after he had lingered under a consumption upwards of a twelvemonth. He was a sensible, intelligent young man; an agreeable companion; had great skill in his profession; and had acquired a considerable portion of knowledge in other branches of science. Our readers will doubtless have observed, how useful an assistant he had proved in the course of this voyage; and had it pleased God to have prolonged his life to a later period, the public might have received from him such communications on the various parts of natural history of the several places he visited, as would have abundantly shewn he was worthy of a higher commendation than we have here given him. His funeral was performed with the usual ceremonies at sea; after which Mr. Law, surgeon of the *Discovery*, was removed into the *Resolution*, and Mr. Samwell, the surgeon's first mate of the *Resolution*, was appointed to succeed Mr. Law as surgeon of the *Discovery*.



## CHAP. XII.

*An Island named to the memory of the ingenious Mr. Anderson, Capt. Cook's late surgeon, and friend; Remarks on Sledge Island; The Resolution and Discovery anchor in a large bay on the Asiatic coast; The Commodore lands at a village; The Resolution and Discovery quit the Bay; Their progress northward; Cape Mulgrave; Icy Cape; Description of sea horses; Cape Lisburne; Unsuccessful attempts to get through the ice; Remarks; Arrival on the coast of Asia; Cape North; Prosecution of the Voyage deferred to the following year; Return from Cape North along the Coast of Asia; Burney's Island; Several Capes and Bays described; Steer for the coast of America; An account of more Capes and head-lands; Besborough Island; interview with a particular family; Mr. King visits the same; He is sent to examine the coast; his report; and a description of the country, &c; Norton's Sound; Steward's Island discovered and described; Cape Stevens; Point Shallow-water; Shoals; Clerke's Island; Gore's Pinnacle; The Resolution springs a leak; The two ships arrive at Oonalashka; Interview with the natives and Russian traders; Mr. Ismyloff comes on board; Account of the Islands visited by the Russians; Of their settlement at Oonalashka; A particular description of the natives; Observations.*

**S**OON after Mr. Anderson had resigned his breath, we discovered land to the westward, distant twelve leagues. We supposed it to be an Island; and the Commodore, to perpetuate the memory of the deceased, for whom he had a very great regard, distinguished it by the name of Anderson's Island. On Tuesday, the 4th, at three in the afternoon, we saw land extending from N. N. E. to N. W. We steered towards it till four, when, being four or five miles distant from it, we tacked; and, not long afterwards, the wind failing, we let go our anchors in thirteen fathoms, over a sandy bottom, at the distance of about two leagues from land. Our lat. was now 64 deg. 27 min. N. and long. 194 deg. 18 min. E. We could at intervals, discern the coast extending from E. to N. W. and an Island of considerable elevation, bearing W. by N. nine miles distant. The land before us, which we imagined to be the continent of America, appeared rather low next the sea; but inland it rose in hills, which seemed to be of a tolerable height. It had a greenish hue, and was apparently destitute of wood, and free from snow. While our ships remained at anchor, we observed that the tide of flood came from the eastward, and set to the westward, till between the hours of ten and eleven; from which time, till two o'clock the next morning, the stream set to the E. and

the water fell three feet. The flood running both longer and stronger than the ebb, we concluded that there was a westerly current besides the tide. Near the beach where we landed, we found a sledge which induced Capt. Cook to give the Island the appellation of Sledge Island.

Wednesday the 5th, at ten o'clock in the morning we ran down, and soon after anchored between the Island and the continent in seven fathoms. Not long after we had cast anchor, Capt. Cook, accompanied by Mr. King and some other officers, landed upon the Island. He hoped to have had from it a prospect of the coast and sea towards the west; but in that direction the fog was so thick, that the view was not more extensive than it was from our ships.

On Monday the 10th, at break of day, we resumed our westward course for the land seen by us the preceding evening. At eleven minutes after seven o'clock, it extended from S. 72 deg. W. to N. 41 deg. E. Betwixt the south-western extremity, and a point bearing W. six miles distant, the coast forms a spacious bay, in which we dropped our anchors at ten in the forenoon, about two miles from the northern shore, over a gravelly bottom, at the depth of ten fathoms. The northern point of this bay bore N. 43 deg. E. its southern point S. 58 deg. W. the bottom of the bay, N. 60 deg. W. between



A MAN of KAMTSCCHATKA TRAVELLING in WINTER—the Sledge being drawn by Dogs.

Published by B. Smith, Worcester, May 1 1814

Thatcher, sculp









two and three leagues distant ; and the two Islands that we had passed the preceding day, were at the distance of fourteen leagues, bearing N. 72 deg. E. When steering for this bay we observed, on the north shore, a village, and some people, who seemed to have been thrown into confusion, or fear, at the sight of our vessels. We could plainly perceive persons running up the country with burdens upon their shoulders. At this village, Capt. Cook proposed to land ; and accordingly went with three armed boats, accompanied by some of the officers. Thirty or forty men, each of whom was armed with a spoutoon, a bow, and arrows, stood drawn up on an eminence near the houses ; three of them came down towards the shore, on the approach of our gentlemen, and were so polite as to pull off their caps, and make them low bows. Though this civility was returned, it did not inspire them with sufficient confidence to wait for the landing of our party ; for, the instant they put the boats ashore, the natives retired. Capt. Cook followed them alone, without any thing in his hand ; and, by signs and gestures, prevailed on them to stop, and accept some trifling presents : in return for these, they gave him two fox-skins, and a couple of sea-horse teeth. The Captain was of opinion, that they had brought these articles down with them for the purpose of presenting them to him ; and that they would have given them to him, even if they had expected no return. They seemed very timid and cautious : intimating their desire, by signs, that no more of our people should be suffered to come up. On the Captain's laying his hand on the shoulder of one of them, he started back several paces ; in proportion as he advanced, they retreated, always in the attitude of being ready to make use of their spears ; while those on the eminence, were prepared to support them with their arrows. Insensibly, the Captain, and two or three of his companions, introduced themselves among them. The distribution of a few beads among some of them, soon created a degree of confidence, so that they were not alarmed, when the Captain was joined by a few more of his people ; and in a short time, a

kind of traffic was entered into. In exchange for tobacco, knives, beads, and other articles they gave a few arrows, and some of their clothing ; but nothing that our people had to offer, could induce them to part with a spear or a bow. These they held in continual readiness, never quitting them, except at one time, when four or five persons laid their's down, while they favoured our party with a song and a dance ; and even then, they placed them in such a manner, that they could lay hold of them in a moment. Their arrows were pointed either with stone or bone, but very few of them had barbs ; and some of them had a round blunt point. What use these are applied to, we cannot say, unless it be to kill small animals without damaging the skin. Their bows were such as we had observed on the American coast : their spontoons, or spears, were of iron or steel, and of European or Asiatic workmanship ; and considerable pains had been taken to embellish them with carving, and inlayings of brass, and of a white metal. Those who stood with bows and arrows in their hands, had the spear slung by a leathern strap over their right shoulder. A leathern quiver, slung over their left shoulder served to contain arrows ; and some of these quivers were exceedingly beautiful, being made of red leather, on which was very neat embroidery, and other ornaments. Several other things, and particularly their clothing, indicated a degree of ingenuity far surpassing what any one would expect to find among so northern a people.

Our party having remained with these people between two and three hours, they returned on board ; and, soon after, the wind becoming southerly, we weighed anchor, stood out of the bay, and steered to the N. E. between the coast and the two Islands. At noon, the next day, August 11th, the former extended from S. 80 deg. W. to N. 84 deg. W. the latter bore S. 40 deg. W. and the peaked hill, over Cape Prince of Wales, bore S. 26 deg. E. The latitude of the ship was 66 deg. 5 min. N. the longitude 191 deg. 19 min. E. our soundings were twenty-eight fathoms : and our position nearly in the middle of the channel, between,



the two coasts, each being at the distance of about seven leagues. From this station we steered to the eastward, in order to make a nearer approach to the American coast. In this course, the water gradually shoaled; and there being very little wind, and all our endeavours to increase our depth failing, we were obliged at last to cast anchor in six fathoms; which was the only remedy remaining, to prevent the ships driving into more shallow water. The nearest part of the western land bore W. twelve leagues distant; the peaked mountain over Cape Prince of Wales, bore S. 16 deg. W. and the most northern part of the American continent in sight, E. S. E. the distance of the nearest part being about four leagues. After we had anchored, a boat was dispatched to sound, and the water was found to shoal gradually towards the land. While our ships lay at anchor, which was from six to nine in the evening, we perceived little or no current, nor did we observe that the water rose or fell. A northerly breeze springing up, we weighed, and made sail to the westward, which course soon brought us into deep water; and, during the 12th, we plied to the northward in sight of both coasts, but we kept nearest to that of America. On the 13th, at four in the afternoon, a breeze arising at S. we steered N. E. by N. till four o'clock the next morning; when, seeing no land, we directed our course E. by N. and between the hours of nine and ten, land appeared, which we supposed was a continuation of the continent. It extended from E. by S. to E. by N. and, not long afterwards, we descried more land, bearing N. by E. Coming rather suddenly into thirteen fathoms water, at two in the afternoon, we made a trip off till four, when we again stood in for the land; which, soon after, we saw, extending from N. to S. E. the nearest part being at the distance of three or four leagues. The coast here forms a point, named by us Point Mulgrave, which is situated in the latitude of 67 deg 45 min. N. and in the longitude of 194 deg. 51 min. E. The land seemed to be very low near the sea, but a little farther it rises into hills of a moderate height; the whole was free from

snow, and apparently destitute of wood. We now tacked, and bore away N. W. by W. but, in a short time afterwards, thick weather, with rain, coming on, and the wind increasing, we hauled more to the westward.

Saturday the 15th, at two o'clock A. M. the wind veered to S. W. by S. and blew a strong gale, which abated towards noon. We now stood to the N. E. till six the next morning, when we steered rather more easterly: in this run, we met with several sea-horses, and great numbers of birds; some of which resembled sand-larks, and others were not larger than hedge-sparrows. We also saw some shags, so that we judged we were not far from land; but, having a thick fog, we could not expect to see any; and as the wind blew strong, it was not deemed prudent to continue a course which was most likely to bring us to it. From the noon of this day, to six o'clock in the morning of the following, we steered E. by N. a course which brought us into fifteen fathoms water. We now steered N. E. by E. thinking, by such a course, to increase our depth of water. But in the space of six leagues, it shoaled to eleven fathoms, which induced us to haul close to the wind, that now blew at W. About twelve o'clock, both sun and moon were clearly seen at intervals, and we made some hasty observations for the longitude; which, reduced to noon, when the latitude was 70 deg. 33 min. N. gave 197 deg. 41 min. E. The time-keeper, for the same time, gave 198 deg. In the forenoon, we perceived a brightness in the northern horizon, like that reflected from ice, usually called the blink. Little notice was taken of it from a supposition that it was improbable we should so soon meet with ice. The sharpness of the air, however, and gloominess of the weather, for the two or three preceding days, seemed to indicate some sudden change. About an hour afterwards, the sight of an enormous mass of ice, left us no longer in any doubt respecting the cause of the brightness of the horizon. Between two and three o'clock, we tacked close to the edge of the ice, in twenty-two fathoms water, being then in the latitude of 70 deg. 41 min. north, and unable to stand



on any farther, for the ice was perfectly impenetrable, and extended from W. by S. to E. by N. as far as the eye could reach. Here we met with great numbers of sea-horses, some of which were in the water, but far more upon the ice. The Commodore had thoughts of hoisting out the boats to kill some of these animals; but, the wind freshening, he gave up the design; and we continued to ply towards the south, or rather towards the west, for the wind came from that quarter. We made no progress; for, at twelve on the 18th, our latitude was 70 deg. 44 min. north, and we were almost five leagues farther to the east. We were, at present, close to the edge of the ice, which was as compact as a wall, and appeared to be at least ten or twelve feet in height: but, farther northward, it seemed to be much higher. Its surface was exceedingly rugged, and, in several places, we saw pools of water upon it. We now stood to the south, and, after running six leagues, shoaled the water to seven fathoms; but it soon increased to the depth of nine fathoms. At this time, the weather, which had been hazy, becoming clearer, we saw land extending from S. to S. E. by E. at the distance of three or four miles. The eastern extremity forms a point, which was greatly encumbered with ice, on which account it was distinguished by the name of Icy Cape. Its latitude is 70 deg. 29 min. north, and its longitude 198 deg. 20 min. east. The other extreme of the land was lost in the horizon; and we had no doubt of its being a continuation of the continent of America. The Discovery being about a mile astern, and to leeward, met with less depth of water than we did; and tacking on that account, the Commodore was obliged to tack also, to prevent separation. Our present situation was very critical. We were upon a lee-shore in shoal water; and the main body of the ice to windward, was driving down upon us. It was evident, that if we continued much longer between it and the land, it would force us ashore, unless it should chance to take the ground before us. It appeared almost to join the land to leeward, and the only direction that was free from it was to

the south westward. After making a short board to the north, Capt. Cook made a signal for the Discovery to tack and his ship tacked at the same time. The wind proved in some measure favourable, so that we lay up S. W. and S. W. by W.

Wednesday the 19th, at eight in the morning, the wind veering to west, we tacked to the northward; and at twelve, the latitude was 70 deg. 6 min. north, and the longitude 196 deg. 42 min. east. In this situation, we had a considerable quantity of drift ice about our ships, and the main ice was about two leagues to the north. Between one and two, we got in with the edge of it. It was less compact than that which we had observed towards the north; but it was too close, and in too large pieces to attempt forcing the ships through it. We saw an amazing number of sea-horses on the ice, and as we were in want of fresh provisions, the boats from each ship were dispatched to procure some of them. By seven in the evening, we had received, on board the Resolution, nine of these animals; which till this time, we had supposed to be sea-cows; so that we were greatly disappointed, particularly some of the sailors, who, on account of the novelty of the thing, had been feasting their eyes for some days past. Nor would they now have been disappointed, nor have known the difference, if there had not been two or three men on board, who had been in Greenland, and declared what animals these were, and that no person ever eat of them. Notwithstanding this, we made them serve us for provisions, and there were few of our people who did not prefer them to our salt meat. The fat of these animals is, at first, as sweet as marrow; but, in a few days, it becomes rancid, unless it is salted, in which state it will keep much longer. The lean flesh is coarse and blackish, and has a strong taste; but the heart is almost as well tasted as that of a bullock. The fat, when melted, affords a good quantity of oil, which burns very well in lamps; and their hides, which are of great thickness, were extremely useful about our rigging. The teeth, or tusks, of most of them were, at this time of a very small size; even some



of the largest and oldest of these animals, had them not exceeding half a foot in length. Hence we concluded, that they had lately shed their old teeth. They lie upon the ice in herds of many hundreds, huddling like swine, one over the other; and they roar very loud; so that in the night, or when the weather was foggy, they gave us notice of the vicinity of the ice, before we could discern it. We never found the whole herd sleeping, some of them being constantly upon the watch. These, on the approach of the boat would awake those that were next to them; and the alarm being thus gradually communicated, the whole herd would presently be awake. However, they were seldom in a hurry to get away, before they had been once fired at. Then they would fall into the sea, one over the other in the utmost confusion; and, if we did not happen, at the first discharge, to kill those we fired at, we generally lost them, though mortally wounded. They did not appear to us to be so dangerous as some authors have represented them, not even when they were attacked. They are, indeed, more so, in appearance, than in reality. Vast multitudes of them would follow, and come close up to the boats; but the flash of a musket in the pan, or even the mere pointing of one at them, would send them down in a moment. The female will defend her young one to the very last, even at the expence of her own life, whether upon the ice or in the water. Nor will the young one quit the dam, though she should have been killed; so that, if you destroy one, you are sure of the other. The dam, when in the water, holds her young one between her fore fins. Mr. Pennant, in his *Synopsis of Quadrupeds*, has given a very good description of this animal under the name of the Arctic Walrus. Why it should be called a sea-horse, is difficult to determine, unless the word be a corruption of the Russian name *Morse*; for they do not in the least resemble a horse. It is, doubtless, the same animal that is found in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, and there called a sea-cow. It is certainly more like a cow than a horse; but this resemblance consists in nothing but the snout. In short

it is an animal not unlike a seal, but incomparably larger. The length of one of them, which was none of the largest, was nine feet four inches from the snout to the tail; the circumference of its body at the shoulder, was seven feet ten inches; its circumference near the hinder fins was five feet six inches, and the weight of the carcase, without the head, skin, or entrails, was eight hundred and fifty-four pounds. The head weighed forty-one pounds and a half, and the skin two hundred and five pounds. It may not be improper to remark, that, for some days before this time, we had often seen flocks of ducks flying to the south. They were of two species, the one much larger than the other. The larger sort was of a brown colour; and of the small sort, either the duck or drake was black and white, and the other brown. Some of our people said that they also saw geese. This seems to indicate, that there must be land to the northward, where these birds, in the proper season, find shelter for breeding, and whence they were now on their return to a warmer climate.

After we had got our sea-horses on board, we were, in a manner, surrounded with the ice; and had no means of clearing it, but by steering to the southward, which we did till three o'clock the next morning, with a light westerly breeze, and, in general, thick, foggy weather. Our soundings were from twelve to fifteen fathoms. We then tacked and stood to the northward till ten o'clock, when the wind shifting to the N. we stood to the W. S. W. and W. At two in the afternoon, we fell in with the main ice, and kept along the edge of it, being partly directed by the roaring of the sea-horses, for we had an exceeding thick fog. Thus we continued sailing till near midnight, when we got in among the loose pieces of ice. The wind being easterly, and the fog very thick, we now hauled to the southward; and, at ten the next morning, the weather clearing up, we saw the American continent, extending from S. by E. to E. by S. and, at noon, from S. W. half S. to E. the distance of the nearest part being five leagues. We were at present in the latitude of 69 deg. 32 min. N. and in the longitude of 195 deg. 48 min.



E. and, as the main ice was not far from us, it is evident, that it now covered a part of the sea; which, a few days before, had been free from it; and that it extended farther towards the S. than where we first fell in with it. During the afternoon we had but little wind; and the master was sent in a boat to observe whether there was any current, but he found none. We continued to steer for the American land till eight o'clock, in order to obtain a nearer view of it, and to search for a harbour; but seeing nothing that had the appearance of one, we again stood to the N. with a gentle westerly breeze. At this time, the coast extended from S. W. to E. the nearest part being at the distance of four or five leagues. The southern extreme seemed to form a point, to which the name of Cape Lisburne was given. It is situate in the latitude of 69 deg. 5 min. N. and in the longitude of 194 deg. 42 min. E. and appeared to be tolerably high land, even down to the sea; but there may be low land under it, which we might not then see, being not less than ten leagues distant from it. In almost every other part, as we advanced to the north, we had found a low coast, from which the land rises to a moderate height. The coast now before us was free from snow, except in one or two places, and had a greenish hue. But we could not discern any wood upon it.

Saturday the 22nd, the wind was southerly, and the weather for the most part foggy, with some intervals of sunshine. At eight in the evening, we had a calm, which continued till midnight, when we heard the surge of the sea dashing against the ice, and had many loose pieces about us. A light breeze now arose at N. E. and the fog being very thick, we steered to the S. to get clear of the ice. At eight the next morning, the fog dispersed, and we hauled towards the W. for the Commodore finding we could not get to the N. near the coast, by reason of the ice, resolved to try what could be done at a distance from it; and as the wind seemed to be fixed at N. he considered it as a favourable opportunity. In our progress to the westward, the water gradually deepened to twenty-eight fathoms. With the

northerly wind the air was sharp and cold; and we had fogs, sun-shine, showers of snow and sleet alternately. On the 26th, at ten in the morning, we fell in with the ice. At twelve, it extended from N. W. to E. by N. and seemed to be thick and compact. We were now, by observation, in the latitude of 69 deg. 35 min. N. and in the longitude of 184 deg. E. and it appeared that we had no better prospect of getting to the N. here, than nearer the shore. We continued steering to the W. till five in the afternoon, when we were, in some degree, embayed by the ice, which was very close in the N. W. and N. E. quarters, with a great quantity of loose ice about the edge of the main body. At this time, we had baffling light airs, but the wind soon settled at S. and increased to a fresh gale, accompanied with showers of rain. We got the tack aboard, and stretched to the E. as this was the only direction in which the sea was free from ice.

Thursday the 27th, at four o'clock, A. M. we tacked and stood to the westward, and at seven o'clock in the evening, we were close in with the edge of the ice, which lay E. N. E. and W. S. W. as far in each of those directions as the eye could reach. There being but little wind, Capt. Cook went with the boats, to examine the state of the ice. He found it consisting of loose pieces, of various extents, and so close together, that he could scarcely enter the outer edge with a boat; and it was as impracticable for the ships to enter it, as if it had been so many rocks. He particularly remarked, that it was all pure transparent ice, except the upper surface, which was rather porous. It seemed to be wholly composed of frozen snow, and to have been all formed at sea. For, not to insist on the improbability of such prodigious masses floating out of rivers, none of the productions of the land were found incorporated, or mixed with it; which would certainly have been the case, if it had been formed in rivers, either great or small. The pieces of ice that formed the outer edge of the main body, were from forty to fifty yards in extent, to four or five; and the Captain judged, that the larger pieces reached thirty feet or more, under the surface of



the water. He also thought it highly improbable, that this ice could have been the production of the preceding winter alone. He was rather inclined to suppose it to have been the production of many winters. It was equally improbable, in his opinion, that the little that now remained of the summer, could destroy even the tenth part of what now existed of this great mass; for the sun had already exerted upon it the full force and influence of his rays. The sun, indeed, according to his judgment, contributes very little towards reducing these enormous masses. For though that luminary is above the horizon a considerable while, it seldom shines out for more than a few hours at a time, and frequently is not seen for several successive days. It is the wind, or rather the waves raised by the wind, that brings down the bulk of these prodigious masses, by grinding one piece against another, and by undermining and washing away those parts which are exposed to the surge of the sea. This was manifest, from the Captain's observing, that the upper surface of many pieces had been partly washed away, while the base, or under part, continued firm for several fathoms round that which appeared above water, like a shoal round a high rock. He measured the depth of water upon one, and found that it was fifteen feet, so that the ships might have sailed over it. If he had not measured this depth, he would have been unwilling to believe, that there was a sufficient weight of ice above the surface, to have sunk the other so much below it. It may thus happen, that more ice is destroyed in one tempestuous season, than is formed in several winters, and an endless accumulation of it is prevented. But that there is constantly a remaining store, will be acknowledged by every one who has been upon the spot. A thick fog, which came on while the Commodore was thus employed with the boats, hastened him aboard sooner than he could have wished, with one sea-horse to each ship. Our party had killed many, but could not wait to bring them off. The number of these animals, on all the ice that we had seen, is really astonishing. We spent the night

standing off and on, among the drift ice, and at nine o'clock the next morning, the fog having in some degree dispersed, boats from each of the ships were dispatched for sea-horses; for our people by this time began to relish them, and those we had before furnished ourselves with, were all consumed. At noon, our latitude was 69 deg. 17 min. N. our longitude 183 deg. E. and our depth of water was 25 fathoms. At two in the afternoon, having got on board as many sea-horses as were deemed sufficient, and the wind freshening at S. S. E. we hoisted in the boats, and steered to the S. W. But being unable to weather the ice upon this tack, or to go through it, we made a board to the eastward, till about eight o'clock, then resumed our course to the S. W. and were obliged before midnight to tack again, on account of the ice. Not long after, the wind veering to the N. W. and blowing a stiff gale, we stretched to the S. W. close hauled.

Friday the 29th, in the morning, we saw the main ice towards the N. and soon after, perceived land bearing S. W. by W. In a short time after this, more land was seen, bearing W. It shewed itself into two hills, resembling Islands, but soon the whole appeared connected. As we made a nearer approach to the land, the depth of water decreased very fast, so that, at twelve o'clock when we tacked, we found only eight fathoms; being three miles from the coast, which extended from S. 30 deg. E. to N. 60 deg. W. the latter extremity terminating in a bluff point, being one of the hills mentioned before. The weather was now very hazy, with drizzling rain; but, soon afterwards, it cleared up, particularly to the southward, westward and northward. This enabled us to have a tolerable view of the coast; which resembles, in every respect, the opposite coast of America; that is, low land next the sea, with higher land farther back. It was totally destitute of wood, and even of snow; but was, probably, covered with a mossy substance, that gave it a brownish hue. In the low ground that lay between the sea and the high land, was a lake, extending to the south eastward farther than



we could see. As we stood off, the most westerly of the two hills above mentioned, came open off the bluff point, in a N. W. direction. It had the appearance of an Island, but it might perhaps be connected with the other by low land, though we did not see it. And if that be the case, there is a two-fold point, with a bay between them. This point, which is rocky and steep, received the name of Cape North. It is situated nearly in the latitude of 68 deg. 56 min. N. and in the longitude of 180 deg. 51 min. E. The coast beyond it doubtless assumes a very westerly direction; for we could discern no land to the northward of it, though the horizon was there pretty clear. Wishing to see more of the coast to the westward, we tacked again, at two in the afternoon, thinking we should be able to weather Cape North; but finding we could not, the wind freshening, a thick fog arising, with much snow, and being apprehensive of the ice coming down upon us, the Commodore relinquished the design he had formed of plying to the westward, and again stood off shore. The season was now so far advanced, and the time when the frost generally sets in was so near, that Capt. Cook did not think it consistent with prudence, to make any farther attempts to discover a passage into the Atlantic Ocean this year, in any direction, so small was the probability of success. His attention was now directed to the search of some place, where we might recruit our wood and water; and the object that principally occupied his thoughts was, how he should pass the winter, so as to make some improvements in navigation and geography, and at the same time, be in a condition to return to the northward the ensuing summer, to prosecute his search of a passage into the Atlantic. Having stood off till our soundings were eighteen fathoms, we made sail to the eastward, along the coast, which, we were now pretty well convinced could only be the continent of Asia. The wind blowing fresh, and there being, at the same time, a thick mist, and a very heavy fall of snow, it was requisite that we should proceed with particular caution: we therefore brought to, for a few hours, in the night. Early the

next morning, the 30th, we steered such a course as we judged most likely to bring us in with the land, being guided, in a great measure, by the land; for the weather was extremely thick and gloomy, with incessant showers of snow. At ten o'clock we obtained a sight of the coast, which was at the distance of four miles, bearing S. W. Soon afterwards, our depth of water having decreased to seven fathoms, we hauled off. A very low point now bore S. S. W. distant two or three miles; to the eastward of which, there seemed to be a narrow channel, that led into some water which we saw over the point. It is not improbable, that the lake above-mentioned communicates here with the sea. At noon, the mist dispersing, we had a view of the coast which extended from S. E. to N. W. by W. Some parts of it were apparently higher than others; but the greatest part of it was rather low, with high land farther up the country. It was almost entirely covered with snow, which had fallen very lately. We ranged along the coast, at the distance of about two leagues till ten o'clock in the evening, when we hauled off; but resumed our course early on the following morning, when we had another view of the coast, extending from W. to S. E. by S. At eight o'clock the eastern part bore S. and was found to be an Island, which at twelve was four or five miles distant, bearing S. W. half S. It is of a moderate height, between four and five miles in circumference, with a steep rocky coast. It is situate in the lat. of 67 deg. 45 min. N. about three leagues from the continent; and is distinguished in the chart by the appellation of Burney's Island. The inland country about this part abounds with hills, some of which are of a considerable elevation. The land in general was covered with snow, except a few spots on the coast, which still continued to be low, but somewhat less so than farther towards the W. During the two preceding days, the mean height of the mercury in the thermometer had been frequently below the freezing point, and in general, very little above it; insomuch, that the water in the vessels upon deck was often covered with a sheet of ice.



We continued to steer S. S. E. almost in the direction of the coast, till five o'clock in the afternoon, when we saw land bearing S. 50 deg. E. which proved to be a continuation of the coast. We hauled up for it without delay; and at ten in the evening, being a-breast of the eastern land, and doubtful of weathering it, we tacked, and made a board towards the W. till after one o'clock the next morning.

Tuesday, the 1st of September we again made sail to the E. The wind was now very unsettled, continually varying from N. to N. E. Between eight and nine, the eastern extremity of the land was at the distance of six or seven miles, bearing S. by E. A head-land appeared at the same time, bearing E. by S. half S. and not long after, we could discern the whole coast that lay between them, and a little Island at some distance from it. The coast now in sight seemed to form several rocky points, that were connected by a low shore, without any appearance of an harbour. At a distance from the sea, many hills presented themselves to our view, the highest of which were involved in snow; in other respects, the whole country had a naked aspect. At seven o'clock in the evening, two points of land beyond the eastern head, opened off it in the direction of S. 37 deg. E. Capt. Cook was convinced of what he had before imagined, that this was the country of the Tschutski, or the north-eastern coast of Asia; and that Beering had proceeded thus far in the year 1728; that is, to this head, which, according to Muller, is denominated Serdze Kamen, on account of a rock upon it, that is of the figure of a heart. There are indeed many high rocks on this cape, some one or other of which may perhaps be shaped like a heart. It is a promontory of tolerable height, with a steep rocky cliff fronting the sea. Its lat. is 67 deg. 3 min. N. and its long. 188 deg. 11 min. E. To the E. of it the coast is elevated and cold; but to the W. it is low, and extends N. W. by W. and N. N. W. and it is nearly of the same direction all the way to Cape North. The depth of water is every where the same at an equal distance from the shore; and this is likewise the case on

the opposite coast of America. The greatest depth we met with, as we ranged along it, was twenty-three fathoms. During the night, or in thick foggy weather, the soundings are no bad guide to those who sail along either of these coasts. On the 2nd, at eight in the morning, the most advanced land to the south-eastward, bore S. 25 deg. E. and, from this particular point of view, had an insular appearance. But the thick showers of snow that fell in quick succession, and settled on the land, concealed from our sight at this time a great part of the coast. In a short time after, the sun, which we had not seen for near five days, broke out during the intervals between the showers, by which means the coast was in some degree freed from the fog, so that we obtained a sight of it, and found that the whole was connected. The wind was still northerly, the air was cold, and the mercury in the thermometer did not rise above 35 deg. and was sometimes not higher than 30 deg. At twelve o'clock our lat. was 66 deg. 37 min. N. Cape Serdze Kamen was twelve or thirteen leagues distant, bearing N. 52 deg. W. the most southerly point of land that we had in our sight, bore S. 41 deg. E. our soundings were twenty-two fathoms; and the distance of the nearest part of the shore was about two leagues. The weather was now fair and bright; and as we were ranging along the coast, we saw several of the natives and some of their dwelling-places, which had the appearance of hillocks of earth. In the course of the evening we passed the Eastern Cape, or the point before-mentioned; from which the coast trends to the south-westward. This is the same point of land that we had passed on the 11th, of the preceding month. Those who gave credit to Mr. Stæhlin's map, then supposed it to be the eastern point of his Island Alaschka; but we were by this time convinced, that it is no other than the eastern promontory of Asia; and perhaps it is the upper Tschukotskoi Noss, though the promontory which received that name from Beering, is situated further towards the S. W. Muller, in his map of the discoveries of the Russians, places the Tschukotskoi Noss nearly in the lat. of



75 deg. N. and extends it somewhat to the eastward of this cape. But Capt. Cook was of opinion that he had no good authority for so doing. Indeed his own, or rather Deshneff's account of the distance between the river Anadir and the Noss, cannot well be reconciled with so northerly a position. For he says, that with the most favourable wind, a person may go by sea from the Noss to the river Anadir in three whole days, and that the journey by land is very little longer. But Capt. Cook, having hopes of visiting these parts again, deferred the discussion of this point to another opportunity. In the mean time, however, he concluded, as Beer- ing had done before him, that this was the easternmost point of all Asia. It is a peninsula of considerable elevation, joined to the continent by a very low and apparently narrow isthmus. It has next the sea, a steep rocky cliff, and off the very point are several rocks resembling spires. It stands in the long. of 190 deg. 22 min. E. and in the lat. of 66 deg. 6 min. N. and is thirteen leagues distant, in the direction of N. 53 deg. W. from Cape Prince of Wales, on the coast of America. The land about this promontory consists of valleys and hills. The former terminate at the sea in low shores, and the latter in steep rocky points. The hills appeared like naked rocks; but the valleys, though destitute of tree or shrub, were of a greenish hue.

Having passed the Cape, we steered S. W. half W. towards the northern point of St. Lawrence's Bay, in which our ships had anchored on the 10th, of August. We reached it by eight o'clock the following morning, and saw some of the natives at the place where we had before seen them, as well as others on the opposite side of the bay. Not one of them, however, came off to us, which was rather remarkable, as the weather was sufficiently favourable, and as those whom we had lately visited had no reason to be displeased with us. These people are certainly the Tschutski, whom the Russians had not hitherto subdued; though it is manifest that they must carry on a traffic with the latter, either directly, or by the interposition of some neighbouring

nation; as their being in possession of the spontoons we saw among them, cannot otherwise be accounted for. The Bay of St. Lawrence is, at the entrance, at least five leagues in breadth, and about four leagues deep, growing narrower towards the bottom, where it seemed to be pretty well sheltered from the sea winds, provided there is a competent depth of water for ships. The Commodore did not wait to examine it, though he was extremely desirous of finding a convenient harbour in those parts, to which he might resort in the succeeding spring. But he wished to meet with one where wood might be obtained, and he knew that none could be found here. From the southern point of this bay, which is situated in the lat. of 65 deg. 30 min. N. the coast trends W. by S. for the space of about nine leagues, and there seems to form a deep bay or river; or else the land in that part is so low that we could not discern it. In the afternoon, about one o'clock, we saw what was first supposed to be a rock, but it was found to be a dead whale, which some Asiatics had killed, and were then towing ashore. They seemed to endeavour to conceal themselves behind the fish, in order to avoid being seen by us. This, however, was unnecessary, for we proceeded on our course without taking notice of them. On the 4th, at break of day we hauled to the north-westward, for the purpose of gaining a nearer view of the inlet seen the day before; but the wind, not long after, veering to that direction, the design was abandoned; and steering towards the S. along the coast, we passed two bays, each about six miles deep. The most northerly one is situate before a hill, which is rounder than any other we had observed upon the coast. There is an Island lying before the other bay. It is a matter of doubt whether there is a sufficient depth of water for ships in either of these bays, as when we edged in for the shore, we constantly met with shoal water. This part of the country is extremely naked and hilly. In several places on the lower grounds, next the sea, were the habitations of the natives, near all of which were erected stages of bones, like those before-mentioned. This day, at noon,



our lat. was 64 deg. 38 min. N. and our long. 188 deg. 15 min. E. the nearest part of the shore was at the distance of three or four leagues; and the most southern point of the continent in sight, bore S. 48 deg. W. By this time the wind had veered to the N. and blew a light breeze; the weather was clear, and the air sharp. The Commodore did not think proper to follow the direction of the coast, as he perceived that it inclined westward towards the gulph of Anadir, into which he had no motive for going. He therefore steered a southerly course, that he might have a sight of the isle of St. Lawrence, which had been discovered by Beer- ing. This Island was quickly seen by us, and at eight in the evening it bore S. 20 deg. E. supposed to be at the distance of eleven leagues. The most southerly point of the main land was at that time twelve leagues distant, bearing S. 13 deg. W. Capt. Cook conjectured, that this was the point which is called by Beer- ing the eastern point of Suchotski, or Cape Tschukotskoi; an appellation which he gave it with some propriety, because the natives, who said they were of the nation of the Tschutski, came off to him from this part of the coast. Its lat. is 64 deg. 13 min. N. and its long. 186 deg. 36 min. E. The more the Captain was convinced of his being at present upon the Asiatic coast, the more he was at a loss to reconcile his observations with Mr. Stæhlin's map of the New Northern Archipelago; and he could find no other method of accounting for so important a difference, than by supposing that he had mistaken some part of what Mr. Stæhlin denominates the Island of Alaschka for the continent of America, and had missed the channel by which they are separated. But even on that supposition there would still have been a considerable variation. The Captain considered it as an affair of some consequence to clear up this point during the present season, that he might have only one object in view in the following one. And as these northerly Islands were said to abound with wood, he had some hopes if he should find them, of procuring a competent supply of

that article, of which we began to stand in great need. With this view he steered over for the coast of America; and the next day, about five o'clock in the afternoon, land was seen bearing S. three quarters E. which we imagined was Anderson's Island, or some other land near it. On Sunday, the 6th, at four in the morning, we had a sight of the American coast, near Sledge Island; and at six in the evening of the same day, that Island was at the distance of about ten leagues, bearing N. 6 deg. E. and the most easterly land in view bore N. 49 deg. E. If any part of what Capt. Cook had conjectured to be the coast of the American continent, could possibly be the Island of Alaschka, it was that now in sight; in which case he must have missed the channel between it and the main land, by steering towards the W. instead of the E. after he had first fallen in with it. He was, therefore, at no loss where to go, for the purpose of clearing up these doubts. On the 7th, at eight o'clock in the evening, we had made a near approach to the land. Sledge Island bore N. 85 deg. W. about eight leagues distant; and the eastern part of the coast bore N. 70 deg. E. with elevated land in the direction of E. N. At this time we perceived a light on shore, and two canoes with people in them, came off towards us. We brought to, in order to give them time to approach; but they resisted all our tokens of amity, and kept at the distance of a quarter of a mile. We therefore left them, and proceeded along the coast. The next morning at one o'clock, observing that the water shoaled pretty fast, we anchored in ten fathoms, and remained in that situation till day-light came on. We then weighed, and pursued our course along the coast, which trended E. and E. half S. At seven o'clock in the evening we were abreast of a point, situated in the long. of 197 deg. E. and in the lat. of 64 deg. 21 min. N. beyond which the coast assumes a more northerly direction. At eight this point, which received the appellation of Cape Darby, bore S. 62 deg. W. the most northern land we had in view, bore N. 32 deg. E. and the distance of the nearest part



of the shore was one league. In this situation we let go our anchors in thirteen fathoms, over a muddy bottom.

On Wednesday the 9th, at break of day we weighed, and made sail along the coast. We now saw land, which we supposed to be two Islands; the one bearing E. the other S. 70 deg. E. Not long afterwards we found ourselves near a coast covered with wood; a pleasing sight, to which we had not been lately accustomed. As we advanced northward, land was seen in the direction of N. E. half N. which proved a continuation of the coast, upon which we now were; we likewise perceived high land over the Islands, apparently, at a considerable distance beyond them. This was imagined to be the continent, and the other land the isle of Alaschka; but it was already a matter of doubt, whether we should discover a passage between them, for the water gradually shoaled, as we proceeded further toward the N. In consequence of this, two boats were dispatched a-head to sound; and the Commodore ordered the *Discovery*, as she drew the least water, to lead, keeping nearly in the middle channel, between the coast and the most northerly Island. In this manner we continued our course, till three o'clock in the afternoon, when, having passed the Island, our soundings did not exceed three fathoms and a half, and the *Resolution* once brought the mud up from the bottom. In no part of the channel could a greater depth of water be found, though we had sounded it from one side to the other; we therefore deemed it high time to return.

At this time a head-land on the western shore, to which the name of Bald-head was given, was about one league distant, bearing N. by W. The coast extended beyond it as far as N. E. by N. where it appeared to terminate in a point; behind which the coast of the high land that was seen over the Islands stretched itself. The shore on the western side of Bald-head, forms a bay, in the bottom of which is a beach, where we perceived many huts of the natives. We continued to ply back during the whole night, and by day-break on the 10th, had deepened our water six fathoms. At nine

o'clock, when we were about three miles from the W. shore, Capt. Cook, accompanied by Mr. King, went with two boats in search of wood and water. They landed in that part, where the coast projects into a bluff head, composed of perpendicular strata of a dark blue rock, intermixed with glimmer and quartz. Adjoining to the beach is a narrow border of land, which was at this time covered with long grass, and where they observed some angelica. The ground beyond this, rises with some abruptness; towards the top of this elevation they found an heath, that abounded with berries of various kinds: further onward the country was rather level, and thinly covered with small spruce trees, birch, and willows. They saw the tracks of foxes and deer upon the beach, in many parts of which, there was a great abundance of drift-wood: there was also no want of fresh water. Our gentlemen and their attendants having returned on-board, the Commodore had thoughts of bringing the ships to an anchor here; but the wind then shifting to N. E. and blowing rather on this shore, he stretched over to the opposite one, expecting to find wood there likewise. At eight in the evening, we anchored near the southern end of the most northerly Island, for such we then imagined it to be. The next morning, however, we found that it was a peninsula, connected with the continent by a low isthmus, on each side of which a bay is formed by the coast. We plied into the southernmost of these bays, and cast anchor again about twelve o'clock, in five fathoms water, over a muddy bottom; the point of the peninsula, to which the name of Cape Denbigh was given, being one league distant, in the direction of N. 68 deg. W. We observed on the peninsula, several of the natives, and one of them came off in a small canoe. Capt. Cook gave this man a knife and some beads, with which he appeared to be well pleased; we made signs to him to bring us some provisions, upon which he instantly quitted us, and paddled towards the shore. Happening to meet another man coming off, who had two dried salmon, he got them from him; and when he returned to our



ship he refused to give them to any body except Capt. Cook. Some of our people fancied, that he asked for him under the name of Capitane; but in this they were perhaps mistaken. Others of the inhabitants came off soon afterwards, and gave us a few dried fish, in exchange for such trifles as we had to barter with them. They shewed no dislike for tobacco, but they were most desirous of knives. In the afternoon, Mr. Gore was dispatched to the peninsula, to procure wood and water; of the former of which articles we observed great plenty upon the beach. At the same time a boat from each of the ships was sent to sound round the bay; and at three o'clock, the wind freshening at N. E. we weighed anchor, and endeavoured to work further in, but that was quickly found to be impracticable, by reason of the shoals which extended entirely round the bay, to the distance of upwards of two miles from the shore, as the officers who had been sent out for the purpose of sounding reported. We therefore stood off and on with the ships, waiting for Lieutenant Gore, who returned about eight o'clock in the evening, with the launch loaded with wood. He informed the Commodore, that he had found but little fresh-water, and that the wood could not be procured without difficulty, on account of the boats grounding at some distance from the beach. As this was the case, we stood back to the other shore, and the next morning at eight, all the boats and a detachment of men with an officer, were sent to get wood from the place where Capt. Cook had landed on the 10th. After having continued for some time to stand off and on with the ships, we at length cast anchor in less than five fathoms, at the distance of half a league from the coast, whose southern point bore S. 26 deg. W. Cape Denbigh was about twenty-six miles distant, bearing S. 72 deg. E. Bald-head was nine leagues off, in the direction of N. 60 deg. E. and the Island near the eastern shore, S. of Cape Denbigh, named by Capt. Cook, Besborough Island, was fifteen leagues distant, bearing S. 52 deg. E. This being a very open road, and therefore not a secure station for the ships,

the Commodore resolved not to wait till our stock of water was completed, as that would take up some time; but only to furnish both ships with wood, and afterwards to seek a more commodious place for the former article. Our people carried off the drift-wood that lay on the beach, and performed that business with great expedition; for, as the wind blew along the shore, the boats were enabled to sail both ways. In the afternoon Capt. Cook went on shore, and took a walk into the country, which in those parts where there was no wood, abounded with heath, and other plants, several of which had plenty of berries, all ripe. Scarce a single plant was in flower. The under-wood, such as birch, alders, and willows, occasioned walking to be very troublesome among the trees, which were all spruce, and none of which exceeded seven or eight inches in diameter; but some were observed lying on the beach, that were above twice that size. All the drift-wood that we saw in these northern parts was fir.

Sunday the 13th, a family of the natives came near the spot where our people were occupied in taking off wood. The Captain saw only the husband and wife, and their child, besides a fourth person, who was the most deformed cripple he had ever seen. The husband was nearly blind, and neither he, nor his wife, were such well-looking people as many of those whom we had met with on this coast. Both of them had their lower lips perforated; and they were in possession of some glass-beads, resembling those we had seen before among their neighbours. Iron was the article that pleased them most. For four knives which had been formed out of an old iron-hoop, the Captain obtained from them near four hundred pounds weight of fish, that had been lately caught by them. Some of these were trout, and others were, with respect to size and taste, somewhat between a herring and a mullet. The Captain gave a few beads to the child, who was a female; upon which the mother immediately burst into tears, then the father, next after him the cripple, and at last, to add the finishing stroke to the concert, the child herself. This music, however, was not of long



duration. Mr. King had on the preceding day been in company with the same family. His account of this interview is to the following purport: While he attended the wooding party, a canoe filled with natives approached, out of which an elderly man and woman (the husband and wife above-mentioned) came ashore. Mr. King presented a small knife to the woman, and promised to give her a much larger one in exchange for some fish. She made signs to him to follow her. After he had proceeded with them about a mile, the man fell down as he was crossing a stony beach, and happened to cut his foot very much. This occasioned Mr. King to stop; upon which the woman pointed to her husband's eyes, which were covered with a thick whitish film. He afterwards kept close to his wife, who took care to apprize him of the obstacles in his way. The woman had a child on her back, wrapped up in the hood of her jacket. After walking about two miles, they arrived at an open skin-boat, which was turned on one side, the convex part towards the wind, and was made to serve for the habitation of this family. Mr. King now performed a remarkable operation on the man's eyes. He was desired to hold his breath, then to breathe on the distempered eyes, and afterwards to spit on them. The woman then took both the hands of Mr. King, and pressing them to the man's stomach, held them there for some time, while she recounted some melancholy history respecting her family; sometimes pointing to her husband, sometimes to her child, and at other times to the cripple, who was related to her. Mr. King purchased all the fish they had, which consisted of excellent salmon, salmon-trout, and mullet. These fish were faithfully delivered to the person he sent for them. The woman was short and squat, and her visage was plump and round. She wore a jacket made of deer skin, with a large hood, and had on a pair of wide boots. She was punctured from the lip to the chin. Her husband was well made, and about five feet two inches in height. His hair was black and short, and he had but little beard. His complexion was of a light copper cast. He

had two holes in his lower lip, in which, however, he had no ornaments. The teeth of both of them were black, and appeared as if they had been filed down level with the gums.

Before night, on Sunday the 13th, we had amply furnished the ships with wood, and had conveyed on board about a dozen tons of water to each. On the 14th, a party was detached on shore to cut brooms, and likewise the branches of spruce-trees for brewing beer. About twelve o'clock all our people were taken on board, for the wind freshening had raised so heavy a surf on the beach, that our boats could not continue to land without extreme difficulty and danger. As doubts were still entertained whether the coast, upon which we now were, belonged to an Island, or to the continent of America, Lieutenant King was dispatched by the Commodore, with two boats well manned and armed, to make such a search as might tend to remove all difference of opinion on the subject. He was instructed to proceed towards the north, as far as the extreme point seen on Wednesday the 9th, or a little further, if he should find it necessary; to land there, and, from the heights, endeavour to discover whether the land he was then upon, imagined to be the Island of Alascha, was really an Island, or was connected with the land to the eastward, supposed to be the American continent. If it proved to be an Island, he was to examine the depth of water in the channel between it and the continent, and which way the flood tide came: but, if he should find the two lands united, he was to return immediately to the ship. He was directed not to be absent longer than four or five days; and it was also mentioned in his instructions, that, if any unforeseen or unavoidable accident should force our ships off the coast, the rendezvous was to be at the harbour of Samganoosha. On Tuesday the 15th, the ships removed over to the bay on the south-eastern side of Cape Denbigh, where we cast anchor in the afternoon. Not long after, several of the inhabitants came off in canoes, and gave us some dried salmon in exchange for trifling articles. Early the



next morning, nine men, each in a separate canoe, paid us a visit, with the sole view of gratifying their curiosity. They approached the ship with caution, and drawing up abreast of each other, under our stern, favoured us with a song; while one of their number made many ludicrous motions with his hands and body, and another beat upon a sort of drum. There was nothing savage, either in the song or the gestures with which it was accompanied. There seemed to be no difference, either with respect to size or features, between these people, and those whom we had seen on every other part of the coast, except King George's Sound. Their dress, which chiefly consisted of the skins of deer, was made after the same mode; and they had adopted the practice of perforating their lower lips, and affixing ornaments to them. The habitation of these Americans were situated close to the beach. They consist merely of a sloping roof, without any side-walls, formed of logs, and covered with earth and grass. The floor is likewise laid with logs. The entrance is at one end, and the fire-place is just within it. A small hole is made near the door of the hut, for the purpose of letting out the smoke. A party of men were dispatched, this morning, to the peninsula for brooms and spruce. Half the remainder of the people of both ships were, at the same time, permitted to go ashore and gather berries. These returned on board about twelve o'clock, and the other half then landed for the same purpose. The berries found here were hurtle-berries, heath-berries, partridge-berries, and wild currant-berries. Capt. Cook also went ashore himself, and took a walk over part of the peninsula. He met with very good grass in several places, and scarcely observed a single spot on which some vegetable was not growing. The low land by which this peninsula is united to the continent, abounds with narrow creeks, and likewise with ponds of water, several of which were at this time frozen over. There were numbers of bustards and geese, but they were so shy, that it was impossible to get within musket-shot of them. Some snipes were also seen; and, on the higher grounds, were par-

tridges of two species; where there was wood, muschettoes were numerous. Some of the officers, who went farther into the country than Capt. Cook did, met with some of the natives of both sexes, who treated them with civility and kindness. The Commodore was of opinion, that the peninsula had been an Island in some distant period; for there were marks of this sea having formerly flowed over the isthmus; and even at present, it appeared to be kept out by a bank of sand, stones, and wood, which the waves had thrown up. It was manifest from this bank, that the land here encroached upon the sea, and it was not difficult to trace its gradual formation.

Lieutenant King returned from his expedition about seven o'clock this evening. He had set out at eight o'clock at night, on the 14th. The crew of the boats rowed without intermission towards the land, till one in the morning of the 15th. They then set their sails, and stood across the bay, which the coast forms to the westward of Bald-Head. They afterwards, about three o'clock, again made use of their oars, and, by two in the afternoon, had got within two miles of Bald-Head, under the lee of the high land. At that time all the men in the boat belonging to the Resolution, except two, were so oppressed with fatigue and sleep that Mr. King's utmost endeavours to make them put on were perfectly ineffectual. They, at length, were so far exhausted, as to drop their oars and fall asleep at the bottom of the boat. In consequence of this, Mr. King, and two gentlemen who were with him, were obliged to lay hold of the oars; and they landed, a little after three o'clock, between Bald-Head and a point that projects to the eastward. Mr. King, upon his landing, ascended the heights, from which he could see the two coasts join, and that the inlet terminated in a small creek or river, before which there were banks of sand or mud, and in every part shoal water. The land, for some distance towards the north, was low and swampy; then it rose in hills; and the perfect junction of those, on each side of the inlet, was traced without the least difficulty. From the elevated situation in



which Mr. King took his survey of the sound, he could discern many spacious valleys, with rivers flowing through them, well wooded, and bounded by hills of a moderate height. One of the rivers towards the N. W. seemed to be considerable; and he was inclined to suppose, from its direction that it discharged itself into the sea at the head of the bay. Some of his people, penetrating beyond this into the country, found the trees to be of a larger size the further they proceeded. To this inlet Capt. Cook gave the name of Norton's Sound, in honour of Sir Fletcher Norton, now Lord Grantly; a near relation of Mr. King. It extends northward as far as the latitude of 64 deg. 55 min. N. The bay, wherein our ships were now at anchor, is situated on the south-eastern side of it, and is denominated Chacktoole by the natives. It is not a very excellent station, being exposed to the S. and S. W. winds. Nor is a harbour to be met with in all this Sound. We were so fortunate, however, as to have the wind from the N. E. and the N. during the whole time of our continuance here, with very fine weather. This afforded an opportunity of making a great number of lunar observations, the mean result of which gave 197 deg. 13 min E. as the longitude of the anchoring place on the western-side of the Sound, while its latitude was 64 deg. 31 min. N. With respect to the tides, the night flood rose two or three feet, and the day flood was scarcely perceivable. Capt. Cook being now perfectly convinced, that Mr. Stæhlin's map was extremely erroneous, and having explored the continent of America to the space which that gentleman had occupied with his imaginary Island of Alaschka, thought it now high time to quit these northerly regions, and retire to some place for the winter, where he might obtain provisions and refreshments. He did not consider Petropaulowska, or the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul in Kamtschatka, as likely to furnish a sufficient supply. He had likewise other reasons for not going thither at present; the principal of which was, his great unwillingness to remain inactive for six or seven months, which would have been the consequence of passing the winter in any

of these northern countries. He at length concluded, that no situation was so convenient for our purpose as the Sandwich Islands. To them, therefore, he formed a resolution of repairing. But a supply of water being necessary before he could execute that design, he determined, with a view of procuring this essential article, to search the coast of America for a harbour, by proceeding along it to the southward. If he should not meet with success in that search, his intention was to reach Samanganoodha, which was appointed for our place of rendezvous, in case the ships should happen to separate.

On Thursday, the 17th, in the morning we weighed anchor with a light easterly breeze, and steering to the southward, attempted to pass within Besborough Island; but, though it is six or seven miles distant from the continent, we were prevented, by meeting with shoal water. Having but little wind all the day, we did not pass that Island before it was dark; and the night was spent under an easy sail. On the 18th, at day break, we resumed our progress along the coast. At noon, our soundings were no more than five fathoms. Besborough Island, at this time, bore N. 42 deg. E. the most southerly land in sight, which also proved to be an Island, bore S. 66 deg. W. the passage between it and the continent, was in the direction of S. 40 deg. W. and the nearest land was at the distance of about two miles. We continued to steer for this passage, till the boats which were a-head made the signal for having no more than three fathoms water. In consequence of this, we hauled without the Island, and displayed the signal for the Resolution's boat to keep between the shore and the ships. This Island, to which the name of Stuart's Island was given, lies in the latitude of 63 deg. 35 min. N. and is seventeen leagues distant from Cape Denbigh, in the direction of S. 27 deg. W. It is six or seven leagues in circumference. Though some parts of it are of a moderate height, yet, in general, it is low, with some rocks of the western part. The greatest part of the coast of the continent is low land, but we perceived high land



up the country. It forms a point, opposite the Island, which was distinguished by the name of Cape Stephens, and is situated in the latitude of 63 deg. 33 min. N. and in the longitude of 197 deg. 41 min. E. Some drift wood was observed on the shores, both of the Island and of the continent; but not a single tree was seen growing upon either. Vessels might anchor, upon occasion, between the continent and the N. E. side of this Island, in a depth of five fathoms, sheltered from the easterly, westerly, and southerly winds. But this station would be entirely exposed to the northerly winds, the land, in that direction, being too remote to afford any security. Before we reached Stuart's Island, we passed two little Islands situate between us and the main land; and as we ranged along the coast, several of the natives made their appearance upon the shore, and, by signs, seemed to invite us to approach.

We were no sooner without the Island, than we steered S. by W. for the most southern part of the continent in sight, till eight in the evening, when the depth of water having decreased from six fathoms to less than four, we tacked and stood to the northward into five fathoms, and then passed the night in standing off and on. At the time we tacked, the southernmost point of land above mentioned, which we named Point Shallow Water, bore S. half E. at the distance of seven leagues. On the 19th, at day break, we resumed our southerly course; but shoal water soon obliged us to haul more to the westward. We were at length so far advanced upon the bank, that we could not hold a N. N. W. course, as we sometimes met with only four fathoms. The wind blowing fresh at E. N. E. it was now high time to endeavour to find a greater depth of water, and to quit a coast upon which we could no longer navigate with safety. We therefore hauled, the wind to the northward, and the water gradually increased in depth to eight fathoms. At this time, we were about twelve leagues distant from the continent, and nine to the W. of Stuart's Island. We saw no land to the southward of Point Shallow Water, which

Capt. Cook judged to lie in the latitude of 63 deg. N. so that between this latitude and Shoal Ness, in latitude 60 deg. the coast has not been explored. It is probably accessible only to boats, or very small vessels; or, if there are channels for vessels of greater magnitude, it would require sometime to find them. From the mast head, the sea within us appeared to be chequered with shoals; the water was very muddy and discoloured, and much fresher than at any of the places where our ships had lately anchored. From this we inferred, that a considerable river runs into the sea, in this unexplored part. After we had got into eight fathoms water, we steered to the westward, and afterwards more southerly, for the land discovered by us on the 5th, of September, which at noon on the 20th, bore S. W. by W. at the distance of ten or eleven leagues. We had now a fresh gale at N. and at intervals, showers of hail and snow, with a pretty high sea. To the land before us, the Commodore gave the appellation of Clerke's Island. It stands in the latitude of 63 deg. 15 min. and in the longitude of 190 deg. 30 min. It seemed to be an Island of considerable extent, in which are several hills, all connected by low ground, so that it looks, at a distance, like a group of Islands. Near its eastern part is a little Island, which is remarkable for having on it three elevated rocks. Both the greater Island, and this smaller one, were inhabited. In the afternoon, about six o'clock, we reached the northern point of Clerke's Island; and having ranged along its coast till dark, we brought to during the night. Early the next morning, we again stood in for the coast, and proceeded along it in quest of an harbour, till twelve o'clock, when finding no probability of success, we left it and steered S. S. W. for the land discovered by us on the 29th, of July; having a fresh gale at N. accompanied with showers of snow and sleet.

Wednesday the 23rd, at day break, the land above mentioned made its appearance, bearing S. W. at the distance of six or seven leagues. From this point of view, it resembled a cluster of Islands; but it was found



to be only one, of about thirty miles in extent, in the direction of N. W. and S. E. the south-eastern extremity being Cape Upright, which we have mentioned before. The Island is narrow, particularly at the low necks of land by which the hills are connected. Capt. Cook afterwards found, that it was entirely unknown to the Russians, and therefore, considering it as a discovery of our own he named it Gore's Island. It appeared to be barren and destitute of inhabitants, at least we saw none. Nor did we observe such a number of birds about it, as we had seen when we first discovered it. But we perceived some sea-otters, an animal which we had not found to the N. of this latitude. About twelve miles from Cape Upright, in the direction of S. 72 deg. W. stands a small Island, whose lofty summit terminates in several pinnacle rocks, for which reason it obtained the name of Pinnacle Island. At two o'clock P. M. after we had passed Cape Upright, we steered S. E. by S. for Samganoodha, with a gentle breeze at N. N. W. being resolved to lose no more time in searching for an harbour among Islands, which we now began to suspect had no existence; at least, not in the latitude and longitude in which they have been placed by modern delineators of charts. On the 24th in the evening, the wind veered to S. W. and S. and increased to a fresh gale. We continued our easterly course till eight in the morning of the 25th, when in the longitude of 191 deg. 10 min. and in the latitude of 58 deg. 32 min. we tacked and stood to the westward; soon after which, the gale increasing, we were reduced to two courses, and close-reefed main-top-sails. In a short time after, the Resolution sprung a leak, under the starboard buttock, which was so considerable, as to keep one pump constantly employed. We would not venture to put the ship upon the other tack, from the apprehension of getting upon the shoals that lie to the N. W. of Cape Newenham; but continued to steer towards the W. till six in the evening of Saturday the 26th, when we wore and stood to the eastward; and then the leak gave us no farther trouble. This proved, that it

was above the water-line, which gave us great satisfaction. The gale had now ceased, but the wind continued at S. and S. W. for some days longer.

On Friday the 2nd, of October, at day break, we saw the Isle of Oonalashka, in a S. E. direction. But as the land was obscured by a thick haze, we were not certain with respect to our situation till noon, when the observed latitude determined it. We hauled into a bay, ten miles to the westward of Samganoodha, known by the name of Egoochshac; but finding very deep water, we speedily left it. The natives visited us at different times, bringing with them dried salmon, and other fish, which our sailors received in exchange for tobacco. Only a few days before, every ounce of tobacco that remained in the ship, had been distributed among them, and the quantity was not half sufficient to answer their demands. Notwithstanding this, so thoughtless and improvident a being is an English sailor, that they were as profuse in making their bargains, as if we had arrived at a port in Virginia; by which means, in less than two days, the value of this commodity was lowered above a thousand per cent. The next day, at one o'clock in the afternoon, we anchored in the harbour of Samganoodha, and, on the morning of the 4th, the carpenters, were employed in ripping off the sheathing of and under the wale of the Resolution on the starboard side. Many of the seams were found entirely open; it was therefore not to be wondered at, that so much water had got into the ship. We cleared the fish and spirit rooms, and the after-hold; and disposed things in such a manner, that, in case of any future leaks of the same nature, the water might find its way to the pumps. Besides this work, and completing our stock of water, we cleared the fore-hold, and took in a quantity of ballast.

The vegetables we had met with when we were here before, were now, for the most part, in a state of decay. There being great plenty of berries, one-third of the people, by turns, had permission to go a-shore and gather them. Considerable quantities of them were also brought to us by the



inhabitants. If there were any seeds of the scurvy, among the people of either ship, these berries, and the use of spruce beer, which they were allowed to drink every other day, effectually eradicated them. We likewise procured abundance of fish; at first, chiefly salmon, both fresh and dried, which the natives brought us. Some of the fresh salmon was in the highest perfection; but there was one sort, which from the figure of its head, we called hook-nosed, that was but indifferent. Drawing the seine several times, at the head of the bay, we caught many salmon-trout, and a halibut that weighed two hundred and fifty-four pounds. We afterwards had recourse to hooks and lines. A boat was sent out every morning, which seldom returned without eight or ten halibuts, a quantity more than sufficient to serve all our people. These fish were excellent, and there were few who did not prefer them to salmon. Thus we not only obtained a supply of fish for present consumption, but had some to carry with us to sea. On the 8th, Capt. Cook received, by the hands of a native of Oonashka, named Derramoushk, a very singular present, considering the place we were in. It was a rye loaf, or rather a pye in the form of a loaf, as it enclosed some salmon, well seasoned with pepper. This man had brought a similar present for Captain Clerke, and a note for each of the Captains, written in a character which none of us understood. It was natural to imagine, that these two presents were from some Russians now in our neighbourhood, and therefore the Captains sent, by the same messenger, to these unknown friends, a few bottles of rum, wine and porter, which they supposed would be highly acceptable. Capt. Cook also sent, in company with Derramoushk, Corporal Lediard, of the marines, an intelligent man, for the purpose of gaining farther information; with orders, that if he met with any Russians, he should endeavour to make them understand, that we were Englishmen, the friends and allies of their nation.

Saturday the 10th, Corporal Lediard returned with three Russian seamen, or fur-

riers, who with several others resided at Egoochshac, where they had some store-houses, a dwelling-house, and a sloop of about thirty tons burthen. One of these Russians was either master or mate of this vessel. They were all three intelligent well-behaved men, and extremely ready to give us all the information we could desire. But for want of an interpreter, we found it very difficult to understand each other. They appeared to have a perfect knowledge of the attempts which their countrymen had made to navigate the Frozen Ocean, and of the discoveries that had been made from Kamtschatka, by Beering, Tschirikoff, and Spangenberg. But they had not the least idea to what part of the world Mr. Stæhlin's map referred, when it was laid before them. When Capt. Cook pointed out Kamtschatka, and some other places upon this map, they asked him whether he had seen the Islands there represented; and, on his answering in the negative, one of them put his finger upon a part of the map, where a number of Islands are laid down, and said that he had cruised there in search of land, but could never meet with any. The Captain then shewed them his own chart, and found that they were strangers to every part of the coast of America, except that which lies opposite this Island. One of these men said, that he had been with Beering in his American voyage; but he must then have been very young; for even now, at the distance of thirty-seven years, he had not the appearance of being aged. Never was greater respect paid to the memory of any eminent person, than by these men to that of Beering. The trade in which they are engaged is very advantageous, and its being undertaken and extended to the eastward of Kamtschatka, was the immediate result of the second voyage of that distinguished navigator, whose misfortunes proved the source of much private benefit to individuals, and of public utility to the Russian empire. And yet, if his distresses had not accidentally carried him to the Island which bears his name, where he ended his life, and from whence the remainder of his ship's crew brought back specimens of its valuable furs, the



Russians would probably have undertaken no future voyages, which could lead them to make discoveries in this sea, towards the American coast. Indeed, after his time, their ministry seem to have paid less attention to this object; and for what discoveries have been since made, we are principally indebted to the enterprising spirit of private merchants, encouraged, however, by the superintending care of the court of Petersburg. The three Russians having remained all night with the Commodore, visited Capt. Clerke the following morning, and then departed, perfectly satisfied with the reception they had met with. They promised to return in a few days, and bring with them a chart of the Islands situate between Kamtschatka and Oonalashka. In the evening of the 14th, while Capt. Cook and Mr. Webber were at a village, not far from Samganoodha, a Russian landed there, who proved to be the principal person among his countrymen in this and the adjacent isles. His name was Erasim Gregoriovitch Sin Ismyloff. He arrived in a canoe that carried three persons, attended by twenty or thirty smaller canoes, each conducted by one man. Immediately after landing, they constructed a small tent for Ismyloff, of materials which they had brought with them, and they afterwards made others for themselves, of their canoes and paddles, which they covered with grass. Ismyloff having invited the Captain and Mr. Webber into his tent, set before them some dried salmon and berries. He appeared to be a man of sense; and the Captain felt no small mortification in not being able to converse with him, except by signs, with the assistance of figures, and other characters. The Captain requested him to favour him with his company on board the next day, and accordingly he came with all his attendants. He had indeed moved into the neighbourhood of our station, for the express purpose of waiting upon us. The Commodore was in hopes of receiving from him the chart which his three countrymen had promised, but he was disappointed. However Ismyloff assured him he should have it, and he kept his word. The Captain found him

very well acquainted with the geography of those parts, and with all the discoveries which had been made in this quarter by the Russians. On seeing the modern maps, he instantly pointed out their errors: he said he had accompanied Lieutenant Synd, or (as he called him) Synd, in his northern expedition; and, according to his account, they did not proceed farther than the Tschukotskoi Noss, or rather than St. Lawrence's Bay; for he pointed on our chart to the very place where Capt. Cook landed. From thence he said they went to an Island in the lat. of 63 deg. N. upon which they did not land. He did not recollect the name of that Island; but the Captain conjectured, that it was the same with that to which the appellation of Clerke's Island had been given. To what place Synd repaired afterwards, or in what particular manner he employed the two years, during which, according to Ismyloff, his researches lasted, he was either unable or unwilling to inform us. Perhaps he did not comprehend our enquiries on this point; and yet, in almost every other thing, we found means to make him understand us. This inclined us to suspect, that he had not really been in this expedition, notwithstanding what he had asserted. Not only Ismyloff, but also the others affirmed that they were totally unacquainted with the American continent to the northward; and that neither Lieutenant Synd, nor any other Russian, had seen it of late years. They called it by the same name which Mr. Stæblin has affixed to his large Island, that is Alaschka. According to the information we obtained from Ismyloff and his countrymen, the Russians have made several attempts to gain a footing upon that part of the North American continent, that lies contiguous to Oonalashka and the adjacent Islands, but have constantly been repulsed by the inhabitants, whom they represent as a very treacherous people. They made mention of two or three Captains, or chief men, who had been murdered by them; and some of the Russians shewed us wounds, which they declared they had received there. Ismyloff also informed us, that in the year 1773, an expedition had been undertaken



into the Frozen Ocean in sledges, over the ice, to three large Islands that are situate opposite the mouth of the river Kovyma. But a voyage which he said he himself had performed, engaged our attention more than any other. He told us that on the 12th, of May, 1771, he sailed from Belcheretzsk, in Kamtschatka, in a Russian vessel to Mareekan, one of the Kurile Islands, where there is an harbour, and a Russian settlement. From this Island he proceeded to Japan, where his continuance appears to have been but short; for, as soon as the Japanese knew that he and his companions professed the Christian faith, they made signs for them to depart; but did not, so far as we could understand him, offer any insult or violence. From Japan he repaired to Canton, in China; and from thence, in a French ship to France. He then travelled to Petersburg, and was afterwards sent out again to Kamtschatka. We could not learn what became of the vessel in which he first embarked, nor what was the principal intention of the voyage. His being unable to speak one word of the French language, rendered this story rather suspicious; he seemed clear, however, as to the times of his arrival at the different places, and of his departure from them, which he put down in writing. The next morning, (Friday the 16th,) he offered Capt. Cook a sea-otter skin, which he said was worth eighty roubles at Kamtschatka. The Captain, however, thought proper to decline the offer; but accepted of some dried fish, and several baskets of the lily, or saranne root. In the afternoon, Ismyloff, after having dined with Capt. Clerke, left us with all his retinue, but promised to return in a few days. Accordingly on the 19th, he paid us another visit, bringing with him the charts above-mentioned, which he permitted Capt. Cook to copy, and the contents of which are the foundation of the following remarks.

These charts were two in number, they were both manuscripts, and bore every mark of authenticity. One of them comprehended the Penshinskian sea; the coast of Tartary, as low as the lat. of 41 deg. N. the Kurile Islands, and the peninsula of Kamtschatka.

Since this chart had been made, Wawseelee Irkeechoff, a naval captain, explored, in the year 1758, the coast of Tartary, from Okotsk, and the river Amur, to Japan, or 41 deg. of northern latitude. We were informed by Mr. Ismyloff, that a great part of the sea-coast of Kamtschatka had been corrected by himself; and he described the instrument used by him for that purpose, which must have been a theodolite. He also told us, that there were only two harbours proper for shipping, on all the eastern coast of Kamtschatka, (viz.) the bay of Awatska, and the river Olutora, in the bottom of the golph of the same name; that there was not one harbour on its western coast; and that Yamsk was the only one, except Okotsk, on all the western side of the Penshinskian sea, till we come to the river Amur. The Kurile Islands contain but one harbour, and that is on the N. E. side of Mareekan; where, as we have already mentioned, the Russians have a settlement. The other chart comprehended all the discoveries that the Russians had made to the eastward of Kamtschatka, towards America. That part of the American coast, with which Tscherikoff fell in, is laid down in this chart between the lat. of 58 deg. and 58 and an half deg. N. and 75 deg. of eastern long. from Okotsk, or 218 and a half deg. from Greenwich; and the place where Beering anchored in 59 and an half deg. of lat. and 63 and an half deg. of long. from Okotsk, or 207 deg. from Greenwich. To say nothing of the longitude, which may from several causes be erroneous, the latitude of the coast discovered by Beering and Tscherikoff, particularly that part of it which was discovered by the latter, differs considerably from Mr. Muller's chart. Whether the chart now produced by Ismyloff, or that of Muller, be most erroneous in this respect, it may be difficult to determine. According to Ismyloff's account, neither the number nor the situation of the Islands, which are dispersed between 52 deg. and 55 deg. of lat. in the space between Kamtschatka and America, is properly ascertained. He struck out about a third of them, assuring us that they did not exist; and he considerably



altered the situation of others, which he said was necessary; from the observations which he himself had made; and there was no reason to entertain a doubt about this. As these Islands are nearly under the same parallel, different navigators, misled by their different reckonings, might easily mistake one Island, or cluster of Islands for another; and imagine they had made a new discovery, when they had only found old ones; in a position somewhat different from that which their former visitors had assigned to them. The Isles of St. Theodore, St. Stephen, St. Abraham, St. Macarius, Seduction Island, and several others, which are represented in Mr. Muller's chart, were not to be found in this now produced to us; nay, Ismyloff and the other Russians assured Capt. Cook, that they had been frequently sought for without effect. Nevertheless, it is difficult to believe that Mr. Muller could place them in his chart without some authority. Capt. Cook, however, confiding in the testimony of these people, whom he thought competent witnesses, omitted them in his chart; and made such corrections respecting the other Islands, as he had reason to think were necessary.

We shall now proceed to give some account of the Islands, beginning with those which are nearest to Kamtschatka, and computing the longitude from the harbour of Petropaulowska, in the bay of Awatska. The first is Beering's Island, in 55 deg. of northern lat. and 6 deg. of eastern long. At the distance of ten leagues from the southern extremity of this, in the direction of E. by S. or E. S. E. stands Maidenoi Ostroff, or the Copper Island. The next Island is Atakou, in the lat. of 52 deg. 45 min. and in the long. of 15 deg. or 16 deg. The extent of this Island is about eighteen leagues in the direction of E. and W. and it is perhaps the same land which Beering fell in with, and to which he gave the name of Mount St. John. We next come to a cluster of six or more Islands; two of which, Am-luk and Atghka, are of considerable extent, and each of them has a good harbour. The middle of this group lies in the lat. of 52 deg. 30 min. and 28 deg. of long. from the

bay of Awatska, and its extent is about 4 deg. in the direction of E. and W. These are the Isles that Ismyloff said were to be removed 4 deg. to the eastward. In the situation they have in Capt. Cook's chart, was a group, comprehending ten little Islands, which we were informed were entirely to be struck out; and also two Islands, situate between them and the group to which Oonalashka appertains. In the place of these two, an Island, named Amoghta, was introduced.

The situation of many of these Islands may, perhaps, be erroneously laid down. But the position of the largest group, of which Oonalashka is one of the most considerable Islands, is free from such errors. Most of the Islands that compose this cluster, were seen by us; their long. and lat. were therefore determined with tolerable accuracy; particularly the harbour of Sam-ganoodha, in Oonalashka, which must be considered as a fixed point. This group may be said to extend as far as Halibut Isles, which are forty leagues distant from Oonalashka, towards the E. N. E. Within these Isles, a passage, communicating with Bristol Bay, was marked in Ismyloff's chart, which converts about fifteen leagues of the coast, that Capt. Cook had supposed to be part of the continent, into an Island, named Ooneemak. This passage might easily escape us, being, as we were informed, extremely narrow, shallow, and only to be navigated through with boats, or vessels of very small burthen. From the chart, as well as from the testimony of Ismyloff and his countrymen, it appears, that this is as far as the Russians have made any discoveries, or have extended themselves, since the time of Beering. They all affirmed, that no persons of that nation had settled themselves so far to the eastward, as the place where the natives gave the note to Capt. Clerke; which being delivered to Ismyloff for his perusal, he said, that it had been written at Oomanak. From him we procured the name of Kodiak, the largest of Schumagin's Islands; for it had no name assigned to it upon the chart which he produced. It may not be improper to mention, that no names



were put to the Islands which Ismyloff said were to be struck out of the chart; and Capt. Cook considered this as some confirmation that they have no existence. The American continent is here called by the Russians, as well as by the Islanders, *Alaschka*; which appellation, though it properly belongs only to that part which is contiguous to *Ooneemak*, is made use of by them when speaking of the American continent in general. This is all the intelligence we obtained from these people, respecting the geography of this part of the globe; and perhaps this was all the information they were able to give. For they repeatedly assured Capt. Cook, that they knew of no other Islands, besides those which were represented upon this chart, and that no Russian had ever visited any part of the American continent to the northward, except that which is opposite the country of the *Tschutskis*. If Mr. *Stæhlin* was not greatly imposed upon, what could induce him to publish a map so singularly erroneous as his map of the New Northern Archipelago, in which many of these Islands are jumbled together without the least regard to truth? Nevertheless he himself styles it "a very accurate little map."

*Ismyloff* continued with us till the evening of the 21st, when he took his final leave. Capt. Cook entrusted to his care a letter to the Lords of the Admiralty, enclosing a chart of all the northern coasts we had visited. *Ismyloff* said there would be an opportunity of transmitting it to *Kamtschatka*, or *Okotsk*, in the course of the succeeding spring; and that it would be at *Petersburg* the following winter. He gave the Captain a letter to Major *Behm*, Governor of *Kamtschatka*, who resides at *Bolcheretsk*, in that peninsula; and another to the commanding officer at *Petropaulowska*. This gentleman seemed to possess abilities that might entitle him to a higher station than that in which we found him. He had considerable knowledge in astronomy, and in the most useful branches of the mathematics. Capt. Cook made him a present of an *Hadley's octant*; and though, perhaps, it was the first he had ever seen, he very quickly made himself ac-

quainted with most of the uses to which that instrument can be applied.

Thursday the 22nd, in the morning, we made an attempt to get out to sea, with the wind at S. E. but did not succeed. In the afternoon of the 23rd, we were visited by one *Jacob Ivanovitch Soposnicoff*, a Russian, who commanded a small vessel at *Oonanak*. This man seemed very modest, and would drink no strong liquor, of which the other Russians, whom we had met with here, were extremely fond. He appeared to know what supplies could be obtained at the harbour of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and the price of the various articles, more accurately than Mr. *Ismyloff*. But by all accounts, every thing we should have occasion to purchase at that place, was very scarce, and bore a high price. This man informed us, that he was to be at *Petropaulowska* in the ensuing May; and, as we understood, was to have the charge of Capt. Cook's letter. He seemed very desirous of having some token from the Captain to carry to Major *Behm*; and to gratify him, the Captain sent a small spying-glass. After we had contracted an acquaintance with these Russians, several of our gentlemen, at different times, visited their settlement on the Island, where they always met with very friendly treatment. It consisted of a dwelling-house and two store-houses. Besides the Russians, there was a number of the *Kamtschadales*, and of the *Oonalashkans*, as servants to the former. Some other natives of this Island, who appeared to be independent of the Russians, lived at the same place. Such of them as belonged to the Russians, were all of the male sex; and they are either taken or purchased from their parents when young. There were at present about twenty of these, who could be considered in no other light than as children. They all reside in the same house, the Russians at the upper end, the *Kamtschadales* in the middle, and the *Oonalashkans*, at the lower end, where is fixed a capacious boiler for preparing their food, which principally consists of fish, with the addition of wild roots and berries. There is no great difference between the first and last table, except



what is produced by cookery, by which the Russians can make indifferent things palatable. They dress whale's flesh in such a manner as to make it very good eating; and they have a kind of pan-pudding of salmon-roe, beaten up fine and fried, which is a tolerable substitute for bread. They may, perhaps, occasionally taste real bread, or have a dish in which flour is one of the ingredients. If we except the juice of berries, which they generally sip at their meals, they drink no other liquor than pure water; and it seems to be very fortunate for them that they have nothing stronger. As the Island furnishes them with subsistence, so it does in some measure with clothing. This is chiefly composed of skins. The upper garment, which is made like a waggoner's frock, reaches down to the knees. Besides this, they wear a waistcoat or two, a pair of breeches, a fur cap, and a pair of boots, the legs of which are formed of some kind of strong gut, but the soles and upper leathers are of Russian leather. Their two chiefs, Ismyloff and Ivanovitch, wore a calico frock; and they, as well as several others, had shirts of silk. Many Russians are settled upon all the most considerable Islands between Kamtschatka, and Oonalashka, for the purpose of collecting furs. Their principal object is the sea-beaver or otter; but skins of inferior value also make a part of their cargoes. We neglected to enquire how long they have had a settlement upon Oonalashka, and the neighbouring Islands; but if we form our judgment on this point from the great subjection the natives are under, this cannot be of a very late date. These furriers are from time to time succeeded by others. Those we saw arrived here from Okotsk in 1776, and were to return in 1781.

As for the native inhabitants of this Island, they are to all appearance a very peaceable, inoffensive race of people; and in point of honesty, they might serve as a pattern to the most civilized nations. But from what we saw of their neighbours, with whom the Russians are unconnected, we have some doubt whether this was their original disposition; and are rather inclined to be of opinion, that it is the consequence

of their present state of subjection. Indeed, if we did not misunderstand the Russians, they had been under the necessity of making some severe examples before they could bring the Islanders into tolerable order. If severities were really inflicted at first, the best excuse for them is, that they have produced the most beneficial effects; and at present, the greatest harmony subsists between the Russians and the natives. The latter have their own chiefs in each Island, and seem to enjoy liberty and property without molestation. Whether they are tributaries to the Russians, or not, we could never learn; but we had some reasons to suppose that they are.

The people of Oonalashka are in general rather low of stature, but plump, and well shaped. Their necks are commonly short, and they have swarthy chubby faces. They have black eyes and small beards. Their hair is long, black, and straight: the men wear it loose behind, and cut before; but the women generally tie it up in a bunch. The dress of both sexes is the same with respect to fashion, the only difference is in the materials. The frock worn by the women is made of the skins of seals; and that of the men, of the skins of birds; both reach below the knees. This constitutes the whole dress of the females. But, over the frock, the men wear another composed of gut, which water cannot penetrate; it has a hood to it, which is drawn over the head. Some of them wear boots; and all of them wear a sort of oval snouted cap, made of wood with a rim that admits the head. They dye these caps with green and other colours; and round the upper part of the rim they fix the long bristles of some sea animal, on which glass beads are strung; and on the front is a small image or two formed of bone. They do not make use of paint; but the women puncture their faces slightly, and both sexes perforate the lower lip, in which they fix pieces of bone. But it is as uncommon here to see a man with this ornament, as to observe a woman without it. Some fix beads to the upper lip under the nostrils; and they all suspend ornaments in their ears.



The inhabitants of Oonalaska bury their dead on the summits of hills, and raise a little hillock over their graves. There was one of these receptacles of the dead by the side of the road leading from the harbour to the village, over which was raised a heap of stones. It was observed that every one who passed it added one to it. In the country, we saw several stone hillocks, that seemed to have been raised by art; and many of them were apparently of great antiquity. These people are remarkably cheerful and friendly among each other; and always behaved with great civility to us. The Russians told us, that they never had any connections with their women, because they were not Christians. Our people were not so scrupulous; and some of them had reason to repent that the females of Oonalashka encouraged their addresses without any reserve; for their health suffered by a distemper that is not unknown here.

In these parts the tides are not very consi-

derable, except in Cook's River. The flood comes from the S. or S. E. following the direction of the coast to the N. W. Between Cape Prince of Wales and Norton Sound, we found a current setting towards the N. W. particularly off that Cape, and within Sledge Island. This current, however, extended but a little way from the coast, and was neither constant nor uniform. To the N. of Cape Prince of Wales, we observed neither tide nor current, either on the coast of America, or that of Asia. This circumstance gave rise to an opinion, which some of our people entertained, that the two coasts were connected either by land or ice; and that opinion received some degree of strength, from our never having any hollow waves from the northward, and from our seeing ice almost the whole way across. From the several observations made during our continuance in the harbour of Samganoodha, its latitude is 53 deg. 5 min. N. and its longitude 193 deg. 29 min. 45 sec. E.

## CHAP. XIII.

*The Resolution and Discovery take their departure from Samganoodha Harbour, in the Island of Oonalashka; Sandwich Islands the appointed place of rendezvous; Pass the Island of Amoghla; The strait between Oonalashka and Onella repassed; Run to the South; One man killed, and others wounded, on board the Discovery; Mowee, one of the Sandwich Islands described; A visit from a chief, named Terreeoboo; Another Island, called Ouyhee, discovered; The crew refuse to drink sugar-cane liquor; The cordage in the navy and merchant's service compared; Favourable account of the natives of Ouyhee; The Resolution gets to the windward of the Island; Is joined by the Discovery; The two ships anchor in Karakakooa Bay, after it had been examined by Bligh; In the interim, multitudes of the Islanders are seen, and visits received from many of them; Observatories erected; The ground on which they are placed tabooed.*

ON Monday, the 26th, of October, we sailed from Samganoodha harbour, when the wind being southerly, we stood to the westward. The Commodore's intention was to proceed to Sandwich Islands, in order to pass a few of the winter months there, if we should meet with the necessary refreshments, and then direct our course to Kamtschatka, so as to endeavour to arrive

there by the middle of May, in the ensuing year. This being determined on, the Commodore delivered into the hands of Capt. Clerke instructions how to proceed in case of separation, Sandwich Islands being appointed for the first place of rendezvous; and for the second, Petropaulowska, in Kamtschatka. Having got out of the harbour, the wind veered to the S. E. with



which we were carried to the western part of Oonalashka, by the evening. We had here the wind at S. and stretched to the westward. On Tuesday the 27th, at seven o'clock A. M. we wore, and stood to the E. The wind had now so greatly increased, as to reduce us to our three courses. It blew in heavy squalls, accompanied with snow, hail, and rain. On the 28th, in the morning, Oonalashka bore S. E. four leagues distant. We now stood to the westward; but, towards evening, the wind, after it had for a short time abated, got insensibly to the N. E. increasing to a very hard gale, accompanied with rain: we therefore steered first to the southward, and then, as the wind inclined to the N. and N. W. more westerly. On Thursday the 23th, at half-past six, A. M. land was descried, supposed to be the Island of Amoghta. At eight, finding it not in our power to weather the Island, we gave over plying, and bore away, with the view of going to the N. of Oonalashka, not presuming in so hard a gale of wind to attempt a passage to the S. E. of it. When we bore away, the land extended from E. by S. half S. to S. S. W. distant four leagues. Our lat. was 53 deg. 38 min. and our long. 191 deg. 17 min. which gives a very different situation to this Island from that assigned to it upon the Russian map; and Capt. Cook was at a loss to determine whether it was Amoghta or not; but on the chart, Krenitzen's and Levasheff's voyage in 1768 and 1769, an Island called Amuckta is laid down, not very far from the place here assigned to Amoghta by Capt. Cook. As we were steering to the N. E. at eleven o'clock we discovered a rock, elevated like a tower, bearing N. N. E. about four leagues distant, and situated in lat. 53 deg. 57 min. long. 191 deg. 2 min. This rock is not marked in the Russian map produced by Ismyloff; yet it has a place in the chart of Krenitzen's and Levasheff's voyage. That chart also agrees with Capt. Cook's as to the general position of this group of Islands. The singularly indented shores of the Island of Oonalashka, are represented in both charts nearly alike. These circumstances are worthy of notice, as the more modern Russian maps

of this Archipelago are so exceedingly erroneous. At three in the afternoon, we had in view Oonalashka; upon which we shortened sail, and hauled the wind, being unable to run through the passage before night. Friday the 20th, we had a very hard gale at W. N. W. with heavy squalls, and snow, in-somuch that we were compelled to bear away under courses; and close-reefed topsails. At noon we were about the middle of the strait, between Oonalashka and Onnela, the harbour of Samganooodha, bearing S. S. E. one league distant. At three o'clock, P. M. we were through the strait, and clear of the Isles, Cape Providence bearing W. S. W. distant three leagues.

On Sunday, the 1st of November, the wind was favourable, and we stood to sea. The weather was fairer than it had been at any time since we cleared Samganooodha Harbour, as it is called by the Russians, or Providence Bay, as it was named by Capt. Cook. On the 2nd, the wind was at S. and, in the evening, blew a violent storm, which occasioned us to bring to. Several guns were fired by the Discovery, which we immediately answered. We lost sight of her at eight o'clock; nor did she join us till ten the next morning, being the 3rd. On Saturday the 7th, in lat. 42 deg. 12 min. long. 201 deg. 26 min. E a shag or cormorant, flew often round the ship. As it is not common for these kind of birds to go far from land, we concluded there might be some at no great distance, though we did not discover any. Having but little wind, Capt. Clerke came on board with some melancholy intelligence. He informed us, that the second night after we had departed from Providence Bay, or Samganooodha, the main-tack of the Discovery gave way, by which accident John Mackintosh, seaman, was struck dead, and the boatswain, with three other mariners, much wounded. He added, that on the 3rd, his ship having sprung a leak and the rigging received considerable damage, he fired some guns as a signal for the Resolution to bring to. On the 8th, we were favoured with a gentle breeze at N. attended with clear weather. On the 9th, we had eight hours calm; to



which succeeded a wind from the S. accompanied with fair weather. Such of our people as could handle a needle, were now employed to repair the sails; and the carpenters were directed to put the boats in order. Thursday, the 12th, we observed in lat. 33 deg. 14 min. long 206 deg. 17 min. The wind returned back to the northward; and on Sunday the 15th, in lat. 33 deg. 30 min. it veered to the E. We now saw a tropic bird, and a dolphin, the first we had observed in our passage. On Tuesday, the 17th, the wind was southward, at which point it remained till the 19th, in the afternoon, when it was suddenly brought round by the W. to the N. The wind increased to a very strong gale, and brought us under double-reefed top-sails. We were now in lat. 32 deg. 26 min. long. 207 deg. 30 min. E. In lowering the main top-sail, in order to reef it, the violence of the wind tore it out of the foot rope, and it was split in several parts. We got, however another top-sail to the yard the next morning. This gale proved to be the forerunner of the trade-wind which, in lat. 25 deg. veered to the E. and E. S. E. We steered to the southward till Wednesday, the 25th, when we were in lat. 20 deg. 55 min. On the 26th, at day-break, we discovered land, extending from S. S. E. to W. At eight o'clock we stood for it, when it extended from S. E. half S. to W. the nearest part being about two leagues distant. We now perceived that our discovery of the group of Sandwich Islands had been very imperfect, those which we had visited in our progress northward, all lying to the leeward of our present station. An elevated hill appeared in the country, whose summit rose above the clouds. The land from this hill fell in a gradual slope, terminating in a steep rocky coast; the sea breaking against it in a most dreadful surf. Unable to weather the Island, we bore up, and ranged to the westward. We now perceived people on many parts of the shore; also several houses and plantations. The country appeared to be well supplied with wood and water, and running streams were seen in various places, falling into the sea. It being of the utmost importance to procure a

supply of provisions at these Islands, which could not be accomplished, should a free trade with the natives be permitted; for this reason, the Commodore published an order, prohibiting all persons on board the ships from trading, except those that should be appointed by himself and Capt. Clerke; and even these were under limitations of trading only for provisions and refreshments. Injunctions were also laid against admitting women into the ships under certain restrictions; but the evil intended to have been prevented by this regulation, had already got amongst them. At noon, the coast extended from S. 81 deg. E. to N. 56 deg. W. A low flat, like an isthmus, bore S. 42 deg. W. the nearest shore being four miles distant. Our lat. was now 20 deg. 59 min. our long. 203 deg. 50 min. E. Some canoes came off, and when along-side, many of those who were in them, entered the ship without hesitation. We soon perceived that they were of the same nation as those Islanders more to the leeward, whom we had already visited; and, as we understood, they were no strangers to our having been in these parts before. It was indeed too evident; these people having got the venereal disease among them, which they probably contracted by an intercourse with their neighbours, after we had left them. Our visitors supplied us with a quantity of cuttle-fish, in exchange for nails and iron. They brought but a small quantity of fruit or roots, but said they had plenty of them on their Island, as well as of hogs and fowls. The horizon being clear, in the evening, we supposed the westernmost land that we could see to be an Island, distinct from that off which we now were. Expecting the natives would return the next day, with the produce of their Island, we plied off the whole night, and stood close in shore the next morning. We were at first visited by a few only, but towards noon numbers of them appeared, bringing with them potatoes, taro, bread-fruit, plantains, and small pigs; all of which were bartered for iron tools and nails, we having few other articles to give them. We made mutual exchanges till four in the afternoon, at which time they had



disposed of all their cargoes, and not expressing any inclination to fetch more, we immediately made sail.

On Monday, the 30th, in the afternoon, being off the N. E. end of the Island, some more canoes came off. Most of these belonged to Terreeboo, a chief, who came in one of them. He made the Commodore a present of three pigs; and we procured a little fruit by bartering with his people. In about two hours they all left us, except seven persons who chose to remain on board. Soon after, a double sailing canoe arrived to attend upon them, which we towed a-stern the whole night. In the evening, another Island was seen to the windward, called by the natives, Owhyhee. That which we had been off for some days, was called Mowee.

On Tuesday, the 1st of December, at eight o'clock A. M. Owhyhee extended from S. 22 deg. E. to S. 12 deg. W. and Mowee from N. 41 deg. to N. 81 deg. W. Perceiving we could fetch Owhyhee, we stood for it, when our visitors from Mowee thought proper to embark in their canoes, and went ashore. We spent the night standing off and on the north side of Owhyhee. On the 2nd, in the morning, to our great surprise, we saw the summits of the mountains covered with snow. Though they were not of an extraordinary height, the snow, in some places, appeared to be of a considerable depth, and to have remained there some time. As we drew near the shore some of the natives approached us, who appeared a little shy at first; but we prevailed on some of them to come on board; and at length prevailed on them to return to the Island to bring us such refreshments as we wanted. After these had reached the shore, we had plenty of company, who brought us a tolerable supply of pigs, fruit, and roots. We traded with them till six in the evening, when we stood off, in order to ply to windward round the Island. In the evening of the 4th, an eclipse of the moon was observed. Mr. King used, for the purpose of observation, a night-telescope, with a circular aperture at the object end. The Commodore observed with the

telescope of one of Ramsden's sextants. The mean of their observations made our longitude to be 204 deg. 35 min. E. Sunday, the 6th, in the evening, being near the shore, and five leagues farther up the coast, we again traded with the natives; but receiving only a trifling supply, we stood in the next morning, when the number of our visitors was considerable. We had now procured pork, fruit, and roots, sufficient to serve us four or five days; we therefore made sail, and still plied to the windward. Among other stores the Commodore had procured a great quantity of sugar-cane; and having, upon trial, discovered that a decoction of it made very palatable liquor, he ordered some of it to be brewed for our ships's service, but on broaching a cask thereof, not one of the crew would even taste it. Capt. Cook having no other motive in preparing this beverage, than that of preserving our spirits for a colder climate, neither exerted his authority, nor had recourse to persuasion, to induce them to drink it, well knowing, that, so long as we could be plentifully supplied with other vegetables, there was no danger of the scurvy. But that he might not have his intention frustrated, he ordered that no grog should be served in either of the two ships. The Commodore and his officers continued to drink this sugar-cane beer, whenever materials could be procured for brewing it. Some hops, which we had on board improved it much; and, it was doubtless, extremely wholesome; though our inconsiderate crew could not be persuaded, but that it must be injurious to their health. About the beginning of this month, the crew of the *Discovery* being much in want of provisions, Capt. Clerke, against his inclination, was under the necessity of substituting stock fish in the room of beef; but they were no sooner well in with the land, than they were visited by many of the inhabitants, who came off in their canoes, with all sorts of provisions, which their Island afforded; and every man had leave to purchase what he could for his own indulgence. This diffused a joy among the mariners that is not easy to be expressed. From a sullenness and discontent, visible



in every countenance, all was cheerfulness, mirth and jollity. Fresh provisions and kind females are the sailors sole delight; and when in possession of these, past hardships are instantly forgotten; even those whom the scurvy had attacked, and rendered almost lifeless, brightened up on this occasion, and for the moment appeared alert. We must here observe, that innovations, of whatever kind on board a ship, are sure to meet with the disapprobation of the seamen, though even to their advantage. Our portable soup and sour krout were condemned, at first, as improper food for human beings. Few commanders have introduced more useful varieties of food and drink into their ships than Capt. Cook has done: few others, indeed, have had the opportunities, or have been driven to the necessity of trying such experiments. It was nevertheless, owing to certain deviations from established customs and practice, that he was enabled, in a great degree, to preserve his people from the scurvy, a distemper that has often made more havock in peaceful voyages, than the enemy in military expeditions.

Sunday, the 13th, having hitherto kept at some distance from the coast, we now stood in, six leagues more to the windward; and, after trading with such of the natives as came off to us, returned to sea. On the 15th, it was our intention to approach the shore again, with the view of procuring a fresh supply of fruit and roots; but the wind being then at S. E. by S. and S. S. E. we embraced the opportunity of stretching to the eastward, in order to get round the S. E. end of the Island. The wind continued at S. E. the greatest part of the 16th; it was variable on the 17th, and on Friday the 18th, it was continually veering. Sometimes it blew in hard squalls; and at other times, it was calm, with thunder, lightning, and rain. In the afternoon it was westerly for a few hours, but it shifted, in the evening to E. by S. The S. E. point of the Island now bore S. W. by S. five leagues distant. We expected to have weathered it, but, on Saturday, the 19th, at one o'clock, A. M. we were left wholly at the mercy of a north-easterly swell, which drove us fast towards

the land; so that long before day-break, lights were seen upon the shore, which was then distant about a league. It was a dark night, with thunder, lightning, and rain. The calm was succeeded by a breeze from the S. E. by E. blowing in squalls with rain. We stood to the N. E. thinking it the best tack to clear the coast; but had it been day-light, we should have chosen the other. At day-break, the coast extended from N. by W. to S. W. by W. about half a league distant; a most dreadful surf breaking upon the shore. We had certainly been in most imminent danger; from which we were not secure, the wind veering more easterly; so that for a considerable time, we were but just able to keep our distance from the coast. Our situation was rendered more alarming, by the leach-rope of the main-top-sail giving way, in consequence of which the sail was rent in two; and the top-gallant-sails gave way in the same manner, though not half worn out. We soon, however, got others to the yards, and left the land a-stern. The Discovery was at some distance to the north, entirely clear from the land; nor did she appear in sight till eight o'clock. Capt. Cook here remarks, that the bolt ropes to our sails are extremely deficient in strength or substance. This, at different times, has been the source of infinite labour and vexation; and has occasioned much loss of canvas by giving way; from whence he concludes, that the cordage, canvas, and other stores, made use of in the navy, are inferior in general, to those used in the merchant's service. The Commodore also observes, an opinion prevails among all naval officers, that the king's stores are superior to any others. They may be right, he admits, as to the quantity, but not as to the quality of the stores. This indeed, he says, is not often tried; for these articles are usually condemned, or converted to other uses, before they are half worn out. Only such voyages as our's afford an opportunity of making the trial; our situation being such, as to render it necessary to wear every thing to the extreme. Capt. Cook in this comparison of some cordage used in the king's service, with what is used in that of the merchants,



may, in part, be right; especially in time of war, when part of the cordage wanted in the navy is, from necessity, made by contract. But it is well known, that there is no better cordage than what is made in the king's yards. This we assert, on the authority of a naval officer of distinguished rank, and great professional ability, who has, at the same time recommended it as a necessary precaution, that ships fitted out on discovery, should be furnished with no cordage but what is made in the king's yards; and, indeed, that every article of their stores, of every kind, should be the best that can be made.

When day-light appeared, the natives ashore displayed a white flag, we imagined as a signal of peace and friendship. Many of them ventured out after us; but as the wind freshened, and we were unwilling to wait, they were left presently astern. In the afternoon we made another attempt to weather the eastern extreme, in which we failed. Indeed, our getting round the Island was a matter of no importance, for we had seen the extreme of it to the S. E. which was all the Commodore desired; the natives having informed us, that there was no other Island to the windward of this. But as we were so near accomplishing our design, we did not entirely abandon the idea of weathering it, and continued to ply. On Sunday, the 20th, at noon, the S. E. point bore S. distant three leagues. The snowy hills bore W. N. W. and we were within four miles of the nearest shore. In the afternoon we were visited by some of the inhabitants, who came off in their canoes, bringing with them, pigs and plantains; the latter were highly acceptable, we having been without vegetables for some days; but this supply was scarcely sufficient for one day; we therefore stood in the next morning, till within about four miles of the land, when a number of canoes came off, laden with provisions. The people continued trading with us till four o'clock in the afternoon, at which time having obtained a good supply, we made sail, stretching off to the northward. In our intercourse with the people of this Island, we met with less re-

serve and suspicion, than we had ever experienced among any of the Indian tribes. They frequently sent up into the ship, the articles they meant to barter, and afterwards came in themselves, to traffic on the quarter deck. The inhabitants of Otaheite, whom we so often visited, had not that confidence in our integrity. It is but justice to observe, that the natives of Owhyhee never attempted to over-reach us in exchanges, nor to commit a single theft. They perfectly understood trading, and clearly comprehended the reason of our plying upon the coast: for though they brought off plenty of pigs, and other provisions, they were particular in keeping up the price, and rather than dispose of them at what they thought under the value, they would carry them on shore again.

Tuesday, the 22nd, at eight o'clock A. M. we tacked to the southward. At noon, in lat. 20 deg. 28 min. 30 sec. the snowy peak bore S. W. half S. The preceding day we had a good view of it, and the quantity of snow seemed to have increased, and to extend lower down the hill. We stood to the S. E. till midnight, when we tacked till four. We had hopes of weathering the Island, and should have succeeded, if a calm had not ensued, and left us to the mercy of a swell, which impelled us towards the land, from which we were not above the distance of two leagues. Some light puffs of wind, however, took us out of danger. As we lay in this situation, some Islanders came off with hogs, fowls, and fruit. From one of the canoes we got a goose, little larger than a Muscovy duck. The colour of its plumage was a dark grey; the bill and legs were black. Having purchased what the natives had brought off, we made sail, and stretched to the north. At midnight we tacked and stood to the S. E. in order to examine the weathermost side of the Island, where, we were told, there was a safe harbour. In this attempt the Discovery had her main-topmast stay-sail split, and by continuing standing to the north, she lost sight of our ship, the Resolution. Heavy complaints again prevailed among her company. The weather continuing tempestuous, their



sufferings on this account, from incessant labour, and scanty of provisions, were grown confessedly grievous. Their grog, that had been stopped at our arrival on the coast, was now dealt to them as usual, and it was only by the kindest treatment from their officers, that the men could be kept to their duty. On Thursday the 24th, at day-light, she was not in sight, but, at this time, the weather being hazy, we thought she might be following us. At noon we observed in lat. 19 deg. 55 min. and in long. 205 deg. 3 min. the S. E. point of the Island bearing S. by E. six leagues distant; the other extreme bore N. 60 deg. W. when we were two leagues from the nearest shore. In the evening at six o'clock, the southernmost part of the Island bore S. W. the nearest shore being seven miles distant. We had, therefore, now succeeded in our endeavours, in getting to the windward of the Island. The Discovery was not yet in sight, but as the wind was favourable for her to follow us, we expected she would shortly join us. We therefore, kept cruising off this point of the Island, till Capt. Clerke was no longer expected here. It was at length conjectured, that he was gone to leeward, in order to meet us that way, not having been able to weather the N. E. part of the Island. Keeping generally at the distance of from five to ten leagues from the land, one canoe only came off to us till the 28th, when about a dozen appeared, bringing, as usual, the produce of the Island. We were concerned that the people had been at the trouble of coming, as we could not possibly trade with them, not having yet consumed our former stock; and we were convinced by experience, that the hogs could not be kept alive, nor the roots be many days preserved from putrefaction. It was our intention, however, not to leave this part of the Island before we had procured a good supply, knowing we could not easily return to it, if it should hereafter be found expedient so to do. On Wednesday the 30th, we began to be in want, but a calm prevented us from approaching the shore. A breeze, however, sprung up at midnight, which enabled us to stand in for land, at day-break, of the 31st. At ten

o'clock A. M. the Islanders visited us, bringing with them a quantity of fruit and roots, but only three small pigs. This scanty supply was, perhaps, owing to our not having purchased what they lately brought off; yet, for the purposes of traffic, we brought to, but were interrupted shortly with an excessive rain; and, indeed we were too far from the shore; nor could we venture to go nearer, as we could not, for a moment, depend upon the wind's continuing where it was. The swell too was extremely high, and set obliquely upon the shore, where it broke in a most frightful surf. We had fine weather in the evening, and passed the night in making boards.

On Friday, the 1st of January, 1779, the atmosphere was laden with heavy clouds; and the new year was ushered in with a heavy rain. We had a light breeze southerly, with some calms. At ten, the rain ceased, the sky became clear, and the wind freshened. Being now about four or five miles from the shore, some canoes arrived with hogs, fruit, and roots. We traded till three in the afternoon; when being pretty well supplied, we made sail, in order to proceed to the lee side of the Island, in search of the Discovery. We stretched to the eastward till midnight, when the wind favoured us, and we went upon the other tack. The 2nd, 3rd, and 4th, we passed in running down the S. E. side of the Island, standing off and on during the nights, and employing part of each day in lying to, in order to give the natives an opportunity of trading with us. They frequently came off, at the distance of five leagues from the shore; but never brought much with them, either from a fear of losing their articles in the sea, or from the uncertainty of a market. On Tuesday the 5th, in the morning, we passed the south point of the Island, in lat. 18 deg. 54 min. beyond which the coast trends N. 60 deg. W. A large village is situated on this point, many of whose inhabitants thronged off to the ship with hogs and women. The latter could not possibly be prevented from coming on board; and they were less reserved than any females we had ever seen. Indeed, they seemed to have



visited us with no other view than to make a tender of their persons. Having obtained a quantity of salt, we purchased only such hogs as were large enough for salting; refusing all those that were under size: and we could seldom procure any that exceeded the weight of sixty pounds. Happily for us, we had still some vegetables remaining, as we were now supplied with but few of those productions. Indeed, from the appearance of this part of the country, it seemed incapable of affording them. Evident marks presented themselves of its having been laid waste by the explosion of a volcano; and though we had not seen any thing of the kind, yet the devastation it had made, in the neighbourhood, was very visible. The natives having now left us, we ran a few miles down the coast in the evening, and passed the night in standing off and on. The next morning, being Thursday the 7th, we were again visited by the natives. Being not far from the shore, Capt. Cook sent Mr. Bligh in a boat, in order to sound the coast, and also to go ashore, in search of fresh water. On his return, he reported, that within two cables length of the shore, he found no soundings with a line of one hundred and sixty fathoms; that, on the land, he could discover no stream or spring; that there was some rain-water in holes, upon the rocks, which the spray of the sea had rendered brackish; and, that the whole country was composed of flags and ashes, interspersed with a few plants. Between ten and eleven, to our great satisfaction, the *Discovery* made her appearance, coming round the south point of the Island, and joined us about one. Capt. Clerke came on board, and acquainted us, that having cruised four or five days where we were separated, he plied round the east side of the Island; where meeting with tempestuous weather, he had been driven from the coast. He had one of the Islanders on board all this time, who had refused to leave the ship, though opportunities had been in his favour. At noon we observed in lat. 19 deg. 1 min. long. 203 deg. 26 min. the nearest part of the coast being two leagues distant. On the 8th, at day-break, we perceived, that

while we were plying in the night, the current had carried us back considerably to the windward; and that we were now off the S. W. point of the Island, where we brought to, in order to enable the inhabitants to trade with us. We spent the night in standing off and on. Four men and ten women, who came on board the preceding day, were with us still. The Commodore not liking the company of the latter, we stood in shore on the 9th, about noon, solely with the view of getting rid of our guests; when some canoes coming off, we embraced the opportunity of sending them away.

On Sunday the 10th, in the morning, we had light airs from the N. W. and calms; at eleven, the wind freshened at N. N. W. which so greatly retarded us, that, in the evening, at eight o'clock, the south snowy hill bore 1 deg. 30 min. E. On the 11th, at four o'clock, A. M. the wind being at W. we made for the land, in expectation of getting some refreshments. The natives seeing us so near them, began to come off, and we continued trading with them the whole day; though we procured but a very scanty supply, many of those who came off in their canoes, not having a single thing to barter. From this circumstance, it appeared, that this part of the Island was extremely poor, and had already furnished us with every thing they could spare. Tuesday the 12th, was employed in plying off and on, with a fresh gale at west. A mile from the shore we found ground, at the depth of fifty-five fathoms. At five o'clock P. M. we stood to the southward, and at midnight we had a calm. On the 13th, we had a small breeze at S. S. E. and steered for the land. A few canoes came off to us with some hogs; but they brought no vegetables, which we now much wanted. In the evening, we had got the length of the S. W. point of the Island, but, by the veering of the wind, we lost in the night all that we had gained in the day. Being in the same situation on the 14th, in the morning some more canoes attended us; but they brought not any articles we stood in need of. We were now destitute of fruit and roots, and therefore obliged to have recourse to our sea provisions. Several



canoes, at this juncture, arrived from the northward, from whence we were supplied with some hogs and roots. On Friday, the 15th, we had variable light airs till five in the afternoon, when a breeze sprung up at E. N. E. and enabled us to steer along shore to the northward. This day the weather was remarkably fine, and we had plenty of company; many of them continued with us all night, and their canoes were towed astern. On the 16th, at day-break, seeing the appearance of a bay, the boats from both ships were sent out to examine it; for we were informed there was a harbour, wherein we might safely moor, and where we should be supplied with materials to refit the ships, and provisions to victual them. In the evening the boats returned with the joyful news, that they had succeeded in their search, and that the harbour promised fair to answer all that had been said of it. While our boats were employed in towing the ships into the bay, we had a view of the greatest number of spectators in canoes, and on shore, that we had ever seen assembled together in any place during this voyage. It was concluded that their number could not be less than two or three thousand. While hovering on the coast, we had sometimes been visited by two hundred canoes at a time, who came to trade, and who brought us provisions, when the weather would permit: we likewise obtained from them great quantities of cordage, salt, and divers other manufactures of the Island, which the Commodore purchased for the use of the ships, and without which we could not well have proceeded; for during the blowing weather, our cordage snapped rope after rope, so that our spare hands were employed incessantly, in knotting and splicing. In the course of this day, we were attended by at least, one thousand canoes, crowded with people, and laden with hogs, and other articles to barter. We were perfectly convinced of their peaceable intentions, not a single person having a weapon of any sort with him. Among such numbers as we had frequently on board, it might be expected, that some of them would discover a thievish disposition. One of them made off

with a boat's rudder, and was not detected till it was too late to recover it. The Commodore imagined this to be a proper opportunity to shew these Islanders the use of our fire arms. Two or three musquets, and as many four pounders, were by his orders, fired over the canoe which went away with the rudder: but it not being our intention, that the shot should take effect, the surrounding multitude were more surprized than terrified. At the approach of night, the most considerable part of our visitors retired to the shore; but many, at their own earnest request, were permitted to sleep on board: but we had good reason to think, that curiosity, at least with some of them, was not the only motive; for the next morning several articles were missing, in consequence of which, orders were given not to permit so many to stay with us on any future night. On Sunday, the 17th, by eleven o'clock, A. M. we were safely moored, in company with the *Discovery*, in eighteen fathoms water. The bay where we lay at anchor, called by the natives *Karakakooa*, is a convenient harbour; and having suffered much in our masts and rigging, we were happy at last to find so proper a place to refit. We cast anchor within a quarter of a mile of the N. E. shore; the south point of the bay bearing S. by W. and the north point W. half N. After we were moored, the ships continued to be much crowded with the natives, and surrounded by a vast multitude of them, besides hundreds that, like fish, were swimming about the two ships. We were struck with the singularity of this scene, and particularly pleased with enriching our voyage, with this important new discovery, owing to the opportunity of thus revisiting Sandwich Islands, and in consequence of not having succeeded in finding a northern passage homeward.

On Monday, the 18th, Mr. King went on shore, attended with a guard of eight marines, having received orders to erect the observatory in a proper situation; by which means the waterers, and other working parties, on shore, might be superintended and protected. When we had found a convenient spot for this purpose, almost in the centre of the



village, Pareea offered to exercise his power in our behalf, and proposed that some houses should be taken, that our observations might not be obstructed. This friendly offer, however, was declined, and we made choice of a potatoe field adjoining to the Morai, which was readily granted, and to prevent the intrusion of the natives, the place was consecrated by the priests, who placed their wands round the wall which enclosed it. This interdiction the natives call taboo, a term frequently repeated by these Islanders, and seemed to be a word of extensive meaning. In this instance, it procured us more privacy than we could have wished. Not any canoes attempted to land near us; the natives only sat on the wall, not daring to come within the tabooed space, without permission from us. The men indeed, at our request, would bring provisions into the field; but our utmost endeavours were ineffectual to induce the women to give us their company. Presents were

tried, but without success. We endeavoured to prevail on Pareea and Koah to bring them: the Patooa and Terreeoboo they said would kill them if they did. This circumstance afforded great amusement to those on board, whither multitudes of people, women particularly, flocked in shoals, insomuch that they were frequently obliged to clear the vessel, in order to make room to perform their necessary duties. Two or three hundred women were sometimes obliged to throw themselves into the water, where they continued to swim and play, till they could be re-admitted. On the 19th, Pareea and Koah left us, in order to attend Terreeoboo, who had landed on a distant part of the Island. Nothing material happened on board, till Sunday, the 24th. The caulkers were employed on the sides of the ship, and the rigging was repaired. The salting of hogs was also a principal object of the Commadore's attention.

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## CHAP. XIV.

*Society of priests discovered by accident; Our reception by them; Mean artifice of Koah; Arrival of Terrecoboo, king of the Island; The Bay tabooed on that occasion; The inhabitants brought to obedience; A remarkable ceremony; Visit from the king; Returned by Capt. Cook; The civility of the natives, who are much addicted to thieving; Their readiness in conducting one of our parties up the country; A boxing match described; Death of William Watman, a seaman; Behaviour of the priests at his funeral; The railing and images on the Morai purchased; The natives inquisitive about our departure; and their opinion respecting the object of our voyage; Presents from the king to Capt. Cook; The Resolution and Discovery quit the Island; but the former being damaged by a gale of wind, they are obliged to return; The behaviour of the Islanders on our coming again to anchor in Karakakooa Bay, somewhat mysterious; A theft committed on board the Discovery, and its consequences; The thieves pursued up the county; Scuffle between the natives and our people; The pinnace attacked and plundered; The crew obliged to quit her; Capt. Cook's reflections on the occasion; Attempt made at the Observatory; The Discovery's cutter stolen; Means used for its recovery; Capt. Cook goes on shore to invite the king and his two sons on board; His wife and the chiefs oppose his inclination to go with the Commadore; A contest arises on this occasion; Intelligence arrives of a chief having been killed by one of our people; The alarming consequences; A chief threatens Capt. Cook, and is shot by him; A general attack ensues; The melancholy catastrophe; Our Commadore is stabbed in the back, and falls with his face into the water; This chapter concludes with the death of the able, enterprising, and much lamented Commander, Captain James Cook.*



WE had not long been settled at the observatory, before we discovered the habitations of a society of priests who had excited our curiosity by their regular attendance at the Morai. Their huts were erected round a pond, inclosed with a group of cocoa-nut trees, by which they were separated from the beach and the village, and gave the situation an air of religious retirement. Capt. Cook being made acquainted with this discovery, he resolved to visit them; and, expecting the manner of his reception would be singular, he took Mr. Webber with him, to enable him to represent the ceremony in a drawing. When arrived at the beach, the Commodore was conducted to Harreno-Orono, or the house of Orono. On his approaching this sacred place, he was seated at the foot of a wooden idol, resembling that we had seen at the Morai. Here Mr. King again supported one of his arms. He was then arrayed in red cloth, and Kaireekee, assisted by twelve priests, presented a pig with the usual ceremonies. After this solemnity, the pig was strangled, and thrown into the embers of a fire, prepared for that purpose. When the hair was singed off, a second offering was made, and the chanting repeated as before; after which the dead pig was held some time under Capt. Cook's nose, and then laid with a cocoa-nut at his feet. This part of the ceremony being concluded, the performers sat down; and the ava was brewed and handed about: a baked hog was likewise brought in, and we were fed in the same manner as before related on a similar occasion. While we continued in the Bay, whenever the Commodore visited the observatory, Kaireekee and his assistants presented themselves before him, making an offering of hogs, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, &c. with the accustomed solemnities. Upon these occasions, some of the inferior chiefs intreated permission to make an offering to the Orono. If their request was complied with, they presented the hog themselves; in the performance of which, their countenances displayed that they were greatly impressed with awe and terror. Kaireekee and the priests assisted, performing their accustomed ora-

tions and hymns. But their civilities extended beyond parade and ceremony: our party on shore were supplied daily by them with hogs and vegetables, sufficient for their subsistence, and to spare; and canoes laden with provisions, were regularly sent off to the ships. Nothing was demanded in return; not even the most distant hint was ever given that they expected the least compensation. Their manner of conferring favours, appeared more like the discharge of a religious duty, than the result of mere liberality. On our asking to whom we were indebted for all this munificence, we were informed, that it was at the expence of Kaoo, the chief priest, and grandfather to Kaireekee, who was at this time in the suit of the sovereign of the Island. But we had less reason to be satisfied with the behaviour of the Earees, or warrior chiefs, than with that of the priests. In our intercourse with the former, they were always sufficiently attentive to their own interests; and, besides their propensity to stealing, which may admit of palliation from its universality in these seas, they had other artifices equally dishonourable. The following is one instance, in which we discovered, with regret, that our good friend Koah was a party principally concerned. The chiefs who made us presents of hogs, were always generously rewarded; in consequence of which, we were supplied with more than we could consume. On these occasions, Koah, who attended us constantly, petitioned usually for those that we did not absolutely want, and they were given him of course. A pig was one day presented to us by a man whom Koah introduced as a chief. The pig we knew to be one of those that had a short time before been given to Koah. Suspecting an imposition, we found upon inquiry, that the pretended chief was one of the common people; and from other concurrent circumstances, we were perfectly convinced, that this was not the first time of our having been made the dupes of Koah's low cunning.

Sunday, the 24th, we were not a little surprised to find, that not any canoes were permitted to put off, and that the natives were confined to their houses. At length, we









THE RECEPTION OF CAPT. COOK IN HAWAEE.



were informed, that the Bay was tabooed, and that intercourse with us was interdicted, on account of the arrival of Terreeboo, their king. On the 25th, we endeavoured by threats and promises, to induce the inhabitants to revisit the ships. Some of them were venturing to put off, when we perceived a chief very active in driving them away: to make him desist, a musket was fired over his head, which produced the desired effect; for refreshments were soon after to be had as usual. In the afternoon, the ships were privately visited by Terreeboo, attended only by one canoe, containing his wife and family. When he entered the ship, he fell on his face, as a mark of submission to the Commodore, as did all his attendants; and after having made an oration, which none of us understood, he presented the Captain with three barbicued hogs, who, in return, put a necklace, composed of several strings of various coloured beads, round his neck, and gave him two looking-glasses, a large glass bowl, with some nails, and other trifles, which he received with much seeming satisfaction, and dispatched immediately a messenger on shore, who soon returned with several large hogs, cocoa-nuts, plantains, and sugar-canes, as much as our small cutter could carry. Having remained on deck about an hour, admiring the construction of the ship, he was conducted into the great cabin, where wine was offered him, which he refused: neither was there any thing he would taste, except a head of bread-fruit; but he appeared delighted with every thing he saw; and before he departed in the evening, gave us to understand that he had six thousand fighting men, always, in readiness to war against his enemies. On the 26th, at noon, the king came in great state from the village of Kowrowa, and, in a large canoe, with some of his attendants in two others, paddled slowly towards the ships. Their appearance was really most superb. Terreeboo, and his chiefs were in the first vessel, arrayed in feathered clokes, and helmets, and armed with spears and daggers. In the second came Kaco, the chief priest, having their idols displayed on red cloth. They were figures of an enormous

size, made of thick wicker-work, and curiously ornamented with mantles of feathers of various colours. Their eyes were large pearl oysters, with a black nut placed in the middle. A double row of the fang of dogs was fixed in each of their mouths, which, as well as the rest of their features, appeared strangely distorted. The third canoe was laden with hogs and vegetables. Their images they call E-ab-tu-a, signifying their warrior gods, without which they never engage in battle. As they advanced, the priests chanted their hymns with great solemnity. After paddling round the vessels, they did not come on board as we expected, but made immediately towards the shore, at the beach where our tents were fixed. When landed, they hauled up all their canoes on the beach, drew up in martial order, and, led by the king, marched in ranks to their place of worship, distant from our tents about fifty yards; but seeing the ground tabooed by small green boughs and wands, that marked the boundary, they all made a circuit with their images in procession, till they arrived at their Morai, where they placed their idols, and deposited their arms. Capt. Cook, when he saw the king's intention of going on shore, went thither also, and landed with Mr. King and others, almost at the same instant. We ushered the chiefs into our tent, and the king had hardly been seated, when he rose up, and threw gracefully over the Captain's shoulders, the rich feathered cloke that he himself wore, placed a helmet on his head, and presented him with a curious fan. Five or six other clokes, of great beauty and value, were spread at the Commodore's feet. Four hogs were now brought forward by the king's attendants, together with bread fruit, &c. Then followed the ceremony of Terreeboo's exchanging names with Capt. Cook; the strongest pledge of friendship among all the Islanders of the Pacific Ocean. A solemn procession now advanced, consisting of priests, preceded by a venerable old personage, followed by a train of people leading large hogs; others being laden with potatoes, plantains, &c. We could perceive easily, by the countenance and the gestures



of Kaireekkea, that the old man who headed the procession, was the chief priest, on whose bounty we were told we had so long subsisted. He wrapped a piece of red cloth round the shoulders of Capt. Cook, and in the usual form, presented him with a pig. He was then seated next the king, and Kaireekkea and their attendants, began their vocal ceremonies, Kaoo and the chiefs assisting in the responses. In the person of this king, we were surprized to recognize the same emaciated old man, who came on board the *Resolution*, from the N. E. side of the Island of Mowee; and we perceived that several of his attendants were the same persons, who at that time continued with us the whole night. Among these were the king's two youngest sons, the elder about the age of sixteen; and Maiba-Maiba, his nephew, whom we could not immediately recollect, having had his hair plastered over with a dirty paste and powder, which was no small improvement to the most savage countenance we had ever seen. The formalities of this meeting being ended, Capt. Cook conducted Terreeboo and several of his chiefs on board our ship, where they were received with every possible mark of attention and respect; and the Commodore, as a compensation for the feathered cloke, put a linen shirt upon the sovereign, and girt his own hanger round him. Kaoo, and about half a dozen other ancient chiefs, remained on shore. All this time not a canoe was permitted to remain in the Bay, and those natives who did not confine themselves to their huts, lay prostrate on the ground. Before the king quitted the *Resolution*, he granted leave for the natives to trade with us as usual; but the women, we know not on what account, were still interdicted by the taboo; that is, to remain at home, and not have any kind of intercourse with us. At this time the behaviour of the inhabitants was so civil and inoffensive, that all apprehensions of danger were totally vanished. We trusted ourselves among them at all times, and upon all occasions, without the least reserve. Our officers ventured frequently up the country, either singly, or in small parties, and sometimes continued

out the whole night. In all places the people flocked about us, anxious to afford every assistance in their power, and appeared highly gratified if we condescended to accept of their services. Variety of innocent arts were practised to attract our notice, or to delay our departure. The boys and girls ran through their villages, stopping us at every opening where there was a convenient spot for dancing. At one time we were solicited to take a draught of milk from coconuts, or to accept of such other refreshment as their huts afforded; at another we were encircled by a company of young women, who exerted their skill and ingenuity in amusing us with songs and dances: but though the instances of their generosity and civility were pleasing to us, we could not but dislike that propensity to thieving, which at times they discovered, and to which they were addicted, like all the other Islanders in these seas: this was a perplexing circumstance, and obliged us sometimes to exercise a severity, which we should have been happy to have avoided, if it had not been essentially necessary. Some expert swimmers were one day detected under the ships, drawing out the filling nails from the sheathing. This they performed very ingeniously with a flint stone, fastened to the end of a stick. This new art of stealing was a practice so injurious to our vessels, that we fired small shot at the offenders; but that they avoided easily, by diving under the ship's bottoms: it therefore became highly necessary to make an example of one of them, which was done by giving him a good flogging on board our consort, the *Discovery*, where his talent for thieving had been chiefly exercised. About this time, Mr. Nelson, and four other gentlemen, set out on an excursion into the country, in order to examine its natural curiosities and productions, an account of which will be given hereafter. This afforded Kaoo a fresh opportunity of testifying his civility, and exerting his friendly disposition in our favour: for no sooner was he informed of the departure of our party, than he sent after them a large quantity of provisions, with orders that every attention and assistance should be granted them by the



inhabitants of those districts through which they should pass. His civility on this occasion was so delicate and disinterested, that even the people he employed were not permitted to accept of the smallest present. At the end of six days the gentlemen returned, without having been able to penetrate farther than twenty miles into the Island, owing partly to improper guides, and partly to the nature of the country, which occasioned this expedition to be attended with no small fatigue, and some danger. Mr. Nelson, however, collected a curious assortment of indigenous plants, and some natural curiosities. During their absence, every thing remained quiet at the tents, and the natives supplied the ships with such quantities of provisions, of all kinds, that orders were again given to purchase no more hogs in one day, than could be killed, salted, and stowed away the next day. This order was in consequence of a former one, to purchase all that could be procured for sea stock, by which so many of them were brought on board, that several of them died before they could be properly disposed of.

On Wednesday, the 27th, in the morning, the rudder of our ship was unhung, and sent on shore, in order to undergo a thorough repair. The carpenters at the same time were sent into the country, under the protection and guidance of some of Kaa's people, to get planks for the head rail work, which was become rotten and decayed. In a visit, on the 28th, from Terreoboo to Capt. Clerke, the latter received a present of thirty large hogs, and such a quantity of vegetables as could not be consumed by his crew in less than a week. This being an unexpected visit, made it the more extraordinary. Not having seen any of the sports or exercises of the natives, at our particular request, they entertained us in the evening with a boxing match. A vast concourse of people assembled on a level spot of ground, not far distant from our tents. In the centre, a long vacant space was left for them, at the upper end of which the arbitrators presided, under the standards. Slips of cloth of various colours, were pendant from these standards; as were the skins of two

wild geese, some small birds, and a few bunches of feathers. The sports being ready to begin, the judges gave the signal, and two combatants appeared in view. They advanced slowly, drawing up their feet very high behind, and rubbing their hands upon the soles. As they came forward, they surveyed each other frequently from head to foot, with an air of contempt, looking archly at the spectators, distorting their features, and practising a variety of unnatural gestures. When they were advanced within the reach of each other, they held both arms straight out before their faces, at which part they always aimed their blows. They struck with a full swing of the arm, which to us had a very awkward appearance. They did not attempt to parry; but endeavoured to elude their adversary's attack, by stooping or retreating. The battle was decided expeditiously; for if either of them fell, whether by accident, or from a blow, he was deemed vanquished; and the victor expressed his triumph by a variety of strange gestures, which usually excited a loud laugh among the spectators, for which purpose it seemed to be calculated. The successful combatant waited for a second antagonist; and, if again victorious, for a third; and so on, till at last he was defeated. In these combats it was very singular, that, when any two are preparing to attack each other, a third may advance, and make choice of either of them for his antagonist, when the other is under the necessity of withdrawing. If the combat proved long and tedious, or appeared unequal, a chief generally interfered, and concluded it by putting a stick between the combatants. As this exhibition was at our desire, it was universally expected, that some of us would have engaged with the natives; but, though our people received pressing invitations to bear a part, they did not hearken to the challenges, not having forgot the blows they received at the Friendly Islands.

This day, died William Watman, a mariner of the gunner's crew. This event we mention particularly, seeing death had hitherto been uncommon among us. He was a man in years, and much respected by



Capt. Cook. He had served twenty-one years as a marine, and then entered as a seamen in 1772, on board the *Resolution*, and served with the Commodore in his voyage towards the South Pole. On their return he got admittance into Greenwich Hospital, at the same time with himself; and anxious to follow the fortunes of his benefactor, he also quitted it with him, on the Commodore's appointment to the command of the present expedition. Watman had often been subject to slight fevers in the course of the voyage, and was very infirm when we arrived in the bay, where, having been sent a few days on shore, he thought himself perfectly restored, and requested to return on board. His request was complied with. The day following he had a stroke of the palsy, which in two days afterwards put an end to his life. At the request of Terreeoboo, the remains of this faithful seaman were buried in the Morai; the ceremony being performed with great solemnity. Kaoo and his brethren were present at the funeral, who behaved with great decorum, and paid due attention while the service was performing. On our beginning to fill up the grave, they approached it with great awe, and threw in a dead pig, together with some cocoa-nuts and plantains. For three successive nights they surrounded it, sacrificing hogs, and reciting prayers and hymns till morning. At the head of the grave, we erected a post, and nailed thereto a piece of board, whereon was inscribed the name and age of the deceased, and the day of his departure from this life. These memorials we were assured they would not remove, and, it is probable, they will be permitted to remain, so long as such frail materials can endure.

Being much in want of fuel, Capt. Cook desired Mr. King to treat with the priest, for the purchase of the railing belonging to the Morai. Mr. King had his doubts respecting the decency of this overture, and apprehended the proposal might be deemed impious; but in this he was much mistaken: for an application being made for the same, they expressed no kind of surprize, and the wood was delivered without the least stipu-

lation. While our people were taking it away, Mr. King saw one of them with a carved image; and, upon enquiry, he was informed, that the whole semicircle (as mentioned in the description of the Morai) had been carried to the boats. Though the natives were spectators of this business, they did not seem to resent it; but on the contrary, had even assisted in the removal. Mr. King thought proper to mention the particulars to Kaoo; who seemed exceedingly indifferent about the matter, begging him only to restore the centre image; which was immediately done, and it was conveyed to one of the priest's houses.

For some time, the king, and his chiefs, had been very importunate to know the time of our departure. From this circumstance, Mr. King's curiosity was excited to know the opinion these people had entertained of us, and what they supposed to be the object of our voyage. He took considerable pains to satisfy himself respecting these points; but the only information he could get, was that they supposed we had left our native country on account of the scantiness of provisions, and that we had visited them for the sole purpose of filling our bellies. This conclusion was natural enough, considering the meagre appearance of some of our crew; the voracity with which we devoured their fresh provisions; and our anxiety to purchase as much of it as we were able. It was a matter of entertainment to see the natives patting the bellies of the sailors (who were much improved in sleekness since their arrival at the bay,) and telling them, in the best manner they could, that it was time for them to depart; but if they would return the next bread-fruit season, they should be better able to supply them. We had now continued sixteen days in the bay, during which time our consumption of hogs and vegetables, had been so enormous, that we need not be surprized at their wishing to see us take our leave. But Terreeoboo had, perhaps no other view in his enquiries, than a desire of having sufficient notice, to prepare suitable presents for us at our departure; for when we informed him of our intention to quit



the Island in two days, a kind of proclamation was made, requiring the natives to bring in their hogs, and vegetables, for Terreeboo to present to the Oroon.

We were this day much entertained, at the beach, with the buffooneries of one of the natives. He held in his hand an instrument of music, such as we have already described: bits of sea-weed were fastened round his neck; and, round each leg, some strong netting; whereon were fixed rows of dog's teeth, hanging loose. His dancing was accompanied with strange grimaces, and unnatural distortions of the features, which were sometimes highly ridiculous, and, upon the whole without meaning or expression. But the wrestling and boxing matches afforded us good diversion for the evening; and, in return, we exhibited the few fireworks we had remaining. Nothing could more effectually excite the admiration of these Islanders, or strike them with more exalted ideas of our superiority, than such a representation: notwithstanding this was, in every respect, much inferior to that exhibited at Hapae, yet the astonishment of these people was equally great.

The carpenters who had been sent up the country to cut planks for the head rail-work of our ship, the *Resolution*, had now been gone three days, and not having heard from them, we began to be alarmed for their safety. We expressed our apprehensions to Kaoo, who appeared equally concerned with ourselves; but while we were planning measures with him, for sending proper persons after them, they all safely arrived. Our people had gone farther into the country than they expected, before they found any trees suitable for their purpose. This circumstance, together with the badness of the roads, and the difficulty of conveying timber to the ships, had so long detained them. They bestowed high commendations on their guides, who not only supplied them with provisions, but faithfully protected their tools. Having fixed on Thursday the 4th, of February, for our departure, Terreeboo invited Capt. Cook, and Mr. King, to attend him on the 3rd, to Kaoo's residence. On our arrival there, we saw large quanti-

ties of cloth scattered on the ground; abundance of red and yellow feathers fastened to the fibres of cocoa-nut husks; and plenty of hatchets and iron ware, which had been received from us in barter. Not far from these was deposited an immense quantity of various kinds of vegetables; and at a little distance, a large herd of hogs. We supposed at first, that the whole was intended a present for us; but we were informed by Kaireekeea, that it was a tribute to the king, from the inhabitants of that district. We were no sooner seated than the bundles were brought, and laid severally at Terreeboo's feet; and the cloth, feathers, and iron, were displayed before him. The king was perfectly satisfied with this mark of duty from his people; and having selected about one third of the iron utensils, one third of the feathers, and some pieces of cloth, he ordered these to be set aside by themselves; and the remainder of the cloth, hogs, vegetables, &c. were afterwards presented to Capt. Cook and Mr. King. The value and magnitude of this present, far exceeded any thing that we had before received. The whole was immediately conveyed on board; and the large hogs were set apart for sea stores; but the smaller pigs and vegetables, were divided between the crews. The same day we quitted the Morai, and got our observatories on board. The taboo was removed, and, with it vanished its magical effects; for as soon as we had quitted the place, the people rushed in, and vigilantly searched, in hopes of finding some valuable articles left behind. Mr. King being the last on shore, and waiting for the return of the boat, the inhabitants crowded about him, and having prevailed upon him to sit down among them, expressed their regret at our separation. It was even with difficulty that they would suffer him to depart. Having had, while we lay in the bay, the command of the party on shore, he became more acquainted with the natives, than those who were required to be on board. From the inhabitants in general, he experienced great kindness; but the friendship shewn by the priests was constant and unbounded. On the other hand, Mr. King



was anxious to conciliate their esteem; in which he so happily succeeded, that when they were made acquainted with the time of our departure, he was urged to remain behind, and received overtures of the most flattering kind. When he endeavoured to excuse himself, by alledging, that the Commodore would not permit it, they proposed to conduct him to the mountains, and there conceal him till the departure of the ships. On Mr. King's assuring them that the ships would not sail without him, the king and Kaoo repaired to Capt. Cook, (whom they supposed to be his father) requesting formally, that he might be suffered to remain behind. The Commodore, unwilling to give a positive refusal, to a proposal so generously intended, assured them, that he could not part with him at present, but he should return thither the next year, when he would endeavour to oblige them.

On Thursday, the 4th, of February, early in the morning, having unmoored, the Resolution and Discovery set sail, and cleared the harbour, attended by a vast number of canoes. We proposed to shape our course for Mowee; as we had been informed, that in the Island there was a fine harbour, and excellent water, but Capt Cook intended to finish first the survey of Owhyhee, before he went thither, hoping to meet with a road more sheltered than Karakakooa Bay. We had not been long under sail, when the king, who had omitted to take his leave of Capt. Clerke, as not expecting our departure to be so sudden, came after the ships, accompanied by the young prince, in a sailing canoe, bringing with them ten large hogs, a great number of fowls, and a small turtle, (a great rarity) with bread-fruit in abundance. They also brought with them great quantities of cocoa-nuts, plantains, and sugar-canes. Besides other persons of distinction, who accompanied the king, there was an old priest, who had always shewn a particular attachment to Capt. Clerke, and who had not been unrewarded for his civility. It being rather late when they reached the Discovery, they staid on board but a few hours, and then all departed, except the old priest, and some girls, who had the king's permission

to remain on board, till they should arrive at some of the neighbouring Isles. We were now steering with a fine breeze, but just at the close of evening, to our great mortification, the wind died away, and a great swell succeeding, with a strong current setting right in for shore, we were in the utmost danger, particularly the Discovery, of being driven upon the rocks. At this time the old priest, who had been sent to sleep in the great cabin, leaped overboard unseen with a large piece of Russian silk, Capt. Clerke's property, and swam to shore.

On Friday the 5th, we had calm weather, and made but little way. Seeing a large canoe between us and the shore, we hove to for her coming up, and to our great surprise perceived the old king, with several of his chiefs, having with them the priest who had stolen the silk, bound hand and foot, whom the king delivered to Capt. Clerke, at the same time requesting that his fault might be forgiven. The king being told his request was granted, unbound him, and set him at liberty; telling the Captain, that seeing him with the silk, he judged it was not his own, therefore ordered him to be apprehended; and had taken this method of exposing him, for having injured his friend. This was a singular instance of justice, which we did not expect to see among these people. As soon as they had delivered the silk, which the king refused to accept, they departed. Having a light breeze in the night, we made a little progress to the northward.

On Saturday the 6th, in the morning, we were a-breast of a deep bay, called by the natives Toe-yah-yah. We flattered ourselves with finding a commodious harbour here; for we saw some fine streams of water to the N. E. and the whole appeared to be well sheltered. These observations seeming to tally with the accounts given by Koah, who was now on board the Resolution, the master was sent in the pinnace, with Koah as his guide, to examine the bay; but, before they set off, Koah altered his name, out of compliment to us, to that of Britanee. In the afternoon, the weather became



gloomy, and such violent gusts of wind blew off the land, that we were obliged to take in all the sails, and bring to, under the mizen-stay-sail. Soon after the gale began, all the canoes left us; and Mr. Bligh, on his return, preserved an old woman and two men from drowning, whose canoe had been overset in the storm. We had several women remaining on board, whom the natives, in their hurry to depart, had left to shift for themselves. Mr. Bligh reported, that he had landed at a village on the north side of the bay, where he was shewn some wells of water, that would not, by any means answer our purpose; that he proceeded farther into the bay; where, instead of finding good anchorage, he observed the shores to be low, and a flat bed of coral rocks extended along the coast, and upwards of a mile from the land; the depth of water, on the outside, being twenty fathoms. During this survey Britannee had contrived to slip away. His information having proved erroneous, he might, perhaps, be afraid of returning. In the evening the weather became more moderate, when we again made sail; but it blew so violently about midnight, as to split the fore and main-top sails.

On Sunday the 7th, in the morning, we bent fresh sails. Being now about four or five leagues from the shore, and the weather very unsettled, the canoes would not venture off, so that our female guests were under the necessity of remaining with us, though, at this time, much against their inclination; for they were all exceedingly sea-sick, and many of them had left their infants on shore. The weather continued squally, yet we stood in for land, in the afternoon; and being within three leagues of it, we saw two men paddling towards us. We conjectured, that they had been driven off the shore, by the late boisterous weather; and therefore stopped the ship's way, in order to take them in. These poor wretches were so exhausted by fatigue, that had not one of the natives on board jumped into the canoe to their assistance, they would hardly have been able to fix it to a rope thrown out for that purpose. It was with great difficulty that we got them up the ship's side, together with a child

about four years of age, which had been lashed under the thwarts of the canoe, with only its head above the water. They had left the shore the morning before, and had been from that time, without food or water. The usual precautions were taken in giving them victuals, and the child being committed to the care of the women, they were all perfectly recovered by the next morning. At midnight, a gale of wind coming on, we were obliged to double reef the top-sails, and get down the top-gallant yards.

On Monday the 8th, at day-break, we found that the fore-mast had again given away; the fishes being sprung, and the parts so very defective, as to make it absolutely necessary to unstep the mast. Capt. Cook for some time hesitated, whether he should return to Karakakooa, or take the chance of finding a harbour in the Islands to the leeward. The bay was not so commodious, but that a better might probably be met with, either for repairing the masts, or procuring refreshments; the latter of which, it was imagined, the neighbourhood of Karakakooa had lately been pretty well drained of. It was, on the other hand, considered, as an imprudent step, to leave a tolerable good harbour, which, once lost, could not be regained, for the mere possibility of meeting with a better; especially, as the failure of such a contingency, might have deprived us of any resource. We now stood on towards the land, to give the natives on shore an opportunity of releasing their friends on board; and, about noon, when we were within a mile of the shore, several canoes came off to us, but so loaded with people, that no room could be found for any of our guests; the pinnace was therefore hoisted out to land them; and the master who commanded it, was instructed to examine the south coasts of the bay for water, but returned without success. Variable winds, and a strong current to the northward, retarded their return.

On Tuesday the 9th, at eight o'clock, A. M. it blew very hard from the S. E. which occasioned us to close-reef the top-sails.

On Wednesday the 13th, at two o'clock,



A. M. in a heavy squall, we found ourselves close in with the breakers, to the northward of the west point of Owhyhee. We had just room to avoid them, and fired several guns to alarm the *Discovery*, and apprize her of danger. In the afternoon, the weather had been more moderate. A few canoes ventured to come off to us, when we were informed by those belonging to them, that much mischief had been occasioned by the late storms, and that a great many canoes had been lost. We kept beating to windward the remainder of the day; and, in the evening, were within a mile of Karakakooa bay; but we stood off and on till day-light, the next morning, when we cast anchor in our old station.

On Thursday the 11th, and part of the 12th, all hands were employed in getting out the fore-mast, and conveying it on shore. Besides the damage which the head of the mast had sustained, the heel of it was found by the carpenters, exceeding rotten, having a large hole in the middle. As the necessary repairs were likely to take up several days, Mr. Bayly and Mr. King got the astronomical apparatus on shore, and pitched their tents on the Morai, guarded by a corporal and six marines. A friendly intercourse was renewed with the priests, who for our greater security, tabooed the place with their wands as before. The sail-makers were sent on shore to repair the damages, in their department, sustained by the late heavy gales. They occupied a house adjoining to the Morai, that was lent us by the priests. Such were the arrangements on shore. But on coming to anchor in the bay, our reception was so very different from what it had been upon our first arrival, that we were all astonished: no shouts were heard, no bustle or confusion, by the motions of the natives, were perceived; but we found ourselves in a solitary, deserted bay, with hardly a friend appearing, or a canoe stirring. Their curiosity, indeed, might be supposed to be diminished by this time; but the hospitable treatment we had been continually favoured with, and the friendly manner in which we parted, induced us to expect, that on our return, they would have

received us with the greatest demonstrations of joy. Various were our conjectures on the cause of this extraordinary appearance, when our anxiety was in part relieved by the return of our boat, the crew of which brought us intelligence, that Terreeoboo was absent, and that the bay was tabooed. This account appeared very satisfactory to many of our company; but some were of opinion, that there was, at this time, somewhat very suspicious in the behaviour of the natives; and that the taboo, or interdiction, on pretence of the king's absence, was contrived artfully, to afford him time to consult his chiefs in what manner we should be treated. Whether those suspicions were well founded, or the account given by the natives was the truth, we were never able to ascertain. For though it is not improbable, that our sudden return, for which they could see no apparent cause, and the necessity of which we afterwards found it very difficult to make them comprehend, might occasion some alarm; yet the unsuspicious conduct of Terreeoboo, who, on his supposed arrival, the next morning, came immediately to visit Capt. Cook, and the consequent return of the natives to their former friendly intercourse with us, are strong proofs that they neither meant, nor apprehended, any change of conduct. In support of this opinion, we may add the account of another accident, precisely of the same kind which happened to us, on our first visit, the day before the king's arrival. A native having sold a hog on board our ship, and received the price agreed on, Pareea, who saw the transaction, advised the seller not to part with his hog, without an advanced price. For his interference in this business, he was harshly spoken to, and pushed away; and as the taboo was soon laid on the bay, we, at first, supposed it to be the consequence of the affront offered to the chief. Both these events serve to shew how extremely difficult it is to draw any certain conclusion from the conduct of a people, with whose language and customs we were so imperfectly acquainted. Some idea, however, may be formed of the difficulties those have to encounter, who in their intercourse with



these strangers, are obliged to steer their course in the midst of uncertainties, when the most serious consequences may be expected by only imaginary offences. However true or false our conjectures may be, it is certain this day, the 12th, things went on in their usual quiet course.

On Saturday the 13th, at the approach of evening, the officer who commanded the watering party of the *Discovery*, came to inform Mr. King, that several chiefs were assembled near the beach, and were driving away the natives, who assisted the sailors in rolling the casks to the shore; declaring, at the same time, that their behaviour seemed to be very suspicious, and he imagined they would give him some farther disturbance. Mr. King, agreeable to his request, sent a marine with him, but permitted him to take only his side arms. The officer, in a short time returned, and informed Mr. King, that the inhabitant had armed themselves with stones, and were become very tumultuous. Mr. King therefore went himself to the watering place, attended by a marine with his musket. Seeing them approach, the Islanders threw away their stones, and, on Mr. King's application to some of the chiefs, the mob was dispersed. Every thing being now quiet, Mr. King went to meet Capt. Cook, who was coming on shore in the pinnace. He related to the Commodore all that had recently happened, and received orders to fire ball at the offenders, should they again behave insolently, and in case of their beginning to throw stones. In consequence of these orders, Mr. King commanded the corporal to give directions, that the sentinel's pieces should be loaded with ball, instead of shot. On our return to the tents, we heard a continued fire of muskets from the *Discovery*, which we observed to be directed at a canoe, that we saw paddling towards the shore, in great haste, and pursued by one of our small boats. We immediately concluded, that the firing was in consequence of some theft, and Capt. Cook ordered Mr. King to follow him with a marine armed, and to endeavour to seize the people as they came on shore. Accordingly, we ran towards the place where we

imagined the canoe would land, but were too late; the people having quitted it, and made their escape into the country before our arrival. We were at this time ignorant, that the goods had been already restored; and thinking it probable, from the circumstances we had at first observed, that they might be of importance, for this reason, we were unwilling to relinquish our hopes of recovering them. Having therefore enquired of the natives which way the fugitives had gone, we followed them, till it was near dark, when judging ourselves to be three miles from the tents, and suspecting that the natives, who frequently encouraged us in the pursuit, were amusing us with false information, we thought it in vain to continue our search any longer, and therefore returned to the beach. During our absence a difference of a more serious nature had happened. The officer who had been dispatched in the small boat after the thieves, and who was returning on board with the goods that had been restored, seeing Capt. Cook and Mr. King engaged in the pursuit of the offenders, seized a canoe which was drawn upon the shore. This canoe belonged to Pareea, our friend, who at that instant, arriving from on board the *Discovery*, claimed his property, and protested his innocence. However, the officer persisted in detaining it, in which he was encouraged by the crew of the pinnace, then waiting for the Commodore. The consequence of this imprudent conduct was, what might have been expected: a scuffle ensued; and Pareea unfortunately was knocked down, by a violent blow on the head with an oar. Several of the natives, who had hitherto been unconcerned spectators, began now to attack our people with such a shower of stones, that they were compelled to make a precipitate retreat, and swam off to a rock, at a considerable distance from the shore. The pinnace was plundered immediately by the natives, and would have been entirely demolished, had not Pareea interposed, who had not only recovered from his blow, but had also forgot it at the same instant. He ordered the crowd to disperse, and beckoned to our people to come and take possession



of the pinnace; and afterwards assured them, that he would use his influence to get the things restored which had been taken out of it. After their departure, he followed them in his canoe, carrying them a midshipman's cap, and some other articles; and expressing much concern at what had happened, begged to know, if the Orono would kill him? and whether he might be permitted to go on board the next day? He was assured that he would be well received; upon which he joined noses with the officers (their usual token of amity) and paddled over to Kowrowa. When these particulars were related to Capt. Cook, he was exceedingly concerned; and when the Captain and Mr. King were returning on board, the former expressed his fears, that these Islanders would oblige him, though much against his inclination, to use violent measures with them; adding, they must not be permitted to suppose that they had gained an advantage over us. It was too late to take any steps this evening, the Commodore therefore only gave orders, that every native should be immediately turned out of the ships. This order having been executed, Mr. King returned to his station on shore; and the events of the day having much abated our former confidence in the natives, we posted a double guard on the Morai, with orders to send to Mr. King and let him know, if any of the natives were seen lurking about the beach. At eleven o'clock, five of the natives were seen creeping round the bottom of the Morai: they approached silently with great caution, but, perceiving they were discovered, immediately retired out of sight. At midnight, one of them ventured very near the observatory, when one of the centinels fired over him; whereupon, he, with some others, fled with great precipitation, and we had no farther molestation during the remainder of the night. The temper of these Islanders was now totally changed; and for some days past, as may be seen from our journal, they became more and more troublesome. In the course of this day, several parties of them were busy in rolling stones from the edge of the hill, with a view, as we supposed to annoy

the ships; but these were at too great a distance to receive any damage; however, the Commodore looking upon this as an insult, ordered some of our great guns to be fired among them, and, in less than ten minutes, not an Indian was to be seen near the place. In the afternoon, Terreeoboo came on board, and complained of our having killed two of his people, intimating, at the same time, that they had not the least intention of hurting us. He continued on board near two hours, amusing himself with seeing our armourers work, and requested that they might be permitted to make him a pahooa, (an instrument used in battle, when they come to close quarters) which was immediately done.

Sunday, the 14th, of February, 1779. This is that memorable day, in which are comprized the affecting incidents, and melancholy particulars, that concluded with the assassination of our beloved and honoured Commodore. Very early in the morning, a party of the Islanders were perceived who made a great lamentation, and moved slowly along to the beating of a drum, that gave scarcely a stroke in a minute. From this circumstance our people supposed, they were burying the dead who had been killed the preceding day. At day break, Mr. King repaired on board the Resolution, in order to examine the time-keeper. In his way thither, he was hailed by the Discovery, and received the alarming information, that their cutter had been stolen, in some time of the night, from the buoy, where it was moored. The boat's painter had been cut two fathoms from the buoy, and the remainder of the rope was gone with the boat. This gave cause sufficient to suspect that some villany was hatching by the Islanders, and that ill consequences would follow such a daring theft. With these thoughts Mr. King hastened on board the Resolution, whose whole company were by this time in motion. On his arrival, he found the marines arming, the crew preparing to warp the ship nearer to the shore, and Capt. Cook loading his double barrel gun. He began with a relation of what had happened in the night at the Morai, when the Commodore



interrupted him with some eagerness, and informed him of the loss of the *Discovery's* cutter, and of the preparations he was making to recover it; adding, that he was resolved to seize Terreeoboo, and to confine him on board till the boat should be returned. It had been Capt. Cook's usual practice, in all the Islands of the Pacific Ocean he had visited, whenever any thing of consequence had been stolen by the natives, to get their king, or some of the principal earees on board, where he detained them as prisoners, till the property that had been lost was restored; and this method having hitherto proved successful, he meant to pursue it on the present occasion. In consequence of this hasty determination, the Commodore gave orders to stop every canoe that should attempt to leave the bay; having resolved to seize, and destroy them, if the cutter could not be recovered by lenient measures. To this end the boats of both ships, properly manned and armed, were stationed across the bay: The Islanders observing our motions, and seeing the ships warping towards the town, of which there were two, one on each side of the harbour, they concluded that our design was to seize their boats. In consequence of which conjecture, most of their large war canoes took the alarm, and were making off, when our guns, loaded with grape and canister shot, drove them back.

Between the hours of seven and eight o'clock, Capt. Cook and Mr. King quitted the ship together; the former in the pinnace, having Mr. Philips, and nine marines with him; and the latter in a small boat. The last orders Capt. Cook gave Mr. King, were, to quiet the minds of the people on his side of the bay, by the strongest assurances, that they should not be injured; to keep his people together, and to be continually on his guard. Capt. Cook and Mr. King then parted; the former intending to proceed to Kowrowa, where Terreeoboo resided, and the latter to the beach. When Mr. King had landed, he perceived many of the warriors of Owhyhee were clothed in their military mats, though without arms; that they were gathering together in a body

from every direction; and that they assumed a very different countenance to what they usually wore upon all former occasions; he therefore, when arrived at his station on shore, issued strict orders to the marines, to continue within the tent, to charge their muskets with ball, and not, on any consideration, to quit their arms. This done, he waited upon old Kaoo, and the priests, at their respective huts, and explained to them, as well as he was able, the reason of the hostile preparations, which had so exceedingly alarmed them. He found they were no strangers to our loss of the cutter, and assured them, that though the Commodore was resolved not only to recover it, but to punish, in the most exemplary manner, the perpetrators of the theft; yet they, and all the inhabitants of the village, on our side, need not be alarmed, nor apprehend the least danger from us. He desired the priests to communicate the motives by which we were actuated in our present conduct, to the people, and to entreat them not to entertain groundless fears, but, confiding in our declarations, to remain peaceable and quiet. Mr. King having this made known our real intention, Kaoo asked, with great emotion, if Terreeoboo, the king, was to be hurt? Mr. King declared he was not; upon which, both Kaoo and the rest of the priests seemed much satisfied with this assurance.

In the interval of these transactions, Capt. Cook having called off the launch from the N. part of the bay, and taken it with him, landed, regardless of appearances, at Kowrowa, with Mr. Philips, lieutenant of the marines, a serjeant, and nine privates. He proceeded immediately into the village, where he was received respectfully; the people, as usual, prostrating themselves before him, and making their accustomed offerings of small hogs; but it was observed, that the chiefs were in some consternation on seeing the Captain and his guard, and that they soon disappeared one after another. The Commodore perceiving that his main design was not suspected, the next step he took, was to enquire for the king, and the two boys, his sons, who had been



his constant guests on board the *Resolution*. In a short time the boys returned, with some of the natives who had been sent in search of them ; and conducted Capt. Cook to the habitation where Terreeoboo had slept. The old king had just awoke; and the Captain addressed him in the mildest terms ; assuring him, that no violence was intended against his person, or any of his people ; but only against those who had been guilty of a most unprecedented act of robbery, by cutting from her mooring, one of the ship's boats, without which, they could neither conveniently water, nor carry on the necessary communication with the shore ; requiring of the king at the same time, to give orders for the cutter to be restored without delay ; and requesting his company with him on board, till his orders should be carried into execution. Terreeoboo, in reply, protested his total ignorance of the theft ; said he was very ready to assist in discovering the author of it, and should be glad to see him punished ; but he shewed great unwillingness to trust his person with those who had solutely exercised unusual severities against his people. He was told, that the tumultuous appearance of his people, and their repeated depredations, made some uncommon severities necessary ; but that not the least hurt should be done to the meanest inhabitant of his Island by any person belonging to the ships ; and all that was necessary for the continuance of peace, was, to pledge himself for the honesty of his people. With that view, and that only, he came to request the king to place confidence in him, and to make the *Resolution* his home, as the most effectual means of putting a stop to the robberies that were daily and hourly committed by his people, both at the tents, and on board the ships, and which were now so daring as to become insufferable. The king upon this remonstrance, arose and accepted the invitation.

In about half an hour, Terreeoboo set out with Capt. Cook, to attend him on board ; and every thing had a prosperous appearance. The two boys were already in the pinnace, and the rest of the party were approaching the water-side ; when a woman,

named Kanee-kabereea, the mother of the boys, and one of Terreeoboo's favourite wives, followed him, and with many tears and entreaties besought him not to venture on board. At the same time, two warriors who came along with her, laid hold of the king, insisting he should proceed no farther, and obliged him to sit down. A large body of the Islanders had by this time got together, who had probably been alarmed by the discharging of the great guns, and the hostile appearances in the bay. They now began to behave outrageously, and to insult the guard. Thus situated, Mr. Philips, Lieutenant of the marines, perceiving that his men were huddled together in the crowd, consequently unable to use their arms, should there be a necessity for so doing, proposed to the Commodore to draw them up along the rocks, close to the edge of the water ; upon which the Lieutenant received orders to march, and, if any one opposed, to fire upon, or instantly dispatch him ; but the natives readily making way for them to pass, Mr. Philips drew them up in one line, within about thirty yards of the place where Terreeoboo was sitting. The old king continued all this time on the ground. His eyes diffused gloomy discontent ; his head drooped, and his whole countenance was impressed with every mark of terror and dejection ; as if he was possessed with a foreboding consciousness of the catastrophe, in the bloody tragedy that was now about to be acted. Capt. Cook, unwilling to abandon the object which occasioned him to come on shore, urged him most earnestly to proceed : but, on the other hand, if the king appeared inclined to attend him, the surrounding chiefs interposed : at first they had recourse to entreaties ; but afterwards to force and violence, and even insisted on his remaining on shore ; and the word was given, that Tootee was about to carry off their king, and to kill him.

Capt. Cook, at length, finding that the alarm had spread too generally, and being sensible that there was not a probability of getting Terreeoboo off without much bloodshed, thought it most prudent to give up the point ; observing to Mr. Philips, that it



would be impossible to compel the king to go on board, without running the risk of killing a great number of the inhabitants. Thus the enterprise was abandoned by Captain Cook; nor did it appear, that his person was in the least degree of danger, till an accident happened, the report of which brought forth in an instant a number of warriors from the crowd, and occasioned a fatal turn to the whole affair. The boats stationed across the bay, having fired at some war canoes, for attempting to get out, had unfortunately killed one of their principal chiefs. Intelligence of his death arrived at the spot where the Commodore then was, just as he had parted from the king, and was walking slowly towards the shore. The ferment it occasioned was immediately too conspicuous; the women and children were immediately sent away, and the men soon put on their war mats, and armed themselves with spears and stones. One of the natives having provided himself with two of these missive weapons, advanced towards Capt. Cook, flourishing a long iron spike, or pahooa, in defiance, and threatening to throw the stone. The Captain made signs for him to desist, but the man persisting in his insolence, and repeating his menaces with strange grimaces, he was provoked to fire a charge of small shot at him; but the warrior being defended by his mat, which the shot could not penetrate, this served only to irritate and encourage the Islanders, whose fighting men now pushed forward, throwing whole volleys of stones at the marines. One of the chiefs attempted to stab Mr. Phillips with his pahooa, (some say the very same that was made by our armourers, at the request of the king, the day before,) but not succeeding in his attempt, he received from him a blow with the butt end of his musket. A general attack with stones succeeded, and the quarrel became general. On our side, the guns from the ships began to pour in their fire upon the multitude of natives, as did likewise the marine guard, and those from the boats; nevertheless, though the slaughter among the Islanders was great, yet, enraged as they were, they stood an incessant fire

with astonishing intrepidity; and, without giving time for the marines to charge again, they rushed in upon them with horrid shouts and yells. What followed was a scene of horror and confusion, which can more easily be conceived than related. Four of the marines, corporal Thomas, and three privates, namely, Hinks, Allen, and Fadget, retreated among the rocks, and fell victims to the fury of the enemy. Three others were dangerously wounded; and the Lieutenant, who had received a stab between the shoulders with a pahooa, having fortunately reserved his fire, shot the man who had wounded him, just as he was going to repeat his blow. The last time our Commodore was distinctly seen, he was standing at the water's edge, ordering the boats to cease firing, and pull in; when a base assassin, coming behind him, and striking him on the head with his club, felled him to the ground, in such a direction, that he lay with his face prone in the water. A general shout was set up by the Islanders on seeing the Captain fall, and his body was dragged on shore, where he was surrounded by the enemy, who, snatching the dagger from each other's hands, displayed a savage eagerness to join in his destruction. It should seem that vengeance was directed chiefly against our Commodore, by whom they supposed their king was to be dragged on board, and punished at discretion; for, having secured his body, they fled without much regarding the rest of the slain, one of whom they threw into the sea.

Thus ended the life of the greatest navigator that this or any other nation could ever boast of: who led his crews of gallant British seamen twice round the world; reduced to a certainty the non-existence of a Southern continent, about which the learned of all nations were in doubt; settled the boundaries of the earth and sea; and demonstrated the impracticability of a N. W. passage from the Atlantic to the great Southern Ocean, for which our ablest geographers had contended, and in pursuit of which vast sums had been spent in vain, and many valuable mariners had miserably perished. His death was doubtless premature; yet he



lived to accomplish the great undertaking for which he seemed particularly designed. How sincerely his loss was lamented, (we speak here in the language of his panegyrist) by those who owed their security to his skill and conduct, and every consolation to his tenderness and humanity, it is impossible to describe; and the task would be equally

difficult to represent the horror, dejection, and dismay, which followed so dreadful and unexpected a catastrophe. Let us therefore turn from so mournful a scene, to the pleasing contemplation of his virtues, character, and public services, the history of which our readers will find in the subsequent chapter.

## CHAP. XV.

*Memoirs of the life and public services of Captain James Cook ; His birth and parentage ; Education and early situation in life ; His inclination for the sea, and first employment in the merchant's service ; Tries his fortune in his Majesty's ship, the Eagle ; Is made a Lieutenant ; His behaviour under Sir William Barnaby, and when engaged in the active scenes of the war in America ; His appointments, by the recommendations of Lord Colville and Sir Hugh Palliser ; His first voyage to the South Seas ; His second, to complete the discovery of the Southern Hemisphere ; His third and last voyage, in order to discover a North West passage ; An account of his family, and their pensions ; Observations on his character and death ; Particulars which happened subsequent to his death ; Bravery of Lieutenant Philips ; The Islanders forced to retire ; Situation of our party at the Morai ; Annoyed by stones ; An attempt to storm the Morai ; Quitted by our people ; A short truce, and pacific measures adopted ; Mr. King sent to obtain a conference with some of the chiefs of Owhyhee ; His interview with Koah ; Contemptuous behaviour of the natives, and precautions taken on our side ; A part of Captain Cook's body brought ; Further provocations from the natives ; Our watering parties harrassed with stones ; The village of Kakooa burned ; Instance of bravery in one of the natives ; A procession headed by Kaireekaea ; The bones of Captain Cook brought on board ; They are committed to the deep with the usual funeral ceremonies.*

**H**AVING related the untimely fate of our excellent Commander, Captain Cook, we now proceed to give our readers some new and authentic particulars of the life of this great navigator ; the whole, we will venture to affirm, making a more correct and complete historical narrative, on so interesting a subject, than has hitherto appeared in any edition whatever of Captain Cook's voyages, under whatever authority published, or however pompously set forth.

The late Captain James Cook, the subject of these memoirs, was born at Marton, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, on February the 3rd. 1728. In this particular, we may contradict the ignorant assertions foisted on the public by editors of publications

of the like kind with this ; but we rest our credibility on the authority of the Rev. Mr. Greenside, whose certificate, taken from the register of births in his parish, is now in the possession of our publisher. The father of Capt. Cook was a day labourer to a farmer, and lived in a small village surrounded with mud walls ; who afterwards removed to Great Ayton ; where he was employed as a peasant by the late Thomas Scuttowe, Esq. with whom he was assisted by young Cook, his son, in the different branches of husbandry. At the age of thirteen, this youth was put under the tuition of Mr. Pullen, a schoolmaster of Ayton, by whom he was instructed in the arts of writing, common book-keeping &c. and he is said to have shewn an



uncommon genius in his application to the several rules of vulgar arithmetic. In January, 1745, at the age of seventeen, his father bound him apprentice, to learn the grocery and haberdashery business, at Snaith: but his natural inclination not having been consulted on this occasion, he soon quitted the counter in disgust, after a year and half's servitude; and having contracted a strong propensity to the sea, his master, willing to indulge him in following the bent of his inclination, gave up readily his indentures. In July, 1746, he was bound apprentice to Mr. Walker, of Whitby, for the term of three years, which time he served to his master's full satisfaction. Under him he first sailed on board the ship *Freelove*, employed chiefly in the coal trade from Newcastle to London. In the spring of 1750, Mr. Cook shipped himself as a seaman on board the *Maria*, under the command of Capt. Gaskin; in which vessel he continued all that year, in the Baltic trade. In 1753, he entered on board his majesty's ship the *Eagle*; "having a mind," as he expressed himself, "to try his fortune that way." Some time after, the *Eagle* sailed with another frigate on a cruise, in which they were very successful.

In the year 1758, we find this rising mariner, master of the *Northumberland*, the flag ship of Lord Colville, who had then the command of a squadron stationed on the coast of America. It was here, as he has often been heard to say, that during a hard winter, he first read Euclid, and applied himself to the study of the mathematics and astronomy, without any assistance than what a few books, and his own industry afforded. At the same time, that he thus found means to cultivate his understanding, improve his mind, and supply the deficiencies of an early education, he was engaged in most of the busy and active scenes of the war in America. At the siege of Quebec, Sir Charles Saunders committed to his charge, the execution of services of the first importance in the naval department. He piloted the boats to the attack of Montmorency; conducted the embarkation to the heights of Abraham, examined the passage, and laid buoys for

the security of the large ships in proceeding up the river. The courage and address with which he acquitted himself in these services, gained him the warm friendship of Sir Charles Saunders and Lord Colville, who continued to patronize him during the rest of their lives, with the greatest zeal and affection.

On the 1st, of April, 1760, he received a commission as a lieutenant, and soon after a specimen of those abilities, which recommended him to the commands, in the execution whereof he so highly displayed his merit, that his name will be handed down to posterity, as one of the most skilful navigators which this country has produced. In 1765, he was with Sir William Barnaby, on the Jamaica station; and behaved in such a manner as gained him the approbation of the admiral. At the conclusion of the war, he was appointed, through the recommendation of Lord Colville, and Sir Hugh Palliser, to survey the Gulph of St. Lawrence, and the coasts of Newfoundland. In this employment he continued till the year 1767, when the Royal Society resolved, that it would be proper to send a navigator into the South Seas, to observe the transit of the planet Venus over the sun's disk; and Otaheite being fixed upon, the *Endeavour*, a ship built for the coal trade, was put into commission, and the command of her given to Lieutenant, the late Capt. Cook, who was appointed with Mr. Charles Green, to observe the transit. In this voyage he was accompanied by Joseph Banks, Esq. since Sir Joseph, and Dr. Solander, and other ingenious artists. The transit of Venus was observed in different parts of the Island, and the Captain returned, after having been absent almost three years, in which period he had made discoveries equal to all the navigators of his country, from the time of Columbus to the present. From this period, as his services increased in usefulness to the public, so his reputation advanced to a height too great for our encomiums to reach. Perhaps no science ever received greater additions from the labours of a single man, than geography has done from those of Capt. Cook; who, in his first voyage to



the South Seas discovered the Society Isles; determined the insularity of New Zealand; discovered the straits which separate the two Islands, called after his name; and made a complete survey of both. He afterwards explored the eastern coast of New Holland, hitherto unknown; an extent of 27 deg. of lat. or upwards of two thousand miles.

Soon after the Captain's return to England, it was resolved to equip two ships to complete the discovery of the Southern hemisphere. It had long been a prevailing idea, that the unexplored part contained another continent. To ascertain the fact was the principal object of this expedition; and that nothing might be omitted that could tend to facilitate the enterprize, two ships were provided; the one, the *Resolution*, under the command of Capt. Cook; the other, the *Adventure*, commanded by Capt. Furneaux. In this second expedition round the world, Capt. Cook resolved the great problem of a Southern Continent; having so completely traversed that hemisphere, as not to leave a possibility of its existence, unless so near the pole, as to be beyond the reach of navigation. In this voyage, New Caledonia, the largest Island in the Southern Pacific Ocean, except New Zealand, was discovered; as was also the Island of Georgia; and an unknown coast, which the Captain named Sandwich land; and having twice visited the tropical seas, he settled the situations of the old discoveries, and made several new ones.

The want of success which attended Capt. Cook's attempt to discover a Southern Continent, did not set aside another plan which had been recommended some time before. This was no other than the finding out a N. W. passage, which the fancy of some chimerical projectors had conceived to be a practicable scheme. His services were required for this arduous undertaking, and he offered them without hesitation. This third and last voyage is distinguished by the extent and importance of its discoveries. Not to mention several smaller Islands in the Southern Pacific, Capt. Cook discovered the group, north of the equinoxial line, called

Sandwich Islands; which, on account of their situation and productions, may perhaps become an object of more consequence, than any other discovery in the South Sea. He explored what had remained before unknown of the western coast of America, an extent of thirty-seven hundred miles; ascertained the proximity of the two continents of Asia and America; sailed through the straits between them, and surveyed the coasts on each side, so far as to be satisfied of the impracticability of a passage in that hemisphere from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean, by an eastern or western coast. In short, he completed the hydrography of the habitable globe, if we except the Japanese Archipelago, and the sea of Amur, which are still known imperfectly by Europeans. Throughout this voyage it must be confessed, that his services as a navigator, are important and meritorious. The methods which he invented, and so successfully put in practice, of preserving the health, (and consequently the lives) of seamen, will transmit his name to future ages, as a friend and benefactor of mankind. It is well known among those who are conversant in naval history, that the advantages which have been sought, through the medium of long sea voyages, have always been purchased at a dear rate. That dreadful disorder which is peculiar to this service, must, without exercising an unwarrantable degree of tyranny over our seamen, have been an insuperable obstacle to our enterprizes. It was reserved for Capt. Cook to convince the world, that voyages might be protracted to three, or even four years, in unknown regions, and under every change of climate, without affecting the health, in the smallest degree, and even without diminishing the probability of life. A few months after his departure from England, notwithstanding he was then absent, the Royal Society voted him Sir Godfrey Copley's gold medal, as a reward for the account, which he had transmitted to that body, of the method taken to preserve the health of the crew of his ship. Capt. Cook was a married man, and left several children behind him. On each of these his majesty has settled a pension of



twenty-five pounds a year, and two hundred pounds per annum, on his widow.

The constitution of this great and unparalleled navigator, was robust both by nature and habit; his body having been inured to labour, and rendered capable of undergoing the severest hardships. His stomach bore, without complaining, the most coarse and ungrateful food. Indeed, he submitted with an easy self-denial, to wants of every kind, which he endured with remarkable indifference. The qualities of his mind were of the same hardy vigorous kind with those of his body. His understanding was strong and quick-sighted: his judgment, in whatever related to the services he was engaged in, quick and sure: his designs were bold and daring, yet manly and discreet. His courage was cool and determined, and accompanied with an admiral presence of mind, in the moment of danger. His manners were plain and unaffected.

Some have censured his temper as subject to hastiness and passion; but let it be considered, that these were counteracted, and frequently disarmed, by a disposition benevolent and humane. There are those who have blamed Capt. Cook for his severity to the natives of different Islands which we visited; but it was not to these alone he was severe in his discipline. He never suffered any fault in his own people, though ever so trivial, to escape unpunished. If they were charged with insulting a native, or injuring him in his property, if the fact was proved, the offender seldom escaped unpunished. By this impartial distribution of equal justice, the natives themselves conceived so high an idea of his wisdom, and his power too, that they paid him the honours bestowed on their Eatooa, or good spirit.

This is certain, that a most distinguishing feature in Capt. Cook's character, was that unremitting perseverance in the pursuit of his object, which was not only superior to the opposition of dangers, and the pressure of hardships, but even exempt from the want of ordinary relaxation. During the three long voyages in which he was engaged, his eagerness and activity were never in the least abated. No incidental temptation

could detain him for a moment; even those intervals of recreation, which sometimes occurred unavoidably, and were looked for by us with a longing which persons who have experienced the fatigues of service will readily excuse, were submitted to by him with a certain impatience, whenever they could not be employed in making further provisions for the prosecution of his designs. In the course of this work, we have faithfully enumerated all the particular instances in which these qualities were displayed, during the great and important enterprizes in which he was engaged: and we have likewise stated the result of those services, under the two principal heads to which they may be referred, those of geography and navigation, each of which we have placed in a separate and distinct point of view.

We cannot close these memoirs, without taking a slight retrospective view of the tragical end of this truly great and worthy sea officer. It was imagined by some of those who were present, that the marines and those who were in the boats, fired without Capt. Cook's orders, and that he was anxious to prevent the farther effusion of blood; it is therefore probable, that on this occasion, his humanity proved fatal to him; for it was observed, that while he faced the natives, no violence had been offered him; but when he turned about to give directions to the boats, he immediately received the fatal blow. Whether this was mortal or not, it is impossible for any one to determine; but we were informed by a gentleman on board the *Discovery*, whose veracity is unquestionable, that there was time sufficient to have secured the body of our brave Commander, had a certain lieutenant, who commanded a boat of the same ship, pulled in, instead of making off. We do not mention his name, but if our information is an undeniable fact, the dastardly officer merits justly that contempt and poverty, to which it is said he is at present reduced. We beg leave further to observe, that the natives had certainly no intention at first of destroying Capt. Cook, or any of his party. The cause first originated in the death of the Eree, who was shot by one of our people in



the boat: it was this circumstance which alarmed them, and, in consequence of this it was that they armed themselves. At this period Capt. Cook might have returned on board with safety; but he was unfortunate in missing the man who behaved insolent to him, and shooting another; he was unfortunate in the firing of the marines; and equally so in the firing of the people in the launch; all which happened in the space of a few minutes. In short, all the causes that brought on the death of this much lamented Circumnavigator, were produced by a chain of events which could no more be foreseen than prevented. His memory we leave to the gratitude and admiration of posterity.

We now proceed to relate those particulars, that have come to our knowledge, and which happened subsequent to the death of Capt. Cook. We have before observed, that four of the marines, who accompanied the Commodore, were killed by the natives; the survivors, with Mr. Philips, their lieutenant, threw themselves into the sea, and made their escape, being protected by a smart fire from the boats. On this occasion, a striking instance of gallant behaviour, and of affection for his men, was displayed by Mr. Philips; for he had scarcely got into the boat, when, seeing one of the marines, who was not a very expert swimmer, struggling in the water, and in danger of being taken by the Islanders, he instantly leaped into the sea to his assistance, though considerably wounded himself; and after receiving a blow on his head from a stone, which had almost sent him to the bottom, he caught the marine by the hair, and brought him off in safety. Our people for some time kept up a constant fire from most of the boats, (which, during the whole transaction, were at no greater distance from the land than twenty yards,) in order to afford their unfortunate companions, if any of them should still remain alive, an opportunity of effecting their escape. These efforts, seconded by a few guns, that were, at the same time, fired from the *Resolution*, having at length compelled the enemy to retire, a small boat, manned by five midshipmen, pulled to-

wards the shore, where they perceived the bodies lying on the ground without any signs of life. However, they judged it dangerous to attempt to bring them off with so inconsiderable a force; and their ammunition being nearly consumed, they returned to the ships, leaving the bodies in possession of the natives, together with ten stands of arms.

After the general consternation, which the news of this misfortune had diffused throughout the whole company of both ships, had in some degree subsided, their attention was called to the party at the morai, where the mast and sails were on shore, guarded by only six marines. It is difficult to describe the emotions that agitated the minds of Mr. King and his attendants, at this station, during the time in which these occurrences had happened, at the other side of the bay. Being at the distance only of a mile from the village of Kowrowa, they could distinctly perceive a vast multitude of people collected on the spot where Capt. Cook had just before landed. They heard the firing of the muskets, and observed an uncommon bustle and agitation among the crowd. They afterwards saw the Islanders retreating, the boats retiring from the shore, and passing and re-passing, with great stillness, between the ships. Mr. King's heart soon mis-gave him on this occasion. Where so valuable a life was concerned, he could not avoid being alarmed by such new and threatening appearances. Besides this, he knew that Capt. Cook, from a long series of success, in his transactions with the natives of this ocean, had acquired a degree of confidence, which might, in some ill-fated moment, put him too much off his guard; and Mr. King now saw all the dangers to which that confidence might lead, without deriving much consolation from the consideration of the experience which had given rise to it. His first care, on hearing the report of the muskets, was to assure the Islanders, considerable numbers of whom were assembled round the wall of our consecrated field, and seemed at a loss how to account for what they had heard and seen, that they should meet with



no molestation; and that, at all events, he was inclined to continue on peaceable terms with them.

In this situation, Mr. King and his attendants remained till the boats had returned on board, when Capt. Clerke, perceiving by means of his telescope, that our party was surrounded by the natives, who, he thought, designed to attack them, ordered two four-pounders to be fired at the Islanders. These guns, though well aimed, did no mischief; but they gave the natives a convincing proof of their powerful effects. A cocoa-nut tree, under which some of them were sitting, was broken in the middle by one of the balls; and the other shivered a rock, which stood in an exact line with them. As Mr. King had, just before, given them the strongest assurances of their safety, he was extremely mortified at this act of hostility, and, to prevent its being repeated, instantly dispatched a boat to inform Capt. Clerke, that he was, at present, on the most amicable terms with the Islanders, and that, if any future occasion should arise for changing his conduct towards them, he would hoist a jack, as a signal for Capt. Clerke to afford him his assistance. Mr. King waited for the return of the boat with the greatest impatience; and after remaining for the space of a quarter of an hour, under the utmost anxiety and suspense, his fears were at length confirmed, by the arrival of Mr. Bligh, with orders to strike the tents immediately, and to send on board the sails, that were repairing. At the same instant, Kaireekeeke having also received information of the death of Capt. Cook, from a native who had arrived from the other side of the bay, approached Mr. King, with great dejection and sorrow in his countenance, enquiring whether it was true. At this time the situation of the party was highly critical and important. Not only their own lives, but the issue of the expedition, and the return of at least one of the ships, were involved in the same common danger. They had the mast of the *Resolution*, and the greater part of the sails, on shore, protected by only half a dozen marines. The loss of these would have been irreparable; and though the Islanders had

not as yet testified the smallest disposition to molest the party, it was difficult to answer for the alteration, which the intelligence of the transaction at Kowrowa might produce. Mr. King therefore thought proper to dissemble his belief of the death of Capt. Cook, and to desire Kaireekeeke to discourage the report; apprehending that either the fear of our resentment, or the successful example of their countrymen, might perhaps lead them to seize the favourable opportunity, which at this time presented itself, of giving us a second blow. He, at the same time, advised him to bring old Kaoo, and the other priests, into a large house adjoining to the morai, partly from a regard to their safety, in case it should have been found necessary to have recourse to violent measures; and partly from a desire of having him near our people, in order to make use of his authority with the natives, if it could be instrumental in maintaining peace.

Having stationed the marines on the top of the morai, which formed a strong and advantageous post, he intrusted the command to Mr. Bligh, who received the most positive directions to act solely on the defensive; and he then went on board the *Discovery*, in order to confer with Capt. Clerke, on the dangerous situation of our affairs. He had no sooner left the spot, than the Islanders began to annoy our people with stones; and just after he had reached the ship, he heard the firing of the marines. He therefore hastily returned on shore, where he found affairs growing every moment more alarming. The natives were providing arms, and putting on their mats; and their numbers augmented very fast. He also observed several large bodies advancing towards our party along the cliff, by which the village of Kakooa, is separated from the north side of the bay where Kowrowa is situate. At first they attacked our people with stones from behind the walls of their inclosures, and meeting with no resistance, they soon became more daring. A few courageous fellows, having crept along the beach, under cover of the rocks, suddenly presented themselves at the foot of the morai,



with an intention of storming it on the side next the sea, which was its only accessible part; and they were not dislodged before they had stood a considerable quantity of shot, and had seen one of their number fall. The amazing courage of one of these assailants deserves to be recorded. Having returned with a view of carrying off his companion, amidst the fire of our whole party, he received a wound, which obliged him to quit the body, and retire; but, a few minutes afterwards, he again made his appearance, and receiving another wound, was under the necessity of retreating a second time. At that moment, Mr. King arrived at the morai, and saw this man return a third-time, faint from the loss of blood and fatigue. Being informed of what had happened, he forbade the soldiers to fire; and the Islander was suffered to carry off his friend, which he was just able to accomplish; and then fell down himself, and breathed his last. About this time a strong reinforcement from both ships having landed, the natives retreated behind their walls; which affording Mr. King access to the priests, he sent one of them to exert his endeavours to bring his countrymen to some terms, and to propose to them, that if they would desist from throwing stones, he would not allow our men to fire. This truce was agreed to, and our people were suffered to launch the mast, and carry off the sails, astronomical instruments, &c. without molestation. As soon as our party had quitted the morai, the Islanders took possession of it, and some of them threw a few stones, which, however, did no mischief. Between eleven and twelve o'clock, Mr. King arrived on board the *Discovery*, where he found that no decisive plan had been adopted for the regulation of our future proceedings. The recovery of Capt. Cook's body, and the restitution of the boat, were the objects, which on all hands, we agreed to insist on; and Mr. King declared it as his opinion, that some vigorous methods should be put in execution, if the demand of them should not be instantly complied with. It may justly be supposed that Mr. King's feelings, on the death of a beloved and respected

friend, had some share in this opinion; yet there were doubtless other reasons, and those of the most serious nature, that had some weight with him. The confidence which the success of the natives in killing our Commander, and obliging us to leave the shore must naturally have inspired; and the advantage, however inconsiderable, which they had gained over us the preceding day, would, he had no doubt, excite them to make farther dangerous attempts; and the more particularly, as they had no great reason, from what they had hitherto observed, to dread the effects of our fire-arms. This kind of weapon, indeed, contrary to the expectations of us all, had produced in them no signs of terror. On our side, such was the condition of our vessels, and the state of discipline among us, that, had a vigorous attack been made on us, during the night, the consequences might perhaps have been highly disagreeable. Mr. King was supported, in these apprehensions, by the opinion of the greater part of the officers on board; and nothing seemed to him more likely to encourage the Islanders to make the attempt, than the appearance of our being inclined to an accommodation, which they could only impute to weakness or fear. On the other hand it was urged, in favour of more conciliatory measures, that the mischief was already done, and was irreparable; that the natives, by reason of their former friendship and kindness had a strong claim to our regard: and the more particularly, as the late calamitous accident did not appear to have taken its rise from any premeditated design; that, on the part of Terreeboo, his ignorance of the theft, his willingness to accompany Capt. Cook on board the *Resolution*, and his having actually sent his two sons into the pinnace, must rescue his character, in this respect, from the smallest degree of suspicion; that the behaviour of his women, and the chiefs, might easily be accounted for, from the apprehensions occasioned in their minds by the armed force, with which Capt. Cook landed, and the hostile preparations in the bay; appearances so unsuitable to the confidence and friendship, in which both parties had hitherto



lived, that the arming of the Islanders was manifestly with a design to resist the attempt, which they had some reason to expect would be made, to carry off their sovereign by force, and was naturally to be expected from a people who had a remarkable affection for their chiefs. To these dictates of humanity, other motives of a prudential kind were added; that we were in want of a supply of water, and other refreshments; that the Resolution's foremast would require seven or eight days work, before it could be stepped; that the spring was advancing very fast; and that the speedy prosecution of our next expedition to the northward, ought now to be our sole object; and that therefore, to engage in a vindictive contest with the natives, might not only subject us to the imputation of needless cruelty, but would require great delay, in the equipment of our ships. In this latter opinion Capt. Clerke concurred; and though Mr. King was convinced, that an early and vigorous display of our resentment would have more effectually answered every object both of prudence and humanity, he was upon the whole, not sorry that the measures he had recommended were rejected. For though the contemptuous behaviour of the Islanders, and their subsequent opposition to our necessary occupations on shore, arising most probably from a misconstruction of our lenity, obliged us at last to have recourse to violence in our own defence; yet he was not certain that the circumstances of the case, would, in the opinion of the generality of people, have justified the use of force, on our part, in the first instance. Cautionary severity is ever invidious, and the rigour of a preventive measure, when it is the most successful, leaves its expediency the least apparent.

During these deliberations, and while we were thus engaged in concerting some plan for our future operations, a very numerous concourse of the natives still kept possession of the shore; and some of them coming off in canoes, approached within pistol-shot of the ships, and insulted us by various marks of defiance and contempt. It was extremely difficult to restrain the seamen from the use

of their arms on these occasions; but, as pacific measures had been resolved on, the canoes were allowed to return unmolested. Mr. King was now ordered by Capt. Clerke, to proceed towards the shore with the boats of both ships, well manned and armed, with a view of bringing the Islanders to a parley, and of obtaining if possible, a conference with some of the Erees. If he should succeed in this attempt, he was to demand the dead bodies, and particularly that of Capt. Cook: to threaten them, in case of a refusal, with our resentment; but by no means to fire, unless attacked; and not to go ashore on any account whatever. These instructions were delivered to Mr. King before the whole party, in the most positive manner; in consequence of which, he and his detachment left the ships about four o'clock in the afternoon; and as they approached the shore, they perceived every indication of a hostile reception. The natives were all in motion, the women and children retiring; the men arming themselves with long spears and daggers, and putting on their war mats. It also appeared, that since the morning they had thrown up breast works of stone along the beach, where Capt. Cook had landed; in expectation, perhaps, of an attack at that place. When our party were within reach, the Islanders began to throw stones at them with slings, but without doing any mischief. Mr. King concluded from these appearances, that all attempts to bring them to a parley would be ineffectual, unless he gave them some ground for mutual confidence; he therefore ordered the armed boats to stop, and advanced alone in the small boat, holding in his hand a white flag; the meaning of which, from an universal shout of joy from the natives, he had the satisfaction to find was immediately understood. The women instantly returned from the side of the hill, whither they had retired; the men threw off their mats, and all seated themselves together by the sea-side, extending their arms, and inviting Mr. King to land.

Notwithstanding such behaviour seemed expressive of a friendly disposition, Mr. King could not avoid entertaining suspicions of its sincerity. But when he saw Koah,



with extraordinary boldness and assurance, swimming off towards the boat, with a white flag in his hand, he thought proper to return this mark of confidence, and accordingly received him into the boat, though he was armed; a circumstance which did not contribute to lessen Mr. King's suspicions. He had indeed long harboured an unfavourable opinion of Koah. The priests had always represented him as a person of a malicious temper, and no friend to us; and the repeated detections of his fraud and treachery, had convinced us of the truth of their assertions. Besides the melancholy transactions of the morning, in which he was seen performing a principal part, inspired Mr. King with the utmost horror at finding himself so near him; and as he approached him with feigned tears, and embraced him, Mr. King was so distrustful of his intentions, that he took hold of the point of the pahoa, which the chief held in his hand, and turned it from him. He informed the Islander that he had come to demand the body of Capt. Cook, and to declare war against the natives, unless it was restored without delay. Koah assured him that this should be done as soon as possible, and that he would go himself for that purpose; and after requesting a piece of iron of Mr. King, with marks of great assurance, he leaped into the water, and swam ashore, calling out to his countrymen, that we were all friends again. Our people waited with great anxiety near an hour for his return. During this interval, the other boats had approached so near the shore, that the men who were in them entered into conversation with a party of the Islanders, at a little distance; by whom they were informed, that the Captain's body had been cut to pieces, and carried up the country; but of this circumstance Mr. King was not apprized till his return to the ships. He therefore now began to express some degree of impatience at Koah's delay; upon which the chiefs pressed him exceedingly to land; assuring him, that if he would go in person to Terreeoboo, the body would be undoubtedly restored to him. When they found they could not prevail on Mr. King to go ashore, they endeavoured on pretence of conversing

with him with greater ease, to decoy his boat among some rocks, where they might have had it in their power to separate him from the other boats. It was easy to see through these artifices, and he was therefore very desirous of breaking off all communication with them; when a chief approached, who had particularly attached himself to Capt. Clerke, and the officers of the Discovery, on board which ship he had sailed, when we last quitted the bay, intending to take his passage to the Island of Mowee. He said he came from Terreeoboo, to acquaint our people that the body was carried up the country, but that it should be brought back the following morning. There appeared much sincerity in his manner; and being asked, if he uttered a falsehood, he hooked together his two fore fingers, which is here understood as the sign of veracity, in the use of which these Islanders are very scrupulous. Being now at a loss how to proceed, Mr. King sent Mr. Vancouver to inform Capt. Clerke of all that had passed: that it was his opinion, the natives did not intend to keep their word with us; and, far from being grieved at what had happened, were on the contrary inspired with great confidence on account of their late success, and sought only to gain time, till they could plan some scheme for getting our people into their power. Mr. Vancouver came back with orders for Mr. King to return on board, after giving the Islanders to understand, that if the body was not restored the next morning, the town should be destroyed. No sooner did they perceive our party retiring, than they endeavoured to provoke them by the most contemptuous and insulting gestures. Several of our people said, they could distinguish some of the natives parading about in the clothes which had belonged to our unhappy countrymen, and among them, an Eree brandishing Capt. Cook's hanger, and a woman holding the scabbard. In consequence of Mr. King's report to Capt. Clerke, of what he supposed to be the present temper and disposition of the inhabitants, the most effectual methods were taken to guard against any attack they might make during the night. The boats were moored with



top-chains; additional centinels were stationed in each of our ships; and guard-boats were directed to row round them, in order to prevent the Islanders from cutting the cables. During the night, we saw a vast number of lights on the hills, which induced some of us to imagine, that they were removing their effects farther up into the country, in consequence of our menaces. But it seems more probable, that they were kindled at the sacrifices that were performing on account of the war, in which they supposed themselves likely to be engaged; and, perhaps the bodies of our slain countrymen were at that time burning. We afterwards observed fires of the same kind, as we passed the Island of Morotoi; and which, according to the information we received from some of the natives then on board, were made on account of a war they had declared against a neighbouring Island. This agrees with what we learned among the Friendly and Society Isles, that previous to any hostile expedition, the chiefs always endeavoured to animate the courage of the people, by feasts and rejoicings in the night. We passed the night without any disturbance, except from the howlings and lamentations which were heard on shore.

On Monday, the 15th, early in the morning, Koah came along-side the *Resolution*, with a small pig and some cloth, which he desired permission to present to Mr. King. We have already mentioned, that this officer was supposed by the Islanders to be the son of Capt. Cook; and as the latter had always suffered them to believe it, Mr. King was probably considered as the chief after his death. As soon as he came on deck, he interrogated Koah with regard to the body; and, on his returning evasive answers, refused to accept his presents; and was on the point of dismissing him with expressions of anger and resentment, had not Capt. Clerke, with a view of keeping up the appearance of friendship, judged it more proper that he should be treated with the customary respect. This artful priest came frequently to us in the course of the morning, with some trifling present or other; and as we always observed him eyeing every part of the ship with a de-

gree of attention, we took care he should see we were well prepared for our defence. He was extremely urgent both with Captain Clerke and Mr. King to go on shore, imputing the detention of the bodies to the other chiefs, and assuring those gentlemen, that every thing might be adjusted to their satisfaction, by a personal interview with the king. However, they did not think it prudent to comply with Koah's request; and indeed a fact came afterwards to their knowledge, which proved his want of veracity. For, they were informed, that immediately after the action in which Capt. Cook had lost his life, Terreeoboo had retired to a cave in the steep part of the mountain that hangs over the bay, which was accessible only by means of ropes, and where he continued for several days, having his provisions let down to him by cords. After the departure of Koah from the ships, we observed that his countrymen who had assembled by day-break, in vast crowds on the shore, flocked around him with great eagerness on his landing, as if they wished to learn the intelligence he had gained, and what steps were to be taken in consequence of it. It is highly probable, that they expected we should attempt to put our threats into execution; and they appeared fully determined to stand their ground. During the whole morning, we heard conchs blowing in various parts of the coast; large parties were perceived marching over the hills; and upon the whole, appearances were so alarming, that we carried out a stream anchor, for the purpose of hauling the ship abreast of the town, in case of an attack; and boats were stationed off the northern point of the bay, in order to prevent a surprise from the natives in that quarter. Their warlike posture at present, and the breach of their engagement to restore the bodies of the slain, occasioned fresh debates among us concerning the measures which should now be pursued. It was at length determined, that nothing should be permitted to interfere with the repair of the *Resolution's* mast and the preparations for our departure; but that we should nevertheless continue our negotiations for the restoration of the bodies



of our countrymen. The greater part of this day was employed in getting the foremast into a proper situation on deck, that the carpenters might work upon it; and also in making the requisite alterations in the commissions of the officers. The chief command of the expedition having devolved on Capt. Clerke, he removed on board the *Resolution*, promoted Lieutenant Gore to the rank of Captain of the *Discovery*, appointed Messrs. King and Williamson, first and second Lieutenants of the *Resolution*, and nominated Mr. Harvey, a midshipman, who had accompanied Capt. Cook during his two last voyages, to fill the vacant lieutenantancy. During the whole day, we sustained no interruption from the Islanders: and in the evening, the launch was moored with a top-chain, and guard-boats stationed round each of the ships as before. About eight o'clock, it being exceedingly dark, we heard a canoe paddling towards the ship; and it was no sooner perceived, than both the centinels on deck fired into it. There were two of the natives in this canoe, who immediately roared out "Tinnee," (which was their method of pronouncing Mr. King's name,) and said they were friends, and had something with them which belonged to Capt. Cook. When they came on board, they threw themselves at the feet of our officers, and seemed to be extremely terrified. It fortunately happened that neither of them were hurt, notwithstanding the balls of both pieces had gone through the canoe. One of these was the person who has been already mentioned under the appellation of the taboo man, who constantly attended Capt. Cook with the particular ceremonies we have before described; and who, though a man of distinction in the Island, could scarcely be prevented from performing for him the most humiliating offices of a menial servant. After bewailing with many tears, the loss of the *Orono*, he informed us that he had brought a part of his body. He then gave us a small bundle which he brought under his arm; and it is impossible to describe the horror with which we were seized, upon finding it a piece of human flesh of the weight of about nine or ten

pounds. This, he said, was all that now remained of the body; that the rest had been cut in pieces, and burnt; but that the head, and all the bones, except those which belonged to the trunk, were in the possession of Terreeboob and the other chiefs; that what we saw had been allotted to Kaoo, the chief of the priests, for the purpose of being used in some religious ceremony; and that he had sent it as a testimony of his innocence, and of his attachment to us. We had now an opportunity of learning whether they were cannibals; and we did not neglect to avail ourselves of it. We first endeavoured, by several indirect questions, put to each of them apart, to gain information respecting the manner in which the other bodies had been treated and disposed of; and finding them very constant in one account, that after the flesh had been cut off, the whole of it was burnt; we at last put the direct question, whether they had not fed on some of it; they immediately testified as much horror at such an idea, as any European would have done; and asked, whether that was the practice among us. They afterwards asked us, with great earnestness, and with an appearance of apprehension, when the *Orono* would come again? and how he would treat them on his return? the same enquiry was often made in the sequel by others; and this idea is consistent with the general tenour of their conduct towards him, which indicated that they considered him as a being of a superior species. We pressed our two friendly visitants to continue on board till the next morning, but we could not prevail upon them. They informed us, that if this transaction should come to the knowledge of the king, or any of the other Erees, it might be attended with the most fatal consequences to their whole society; to prevent which, they had been under the necessity of coming to us in the dark; and the same precaution, they said, would be requisite in returning on shore. They further told us, that the chiefs were eager to take revenge on us for the death of their countrymen; and particularly cautioned us against trusting Koah, who, they assured us was our implacable enemy: and ardently



longed for an opportunity of fighting us, to which the blowing of the conchs that we had heard in the morning, was intended as a challenge. It likewise appeared from the information of these men, that seventeen of their countrymen were slain in the first action, at the village of Kowrowa, five of whom were chiefs; and that Kaneena and his brother, our particular friends, were of that number. Eight, they said, had lost their lives at the observatory; three of whom likewise were persons of the first distinction. At eleven o'clock the two natives left us, and took the precaution to desire that one of our guard-boats might attend them, till they had passed the *Discovery*, lest they should again be fired upon, which, by alarming their countrymen on shore, might expose them to the danger of detection. This request was readily complied with, and we had the satisfaction to find, that they reached the land safe and undiscovered. During the remainder of this night, we heard the same loud lamentations, as in the preceding one. Early the following morning, we received a visit from Koah. Mr. King was piqued at finding, that notwithstanding the most glaring marks of treachery in his conduct, and the positive declaration of our friends the priests, he should still be suffered to carry on the same farce, and to make us at least appear the dupes of his hypocrisy. Our situation was indeed become extremely awkward and unpromising; none of the purposes for which this pacific plan of proceeding had been adopted, having hitherto been in any respect, promoted by it. No satisfactory answer had been given to our demands; we did not seem to have made any progress towards a reconciliation with the natives; they still remained on the shore in hostile postures, as if determined to oppose any endeavours we might make to go ashore; and yet it was become absolutely necessary to attempt landing, as the completing our stock of water would not admit of any longer delay. However, in justice to the conduct of Capt. Clerke, we must remark, that it was highly probable, from the great numbers of the Islanders, and from the resolution with which

they seemed to expect our approach, that an attack could not have been made without danger; and that the loss of even a very few men might have been severely felt by us, during the remainder of our voyage: whereas, the delaying to put our menaces into execution, though on the one hand, it diminished their opinion of our valour, had the effect of occasioning them to disperse on the other. For this day, about twelve o'clock, upon finding that we persisted in our inactivity, great bodies of them, after blowing their conchs, and using every method of defiance, marched off, over the hills, and never made their appearance afterwards. Those, however, who remained, were not the less daring and presumptuous. One of them had the insolence to come within musket-shot a-head of the *Resolution*, and after throwing several stones at us, waved over his head the hat which had belonged to Capt. Cook, while his countrymen ashore were exulting and encouraging his audacity. Our people were highly enraged at this insult, and, coming in a body on the quarter-deck, begged they might no longer be obliged to put up with such reiterated provocations, and requested Mr. King to endeavour to obtain permission for them, from Capt. Clerke, to take advantage of the first fair occasion of avenging the death of their much lamented Commander. On Mr. King's acquainting the Captain with what was passing, he ordered some great guns to be fired at the Islanders on shore; and promised the crew, that, if they should be molested at the watering-place, the next day, they should then be permitted to chastise them. Before we could bring our guns to bear, the natives had suspected our intentions, from the bustle and agitation they observed in the ship; and had retired behind their houses and walls. We were consequently obliged to fire, in some degree, at random; notwithstanding which, our shot produced all the effects we could desire: for, in a short time afterwards, we perceived Koah paddling towards us, with the greatest haste; and when he arrived, we learned that some people had lost their lives, and among the rest *Maiha-maiha*, a principal



Eree, nearly related to Terreeoboo. Not long after Koah's arrival, two boys swam off from the Morai towards our vessels, each armed with a long spear; and after they had approached pretty near, they began in a very solemn manner to chant a song; the subject of which, from their frequently mentioning the word Orono, and pointing to the village where Capt. Cook had been slain, we concluded to be the late calamitous occurrence. Having sung for near a quarter of an hour in a plaintive strain, during all which time they continued in the water, they repaired on board the *Discovery*, and delivered up their spears; and after remaining there a short time, returned on shore. We could never learn who sent them, or what was the object of this ceremony. During the night, we took the usual precautions for the security of the ships; and, as soon as it was dark, the two natives, who had visited us the preceding evening, came off to us again. They assured us, that though the effects of our great guns this afternoon, had greatly alarmed the chiefs, they had by no means relinquished their hostile intentions, and they advised us to be on our guard.

On Wednesday, the 17th, the boats of both ships were dispatched ashore to procure water; and the *Discovery* was warped close to the beach, in order to protect the persons employed in that service. We soon found that the intelligence which had been sent us by the priests, was not destitute of foundation, and that the Islanders were determined to neglect no opportunity of annoying us, when it could be done without much hazard. The villages, throughout this whole cluster of Islands, are for the most part, situated near the sea; and the adjacent ground is enclosed with stone walls, of the height of about three feet. These, we at first supposed, were designed for the division of property; but we now discovered that they served for a defence against invasion, for which purpose they were, perhaps, chiefly intended. They consist of loose stones, and the natives are very dextrous in shifting them, with great quickness, to such particular situations, as the direction of the attack may occasionally

require. In the sides of the mountain that stands near the bay, they have likewise holes, or caves, of considerable depth, whose entrance is secured by a fence of a similar kind. From behind both these stations, the Islanders perpetually harrassed our watering party with stones; nor could the considerable force we had on shore, with the advantage of muskets, compel them to retreat. Thus opposed, our people were so occupied in attending to their own safety, that, during the whole forenoon, they filled only one ton of water. It being therefore impossible for them to perform this service, till their assailants were driven to a greater distance, the *Discovery* was ordered to dislodge the enemy with her great guns; which being accomplished by means of a few discharges, the men landed without molestation. The natives, however, made their appearance again soon afterwards, in their usual method of attack; and it was now deemed absolutely necessary to burn down some straggling huts, near the wall behind which they had sheltered themselves. In executing the orders that were given for that purpose, our people were hurried into acts of unnecessary devastation and cruelty. Some allowance ought certainly to be made for their resentment of the repeated insults, and contemptuous behaviour of the Islanders, and for their natural desire of revenging the death of their beloved and respected Commander. But, at the same time, their conduct strongly evinced, that the greatest precaution is requisite in trusting, even for a moment, the discretionary use of arms in the hands of private soldiers, or seamen, on such occasions. The strictness of discipline, and the habits of obedience, by which their force is kept directed to suitable objects, lead them to conceive, that whenever they have the power, they have likewise a right to perform. Actual disobedience being almost the only crime for which they expect to receive punishment, they are apt to consider it as the sole measure of right and wrong; and hence they are too ready to conclude, that what they can do with impunity, they may also do consistently with honour and justice; so that the feelings of



humanity, and that generosity towards an unresisting enemy, which at other times, is a striking distinction of brave men, become but feeble restraints to the exercise of violence, when set in opposition to the desire they naturally have of shewing their own power and independence.

We have before observed, that directions had been given to burn only a few straggling houses, which afforded shelter to the Islanders. We were therefore greatly surprised on perceiving the whole village in flames; and before a boat, that was sent to stop the progress of the mischief, could reach the land, the habitations of our old and constant friends, the priests, were all on fire. Mr. King had, therefore, great reason to lament the illness that confined him on board this day. The priests had always been under his protection; and unfortunately, the officers then on duty having seldom been on shore at the morai, were but little acquainted with the circumstances of the place. Had he been present himself, he might, in all probability, have been the means of preserving their little society from destruction. In escaping from the flames, several of the inhabitants were shot; and our people cut off the heads of two of them, and brought them on board. The fate of one unhappy native was much lamented by all of us. As he was repairing to the well for water, he was shot at by one of the marines. The ball happened to strike his calibash, which he instantly threw from him, and ran off. He was pursued into one of the caves above-mentioned, and no lion could have defended his den with greater bravery and fierceness; till at length, after he had found means to keep two of our people at bay for a considerable time, he expired, covered with wounds. This accident first brought us acquainted with the use to which these caverns are applied. About this time a man, advanced in years, was taken prisoner, bound, and conveyed on board the *Resolution*, in the same boat, with the heads of his two countrymen. We never observed horror so strongly portrayed, as in the face of this person, nor so violent a transition to immoderate joy, as when he was untied, and given

to understand, that he might depart in safety. He shewed us that he was not deficient in gratitude, as he not only often returned afterwards with presents of provisions, but also did us other services.

Soon after the destruction of the village, we saw, coming down the hill, a man accompanied by fifteen or twenty boys, who held in their hands pieces of white cloth, plantains, green boughs, &c. It happened that this pacific embassy, as soon as they were within reach, received the fire of a party of our men. This, however, did not deter them from continuing their procession, and the officer on duty came up, in time, to prevent a second discharge. As they made a nearer approach, the principal person proved to be our friend Kaireekkea, who had fled when our people first set fire to the village, and had now returned, and expressed his desire of being sent on board the *Resolution*. On his arrival we found him extremely thoughtful and grave. We endeavoured to convince him of the necessity there was of setting fire to the village, by which this house and those of his brethren were unintentionally destroyed. He expostulated with us on our ingratitude and want of friendship; and, indeed, it was not till the present moment, that we knew the whole extent of the injury that had been done them. He informed us, that confiding in the promises Mr. King had made them, and as well as in the assurances they had received from the men, who had brought us some of Capt. Cook's remains, they had not removed their effects back into the country, as the other inhabitants had done, but had put every valuable article of their own, as well as what they had collected from us, into a house adjoining to the morai, where they had the mortification to see it all set on fire by our people. He had, on coming on board, perceived the heads of his two countrymen lying on deck, at which he was greatly shocked, and earnestly desired that they might be thrown over-board. This request, by the directions of Capt. Clerke, was immediately complied with. In the evening our watering party returned on board, having sustained no farther interruption. We passed a disagreeable night;



the cries and lamentations we heard from the shore being far more dreadful than ever. Our only consolation on this occasion, arose from the hopes that a repetition of such severities might not be requisite in future. It is somewhat remarkable, that, amidst all these disturbances, the female natives, who were on board, did not offer to leave us, or discover any apprehensions either for themselves or their friends on shore. They appeared, indeed, so perfectly unconcerned, that some of them, who were on deck when the village was in flames, seemed to admire the spectacle, and frequently exclaimed, that it was maitai, or very fine.

On Thursday, the 18th, in the morning, the treacherous Koah came off to the ships, as usual. There being no longer any necessity for keeping terms with him, Mr. King was allowed to treat him as he thought proper. When he approached the side of the *Resolution*, singing a song, and offering a hog, and some plantains, to Mr. King, the latter ordered him to keep off, and cautioned him never to make his appearance again without the bones of Capt. Cook, lest his life should pay the forfeit of his repeated breach of faith. He did not appear much mortified with this unwelcome reception, but immediately returned on shore, and joined a party of his countrymen, who were throwing stones at our waterers. The body of the young man, who had been killed the preceding day, was found this morning lying at the entrance of the cave; and a mat was thrown over him by some of our people; soon after which they saw several of the natives carrying him off on their shoulders, and could hear them chanting, as they marched, a mournful song. At length, the Islanders being convinced that it was not the want of ability to chastize them, which had induced us at first to tolerate their provocations, desisted from molesting our people; and, towards the evening, a chief, named Eappo, who had seldom visited us, but whom we knew to be a man of the first distinction, came with presents from Terreeoboo to sue for peace. These presents were accepted, and the chief was dismissed with the following answer: That

no peace would be granted, till the remains of Capt. Cook should be restored. From Eappo we understood that 'the flesh of all the bones of our people who had been slain, as well as the bones of the trunks, had been burnt; that the limb-bones of the marines had been distributed among the inferior chiefs; and that the remains of Capt. Cook had been disposed of as follows; the head to a great Eree, called Kahooopeou; the hair to Maiha-maiha; and the arms, legs, and thighs, to Terreeoboo. After it was dark, many of the natives came off with various sorts of vegetables; and we also received from Kaireekcea two large presents of the same articles.

On the 19th, we were principally employed in sending and receiving the messages that passed between Capt. Clerke and the old king. Eappo was very urgent that one of our officers should go on shore; and offered to remain on board, in the mean time, as an hostage. This request, however, was not complied with; and he left us with a promise of bringing the bones the following day. Our watering party, at the beach, did not meet with the least opposition from the Islanders; who, notwithstanding our cautious behaviour, again ventured themselves among us without any marks of diffidence or apprehension. On Saturday the 20th, early in the morning, we had the satisfaction of getting the fore-mast stepped. This operation was attended with considerable difficulty, and some danger, our ropes being so extremely rotten, that the purchase several times gave way. Between the hours of ten and eleven, we saw a numerous body of the natives descending the hill, which is over the beach, in a sort of procession, each man carrying on his shoulders two or three sugar-canes, and some bread-fruit, plantains, and taro, in his hand. They were preceded by two drummers, who, when they reached the water-side, seated themselves by a white flag, and began beating their drums, while those who had followed them, advanced, one by one, and deposited the presents they had brought with them; after which they retired in the same order. Soon afterwards Eappo appeared in his long feathered cloak,



bearing something with great solemnity in his hands; and having stationed himself on a rock, he made signs that a boat should be sent him. Capt. Clerke, supposing that the chief had brought the bones of our late Commodore, (which, indeed, proved to be the case,) went himself in the pinnace to receive them, and ordered Mr. King to attend him in the cutter. When they arrived at the beach, Eappo, entering the pinnace, delivered the bones to Capt. Clerke, wrapped up in a great quantity of fine new cloth, and covered with a spotted cloak of black and white feathers. He afterwards attended our gentlemen to the Resolution, but could not be prevailed on to accompany them on board; being, perhaps, from a sense of decency, unwilling to be present at the opening of the parcel. In this we found both the hands of Capt. Cook entire, which were well known to us from a scar on one of them, that divided the fore-finger from the thumb, the whole length of the metacarpal bone; the skull, but with the scalp separated from it, and the bones of the face wanting; the scalp, with the ears adhering to it, and the hair upon it cut short; the bones of both the arms, with the skin of the fore-arms hanging to them; the bones of the thighs and legs joined together, but without the feet. The ligaments of the joints were observed to be entire; and the whole shewed sufficient marks of having been in the fire, except the hands, which had the flesh remaining upon them, and were cut in several places, and crammed with salt, most probably with a view of preserving them. The skull was free from any fracture, but the scalp had a cut in the back part of it.

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The lower jaw and feet, which were wanting, had been seized, as Eappo informed us, by different Erees; and he also told us, that Terreeoboo was using every means to recover them.

The next morning, being the 21st, of Febrnary, Eappo, and the king's son, came on board, and brought with them not only the remaining bones of Capt. Cook, but likewise the barrels of his gun, his shoes, and some other trifles which had belonged to him. Eappo assured us, that Terreeoboo, Maiha-maiha, and himself, were extremely desirous of peace; that they had given us the most convincing proofs of it; and that they had been prevented from giving it sooner by the other chiefs, many of whom were still disaffected to us. He lamented, with the most lively sorrow, the death of six chiefs, who had been killed by our people; some of whom, he said, were among our best friends. He informed us, that the cutter had been taken away by Pareea's people, probably in revenge for the blow that he had received; and that it had been broken up the following day. The arms of the marines, which we had also demanded, had been carried off, he said, by the populace and were irrecoverable.

Nothing now remained, but to perform the last solemn offices to our excellent Commander. Eappo was dismissed with orders to taboo all the bay; and, in the afternoon, his remains having been deposited in a coffin, the funeral service was read over them, and they were committed to the deep with the usual military honours. Our feelings, on this mournful occasion, are more easy to be conceived than expressed.



## CHAP. XVI.

*The taboo laid on the bay taken off, and the ships surrounded with canoes; Orders for the Resolution and Discovery to be unmoored; They weigh anchor and take their departure from Karakakooa bay; Sail in quest of a harbour on the south-east side of Mowee; Driven to leeward by the current and strong easterly winds; Pass Tohoorowa; South-west side of Mowee described; Proceed to Woahoo; Its north coast described; Disappointed in attempting to water; Sail to Atooi; and anchor in Wymoa bay; The natives not so friendly as before; Their insolence in demanding a hatchet for every cask of water; Treat our people with contempt; Steal Lieutenant King's hanger; Their insolence at the water side; Are fired at by two marines; One of them wounded; A visit from the contending chiefs; The ships anchor off Oonehcow; A journey up the country; A particular description of the word taboo; A remarkable instance of jealousy.*

ON the 22nd, of February, 1779, during the morning, not a canoe came near the bay; the taboo, which Eappo, at our request, had laid on it the preceding day, having not yet been taken off. At length, the chief came on board; when we assured him that we were now perfectly satisfied; and that, as the Orono was buried, all remembrance of the late unhappy transactions was buried with him. We afterwards requested him to take off the taboo, and to make it known, that the Islanders might bring provisions to us as usual. The ships were soon surrounded with canoes, and many of the Erees came on board, expressing their grief at what had happened, and their satisfaction at our reconciliation. Several of our friends, who did not favour us with a visit, sent presents of large hogs, and other provisions. Among the rest, the old treacherous Koah came off to us, but we refused him admittance. We were now preparing to put to sea, and Capt. Clerke imagining, that, if the intelligence of our proceedings should reach the Islands to leeward before us, it might have a bad effect, gave orders, that the ships should be unmoored. About eight in the evening, we dismissed all the natives; and Eappo, and the friendly Kaireekeea, took their leave of us in a very affectionate manner. We immediately weighed anchor, and stood out of Karakakooa bay. The Islanders were assembled in great numbers on the shore; and, as we passed along received our last farewells, with every mark of good-will and affection.

About ten o'clock P. M. having cleared the land, we stood to the northward, with a view of searching for a harbour, which the natives had often mentioned, on the south-east side of Mowee. We found ourselves, the next morning, driven to leeward, by a swell from the N. E. and a fresh gale, from the same quarter, drove us still farther to the westward. At midnight we tacked and stood four hours to the S. to keep clear of the land; and, at day-break, on the 24th, we were standing towards a small barren Island, named Tahoorowa, about seven miles S. W. of Mowee. Having now no prospect of making a closer examination of the S. E. parts of Mowee, we bore away, and kept along the S. E. side of Tahoorowa. Steering close round its western extremity, in order to fetch the W. side of Mowee, we suddenly shoaled our water, and saw the sea breaking on some rocks almost right a-head. We then kept away about a league and a half, and again steered to the northward; when we stood for a passage between Mowee, and an Island named Ranai. In the afternoon, the weather was calm, with light airs from the W. We stood to the N. N. W. but observing a shoal about sunset, and the weather being unsettled, we stood towards the S. We had passed the S. W. side of this Island, without being able to approach the shore. It forms the same distant view as the N. E. as seen when we returned from the N. in November, 1778; the hilly parts, connected by a low flat isthmus, having, at the first view,



the appearance of two separate Islands. This deceptive appearance continued, till we were within about ten leagues of the coast, which bending a great way inward, formed a capacious bay. The westernmost point, off which the shoal runs, that we have just now mentioned, is rendered remarkable by a small hillock; S. of which is a fine sandy bay; and, on the shore, are several huts, with plenty of cocoa-trees about them. In the course of the day, several of the natives visited us, and brought provisions with them. We presently discovered, that they had heard of our unfortunate disasters at Owhyhee. They were extremely anxious to be informed of the particulars from a woman who had hid herself in the Resolution, in order to obtain a passage to Atooi; making particular enquiries about Pareea, and some other chiefs? and seeming much agitated at the death of Kaneena, and his brother. But, in whatever light this business might have been represented by the woman, it produced no bad effect in their behaviour, which was civil and obliging to an extreme.

On Thursday, the 25th, in the morning, the wind being at E. we steered along the S. side of Ranai, till almost noon, when we had baffling winds and calms till the evening; after which we had a light easterly breeze, and steered for the W. of Morotoi. The current, which had set from the N. E. ever since we left Karakakooa bay, changed its direction, in the course of this day, to the S. E. The wind was again variable during the night; but, early in the morning of the 26th, it settled at E. blowing so fresh, as to oblige us to double-reef the top-sails. At seven, we opened a small bay, distant about two leagues, having a fine sandy beach; but not perceiving any appearance of fresh water, we endeavoured to get to the windward of Woahoo, an Island which we had seen in January, 1778. We saw the land about two in the afternoon, bearing W. by N. at the distance of about eight leagues. We tacked, as soon as it was dark, and again bore away at day-light on the 27th. Between ten and eleven, we were

about a league off the shore, and near the middle of the N. E. side of the Island.

The coast to the northward, consists of detached hills, ascending perpendicularly from the sea; the sides being covered with wood, and the valleys, between them, appearing to be fertile, and well cultivated. An extensive bay was observable to the southward, bounded to the S. E. by a low point of land, covered with cocoa-nut trees; off which, an insulated rock appeared, at the distance of a mile from the shore. The wind continuing to blow fresh, we were unwilling to entangle ourselves with a lee-shore. Instead of attempting, therefore, to examine the bay, we hauled up, and steered in the direction of the coast. At noon we were about two leagues from the Island, and a-breast of the N. point of it. It is low and flat, having a reef-stretching off almost a mile and an half. Between the N. point, and a head-land to the S. W. the land bends inward, and seemed to promise a good road. We therefore steered along the shore, at about a mile distance. At two we were induced, by the sight of a fine river, to anchor in thirteen fathoms water. In the afternoon, Mr. King attended the two Captains on shore, where few of the natives were to be seen, and those principally women. The men, we were informed, were gone to Morotoi, to fight Tahyterree; but their chief, Perreoranee, remained behind, and would certainly attend us, as soon as he was informed of our arrival. To our great disappointment, the water had a brackish taste, for about two hundred yards up the river; beyond which, however, it was perfectly fresh, and was a delightful stream. Farther up, we came to the conflux of two small rivulets, branching off to the right and left of a steep romantic mountain. The banks of the river, and all that we saw of Woahoo, are in fine cultivation, and full of villages; the face of the country being also remarkably beautiful and picturesque. It would have been a laborious business to have watered at this place. Mr. King was therefore dispatched to search about the coast to leeward; but, being unable to land,



on account of a reef of coral, which extended along the shore, Capt. Clerke resolved to proceed immediately to Atooi. In the morning, about eight, we weighed and stood to the north; and on Sunday, the 28th, at daylight, we bore away for that Island, and were in sight of it by noon. We were off its eastern extremity, which is a green flat point, about sun-set. As it was dark, we did not venture to run for the road on the S. W. side, but spent the night in plying on and off, and anchored, at nine the next morning, being Monday the 1st of March, in twenty-five fathoms water. In running down, from the S. E. point of the Island, we saw, in many places, the appearance of shoal water, at some distance from the land. Being anchored in our old station, several canoes came to visit us; but it was very observable, that there was not that appearance of cordiality in their manners, and complacency in their countenances, as when we saw them before. They had no sooner got on board, but one of them informed us, that we had communicated a disorder to the women, which had killed many persons of both sexes. He, at that time, was afflicted with the venereal disease, and minutely described the various symptoms which had attended it. As no appearance of that disorder had been observed amongst them, on our first arrival, we were, it is to be feared, the authors of this irreparable mischief. What we had principally in view, at this place, was to water the ships with as much expedition as possible; and Mr. King was sent on shore in the afternoon, with the launch and pinnace, laden with casks. He was accompanied by the gunner of the Resolution, who was instructed to trade for some provisions; and they were attended by a guard of five marines. Multitudes of people were collected upon the beach, by whom, at first we were kindly received; but, after we had landed the casks, they began to be exceedingly troublesome. Knowing from experience, how difficult a task it was to repress this disposition, without the interposition of their chiefs, we were sorry to be informed, that they were all at a distant part of the Island. Indeed, we

both felt and lamented the want of their assistance; for we could hardly form a circle, as our practice usually was, for the safety and convenience of the trading party. No sooner had we taken this step, and posted marines to keep off the populace, than a man took hold of the bayonet belonging to one of the soldier's muskets, and endeavoured to wrench it forcibly from his hand. Mr. King immediately advanced towards them, when the native quitted his hold, and retired; but immediately returned, having a spear in one hand, and a dagger in the other; and it was with difficulty that his countrymen could restrain him from engaging with the soldier. This affray was occasioned by the native's having received from the soldier, a slight prick with his bayonet, to induce him to keep without the line. At this time, our situation required great management and circumspection; Mr. King accordingly enjoined, that no one should presume to fire, or proceed to any other act of violence, without positive commands. Having given these instructions, he was summoned to the assistance of the watering party, where he found the natives in the same mischievous disposition. They had peremptorily demanded, for every cask of water, a large hatchet; which not being complied with, they would not permit the sailors to roll them to the boats. When Mr. King had joined them, one of the natives approached him, with great insolence, and made the same demand. Mr. King told him, that as a friend, he was welcome to a hatchet, but he certainly would carry off the water without paying for it; and instantly ordered the pinnace men to proceed; at the same time calling for three marines, from the trading party, to protect them. This becoming spirit so far succeeded, as to prevent any daring attempt to interrupt us; but they still persevered in the most teasing and insulting behaviour. Some of them, under pretence of assisting the sailors, in rolling the casks towards the shore, gave them a different direction; others stole the hats from off our people's heads, pulled them backward by the skirts of their clothes, and tripped up their heels; the populace,



during all this time, shouting and laughing, with a mixture of mockery and malice. They afterwards took an opportunity of stealing the cooper's bucket, and forcibly took away his bag. Their principal aim, however, was to possess themselves of the muskets of the marines, who were continually complaining of their attempts to force them from their hands. Though they, in general, preserved a kind of deference and respect for Mr. King, yet they obliged him to contribute his share towards their stock of plunder. One of them approached him, in a familiar manner, and diverted his attention, whilst another seized his hanger, which he held carelessly in his hand, and ran away with it. Such insolence was not to be repelled by force. Prudence dictated that we must patiently submit to it; at the same time, guarding against its effects as well as we were able. Mr. King was, however somewhat alarmed, on being soon after informed by the serjeant of marines, that, turning suddenly round, he saw a man behind him, armed with a dagger, in the position of striking. Though he might, perhaps, be mistaken, in this particular, our situation was truly critical and alarming; and the smallest error or mistake, on our part, might have been of fatal consequences.

Our people being separated into three small parties; one filling casks at the lake; another rolling them to the shore; and a third purchasing provisions; Mr. King had some intentions of collecting them together, in order to protect the performance of one duty at a time. But, on due reflection, he thought it more advisable to let them proceed as they had begun. If a real attack had been made, even our whole force could have made but a poor resistance. He thought, on the other hand, that such a step might operate to our disadvantage, as being an evident token of our fears. Besides, in the present case, the crowd was kept divided, and many of them wholly occupied in bartering. Perhaps, the principal cause of their not attacking us was, their dread of the effects of our arms; and, as we appeared to place so much confidence in this advantage, as to oppose only five marines to such a

multitude of people, their ideas of our superiority must have been greatly exalted. It was our business to cherish this opinion; and, it must ever be acknowledged to the honour of the whole party, that it was impossible for any men to behave better, in order to strengthen these impressions. Whatever could be considered as a jest, they received with patience and good-nature; but, if they were interrupted by any serious attempt, they opposed it with resolute looks and menaces. At length, we so far succeeded, as to get all our casks to the sea-side, without any accident of consequence: but, while our people were getting the casks into the launch, the inhabitants, thinking they should have no farther opportunity of plundering, grew more daring and insolent. The serjeant of marines luckily suggested to Mr. King, the advantage of sending off his party first into the boats, by which means the muskets would be taken out of their reach; which, as above related, were the grand objects the Islanders had in view: and, if they should happen to attack us, the marines could more effectually defend us, than if they were on shore. Every thing was now in the boats, and only Mr. King, Mr. Anderson, the gunner, and a seaman of the boat's crew remained on shore. The pinnace laying beyond the surf, which we were under a necessity of swimming through, Mr. King ordered the other two to make the best of their way to it, and told them he would follow them. They both refused to comply with this order, and it became a matter of contest, who should be the last on shore. Some hasty expression, it seems, Mr. King had just before made use of to the sailor, which he considered as a reflection on his courage, and excited his resentment; and the old gunner, as a point of honour was now started, conceived it to be his duty to take a part in it. In this whimsical situation, they, perhaps, might have long remained, had not the dispute been settled by the stones, which began to fly plentifully about us, and by the exclamations of the people from the boats, begging us to be expeditious, as the natives were armed with clubs and spears, and pursuing us into the



water. Mr. King arrived first at the pinnacle, and, perceiving Mr. Anderson was so far behind, as not to be entirely out of danger, he ordered one musket to be fired; but, in the hurry of executing his orders, the marines fired two. The natives immediately ran away, leaving only one man and woman on the beach. The man attempted to rise several times, but was not able, having been wounded in the groin. The Islanders, in a short time, returned; and, surrounding the wounded man, brandished their spears at us, with an air of defiance; but, by the time we reached the ships, some persons arrived, which we supposed to be the chiefs, by whom they were all driven from the shore. During our absence, Capt. Clerke had been under terrible apprehensions for our safety; which had been considerably increased by his misunderstanding some of the natives, with whom he had conversed on board. The name of Capt. Cook being frequently mentioned, accompanied with circumstantial descriptions of his death and destruction, he concluded, that they had received intelligence of the unfortunate events at Owhyhee, to which they alluded. But they were only endeavouring to make him understand, what wars had arisen on account of the goats, which Capt. Cook had left at Oneeheow, and that the poor goats had been slaughtered, during the contest for the property of them. Capt. Clerke, applying these shocking representations to our misfortunes at Owhyhee, and to an indication of revenge, fixed his telescope upon us the whole time; and as soon as he saw the smoke of the muskets, ordered the boats to be put off to our assistance.

On Tuesday, the 2nd, of March, in the morning, Mr. King was again ordered on shore, with the watering party. As we had so narrowly escaped the preceding day, Capt. Clerke augmented our force from both ships, and we had a guard of forty men under arms. This precaution, however, was found to be unnecessary; for the beach was left entirely to ourselves, and the ground extending from the landing-place to the lake, tabooed. Hence we concluded, that some of the chiefs had visited this quarter;

who, being unable to stay, had considerably taken this step, that we might be accommodated with safety. Several men appeared with spears and daggers, on the other side of the river, but never attempted to molest us. Their women came over, and seated themselves close by us, on the banks; and about the middle of the day, some of the men were prevailed on to bring us hogs and roots, and also to dress them for us. When we had left the beach, they came down to the sea-side, and one of them had the audacity to throw a stone at us; but, as his conduct was highly censured by the rest, we did not express any kind of resentment. On the 3rd, we completed our watering, without much difficulty; and, on returning to the ships, we were informed, that several chiefs had been on board, and had apologized for the conduct of their countrymen, attributing their riotous behaviour to the quarrels then subsisting among the principal people of the Island, and which had destroyed all order and subordination. At this time the government of Atooi was disputed between Toneoneo, who had the supreme power when we were there the preceding year, and a youth named Teavee. By different fathers, they are both the grandsons of Pereeorannee, king of Woahoo; who gave Atooi to the former, and Oneeheow to the latter. The quarrel originated about the goats which we had left at Oneeheow the year before; they being claimed by Toneoneo, as that Island was a dependency of his. The adherents of Teavee insisting on the right of possession, both parties prepared to support their pretensions, and a battle ensued just before our arrival, wherein Toneoneo had been defeated. Toneoneo was likely to become more affected by the consequence of this victory, than by the loss of the objects in dispute; for the mother of Teavee having married a second husband, who was not only a chief at Atooi, but also at the head of a powerful faction there, he thought of embracing the present opportunity of driving Toneoneo out of the Island, that his son-in-law might succeed to the government. The goats, which had increased to six, and would probably have stocked



these Islands in a few years, were destroyed in this contest. Thursday the 4th, we were visited, on board the *Resolution*, by the father-in-law, the mother, and the sister of the young prince, who made several curious presents to Capt. Clerke. Among the rest, were some fish-hooks, which were made from the bones of Terreeoboo's father, who had been killed in an unsuccessful descent upon Woahoo. Also a fly-flap, from the hands of the prince's sister, which had a human bone for its handle, and had been given to her by her father-in-law as a trophy. They were not accompanied by young Teavee, he being then engaged in the performance of some religious rites, on account of the victory he had obtained. The 5th, and 6th, were employed in completing the *Discovery's* water. The carpenters were engaged in caulking the ships, and preparing for our next cruise. We no longer received any molestation from the natives, who supplied us plentifully with pork and vegetables.

This day we were visited by an Indian, who brought a piece of iron on board, to be formed into the shape of a pahooa. It was the bolt of some large ship timbers, but neither the officers nor men could discover to what nation it belonged; though from the shape of the bolt, and the paleness of the iron, they were convinced it was not English. They enquired strictly of the native how he came possessed of it, when he informed them, that it was taken out of a large piece of timber, which had been driven upon their Island, since we were there in January, 1778.

On Sunday, the 7th, we received a visit from Toneoneo, at which we were surprised. Hearing the dowager princess was on board, he could hardly be prevailed on to enter the ship. When they met, they cast an angry lowering look at each other. He did not stay long, and appeared much dejected. We remarked, however, with some degree of surprise, that the women prostrated themselves before him, both at his coming and going away; and all the natives on board treated him with that respect which is usually paid to persons of his rank. It was somewhat remarkable, that a man, who was

then in a state of actual hostility with Teavee's party, should venture alone within the power of his enemies. Indeed, the civil dissensions, which are frequent in all the south sea Islands, seem to be conducted without much acrimony; the deposed governor still enjoying the rank of an Eree, and may put in practice such means as may arise, to regain the consequence which he has lost.

On the 8th, at nine in the morning, we weighed, and proceeded towards Oneeheow, and came to anchor in twenty fathoms water, at about three in the afternoon, nearly on the spot where we anchored in 1778. With the other anchor, we moored in twenty-six fathoms water. We had a strong gale from the eastward in the night, and, the next morning, the ship had driven a whole cable's length, both anchors being almost brought a-head: in which situation we were obliged to continue, this and the two following days.

On Friday, the 12th, the weather being more moderate, the master was dispatched to the N. W. side of the Island, in search of a more commodious place for anchoring. In the evening he returned, having found a fine bay, with good anchorage, in eighteen fathoms water. The points of the bay were in the direction of N. by E. and S. by W. A small village was situated on the N. side of the bay, to the eastward of which were four wells of good water. Mr. Bligh went far enough to the N. to convince himself that Oreehoua, and Oneeheow, were two separate Islands.

Here we shall relate some particulars respecting the interior parts, from the information we obtained from a party, who set out on the 26th, of January, on an expedition up the country, principally with an intention of reaching the snowy mountains. Having previously procured two of the Islanders to serve them as guides, they quitted the village about four o'clock in the afternoon. Their course was easterly, inclining a little to the south. The hills rose with a gradual ascent, which brought them to some extensive plantations, consisting of the taro or eddy root, and sweet potatoes with plants of the cloth-tree. Both the



taro and the sweet potatoes are here planted at the distance of four feet from each other. The potatoes are earthed up almost to the top of the stalk, with a proper quantity of light mould. The taro is left bare to the root, and the mould round it is put in the form of a bason, for the purpose of holding the rain-water; this root requiring a certain degree of moisture. At the Friendly and Society Isles, the taro was constantly planted in low and moist situations, and generally in those places where there was the convenience of a rivulet to flood it. This mode of culture was considered as absolutely necessary; but we now found that this root, with the precaution before-mentioned, succeeds equally well in a more dry situation. It was, indeed, remarked by all of us, that the taro of the Sandwich Islands was the best we had ever tasted. The walls, by which these plantations are separated from each other, are composed of the loose burnt stones, which are met with in clearing the ground; and being totally concealed by sugar-canes, that are planted close on each side, form the most beautiful fences that can be imagined. Our party stopped for the night at the second hut they observed among the plantations, where they supposed themselves to be six or seven miles distant from our ships. The prospect from this spot was described by them as very delightful: they had a view of our vessels in the bay before them; to the left, they saw a continued range of villages, interspersed with groves of cocoa-nut-trees, spreading along the shore; a thick wood extending itself behind them; and, to the right, a very considerable extent of ground, laid out with great regularity in well-cultivated plantations, displayed itself to their view. Near this spot, the natives pointed out to them, at a distance from every other dwelling, the residence of a hermit, who, they said, had, in the former part of his life, been a great chief and warrior, but had long ago retired from the sea-coast of the Island, and now never quitted the environs of his cottage. As they approached him, they prostrated themselves, and afterwards presented him with some provisions. His behaviour was easy, frank,

and cheerful. He testified little astonishment at the sight of our people, and though pressed to accept of some European curiosities, he thought proper to decline the offer, and soon retired to his cottage. Our party represented him as by far the most aged person they had ever seen; judging him to be, at a moderate computation, upwards of a hundred years of age. As they had supposed that the mountain was not more than ten or a dozen miles distant from the bay, and consequently expected to reach it with ease early the following morning, they were now greatly surprized to find the distance scarce perceivably diminished. This circumstance, with the uninhabited state of the country which they were on the point of entering, rendering it necessary to provide a supply of provisions, they dispatched one of their conductors back to the village for that purpose. Whilst they waited his return, they were joined by several of Kaoo's servants, whom that generous old man had sent after them, loaded with refreshments, and fully authorized, as their rout lay through his grounds, to demand, and take away with them whatever they might want. Our travellers were surprized on finding the cold here so intense. But, as they had no thermometer with them, they could only form their judgment of it from their feelings; which, from the warm atmosphere they had quitted, must have been a very fallacious method of judging. They found it, however, so cold, that they could scarce get any sleep, and the Islanders could not sleep at all; both parties being disturbed, during the whole night, by continual coughing. As they, at this time, could not be at any very great height, their distance from the sea being no more than six or seven miles, and part of the road on a very moderate ascent, this uncommon degree of cold must be attributed to the easterly wind blowing fresh over the snowy mountains. Early the next morning, they proceeded on their journey, and filled their calabashes at a well of excellent water, situate about half a mile from their hut. After they had passed the plantations they arrived at a thick wood, which they entered by a path that had been



made for the convenience of the Islanders, who frequently repair thither for the purpose of catching birds, as well as procuring the wild or horse-plantain. Their progress now became extremely slow, and was attended with great labour; for the ground was either swampy, or covered with large stones; the path narrow, and often interrupted by trees lying across it, which they were obliged to climb over, as the thickness of the under-wood, on each side, rendered it impracticable to pass round them. They saw, in these woods, pieces of white cloth fixed on poles, at small distances, which they imagined were land marks for the division of property, as they only observed them where the wild plantains grew. The trees were of the same kind with the spice tree of New Holland; they were straight and lofty, and their circumference was from two to four feet. Having advanced nine or ten miles in the wood, they had the mortification of finding themselves, suddenly, within sight of the sea, and not very far from it; the path having turned off imperceptibly to the S. and carried them to the right of the mountain, which it was their intention to reach. Their disappointment was considerably heightened by the uncertainty under which they now were with respect to its true bearings as they could not at present gain a view of it from the top of the highest trees. They therefore thought proper to walk back six or seven miles to an unoccupied hut, where they had left two of their own people, and three of the natives, with the small remnant of their provisions. Here they passed the second night, during which the air was so extremely sharp, that, by the morning their guides were all gone off, except one.

Being at this time in want of provisions, which laid them under a necessity of returning to some of the cultivated parts of the Island, they left the wood by the same path by which they had entered it. When they arrived at the plantations, they were surrounded by the Islanders from whom they purchased a fresh supply of necessaries; and prevailed upon two of them to accompany them as guides, in the room of those who had gone away. Having procured the

best information they could possibly obtain with regard to the direction of their road, the party, who were now nine in number, marched for about half a dozen miles, along the skirts of the wood, and then entered it again by a path leading towards the E. They passed, for the first three miles, through a forest of lofty spice-trees, which grew on a rich loam. At the back of these trees they met with an equal extent of low shrubby trees, together with a considerable quantity of thick under-wood, upon a bottom of loose burnt stones. This led them to another forest of spice-trees, and the same rich brownish soil, which was again succeeded by a barren ridge of a similar kind with the former. These ridges, as far as they could be seen, appeared to run parallel with the sea shore, and to have Mouna Roa for their centre. In passing through the woods, they found many unfinished canoes, and huts in several places; but they saw none of the inhabitants. After they had penetrated almost three miles into the second wood, they arrived at two huts, where they stopped, being greatly fatigued with the day's journey, in the course of which they had walked, according to their own computation, at least twenty miles. Having found no springs from the time they quitted the plantations, they had greatly suffered from the violence of their thirst; in consequence of which they were obliged, before the evening came on, to separate into small parties, and go in quest of water. They, at last, met with some that had been left by rain in the bottom of a half-finished canoe; which, though of a reddish colour, was by no means unwelcome to them. Throughout the night, the cold was more intense than before; and though they had taken care to wrap themselves up in mats and clothes of the country, and to keep a large fire between the two huts, they could get but very little sleep, and were under the necessity of walking about for the greatest part of the night. Their elevation was now, in all probability, pretty considerable, as the ground, over which their journey lay, had been generally on the ascent. On the next morning, which was the 29th, they set out early, with an



intention of making their last and greatest effort to reach the snowy mountain; but their spirits were considerably depressed, on finding that the miserable pittance of water, which they had discovered the preceding night, was expended. The path, which reached no farther than where canoes had been built, being now terminated, they were obliged to make their way as well as they could; frequently climbing up into the most lofty trees to explore the surrounding country. They arrived, about eleven o'clock, at a ridge of burnt stones, from the top of which they had a prospect of the Mouna Roa, which then appeared to be at the distance of between twelve and fourteen miles from them. They now entered into a consultation, whether they should proceed any further, or rest contented with the view before them of the snowy mountain. Since the path had ceased, their road had become highly fatiguing, and was growing still more so, every step they advanced. The ground was almost every where broken into deep fissures, which, being slightly covered with moss, made them stumble almost continually; and the intervening space consisted of a surface of loose burnt stones, which broke under their feet. Into some of these fissures they threw stones, which seemed from the noise they made, to fall to a considerable depth; and the ground sounded hollow as they walked upon it. Besides these circumstances, which discouraged them from proceeding, they found their conductors so averse to going on, that they had reason to think they would not be prevailed on to remain out another night. They, therefore, at length came to a determination of returning to the ships, after taking a survey of the country from the highest trees they could find. From this elevation, they perceived themselves surrounded with wood towards the sea; they were unable to distinguish, in the horizon, the sky from the water; and betwixt them and the snowy mountain, was a valley of about eight miles in breadth. They passed this night at a hut in the second forest; and the following day, before noon, they had passed the first wood, and found themselves nine or ten miles to the N. E. of

the ships, towards which they marched through the plantations. As they walked along, they did not observe a spot of ground, that was susceptible of improvement, left unplanted; and, indeed, the country, from their account, could scarcely be cultivated to greater advantage for the purposes of the natives. They were surprised at seeing several fields of hay; and, upon their enquiry, to what particular use it was applied, they were informed, that it was intended to cover the grounds where the young taro grew, in order to preserve them from being scorched by the rays of the sun. They observed, among the plantations, a few huts scattered about, which afforded occasional shelter to the labourers: but they did not see any villages at a greater distance from the sea than four or five miles. Near one of them, which was situated about four miles from the bay, they discovered a cave, forty fathoms in length, three in breadth, and of the same height. It was open at each end; its sides were fluted, as if wrought with a chissel; and the surface was glazed over, perhaps by the action of fire. Having thus related the principal circumstances that occurred in the expedition to the snowy mountain at Owhee, we proceed.

Here an explanation of the word Taboo may not be improperly introduced. On asking the reasons of the intercourse being interdicted, between us and the Islanders, the day preceding Terreeoboo's arrival, we were informed, that the bay was tabooed. The same interdiction took place, by our desire, when we interred the remains of Capt. Cook. The most implicit obedience, in these two instances, was rendered by the natives; but whether on religious principles, or in deference to civil authority, we cannot pretend to determine. The ground whereon our observatories were fixed, and the place whereon our masts were deposited, were tabooed, and the operation was equally efficacious. This consecration was performed by the priests only; and yet, at our request, the men ventured on the spot which was tabooed; whence it should seem they entertained no religious apprehensions, their obedience being limited merely to our refusal.



No inducements could bring the women near us; on account, it is presumed, of the Moral adjoining; which they are, at all times, prohibited from approaching; not only here, but in all the Islands of the south seas. Women, it has been observed, are always tabooed, or forbidden to eat certain articles of food. We have seen many of them, at their meals, have their meat put into their mouths by others; and, on our requesting to know the reason of it, we were informed, that they were tabooed, and not permitted to feed themselves. This prohibition was always the consequence of assisting at any funeral, touching a dead body, and many other occasions. The word taboo, is indifferently applied, either to persons or things; as the natives are tabooed, the bay is tabooed, &c. This word is also expressive of any thing sacred, devoted, or eminent. The king of Owhyhee is called Eree-taboo, and a human victim, tangata-taboo; and, among the Friendly Islanders, Tonga, where the king resides, is called Tonga-taboo.

With respect to their marriages, very little can be said, except that such a compact seems to exist among them. It has already been mentioned, that when Terreeoboo had left his queen Rora-rora, at Mowee, another woman co-habited with him, by whom he had children, and seemed particularly attached to her; but whether polygamy is allowed, or whether it is mixed with concubinage, either among the principal or inferior orders, we saw too little of, to warrant any conclusions. From what we observed of the domestic concerns of the lower class of people, one man and one woman seemed to have the direction of the house, and the

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children were subordinate to them, as in civilized countries. The following is the only instance of any thing like jealousy, which we have seen among them, and which shews, that, among married women of rank, not only fidelity, but even a degree of reserve, is required. At one of their boxing matches, Omeah rose two or three times from his place, and approaching his wife, with strong marks of displeasure, commanded her, as we supposed, to withdraw. Whether he thought her beauty engaged too much of our attention, or whatever might be his motives, there certainly existed no real cause of jealousy. She, however, continued in her place, and, at the conclusion of the entertainment, joined our party, and even solicited some trifling presents. She was informed that we had not any about us, but that, if she would accompany us to the tent, she should be welcome to make choice of what she liked. She was, accordingly, proceeding with us; which being observed by Omeah, he followed in a great rage, seized her by the hair, and, with his fists, began to inflict severe corporal punishment. Having been the innocent cause of this extraordinary treatment, we were exceedingly concerned at it; though we understood it would be highly improper for us to interfere between husband and wife of such superior rank. The natives, however, at length interposed, and, the next day, we had the satisfaction of meeting them together, perfectly satisfied with each other; besides, what was extremely singular, the lady would not permit us to rally the husband on his behaviour, which we had inclination to do; plainly telling us, that he had acted very properly.



## CHAP. XVII.

*The Resolution and Discovery, having weighed anchor, quit Onceehew ; Enter the bay of Awatska ; Descry the town of St. Peter and St. Paul ; Party sent on shore ; Their reception by the Commander of the port ; Another party dispatched to Bolcheretsk, provisions, and stores being extremely scarce at St. Peter and St. Paul ; Proceed up the river Awatska ; Civility and hospitality from the inhabitants of the town of Karatchin ; A journey on sledges ; Curious account of that mode of travelling ; Arrival at Natcheechin ; Embark on the Bolchoireka River ; Formal procession into the capital ; Hospitality and generosity of Major Behm, Commander of the garrison ; Bolcheretsk described ; Affecting departure from that place ; Return to the ships ; Remarkable instance of generosity in the sailors ; Major Behm carries dispatches to Petersburg ; His departure and extraordinary character ; Transactions at Petropaulowska ; The Russian Hospital put under the care of our Surgeons ; Difficulties in sailing out of the bay ; Steer to the northward ; Appearance of the country ; Cheepoonskoi Noss ; Kronotski Noss ; K ntschatskoi Noss ; Olutorskoi Noss ; And St. Thadeu's Noss, passed, and the errors of the Russian Charts pointed out.*

**O**N Monday, the 15th, of March 1779, we weighed anchor, and passing to the N. of Tahoorá, stood to the S. W. in expectation of falling in with the Island of MODOOPAPAPPA ; the natives having assured us, that it lay in that direction, within five hours sail of Tahoorá. The next day at five o'clock P. M. we made a signal for the Discovery to come under our stern, having given over all hopes of seeing MODOOPAPAPPA. On Wednesday, the 17th, we steered W. Capt. Clerke intending to keep in the same parallel of latitude, till we made the longitude of Awatska Bay ; and then to steer N. for the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, which was also fixed on as our rendezvous, if we should happen to separate. This track was chosen, because we supposed it to be yet unexplored, and we might probably meet with some new Islands in our passage. On Tuesday, the 30th, the winds and unsettled state of the weather, induced Capt. Clerke to alter his plan, and, at six in the evening, we began to steer N. W. which we continued till Tuesday, the 6th, of April, at which time we lost the trade wind.

Sunday, the 25th, we were favoured with a transient glance of the entrance of Awatska Bay ; but in the present state of the weather, we could not presume to venture into it. For this reason we again stood off,

when we lost sight of the Discovery ; but this gave us little concern, being now so near the place of rendezvous. Wednesday, the 28th, in the morning, the weather cleared up, and we had a fine day, when our men were employed in taking the ice from the rigging, sails, &c. that in case of a thaw, which was now expected, it might not fall on our heads. At noon, in latitude 52 deg. 44 min. longitude 159 deg. the entrance of Awatska Bay, bore N. W. The mouth of it opens in the direction of N. N. W. On the S. side, the land is moderately high, rising to the northward into a bluff-head. Three remarkable rocks lie in the channel between them, not far from the N. E. side ; and, on the opposite side, a single rock of considerable size. At three o'clock, P. M. we stood into the bay, with a fair wind from the southward, having from twenty-two to seven fathoms soundings. There is a look-out house on the north-head, used as a light-house, when any of the Russian ships are expected upon the coast. It had a flag-staff, but we could not perceive any person there. Having passed the mouth of the bay, which extends about four miles in length, a circular basin presented itself of about twenty-five miles in circumference ; in this we anchored about four o'clock ; fearing to run foul of a shoal mentioned by



View of the **INSIDE** of a **WINTER HABITATION** in **KAMTSCHATKA**

*Published by H. Smith, Woodbridge*









Muller to lie in the channel. Great quantities of loose ice drifted with the tide in the middle of the bay, but the shores were blocked up with it. Plenty of wild fowl, of various kinds, were seen; also large flights of Greenland pigeons, together with ravens and eagles. We examined every corner of the bay, with our glasses, in order to discern the town of St. Peter and St. Paul, which, from the accounts we had received at Onalashka, we supposed to be a place of strength and consequence. At length we discovered, to the N. E. some miserable log-houses, and a few conical huts amounting in the whole, to about thirty, which, from their situation, notwithstanding all the respect we wished to entertain for a Russian Ostrog, or town, we concluded to be Petropaulowska. In justice, however, to the hospitable treatment we found here, it may not be amiss to anticipate the reader's curiosity, by assuring him that our disappointment proved, in the end, a matter of entertainment to us. In this wretched extremity of the earth, beyond conception barbarous and inhospitable, out of the reach of civilization, bound and barricaded with ice, and covered with summer snow, we experienced the tenderest feelings of humanity, joined to a nobleness of mind, and elevation of sentiment, which would have done honour to any clime and nation.

On Sunday the 29th, in the morning, at day-light, Capt. King was sent with the boats to examine the bay, and to present the letters to the Russian Commander, which he had brought from Onalashka. Having proceeded as far as we were able with the boats, we got upon the ice, which extended near half a mile from the shore. The inhabitants had not yet seen either the ship, or the boats; for even after we had got upon the ice, we could not perceive any signs of a living creature in the town. We sunk at every step almost knee deep in the snow, and though we found tolerable footing at the bottom, yet the weak parts of the ice not being discoverable, we were constantly exposed to the danger of breaking through it. This accident at last, actually happened to Capt. King; who stepping on quickly over

a suspicious spot, in order to press with less weight upon it, he came upon a second before he could stop himself, which broke under him, and in he fell. Fortunately he rose clear of the ice; and a man who was a little way behind with a boat hook, throwing it out, the Captain, by that means, was enabled to get upon firm ice again. The nearer we approached the shore, we found the ice still more broken. The sight of a sledge advancing towards us, however, afforded some comfort. But instead of coming to our relief, the driver stopt short, and called out to us. Capt. King immediately held up Ismyloff's letters; in consequence of which, the man turned about, and drove full speed back again, followed with the exclamations of some of our party. Unable to draw any conclusion from this unaccountable behaviour, we still proceeded towards the Ostrog, though with the greatest circumspection; and, when at the distance of about a quarter of a mile from it, we observed a body of armed men advancing to meet us. To avoid giving them any alarm, and to preserve the most peaceable appearance, the Captain and Mr. Wetber. marched in front, and the men, who had boat-hooks in their hands, were stationed in the rear. The armed party consisted of about thirty soldiers, headed by a person with a cane in his hand. Within a few paces of us he halted, and drew up his men in martial order; Capt. King presented Ismyloff's letters to him, but in vain endeavoured to make him understand that we were English, and had brought these dispatches from Onalashka. After an attentive examination of our persons, he conducted us towards the village in solemn silence, halting frequently his men, and ordering them to perform different parts of their manual exercise; with a view as we supposed, to convince us, that if we should presume to offer any violence, we should have to deal with those who knew how to defend themselves. During the whole of this time, the Captain was in his wet clothes, shivering with cold; yet he could not avoid being diverted with this military parade, though it was attended by an unseasonable delay. Arriving, at length, at the habitation



of the commanding officer of the party, we were ushered in; and, after giving orders to the military without doors, our host appeared, accompanied by the secretary of the port. One of the letters from Ismyloff was now opened, and the other sent express to Bolcheretsk, a town on the west side of Kamtschatka, and the place of residence of the Russian Commander of this province.

It appeared to us extraordinary, that the natives had not seen the Resolution the preceding day when we cast anchor, nor this morning, till our boats approached the ice. The first sight of the ship, we understood, had struck them with a considerable panic. The garrison was put instantly under arms; two field-pieces were placed before the Commander's house; and powder, shot, and lighted matches, were all in readiness. The officer who had conducted us to his dwelling, was a serjeant, and also the Commander of the Ostrog. After he had recovered from the alarm which our arrival had produced, the kindness and hospitality of his behaviour was astonishing. His house, indeed, was intolerably hot, but remarkably neat and clean. After Captain King had changed his clothes, by putting on a complete suit of the serjeant's, at his earnest request, which was doubtless the best he could procure; and, considering our visit was unexpected, was ingeniously conducted. To have made soup and bouillie would have required some time; instead therefore of this, we had some cold beef sliced, with boiling water poured over it. The next course was a large roasted bird, the taste of which was most delicious, though we were unacquainted with its species. Having eaten a part of this, it was removed, and fish was served up, dressed in two different ways. Soon after which, the remainder of the bird appeared again in savoury and sweet pates. Our liquor was what the Russians distinguish by the name of quass, and was the most indifferent part of our entertainment. The serjeant's wife served up several of the dishes, and was not permitted to sit down at table with us. Our repast being finished, during which our conversation was limited to a few bows and other personal tokens of mu-

tual respect, we strove to explain to our host the occasion of our visit to this port. Probably, Ismyloff's letters we had delivered, made him readily comprehend our meaning; but as there was not a person in the place, who understood any other languages than those of Russia or Kamtschatka, we found it extremely difficult to comprehend what he endeavoured to communicate to us. Having spent much time in our attempts to understand each other, the sum of the intelligence we had received appeared to be, that though we could not be supplied with provisions or stores at this place, yet those articles were to be procured in great plenty at Bolcheretsk. That he doubted not, but the Commander would readily supply us with what we wanted; but that, till he received his orders, neither he, nor any of the natives could even venture on board the vessel. It being now time for us to depart, and as Mr. King's clothes were not yet dry, he had again recourse to the serjeant's benevolence, for his permission to carry those on board which he had borrowed of him. This request was cheerfully complied with, and a sledge, with five dogs and a driver, was instantly provided for each of our party. This mode of conveyance afforded high entertainment for the sailors; and they were delighted still more, when they found that the two boat-hooks had a sledge appropriated solely for their conveyance. These sledges are so light, and so admirably well constructed for the purposes intended, that they went safely and expeditiously over the ice, and over parts of it which we should have found extremely difficult to have passed on foot. On our return, the boats were towing the Resolution towards the village; and, at seven, we moored close to the ice; the entrance of the Bay bearing S. by E. and the Ostrog N. distant one mile and a half. On Friday the 30th, the casks and cables were taken to the quarter-deck, to lighten the vessel forward, and the carpenters proceeded to stop the leak which had occasioned us so much trouble. In the middle of the day we had such warm weather, that the ice began to break away very fast, and almost choked up the entrance of



the bay. Several of our officers waited upon the serjeant, who received them with great civility; and Capt. Clerke sent him a present of two bottles of rum, thinking he could not send him any thing more acceptable. In return, he received twenty fine trouts, and some excellent fowls of the growse kind. Though the bay swarmed with ducks and Greenland pigeons, our sportsmen had no success; for, being exceedingly shy, they could not kill any.

On Saturday, the 1st, of May, in the morning, we saw our consort the *Discovery*, standing into the bay; a boat was immediately dispatched to her assistance, and she was moored in the afternoon close by the *Resolution*. On the 3rd, in the morning, two sledges having been observed to drive into the village, Mr. King was ordered on shore, to learn whether an answer was arrived from the Commander of Kamtschatka. The distance from Bolcheretsk to St. Peter and St. Paul's is one hundred and thirty-five English miles. The dispatches were sent off in a sledge, drawn by dogs, on the 29th, at noon, and returned with an answer early this morning; so that they performed a journey of two hundred and seventy miles in little more than three days and a half. For the present, the return of the Commander's answer was concealed from us. While Mr. King was on shore, his boat, and another belonging to the *Discovery*, were bound fast to the ice. In this situation, the *Discovery's* launch was sent to their assistance, which soon partook of the same fate; but on the 4th, the floating ice was drifted away, by the wind changing, and the boats were set at liberty, without sustaining the smallest damage. At ten o'clock, A. M. several sledges having arrived at the edge of the ice, a boat was sent from the ship to conduct those who were in them on board. One of them proved to be a Russian merchant from Bolcheretsk, whose name was Fedositch; and the other a German, named Port, with dispatches from Major Behm, Commander of Kamtschatka, to Capt. Clerke. Arriving at the edge of the ice, and seeing distinctly the magnitude of the ships, within two hundred yards of them, they were exceedingly

alarmed; and before they ventured to embark, stipulated that two of our boat's crew should remain on shore, as hostages for their safety. It afterwards appeared, for what reasons we could not conceive, that Ismyloff, in his letter to the Commander, had mentioned our ships as two small trading vessels; and that the serjeant having seen them at a distance only, had not rectified the mistake. When they had arrived on board, we perceived, by their timid behaviour, that they entertained some very extraordinary apprehensions. However, an uncommon degree of satisfaction was visible in their countenances, when the German found a person among us, with whom he could enter into conversation. Mr. Webber spoke that language fluently, and convinced them, though not without difficulty, that we were Englishmen and friends. Mr. Port was introduced to Capt. Clerke, to whom he delivered the Commander's letter. It was written in the German language, and merely complimentary, giving him and his officers an invitation to Bolcheretsk. Mr. Port, at the same time, acquainted him, that the Major had conceived a very wrong idea of the size of the ships, and of the service they were engaged in; Ismyloff, in his letter, having represented them as two small packet-boats, and cautioned him to be on his guard, insinuating, that he suspected us to be no better than pirates. In consequence of this letter, he said, there had been various conjectures formed about us at Bolcheretsk. We were much diverted with the fears and apprehensions of these people; and especially with an account given by Mr. Port, of the serjeant's extreme caution the day before. On seeing Mr. King and some other gentlemen come on shore, he concealed him and the Russian merchant in the kitchen, to give them an opportunity of listening to our conversation with each other, in order to discover whether we were Englishmen or not.

Being now enabled, by the aid of an interpreter, to converse with the Russians, our first enquiries were directed to the means of procuring a supply of fresh provisions and naval stores; particularly the latter, for



the want of which we had been in great distress. On enquiry, it appeared, that the whole stock of live cattle, which the country about the bay could furnish, amounted only to two heifers; and these the serjeant very readily promised to secure for us. Our next applications were made to the merchant, whose terms for serving us were so exorbitant, that Capt. Clerke thought it expedient to send an express to the Commander, to learn the price of stores at Bolcheretsk. This determination being communicated to Mr. Port, he dispatched a messenger to the Commander at Bolcheretsk, to acquaint him with our intentions, and to remove the suspicions that had been entertained respecting the purposes of our voyage. For the above service, Mr. King was fixed upon, and ordered to prepare for setting out the next day, together with Mr. Webber, who was to accompany him as interpreter. That day, and the next, however, the weather proved too stormy for beginning a journey through so desolate and wild a country: but on Friday, the 7th, of May, the weather became more favourable, and we set out in the ship's boats, early in the morning, in order to reach the entrance of the Awatska at high-water, on account of the shoals at the mouth of that river. The country boats were to meet us here, to conduct us up the stream. Capt. Gore was also added to our party, and we were likewise accompanied by Mr. Port and the Russian merchant, with two Cossacks, having been previously furnished with warm furred clothing; a very necessary precaution, as it began to snow briskly immediately after our setting out. About eight o'clock, we were stopped by shoal water, within a mile of the mouth of the river; when some Kamtschadales took us and our baggage, in some small canoes, and conveyed us over a bank of sand, which the rapidity of the river had thrown up, and which we were informed, was continually shifting. Having passed this shoal, the water again deepened, and we were furnished with a commodious boat, resembling a Norway yawl, to convey us up the river, together with canoes for the reception of our baggage. The breadth of the mouth of the

Awatska is about a quarter of a mile, but it gradually narrowed as we advanced. Having proceeded a few miles, we passed several branches, many of which, we were told, emptied themselves into other parts of the bay; and that some of those on the left ran into the Paratounca river. For the first ten miles, the general direction of the river from the bay, is to the N. and afterwards it turns to the westward. Except this bend, it chiefly preserves a straight course; and flows through a low flat country, to the distance of thirty miles from the sea, which is subject to frequent inundations. Six men were employed in pushing us on with long poles, three of them being at each end of the boat; and proceeded against the stream, at the rate of about three miles an hour. Our conductors endured this severe labour for ten hours; stopping only once, and that for a short space of time, to take a little refreshment. Having been informed, at our first setting out, that we could easily reach Karatchin that night, we were greatly disappointed to find ourselves fifteen miles from that place at sun-set. This was attributed to the delay in passing the shoals, both at the entrance of the river, and in many other places. Our men being exceedingly fatigued, and as the difficulty of navigating the river would have increased by the darkness of the night, we declined all thoughts of proceeding on our journey that evening; we therefore fixed upon a place that was tolerably well sheltered, and, clearing it of the snow, erected a small marquee, which we had providentially taken with us; and, with the assistance of a good fire, and some excellent punch, passed the night agreeably. Our principal inconvenience was, the being obliged to keep at a considerable distance from the fire; for as soon as it was lighted, it thawed every part round it into an absolute puddle. The Kamtschadales were extremely alert and expeditious in erecting our marquee, and cooking our provisions; but we were much surprized at finding they had brought with them their utensils for making tea, considering it as a most intolerable hardship if they cannot, two or three times a day, regale themselves with drinking tea. When



day-light appeared, we proceeded on our journey, and, before we had made much progress, we were met by the Toion, or chief of Karatchin, who, being apprized of our coming, had provided canoes that were better accommodated for navigating the higher parts of the river. A commodious vessel, (made by lashing two canoes together) furnished with fur cloakes, and lined with bear-skins was also procured for us. We now proceeded rapidly, the Toion's people being remarkably expert in this kind of business. At ten we arrived at the Ostrog, named Karatchin, and the seat of his command, where we were received by the Kamtschadale men and women, and some Russian servants belonging to the merchant, Fedositch. They were all attired in their best habiliments; those of the women being gay and pleasing, and consisting of a loose robe of white nankeen, gathered close round the neck, and fastened with a silk collar. A short jacket, without sleeves, was worn over this, consisting of different coloured nankeens; and they had petticoats made of a slight Chinese silk. Their shifts, which were also made of silk, had sleeves extending to the wrists; and their heads were bound with coloured silk handkerchiefs, which entirely concealed the hair of the married women; but the unmarried ones placed the handkerchief under the hair, permitting it to flow loosely down the shoulders.

The Ostrog of Karatchin is pleasantly situated on the side of the river, and composed of three log-houses, nineteen balgans, or summer habitations, and three jourts, which are houses under ground. The Toion, to whose dwelling we were then conducted, was a plain decent man, sprung from a Russian mother, and a Kamtschadale father. His house, like all others in this country, consisted of only two apartments. All the furniture in the outer room, was a long narrow table, with a bench round it; and the inner apartment, which was the kitchen, was also very scantily furnished. But, the hearty welcome, and kind attention of our host, amply compensated for the poverty of his habitation. His wife, an excellent cook,

served us with various sorts of fish and game, and different kinds of heath-berries, which had been preserved since the last year. Whilst we were dining in this miserable hut, the guests of absolute strangers, and at the extremity of the habitable globe, a solitary half-worn pewter spoon attracted our attention. Its form was familiar to us, and the word London was stamped upon the back of it. It is impossible to express the anxious hopes, and tender remembrances, this circumstance excited in us. Those who have been long absent from their native country, will readily conceive what inexpressible pleasure such trifling incidents can give.

We had now quitted the river, and the next part of our journey was to be performed on sledges; but the thaw had been so great in the day-time, as not to permit us to set out, till the snow was become hard and firm by the coldness of the evening. This furnished us with an opportunity of walking about the village, which was the only place in this country, that we had seen free from snow. It was situated on a flat, of about a mile and an half in circuit. The leaves of the trees were just budding, and the verdure was strongly contrasted with the surrounding hills, which remained covered with snow. The soil appearing to be capable of producing common vegetables, we were surprized to find that not a spot of it was cultivated. Neither were the inhabitants possessed of cattle of any sort. In short, their situation, during the winter months, must be wretched beyond conception. They were now removing from their jourts to their balagans, which gave us an opportunity of observing both these sorts of habitations. The people invited us, very civilly, into their houses; cheerfulness and content were visible in every countenance, to which the approaching change of season might perhaps contribute. On returning to our host's, supper was prepared for us, consisting of the same articles which composed our former repast. When we had finished our meal, we entertained the Toion and his wife with punch made of some of our spirits; and Capt. Gore, with his wonted generosity, made them some



valuable presents: after which, they retired to the kitchen, leaving us in the other room; on the benches of which we spread our bear-skins, and sought a little repose; having first settled with our conductors, to proceed on our journey, when the ground was judged to be in a suitable condition. The melancholy howlings of the dogs awakened us about nine the same evening. During the whole time our baggage was lashing upon the sledges, their horrid noise continued; but, when they were yoked, and prepared for travelling, a cheerful yelping succeeded, which ceased the instant they marched off. We shall here give our readers an accurate description of a sledge brought over by Mr. King, and now in the possession of Sir Ashton Kever. The length of the body is about four feet and an half, and the breadth one foot. It is made in the form of a crescent, of light tough wood, fastened together with wicker work; and, among the principal people, is elegantly stained with red and blue; the seat being covered with furs or bear-skins. It has four legs, about two feet in height, resting on two long flat pieces of wood, of the breadth of five or six inches, extending a foot beyond the body of the sledge, at each end. These turn up before, somewhat like a skait, and are shod with the bone of some sea animal. The carriage is ornamented at the fore part, with tassels of coloured cloth, and leather thongs. It has a cross bar, to which the harness is joined; and links of iron, or small bells, are hanging to it, which, by the jingling, is supposed to encourage the dogs. They seldom carry more than one person at a time, who sits aside, with his feet on the lower part of the sledge, having his baggage and provisions, in a bundle behind him. The usual number of dogs employed in drawing this carriage, is five; four of them yoked two and two, and the other acting as leader. The reins, being fastened to the collar instead of the head, have no great command: and are therefore usually hung upon the sledge; the driver depending principally on their obedience to his voice. Great care and attention are consequently used in training up the leader, which frequently becomes

very valuable on account of his steadiness and docility; the sum of forty roubles (or ten pounds) being no unusual price for one of them. The rider has also a crooked stick, answering the purpose both of whip and reins; with which, by striking in the snow, he can regulate the speed of the dogs, or even stop them at his pleasure. When they are inattentive to their duty, he often chastises them by throwing it at them. The dexterity of the riders, in picking this stick up again, is very remarkable, and is the most difficult manœuvre in the exercise of their profession: nor is it indeed surprising, that they should be skilful in a practice in which they are so materially interested; for, they assured us, that if a driver should happen to lose his stick, the dogs immediately discover it; and, unless their leader is both steady and resolute, they will instantly set off full speed, and never stop till their strength is exhausted; or till the carriage is overturned and dashed to pieces, or hurried down a precipice, when all are buried in the snow. The accounts of the speed of these animals, and of the hardships and fatigues they suffer, would have appeared incredible, had they not been supported by the greatest authority. We ourselves were witnesses of the extraordinary expedition with which the messenger returned, who had been dispatched to Bolcheretsk with the news of our arrival at St. Peter and St. Paul's, though the snow was exceedingly soft. The Governor of Kamtschatka assured us, that this journey was usually performed in two days and an half; and that he had once received an express from that harbour in twenty-three hours. Throughout the winter, the dogs are fed on the offals of dried and stinking fish; and, even this miserable food is withheld from them, a day before they set out on a journey; and they are not permitted to eat a morsel of any thing till they arrive at the end of it. They are frequently kept fasting for two entire days, in which time they will perform a journey of great extent. The shape of these dogs resembles that of the Pomeranian breed, but they are considerably larger.

As we did not choose to rely upon our own



skill, we had each of us a man to conduct the sledge, which, in the condition the roads then were, proved a very laborious business: for, as the thaw had been prevalent in the vallies, through which was our regular road, we were obliged to travel along the sides of the hills; our guides being under the necessity of supporting the sledges, on the lower sides, with their shoulders, for many miles together. Mr. King was attended by a good natured Cossack, who was so imperfect in his business, that he was continually overturning, which afforded great entertainment to his companions. The party consisted of ten sledges in the whole. That which conducted Capt. Gore, was formed of two lashed together, and was plentifully furnished with furs and bear-skins. It was drawn by ten dogs, yoked four abreast; and those which were laden with heavy baggage, were drawn by the same number. We had not proceeded more than four miles on our journey, when it began to rain, which, together with the darkness of the night, threw us into some confusion. It was, after some little consultation, agreed, that we should continue where we were, till day-light; we therefore secured our sledges, wrapped ourselves up in furs, and waited patiently for the morning. At three o'clock we were summoned to proceed; our guides expressing their apprehensions, that if we waited any longer, the thaw would perhaps stop us, and prevent our advancing or returning. Though we had many difficulties to encounter, owing principally to the bad condition of the road, we got safe to an ostrog about two in the afternoon. It is called Natchee-kin, and is situated on a small stream, which falls into the Bolchoireka, at some distance below the town. It is twenty-five miles from Karatchin; which, by their account, we could have compassed in four hours, had the frost continued; but the snow was so soft that the poor animals sunk up to their bellies at almost every step; and it was indeed surprising that they should be able to support themselves under so fatiguing a journey. This inconsiderable ostrog consists of one log-house, the residence of the Toion, one jourt, and five balagans. We were received

here with the same civility and hospitality as at Karatchin; and, in the afternoon, were conducted to a remarkable hot spring, at a small distance from this village. Before we came very near it, we saw a rising steam from it, as from a boiling cauldron; and, when we approached it, we perceived a strong sulphureous effluvia. A bason of about three feet in diameter, is formed by the main spring; besides which, there are several lesser springs, of equal heat, in the adjacent ground; by which means the whole spot, consisting of about an acre, was so very hot that we could not remain two minutes in the same place. The water issuing from these springs, supplies a small bathing pond, and afterwards a little rivulet, which conducts it into the river, at the distance of about one hundred and fifty yards. Great cures, they informed us, had been effected by this bath, in rheumatisms, scorbutic ulcers, swelled and contracted joints, and many other disorders. Where these springs flow, the ground is on a gentle ascent; having a green hill of a moderate size behind it. Some plants seemed to thrive here with great luxuriance, among which we observed the wild garlick.

Monday, the 10th, in the morning, we embarked on the Bolchoireka; and going with the stream, expected to arrive at our journey's end the following day. Though Bolcheretsk is eighty miles from Natchee-kin, we were informed, that, in the summer, when the melting of snow on the mountains has rendered the river full and rapid, the canoes have often gone there in a single day: but now they told us we should be much longer, the ice having broken up only three days before our arrival, and our's being the first boat that had attempted to pass. There was but too much truth in this intelligence; for we were greatly impeded by the shallows; and, though the stream was rapid in many places, we frequently had rippings and shoals, and were under the necessity of hauling the boats over them. On each side of the river the country was romantic, but not diversified; the course of it being between craggy mountains, of a most dreary and barren aspect; with nothing



to vary the scene, except now and then the sight of a bear, or a flock of wild-fowl. This, and the following night, we slept under our marquee, on the banks of the river, and suffered greatly from the severity of the weather.

Wednesday the 12th, at day-light, we had passed the mountains, and were proceeding through a low extensive plain, on which were a number of shrubby trees. At nine in the morning, we reached an ostrog, called Opatchin, of about the same magnitude as Karatchin, and supposed to be fifty miles from Natcheechin. A serjeant and four Russian soldiers had been here two days, waiting for our arrival; who instantly dispatched a light boat to Bolcheretsk to give intelligence of our approach. A magnificent canoe, plentifully furnished with skins and furs, was prepared for our reception, and we were very commodiously equipped; but our fellow-travellers were excluded. It gave us some concern to be separated from our old companion Mr. Port, who daily grew more shy and distant, as we drew nearer to the completion of our journey. He acknowledged, indeed, before we set out, that he was not entitled to the respect we had shewn him; but, finding him discreet, and not presuming, we had insisted on his faring as we did, throughout the journey. We performed the remainder of our passage, with the utmost ease and expedition; for as we descended, the river grew more rapid, and had very few obstructions. On our approaching Kamtschatka, we judged, from an appearance of great stir and bustle, that our reception was to be in form. This circumstance was disagreeable to us, as decent clothing had long been scarce among us; and our travelling habits formed a strange assemblage of the modes of India, Europe, and Kamtschatka. To make a parade through the metropolis in this motley trim, we thought would appear ridiculous; and, as we observed a crowd of people collected on the banks of the river, and were informed that the Commander would receive us at the water-side, we stopped at the house of a soldier, about a quarter of a mile before we came to the town. Here we dispatched

Mr. Port with a message to his excellency, acquainting him, that as soon as we had put off our travelling dresses, we would attend him at his own house to pay our respects to him; and entreated him not to think of waiting to conduct us. He persisted, however, in his resolution of paying us this compliment, and we immediately proceeded to join him at the entrance of the capital. We were all remarkably awkward and defective in making our first salutations; not having been accustomed to bowing and scraping, for at least two years and an half. The Commander received us in a most engaging manner; but we had the mortification to discover, that he had almost wholly forgot the French language; so that only Mr. Webber had the satisfaction of conversing with him, as he spoke the German, which was his native tongue. Major Behm was accompanied by Capt. Shmaleff, the next in command, and another officer; the whole body of merchants attended also. We were conducted to the commander's house, where we were politely and respectfully received by his lady; who had prepared tea and other refreshments. The first compliments being over, Capt. Gore desired Mr. Webber to acquaint the Major, that we were distressed for want of naval stores, fresh provisions, flour and other necessities; and that we were convinced we could not receive much assistance from him, in the country about Awatska Bay, from what we had already seen and heard; that the impossibility of conveying heavy stores over the peninsula, at that season, we were but too sensible of, from the difficulties we had encountered in our journey; and that we could not delay the prosecution of our voyage, to wait for any material change. Here the Major interrupted Mr. Webber by observing, that we knew not what they were capable of doing; that he should not bestow a thought upon the difficulties of supplying our wants: he only wished to know what articles we stood in need of, and the time he could be allowed for procuring them. After expressing our acknowledgments for his obliging condescension we presented him an account of the naval stores, cattle, and



four, we were directed to purchase ; and informed him, that we intended to prosecute our voyage about the 5th, of June. After this, the conversation became more general, and it might naturally be supposed, that we were anxious to obtain some information respecting our native country. Having been three years absent, we entertained the most flattering expectations, of receiving some interesting intelligence from Major Behm : but we were greatly disappointed, when he assured us, that he could not communicate any intelligence of a much later date than that of our quitting England. The Commander, supposing we might be fatigued, and desirous of repose, begged leave to conduct us to our lodgings, at about seven o'clock. It was useless to protest against a compliment, to which we had no other title than that of being strangers. That alone, with this generous Livonian, was sufficient to counterbalance every other consideration. In going along, we passed two guard-houses, where the men were under arms, in compliment to Capt. Gore, and were conducted to a neat decent house, which the Major had appointed for our residence, while we continued at Kamtschatka. We had two sentinels posted at our door, and a serjeant's guard in an adjoining house. Having disposed of us in our apartments, the Major took his leave, promising to visit us the next day. We were now at leisure to discover the conveniences which he had amply provided for us. Our fellow-traveller, Mr. Port, and a soldier, of a rank between that of a serjeant and a corporal, (called a *pulpropersckack*) we fixed upon to be our male domestics. We had also a housekeeper, and a cook, who were ordered to obey Mr. Port's directions in dressing us a supper, after the English mode of cookery. In the course of the evening, we were favoured with a number of civil messages, from the principal inhabitants of the town, politely observing, that their attending to pay their respects to us at that time, would add to our fatigues, but they would do themselves that honour the next morning. Such attention and politeness, in so uncultivated and desolate a country, formed a contrast highly in

favour of its inhabitants : and, in addition to their civility, at sun-set, the serjeant brought the report of his guard to Capt. Gore.

In the morning of the 13th, compliments were sent us by the Major, Capt. Shmaieff, and the most respectable people of the town, from all whom we were honoured with visits soon after. The two former having, after we had retired to rest, enquired of Mr Port what articles we stood in the greatest need of on board the ships ; they insisted on our sharing with their garrison, in the small stock of provisions they had then remaining ; lamenting, at the same time that our arrival should happen to be in that season of the year, when scarcity reigned universally among them ; the sloops from Okotsk not being yet arrived with their annual supply. We thankfully accepted the liberal offer of these hospitable strangers ; on condition, however, that we should be made acquainted with the price of the articles we received from them, that Capt. Clerke might draw upon the Victualling Office, in London, for the amount. This was refused in the most positive terms ; and, though repeatedly urged, the Major always stopped us short, by saying, that his mistress would be highly gratified at his rendering every assistance in his power to the English, who are her good friends and allies ; and that it would give her a peculiar satisfaction to find, that in such remote regions, her dominions had afforded any relief to vessels engaged in such important services. He added, that he could not, therefore, act so contrary to the principles of his Empress, as to think of receiving any bills ; but, if we insisted on it, we might give him a bare certificate of the articles he might supply us with, which he would transmit to the court of Russia, as an evidence of having performed his duty. All farther acknowledgments, continued he, must be submitted to the two courts, but you must excuse me from acceding to your proposal. This matter being adjusted, he requested to be informed respecting our private wants, saying he should consider it as offering him an affront, if we applied to any of the merchants, or had dealings with any other person except himself.



Not having it in our power to make an adequate return for such singular generosity, he had only our thanks and admiration. At this moment, Mr. King recollected, that Capt. Clerke had sent by him a set of the engravings to Capt. Cook's second voyage, desiring him to present it, in his name, to the Commander. Nothing could have been more acceptable to him than this present, the Major being an enthusiast in all matters relative to discoveries. Capt. Clerke had also given Mr. King a discretionary power, of permitting the Commander to see a chart of the discoveries made in the present voyage; and, judging from his situation and disposition of mind, that he would be highly gratified by such a communication; though, from motives of delicacy, he had only asked a few general questions on the subject, Mr. King reposed in him that confidence, which his whole conduct so justly merited. He felt this compliment as it was intended he should, and was struck at beholding, in one view, the whole of that coast on the side of Asia and America, which his countrymen had been so long employed in acquiring an imperfect knowledge of. Except this mark of confidence, and the set of copper-plates already mentioned, we had nothing with us deserving of his acceptance; for it was hardly worth noticing, that Mr. King prevailed on his son (who was quite a youth) to accept of a silver watch; and contributed to his little daughter's happiness, by presenting her with two pair of ear-rings, of French paste. He also gave Capt. Shmaleff the thermometer which we had used on his journey, when he engaged to keep a register of the temperature of the air for one whole year, and to transmit it to Mr. Muller, with whom he was acquainted. This day we dined at the Commander's, who, ever studious to gratify our curiosity, had prepared a variety of dishes dressed after the Russian and Kamtschadale manner, besides a number of others in the English style. In the afternoon, we took a survey of the town, and the adjacent country. The situation of Bolcheretsk is in a low swampy plain, extending to the sea of Okotsk, being about forty miles in length, and of a

considerable breadth. It lies north of the Bolchoireeka, (or great river) and on a peninsula, which has been separated from the continent by a large canal, under the directions of the present commander; which has added strength to it as a fortress, and rendered it much less subject to inundations. The depth of the river, below the town, is from six to eight feet, and the breadth about a quarter of a mile. At the distance of twenty-two miles, it empties itself into the sea of Okotsk, where it is capable of admitting pretty large vessels. No corn, of any kind, is cultivated in this part of the country; and the Major assured us, that his was the only garden that had been planted. In general, the earth was covered with snow; the parts which were free from it, were full of black turfy hillocks. We saw about twenty or thirty cows, and the Commander had six good horses. These, and their dogs, are their only tame animals; being obliged to keep a great number of the latter, they can rear only such cattle as are a match for them in strength and size. For, during the whole of the summer season, the dogs are turned loose, to provide entirely for themselves; and are sometimes so ravenous, that they will even venture to attack the bullocks.

In Bolcheretsk, the buildings are all in the same style; they consist of logs of wood, and are thatched. The Major's house is, considerably larger than the rest, and has three capacious rooms, neatly papered; but the tale, which covered the windows, gave them a disagreeable and mean appearance. The town consists of low buildings, in rows of five or six habitations each, connected together by a passage extending the whole length of them; having the kitchen and store-house on one side, and the dwelling apartments on the other. There are also barracks for the Russian soldiers and Cossacks; a tolerable church; a court-room; and, at the end of the town, a number of balagans. The number of the inhabitants is between five and six hundred. A handsome entertainment was given by the Major, in the evening, to which were invited all the respectable inhabitants of both sexes.



The next day we made a private application to Fedositch, the merchant, in order to purchase some tobacco; the sailors having been without that favourite commodity for upwards of a year. This however, like other similar transactions, came immediately to the knowledge of the Commander; and, in a very short time, after we were surprised to find four bags of tobacco in our house, each containing upwards of one hundred pounds; which the Major requested might be presented to our sailors, in his name, and that of the garrison under his command. By the same conveyance we received twenty loaves of sugar, and as many pounds of tea, which they requested the officers to accept of; as they understood that we were almost destitute of those articles. A present was also sent by Madame Behm, for Capt. Clerke, which consisted of honey, butter, figs, rice, and other articles: accompanied with her best wishes, that, in his infirm state, they might prove serviceable to him. We strenuously endeavoured to oppose this profusion of bounty, and were extremely anxious to restrain it; fully convinced that they were giving us almost the whole stock of their garrison. But the answer we received from the Major, on these occasions, generally was, that he had been in distress himself, and he was sensible that we must now be in that situation. The length of time, indeed, since we had touched at any known port, appeared to them almost incredible, and seemed to require the evidence of our maps, and other concurrent circumstances, to obtain their credit. Among the latter, we shall mention a curious fact, which Major Behm related to us this morning, and which he said he should not have known how to account for, but for our arrival. Among the people of the north of Asia, it is well known, that the Tschutski only have maintained their independence, and resisted all the efforts of the Russians to reduce them. The last attempts were in 1750, and after variety of temporary advantage on each side, the Russian forces retreated, after having lost their commanding officer. The Russians afterwards removed their frontier fortress, from the Anadyr to

the Ingiga, a river which runs into the northern extremity of the sea of Okotsk, and gives its name to a gulph, west of that Peninsula. On the day of our arrival at Bolcheretsk, the Major had received dispatches from this fort, acquainting him, that a party of the Tschutski had arrived there, with voluntary offers of friendship and a tribute. That, on asking the cause of so unexpected an alteration in their sentiments, they had acquainted his people, that two large Russian boats had visited them towards the end of the preceding summer; that they had been shewn the greatest kindness by the people who were in them, and had entered into a league of amity with them; and that, in consequence of this, they came to the Russian fort, in order to settle a treaty upon terms agreeable to both nations. This remarkable tale had given rise to much speculation, both at Ingiginsk and Bolcheretsk; and must have remained utterly unintelligible, had it not been elucidated by us. It was no small satisfaction to us, to have thus shewn the Russians, even by accident, the best method of collecting tribute, and extending their dominions; in hopes that the good understanding, which this event has produced, may rescue a brave people from such powerful invaders.

This day being Friday, the 14th, we were engaged to dine with Capt. Shmaleff, who in order to vary our amusements, entertained us with an exhibition of dancing, in the Russian and Kamtschadale style. It is impossible to convey an adequate idea of this uncouth exhibition. The figure of the Russian dance, resembled those of our hornpipes, and consisted of one, two, or four performers at a time. Their steps were exceedingly short and quick, their feet being raised but a very little way from the ground; their arms were hung down close to the sides, the body being kept, the whole time, erect and immoveable, except when the performers passed each other, when the hand was suddenly raised with an awkward motion. But, if the Russian dance was unmeaning and ridiculous, the Kamtschadale was infinitely more so. The principal aim, in their performances, is to represent



the clumsy gestures of the bear, which the inhabitants of this country have frequent opportunities of observing in various situations. To describe the awkward postures, exhibited on these occasions, would appear tedious and uninteresting. In general however, the body was bowed, and the knees bent, whilst the arms were employed in imitating the motions of that awkward animal. Much time had been spent in our journey to Bolcheretsk, and being informed that our return might, perhaps, be more difficult and tedious, we were obliged to acquaint the Major this evening, with our intention of departing the next day. We could not think of leaving our new acquaintances without regret: and were agreeably surprized, when the Major promised to accompany us, if we would stay but one day longer. He told us, that he had made up his dispatches, and resigned the command of Kamtschatka to Captain Shmaleff; having made the necessary preparations for his departure to Okotsk, which was shortly to take place; but that he should be happy in postponing his journey, and attending us to St. Peter and St. Paul's, in order to be satisfied, that nothing which could be done to serve us, should be omitted. For the articles which Mr. King had given to the Major's children, he received, the next morning, a most magnificent Kamtschadale dress, such as the principal Toions wear on the most solemn occasions. This habit, as we were informed by Fedositsch, must have cost, at least, one hundred and twenty roubles. He also, at the same time, was presented with a handsome sable muff, as a present from his daughter.

Saturday, the 15th, we dined with the Commander, who, willing to give us an opportunity of seeing as much as we could of the manners and customs of the country, invited all the principal inhabitants of the town, to his house this evening. The dresses of the women were splendid, after the Kamtschadale manner. Captain Shmaleff's lady, and the wives of the other officers of the garrison, were dressed in a pretty taste, partly in the Siberian, and partly in the European mode. Madame Behm, in parti-

cular, appeared in a grand European dress. The richness and variety of the silks worn by the women, as well as the singularity of their dress, was very striking: and the whole had the air of some enchanted scene, in the midst of the most desert and dreary country in the universe. The entertainments of this night were dancing and singing. As we had fixed upon the next morning for our departure, we retired early to our apartments, where three travelling dresses presented themselves to our view, made after the Kamtschadale mode, which had been provided for us by the Commander. He came to us himself soon after, to see that proper care was taken in packing up our things. We had, indeed, no inconsiderable load of baggage; for, exclusive of his liberal presents, Captain Shmaleff, and several other individuals, shewed us many instances of kindness and generosity. On the 16th, early in the morning, we were preparing for our departure, when we were invited to take our leave of Madame Behm, in our passage to the boats. Already impressed with sentiments of the warmest gratitude, for the benevolent and generous treatment we had received at Bolcheretsk, they were much heightened by the affecting scene which followed. On leaving our apartments, we saw all the soldiers and Cossacks of the garrison drawn up on one side: and, on the other, were all the male inhabitants of the town, in their best clothing; the whole body of the people joining in a melancholy song, which we were informed, it was usual to sing on the departure of friends. Thus we marched till we arrived at the Commander's house, proceeded by the drums and music belonging to the garrison. Here we were received by Madame Behm, accompanied by several ladies, habited in long silk clokes, lined with furs of various colours; forming a most splendid appearance. Having partook of some refreshment which had been provided for us, we proceeded to the water-side, attended by the ladies, who joined with the rest of the people in the song; and, having taken leave of Madame Behm, after assuring her that the sense of the hospitality of Bolcheretsk, would be indelible in our



hearts, we were too much affected not to hasten into the boats. At putting off, we received three cheers, which we immediately returned; and, on doubling a point, where we last beheld our friendly entertainers, they still added to our feelings, by a firewel cheer! On our return, the stream was so exceedingly rapid, that notwithstanding the utmost exertions of our conductors, we did not arrive at the first village, Opatchin, till the 17th, in the evening, which did not exceed the rate of twenty miles a day. On the 19th, we reached Natchekin, and crossed the plain to Karatchin on the 20th. The road was in much better order than when we passed it before, as it froze smartly in the night of the 19th. We proceeded down the Awatska river on Friday, the 21st, and passed over the shoals, at the entrance of the bay, before it was dark. During the whole of our journey, we were highly pleased with the willingness and alacrity, with which the Toions and their Kamtschadales assisted us at the different Ostrogs. On seeing the Major, joy appeared in every countenance; and they were much affected upon being informed that he would shortly leave them. A messenger had been dispatched from Bolcheretsk to Capt. Clerke, acquainting him with the nature of our reception; and that the Major intended to accompany us on our return; apprising him, at the same time, of the day he might expect us. We observed, with pleasure, as we approached the harbour, all our boats coming towards us. The men were all clean, and the officers as well arrayed as their ward robes would then permit them to be. The Major was struck at the healthy appearance of our sailors, and was surprized to see that many of them had no other covering than a shirt and trowsers, though it actually snowed at that very instant. Major Behm had expressed an inclination to visit the ships before he landed; but, being informed that Capt. Clerke was extremely ill, he thought it would be improper to disturb him at so late an hour; it being then after nine o'clock. Mr. King therefore attended him to the serjeant's house, and afterwards went on board to communicate to Capt. Clerke

what had happened at Bolcheretsk. He was much concerned to find that, owing to his absence, that officer's health was considerably impaired, instead of growing better, as we flattered ourselves it might, from undisturbed repose in the harbour, and a milk and vegetable diet. The next morning, Mr. King conducted the Major to the ships; where he was received with every possible mark of distinction, and saluted with thirteen guns. He was attended by the Commander of a Russian galliot, two merchants from Bolcheretsk, a master of a sloop, and the priest of the village of Paratonuca. Having visited the Captain, and taken a view of the two ships, he returned to dine on board the Resolution. In the course of the afternoon, the curiosities which we had collected were shewn him, and an assortment of each article presented to him by Capt. Clerke. Here we cannot suppress an instance of great generosity and gratitude in our sailors; who, being informed of the handsome present which had been made them by the Major, voluntarily requested that their grog might be withheld, and their allowance of spirits presented to the garrison of Bolcheretsk; saying, they knew brandy was extremely scarce in that country, the soldiers on shore having offered four roubles a bottle for it. We could not but admire this extraordinary sacrifice, knowing how much the sailors felt, when abridged or deprived of their grog. Indeed, they never had that article withheld from them but in warm weather, that they might enjoy a greater proportion when it was most necessary; but this generous proposal would deprive them of it, even in the inclement season we had naturally to expect in our northern expedition. The officers, however, would not permit them to suffer by their generosity, and substituted, in the room of the small quantity of brandy, which the Major consented to accept, an equal quantity of rum. A dozen or two of Cape wine for Madame Behm, and some other trifling presents which we were enabled to make, were accepted with great politeness. The tobacco was distributed the next morning, among the crews of both vessels; every man that chewed or smoked tobacco being



allowed three pounds, and the others who did not, only one. We have already observed that the Major had resigned the command of Kamtschatka, and was speedily to repair to Petersburgh; and he now expressed his willingness to convey any dispatches we might choose to commit to his care. Such an opportunity was not to be neglected; and Capt. Clerke requested him to take the charge of some papers relative to our voyage, to the British Ambassador at the Russian court. At first, we intended to transmit only a concise journal of our proceedings; but, after mature consideration, Capt. Clerke was of opinion, that the whole account of our discoveries might safely be committed to the care of a man, who had given the strongest proofs of probity and virtue. Considering also, that a very hazardous part of the voyage was still to be performed, he resolved to send by him, the whole of Captain Cook's journal; together with his own, from the death of that Commander, till our arrival at Kamtschatka; and also a chart of our discoveries. Mr. Bayley and Mr. King also determined to send an account of our proceedings to the board of longitude. From these precautions, had any accident befallen us, the Admiralty would have become possessed of the principal facts of our voyage. It was farther resolved, that a smaller packet should be dispatched from Okot-k, which the Major supposed would reach Petersburgh by December; and that he expected to arrive there himself in February or March. The Major was entertained alternately in the two ships, as well as we were able, the three following days. On Thursday, the 25th, he departed, and was saluted with thirteen guns; the sailors, at their own request, expressing their regard for him by three cheers. Mr. King and Mr. Webber attended him, the next morning, some few miles up the Awatska river, where the Russian priest and his family were waiting to bid a last adieu to their Commander. When taking our leave of the Major, it is difficult to say, whether the worthy priest and his family or ourselves were most affected. Though our acquaintance had been of short duration, his beha-

viour had inspired us with the highest esteem for him; and we could not part (perhaps for ever) with one, to whom we were under such infinite obligations, without indulging the most tender feelings. Exclusive of the stores, which might probably be carried to a public account, the value of the private presents bestowed on us, must have amounted to upwards of two hundred pounds. But, however extraordinary this generosity may appear, it was exceeded by his delicacy in conferring favours, and his ingenious endeavours to prevent our feeling the weight of obligations, which he knew we were unable to requite. In supporting a public character, and maintaining the honour of his sovereign, he is still more entitled to our admiration, as he was actuated by sentiments the most noble and enlarged. The service in which we were engaged, he told us, was for the general benefit of mankind; and entitled us to the offices of humanity, and the privileges of citizens, in whatever country we might be driven. That, by affording us such relief as was in his power, he was certain that he was acting agreeably to the wishes of his empress; and that he could not so entirely forget her character, or his own honour, as to barter for the performance of a duty. Among other things he said, he made a particular point of setting a good example to the Kamtschadales, who were just emerging from a state of barbarism; that they considered the Russians as their patterns, in every respect; and that he hoped they would, in future, think it a duty incumbent on them to render strangers every assistance in their power, and believe it to be the universal practice of all polished and civilized nations. The Major having, so far as he was capable, relieved our present distresses, he was not unmindful of our future wants; and, imagining we should not be able to discover the passage we were in search of, and that we should return to Kamtschatka; he procured from Captain Clerke, the particulars of what flour and cordage he should want, promising to send them from Okotsk, to wait our arrival. He also presented the Captain with a written paper, enjoining every Russian subject to



assist us to the utmost of their abilities. Having thus given a narrative of the journey of our party to, and their return from Bolcheretsk, their reception there, and the departure of Major Behm, we shall now recount the transactions which passed at Petropaulowska during our absence.

On Friday, the 7th, of May, not long after we had quitted the bay of Awatska, a great piece of ice drove against the Resolution and brought home the small bower anchor; in consequence of which, the other anchor was weighed, and the ship was moored again. The carpenters, who were occupied in stopping the leak, were under the necessity of taking off great part of the sheathing from the bows; and many of the trunnels were found to be so loose and rotten, that they were drawn out easily with the fingers. On Tuesday the 11th, heavy gales blew from the N. E. which obliged both vessels to strike their yards and top-masts; but the weather becoming more moderate in the afternoon, and the ice having drifted away as far as the mouth of the harbour of Petropaulowska, they warped close to the shore for the greater convenience of procuring wood and water, and again moored, as before; the mouth of the bay shut in by the most southerly point of Rakowina harbour, bearing S. and the town N. half W. at the distance of half a mile. On the 12th, a party was detached to cut wood, but made little progress in that service, on account of the snow, which still covered the ground. A convenient spot, abreast of the ships, was cleared, where there was a good run of water; and a tent being pitched for the cooper, the empty casks were landed, and the sail-makers sent ashore. On Saturday, the 15th, as the beach was then clear of ice, a party was sent to haul the seine, and caught a plentiful supply of fine flat-fish for the companies of both ships. From this time, indeed, till we quitted the harbour, we were even overpowered with the great quantities of fish which came in from every quarter. The Toions, both of this town, and of Paratounca, a neighbouring village, had received orders from Major Behm to employ, in our service, all the Kamtschadales;

so that it frequently happened, that we could not take into the ships the presents which were sent us. They generally consisted of herrings, trout, flat fish, and cod. The former, which were in their highest perfection, and of a delicious flavour, were in extreme plenty in this bay. The people of the Discovery, at one time, surrounded such an amazing quantity in their seine, that they were obliged to throw out a very considerable number, lest the net should be broken to pieces: and the cargo they landed was still so abundant, that, besides having a sufficient stock for immediate use, they filled as many casks as they could conveniently spare for salting: and, after sending on board the Resolution a tolerable quantity for the same purpose, they left behind several bushels upon the beach.

The ice and snow now began rapidly to disappear, and plenty of nettle-tops, celery, and wild garlick, were gathered for the use of the crews; which being boiled with portable soup and wheat, furnished them with an excellent and salutary breakfast; and with this they were every morning supplied. The birch-trees were also tapped, and the sweet juice, of which they produced great quantities, was constantly mixed with the brandy allowed to the men. On the 16th, a small bullock was killed, which the serjeant had procured for the ship's companies. Its weight was two hundred and seventy-two pounds. It was served out to both the crews for their Sunday's dinner, and was the first fresh beef which they had tasted since the departure of our vessels from the Cape of Good Hope, in December, 1776; a period of almost two years and a half. This evening, John Macintosh, the carpenter's mate expired, after having been afflicted with a dysentery ever since we had left the Sandwich Isles. He was a peaceable and industrious man, and greatly regretted by his mess-mates. Though he was the fourth person that we had lost by sickness during our voyage, he was the first, who, from his age and constitution, could be said to have had, on our setting out, an equal chance of life with the rest of his companions. Watman was supposed by



us to be about sixty years old; and Roberts, and Mr. Anderson, from the decline which had manifestly commenced before our departure from England, most probably could not, under any circumstances, have lived to a later period than they did.

Captain Clerk's health continuing daily to decline, notwithstanding the salutary change of diet which Kamtschatka afforded him, the priest of Paratounca, as soon as he was informed of the weak state he was in, supplied him every day with milk, bread, fowls, and fresh butter, though his habitation was sixteen miles from the harbour where our ships were stationed. On our arrival, the Russian hospital, near the town of St. Peter and St. Paul, was in a very deplorable state. All the soldiers were, in a greater or less degree, afflicted with the scurvy, many being in the last stage of that disorder. The rest of the Russian inhabitants were likewise in a similar condition; and we observed, that our friend the serjeant, by drinking too freely of the spirits he had received from us, he brought on himself, in the course of a few days, several of the most alarming symptoms of that disease. Capt. Clerke, desirous of relieving them from this lamentable state, put them all under the care of our surgeons, and gave orders, that a supply of sour kroust, and malt, for wort, should be furnished for their use. A surprising alteration soon took place in the figures of most of them; and their speedy recovery was chiefly attributed to the effects of the sweet wort.

On Tuesday, the 1st, of June, two hundred and fifty poods, or nine thousand pounds weight of rye flour, were brought on board the Resolution; and the Discovery received a proportional quantity. We were supplied with this flour from the stores of Petropaulowska. The men were now put on their full allowance of bread, which from the time of our leaving the Cape of Good Hope, they had not been indulged in. The same day, we completed our stock of water, sixty-five tons having been conveyed on board. Friday the 4th, we had fresh breezes, and heavy rains, so that we were disappointed in our design of dressing the ships, and

obliged to content ourselves with firing twenty-one guns, in honour of His Majesty's birth-day, and celebrating it, in other respects, in the best manner we could. Port, who, on account of his skill in languages, was left with us, partook, as well as the serjeant, (in the capacity of commandant of the place) of the entertainment of the day. The worthy priest of Paratounca, having been informed that it was the anniversary of our sovereign's birth, gave likewise a sumptuous feast, at which several of our gentlemen were present, who were highly pleased with their entertainment, of which dancing formed a part. On the 6th, twenty head of cattle arrived, having been sent us, by the directions of the commander, from the Verchnei Ostrog, which stands on the river Kamtschatka, at the distance of almost a hundred miles from this place. These cattle were of a moderate size; and, though the Kamtschadales had been seventeen days in driving them down to the harbour, were in good condition when they arrived. The four succeeding days were employed in making preparations for putting to sea; and on Friday, the 11th, about two o'clock in the morning, we began to unmoor. Before, however, we had got up one anchor, so violent a gale sprung up from the N. E. that we thought proper to moor again, supposing, from the position of the entrance of the bay, that the current of wind would, in all probability, set up the channel. The pinnace was dispatched to examine the passage, and returned with intelligence, that the wind blew violently from the S. E. with a great swell, setting into the bay; so that any attempt to get out to sea would have been attended with considerable risk. Mr. Port now took his leave of us, carrying with him the box containing the journals of our voyage, which Major Behm was to take charge of, and the packet was to be forwarded by express. On the 12th, the gale having abated, we began unmooring again; but, after having broken the messenger, and reeved a running purchase with a six inch hawser, which likewise broke three times; we were, at last, under the necessity of heaving a strain at low water, and waiting for



the flowing of the tide to raise the anchor. This measure succeeded, though not without damaging the cable. About three o'clock in the afternoon, the best bower was weighed, and we set sail; but, at eight, the tide making against us, and the wind being inconsiderable, we anchored again in ten fathoms water, off the mouth of Rakowina harbour: the Ostrog being at the distance of between two and three miles, bearing N. by E. half E. the elevated rock on the western side of the passage, bearing S. and the needle rocks, on the eastern side of the passage, S. S. E. half E.

On Sunday, the 13th, at four o'clock, A. M. we got under way with the tide of ebb; and, as there was a perfect calm, the boats were dispatched a-head for the purpose of towing the ships. About ten, a south-easterly wind springing up, and the tide having turned, we were obliged to let go our anchors again, in seven fathoms; the Ostrog bearing N. half E. at the distance of a mile from the land that was nearest to us; and the three needle rocks being in the direction of S. half E. In the afternoon, Capt. Gore and Lieut. King landed on the east side of the passage, where they observed, in two different places, the remains of spacious villages; and, on the side of a hill, they saw an old ruined parapet, with four or five embrasures. It had guns mounted on it in Beering's time, as that navigator himself informs us; and commanded the passage up the mouth of the bay. Not far from this spot, were the ruins of some subterraneous caverns, which our two gentlemen conjectured to have been magazines. About six o'clock P. M. we weighed anchor, with the ebb tide, and turned to windward; but, two hours after, a thick fog coming on, we were under the necessity of bringing to, our soundings not affording us a sufficient direction for steering betwixt several sunken rocks, situated on each side of the passage we were to make. The next morning, the fog in some degree dispersing, we weighed as soon as the tide began to ebb; and, there being little wind, the boats were sent a-head to tow; but, about ten o'clock, both the wind and tide set in so strong from the sea,

that we were once more obliged to cast anchor, in thirteen fathoms water, the high rock being at the distance of six furlongs, in the direction of W. one quarter S. We continued, during the remainder of the day, in this situation, the wind blowing fresh into the mouth of the bay. Towards the evening, the weather was extremely dark and cloudy, with an unsettled wind.

On the 15th, we were surprized, before day-light, with a rumbling noise, that resembled distant thunder; and when the day appeared, we found that the sides and decks of our ships were covered, near an inch thick, with a fine dust like emery. The air was at the same time, loaded and obscured with this substance; and, towards the volcano mountain, which stands to the northward of the harbour, it was exceedingly thick and black, insomuch, that we were unable to distinguish the body of the hill. About twelve o'clock, and during the afternoon, the loudness of the explosions increased; and they were succeeded by showers of cinders, which, in general, were of the size of peas, though many of those that were picked up from the deck were larger than a hazel nut. Several small stones, which had undergone no alteration from the action of fire, fell with the cinders. In the evening we had dreadful claps of thunder, and vivid flashes of lightning, which, with the darkness of the sky, and the sulphureous smell of the air, produced a very awful and tremendous effect. Our distance from the foot of the mountain was, at this time, about eight leagues. On the 16th, at day-break, we got up our anchors, and stood out of the bay; but the wind falling, and the tide of ebb setting across the passage on the eastern shore, we were driven very near the three needle rocks, situated on that side of the entrance, and were under the necessity of hoisting out the boats, for the purpose of towing the ships clear of them. At twelve o'clock, we were at the distance of six miles from the land; and our depth of water was forty-three fathoms, over a bottom of small stones, of the same kind with those which had fallen upon our decks, after the late eruption of the volcano. The country had



now a very different appearance from what it had on our first arrival. The snow, except what remained on the summits of some very lofty mountains, had vanished; and the sides of the hills, which abounded with wood in many parts, were covered with a beautiful verdure. As our Commander intended to keep in sight of the coast of Kamtschatka, as much as the weather would allow, in order to ascertain its position, we continued to steer towards the N. N. E. with variable light winds, till Friday the 18th. The volcano was still observed to throw up immense volumes of smoke; and we did not strike ground with an hundred and fifty fathoms of line, at the distance of twelve miles from the shore. This day the wind blew fresh from the S. and the weather became so thick and hazy, that it was imprudent to make any further attempts at present to keep in sight of the land. However, that we might be ready, whenever the fog should clear up, to resume our survey, we ran on in the direction of the coast, (as represented in the Russian charts) and fired signal guns for the *Discovery* to proceed on the same course. At eleven o'clock, just before we lost sight of land, Cheepoonskoi Noss, so denominated by the Russians, was at the distance of seven or eight leagues, bearing N. N. E. On the 20th, at three o'clock in the morning, the weather becoming clearer, we stood in towards the land; and, in the space of an hour afterwards, saw it a-head extending from N. W. to N. N. E. at the distance of about five leagues. The northern part we conjectured to be Kronotskoi Noss; its position in the Russian charts, nearly agreeing with our reckoning in respect to its latitude, which was 54 deg. 42 min. N. though, in point of longitude, we differed considerably from them; for they place it 1 deg. 48 min. E. of Awatska; whereas our computation makes it 3 deg. 34 min. E. of that place, or 162 deg. 17 min. E. of Greenwich. The land about this cape is very elevated, and the inland mountains, were at this time, covered with snow. There is no appearance of inlets or bays in the coast; and the shore breaks off in steep cliffs. We had not long been gratified with

this view of the land, when the wind freshened from the S. W. bringing on a thick fog, which obliged us to stand off in the direction of N. E. by E. The fog dispersing about noon, we again steered for the land, expecting to fall in with Kamtschatskoi Noss, and gained a sight of it at day-break on the 21st. The S. W. wind being soon after succeeded by a light breeze that blew off the land, we were prevented from approaching the coast sufficiently near to determine its direction, or describe its aspect. At noon, our long. was 163 deg. 50 min. and our lat. 55 deg. 52 min. the extremes of the land bore N. W. by W. three quarters W. and N. by W. three quarters W. and the nearest part was at the distance of about twenty-four miles. At nine in the evening, when we had approached about six miles nearer the coast, it appeared to form a projecting peninsula, and to extend eleven or twelve leagues in the direction nearly of N. and S. It is level, and of a moderate elevation; the southern extreme terminates in a low sloping point; that to the northward forms a steep bluff head; and between them, ten or twelve miles to the S. of the northern cape, there is a considerable break in the land. On both sides of this break, the land is low. A remarkable hill, resembling a saddle, rises beyond the opening; and a chain of lofty mountains, capped with snow, extends along the back of the whole peninsula. As the coast runs in an even direction, we were uncertain with respect to the position of Kamtschatskoi Noss, which, according to Mr. Muller, forms a projecting point towards the middle of the peninsula; but we afterwards found, that, in a late Russian map, that appellation is given to the southern cape. The latitude of this, from several accurate observations, was 56 deg. 3 min. and its longitude, 163 deg. 20 min. To the S. of this peninsula, the great river Kamtschatka runs into the sea. The season being too far advanced for us to make an accurate survey of the coast of Kamtschatka, it was the design of Capt. Clerke, on our course to Beering's Straights, to ascertain chiefly the respective situations of the projecting points of the coast. We therefore steered across a



spacious bay, laid down between Kamtschat-skoi Noss and Olutorskoi Noss, with a view of making the latter; which is represented by the Russian geographers, as terminating the peninsula of Kamtschatka, and as being the southern limit of the country of the Koraiæ.

On Tuesday, the 22nd, we passed a dead whale, which emitted a most horrible smell, perceivable at the distance of three or four miles. It was covered with a very considerable number of gulls, petrels, and other oceanic birds, which were regaling themselves upon it. On the 24th, the wind, which had shifted about during the three preceding days, settled at S. W. bringing on clear weather, with which we proceeded towards the N. E. by N. across the bay, having no land in sight. In the course of this day, we observed a great number of gulls, and were disgusted with the indelicate manner of feeding of the arctic gull, which has procured it the appellation of the parasite. This bird, which is rather larger than the common gull, pursues the latter species whenever it meets them; the gull, after flying about for some time, with loud screams, and manifest indications of extreme terror, drops its excrements, which its pursuer instantly darts at, and catches in its beak before it falls into the sea.

On Friday, the 25th, at one o'clock, P. M. when in the latitude of 59 deg. 12 min. and in the longitude of 168 deg. 35 min. a very thick fog came on, about the time we expected to obtain a view of Olutorskoi Noss, which (if Muller's position of it, in the latitude of 59 deg. 30 min. and in the longitude of 167 deg. 36 min. is right) could then have been only twelve leagues from us; at which distance, we might easily have discerned land of a moderate height. Our depth of water, at present, was so great, that we had no ground with an hundred and sixty fathoms of line. The fog still continuing, prevented us from making a nearer approach to the land, and we steered E. by N. at five o'clock, which is a little more easterly than the Russian charts represent the trending of the coast from Olutorskoi Noss. The next day, a fresh gale blew from the S. W. which

lasted till noon on the 27th, when the weather clearing up, we steered to the N. with an intention of making the land. Our latitude, at this time, was 59 deg. 49 min. and our longitude 175 deg. 43 min. Though we saw some shags in the morning, which are imagined never to fly far from the land, yet there was no appearance of it during the whole day. However, the next morning, about six o'clock, we had sight of it towards the N. W. The coast appeared in hills of a moderate elevation; but inland, others were observed considerably higher. The snow lying in patches, and no wood being perceived, the land had a very barren aspect. At nine o'clock, we were ten or eleven miles from the shore, the southern extreme bearing W. by S. about six leagues distant, beyond which the coast seemed to incline to the W. This point being in the longitude of 174 deg. 48 min. and in the latitude of 61 deg. 48 min. is situated according to the Russian charts, near the mouth of the river Opuka. The northern extremity, at the same time, bore N. by W. between which, and a hill bearing N. W. by W. quarter W. the coast appeared to bend towards the W. and form a deep bay. At the distance of about eight miles from the land we observed a strong rippling; and being under apprehensions of meeting with foul ground, we made sail to the N. E. along the coast. On heaving the lead, we found the depth of water to be twenty-four fathoms, over a bottom of gravel. We therefore concluded, that the appearance above-mentioned, was occasioned by a tide, then running to the southward. At noon, the extremes of the land bearing W. S. W. and N. N. E. we were abreast of the low land, which, we now observed, joined the two points, where we had before expected to discover a deep bay. The coast bends a little towards the W. and has a small inlet, which is, perhaps, the mouth of some inconsiderable river. Our longitude was now 175 deg. 43 min. and our latitude 61 deg. 56 min. During the afternoon, we continued our course along the coast, which exhibited an appearance of sterility, and the hills rose to a considerable elevation.



inland, but the clouds on their tops prevented us from determining their height. About eight o'clock in the evening, some of our people thought they saw land to the E. by N. upon which we stood to the southward of E. but it proved to be nothing more than a fog bank. At midnight, the extreme point bearing N. E. quarter E. we conjectured that it was St. Thadeus's Noss; to the S. of which the land inclines towards the W. forming a deep bight, wherein the river Katirka, according to the charts published by the Russians, is situate. On Tuesday the 29th, the weather was unsettled,, with the wind at the N. E. point.

On the 30th, at noon, we observed in longitude 180 deg. and latitude 61 deg. 48 min. At this time, St. Thadeus's Noss bore N. N. W. at the distance of twenty-three leagues; and beyond it we perceived the coast extending almost directly N. The easternmost point of the Noss is in the latitude of 62 deg. 50 min. and in the longitude of 179 deg. The land about it, from its being discerned at so great a distance, may justly be supposed to be of a considerable height. During this and the preceding day, we saw numbers of sea-horses, whales, and seals; also albatrosses, gulls, sea-parrots, guillemots, and other birds.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*The Resolution and Discovery continue their course to the north; Tschukotskoi Noss descried; Isles of St. Lawrence; Sight of the two coasts of Asia and America at the same instant; Obstructions from the ice; Fruitless attempts to discover a passage on the American side. The plan of Capt. Clerke, with respect to our future designs; Attempt, in vain, to pass the ice to the north-west; Critical situation of the Discovery; The damages sustained, after having again been obstructed by the ice; Capt. Clerke resolves, to the great joy of the ship's crew, to return to the southward; Pass Serdze Kamen; Proceed through Beering's Straits, &c.*

**O**N Thursday, the 1st of July, 1779, at noon, Mr. Bligh, master of the Resolution, found by experiment, that the ship made a course to the N. E. at the rate of about half a mile in an hour: this he attributed to the effect of a southerly swell, rather than to that of any current. The wind towards the evening, freshening from the S. E. we steered to the N. E. by E. for the point that Beering calls Tschukotskoi Noss, which we had observed on the 4th, of September the preceding year, at the same time that we perceived towards the S. E. the Isle of St. Lawrence. This cape, and St. Thadeus's Noss, from the north-eastern and south-western extremes of the extensive Gulph of Anadir, into the bottom of which the river of that name discharges itself, separating, as it passes, the country of the Tschutski from that of the Koriacs. On the 3rd, at noon,

we observed in latitude 63 deg. 33 min. longitude 186 deg. 45 min. Between twelve and one, we descried the Tschukotskoi Noss, bearing N. half W. at the distance of thirteen or fourteen leagues. At five in the afternoon, we saw the Island of St. Lawrence, in the direction of E. three-quarters N. and also another Island, which we imagined was between St. Lawrence and Anderson's Island, about eighteen miles E. S. E. of the former. As we had no certain knowledge of this Island, Capt. Clerke, was inclined to have a nearer view of it and immediately hauled the wind towards it: but it unfortunately happened, that we were unable to weather the Isle of St. Lawrence, and were therefore obliged to bear up again, and pass them all to the leeward. The latitude of the Island of St. Lawrence, according to the most accurate observations, is 63



deg. 47 min. and its longitude is 188 deg. 15 min. This Island, if its boundaries were at present within our view, is about three leagues in circumference. The northern part of it may be discerned at the distance of ten or a dozen leagues. As it has some low land to the S. E. the extent of which we could not perceive, some of us supposed, that it might perhaps be joined to the land to the eastward of it: we were, however, prevented by the haziness of the weather, from ascertaining this circumstance. These Islands, as well as the land adjoining to the Tschukotskoi Noss, were covered with snow, and presented a most dismal aspect. About midnight, the Isle of St. Lawrence was five or six miles distant, bearing S. S. E. and our soundings were eighteen fathoms. We were accompanied with sea-fowl of various sorts, and observed some guillemots and small crested hawks. The weather continuing to thicken, we lost sight of land till Monday the 5th, when we had a view of it both to the N. E. and N. W. Our longitude at this time, was 189 deg. 14 min. and our latitude 65 deg. 24 min. As the Islands of St. Diomedé, which are situated in Beering's Strait, between the two continents of Asia and America, were determined by us the preceding year to be in the latitude of 65 deg. 48 min. we were at a loss how to reconcile the land towards the N. E. with the position of those Islands. We therefore stood for the land till three o'clock in the afternoon, when we were within the distance of four miles from it, and discovering it to be two Islands, were pretty well convinced of their being the same, but the haziness of the weather still continuing, we, in order to be certain with, respect to our situation, stood over to the Asiatic coast, till about seven o'clock in the evening; at which time we had approached within two or three leagues of the eastern Cape of that continent. The Cape is an elevated round head of land, and extends about five miles from N. to S. It forms a peninsula, which is connected with the continent by a narrow isthmus of low land. It has a bold shore; and three lofty, detached, spiral rocks, are seen off its N. part. It was at present covered with

snow, and the beach encompassed with ice. We were now convinced of our having been under the influence of a strong current setting to the northward, which had occasioned an error of twenty miles in our computation of the latitude at noon. At the time of our passing this Strait the last year, we had experienced a similar effect. Having now ascertained our position, we steered N. by E. At ten o'clock in the evening, the weather clearing up, we saw, at the same instant, the remarkable peaked hill near Cape Prince of Wales, on the North American coast, and the East Cape of Asia, with the two Islands of St. Diomedé between them. In the course of this day, we saw several large white gulls, and great numbers of very small birds of the hawk kind. The beak of the latter was compressed, and large in proportion to the body of the bird; the colour was dark brown, or rather black, the breast whitish, and towards the abdomen a reddish brown hue was visible. On the 6th, at twelve o'clock, our latitude was 67 deg. and our longitude 191 deg. 6 min. Having already passed many large masses of ice, and observed that it adhered, in several places, to the shore of the Asiatic continent, we were not greatly surprised when we fell in, about three o'clock, with an extensive body of it, stretching towards the W. This appearance considerably discouraged our hopes of proceeding much further to the N. this year, than we had done the preceding. There being little wind in the afternoon, the boats were hoisted out in pursuit of the sea-horses, great numbers of which were seen on the detached pieces of ice; but they returned without success: these animals being extremely shy, and, before our people could come within gun-shot of them, always retreated into the water. At seven o'clock P. M. having hoisted in the boats, we stood on to the north-eastward, with a fresh southerly breeze, intending to explore the American continent, between the latitudes of 68 deg. and 69 deg. which, on account of the foggy weather, we had not an opportunity of examining the last year. In this attempt we were partly disappointed again: for, on the 7th, about six o'clock in the morning,



we were stopped by a large body of ice, stretching from N. W. to S. E. but, not long afterwards, the horizon becoming clear, we had a view of the American coast, at the distance of about ten leagues, extending from N. E. by E. to E. and lying between 68 deg. and 69 deg. 28 min. of northern latitude. The ice not being high, we were enabled by the clearness of the weather to see over a great extent of it. The whole exhibited a compact solid surface, not in the least thawed; and seemed also to adhere to the land. Soon after, the weather becoming hazy, we lost sight of the land; and it being impossible to approach nearer to it, we steered to the N. N. W. keeping the ice close on board; and having, by noon, got round its western extremity, we found that it trended nearly N. Our longitude, at this time, was 192 deg. 34 min. and our latitude 68 deg. 22 min. We proceeded along the edge of the ice, to the N. N. E. during the remainder of the day, passing through many loose pieces which had been separated from the main body, and against which our vessels were driven with great violence, notwithstanding our utmost caution. About eight in the evening, we passed some drift-wood: at midnight the wind veered to the N. W. and there were continued showers of snow and sleet. The thermometer had now fallen from 38 deg. to 31 deg. On Thursday, the 8th, at five o'clock, the wind shifting more to the northward, we could continue no longer on the same tack, by reason of the ice, but were under the necessity of standing towards the W. Our depth of water, at this time, was nineteen fathoms; from which, upon comparing it with our remarks on the soundings in the preceding year, we inferred, that our present distance from the coast of America did not exceed six or seven leagues; but our view was circumscribed within a much narrower compass by a heavy fall of snow. Our latitude, at noon, was 69 deg. 21 min. and our longitude 192 deg. 42 min. At two o'clock P. M. the weather became clearer, and we found ourselves close to an expanse of ice, which, from the mast-head, was discovered to consist of very large compact bodies; united

towards the exterior edge, but, in the interior parts, some pieces were observed floating in vacant spaces of the water: it extended from W. S. W. to N. E. by N. We bore away towards the S. along the edge of it, endeavouring to get into clearer water; for the strong northerly winds had drifted down such numbers of loose pieces, that we had been encompassed with them for some time, and were unable to prevent the ships from striking against several of them. On the 9th, a fresh gale blew from the N. N. W. accompanied with violent showers of snow and sleet. We steered W. S. W. and kept as near the main body of ice as we could; but had the misfortune to damage the cut-water against the drift pieces, and rub off some of the sheathing from the bows. The shocks, indeed, which our ships received, were frequently very severe, and were attended with considerable hazard. Our latitude, at noon, was 69 deg. 12 min. and our longitude 188 deg. 5 min.

We had now sailed almost forty leagues to the W. along the edge of the ice, without perceiving any opening, or a clear sea beyond it towards the N. no prospect therefore remained of making further progress to the northward at present. For this reason Capt. Clerke determined to bear away to S. by E. the only quarter which was clear, and to wait till the season was somewhat more advanced before he made any further attempts to penetrate through the ice. He proposed to employ the intermediate time in surveying the bay of St. Lawrence, and the coast situate to the S. of it; as it would be a great satisfaction to have a harbour so near, in case of future damage from the quantity of ice in these parts. We were also desirous of paying another visit to the Tschutski; and more particularly since the accounts we had heard of them from Major Behm. In consequence of this determination, we made sail to the southward, till the 10th, at noon, when we passed considerable quantities of drift ice, and a perfect calm ensued. The latitude, at this time, was 68 deg. 1 min. and the longitude 188 deg. 30 min. This morning we saw several whales; and in the afternoon, there being great numbers of



sea-horses on the pieces of ice that surrounded us, we hoisted out the boats, and dispatched them in pursuit of those animals. Our people had more success on this occasion, than they had on the 6th; for they returned with three large ones, and a young one, besides having killed or wounded some others. They were witnesses of several striking instances of parental affection in these animals. All of them, on the approach of the boats towards the ice, took their young ones under their fins, and attempted to escape with them into the sea. Some, whose cubs were killed or wounded, and left floating upon the surface of the water, rose again, and carried them down, sometimes just as our men were on the point of taking them into the boat; and could be traced bearing them to a considerable distance through the water, which was stained with their blood. They were afterwards observed bringing them, at intervals, above the surface, as if for air, and again plunging under it, with a horrid bellowing. The female, in particular, whose young one had been killed, and taken into the boat, became so furious, that she even struck her two tusks through the bottom of the cutter. About eight o'clock in the evening, an easterly breeze sprung up, with which we continued to steer to the southward; and, at midnight, fell in with many extensive bodies of ice. We attempted to push through them under an easy sail, that the ships might sustain no damage; and when we had proceeded a little further towards the S. nothing was visible but a very large and compact mass of ice, extending to the N. E. S. W. and S. E. as far as the eye could reach. This formidable obstacle prevented our visiting the Tschutski; for no space remained open, except back again to the northward. We therefore tacked, at three o'clock in the morning of the 11th, and stood to that quarter. The lat. at noon, was 67 deg. 49 min. and the long. 188 deg. 47 min. On Monday, the 12th, we had light winds and hazy weather. On examining the current, we found it set towards the N. W. at the rate of half a mile an hour. We continued our northerly course, with a breeze from the S. and fair weather, till

ten o'clock in the morning of the 13th, when we again found ourselves close in with a solid mass of ice, to which we could perceive no limits from the mast-head. This was an effectual discouragement to all our hopes of penetrating further; which had been greatly raised, by our having now advanced almost ten leagues, through a space, which, on the 9th, had been found to be occupied by impenetrable ice. Our situation, at this time, was nearly in the middle of the channel, betwixt the two continents; our lat. was 69 deg. 37 min. and the main body of the ice extended from W. S. W. to E. N. E.

In that part of the sea where we now were, there was no probability of getting further to the north. Capt. Clerke therefore determined to make a final attempt on the coast of America, for Baffin's Bay, since we had found it practicable to advance the furthest on this side, in the preceding year. We accordingly, during the remainder of the day worked to the windward, with a fresh breeze from the E. We observed several fulmars, and artic gulls, and passed two trees, both of which seemed to have lain a long time in the water. The larger one was, in length, ten or eleven feet, and in circumference, about three, without either the bark or branches. We continued our course to the eastward on the 14th, with thick foggy weather. The next day, the wind blowing fresh from the west, and having, in some measure, dispersed the fog, we immediately steered to the north, in order to have a nearer view of the ice; and we were soon close in with it. It extended from N. N. W. to N. E. and was solid and compact: the exterior parts were ragged, and of various heights; the inner surface was even; and, as we supposed, from eight to ten feet above the level of the sea. The weather becoming moderate during the rest of the day, we shaped our course according to the trending of the ice, which in several places, formed deep bays. On Friday, the 16th, the wind freshened, in the morning, and was accompanied with frequent and thick showers of snow. At eight o'clock in the forenoon, we had a strong gale from



the W. S. W. which brought us under double reefed top-sails; when, the weather in some degree clearing up, we found ourselves, as it were embayed; the ice having suddenly taken a turn to the south eastward, and encompassing us in one compact body, on all sides but the south. In consequence of this, we hauled our wind to the southward, being, at that time, in twenty-six fathoms water, and in the lat. of 70 deg. 8 min. N. and, as we imagined, at the distance of about twenty-five leagues from the American coast. At four in the afternoon, the gale increasing, we got the top-gallant-yards down upon the deck, furled the mizen top-sail, and close-reefed the fore and main-top-sails. About eight o'clock, finding that our soundings had decreased to twenty-two fathoms, which we considered as an indication of our near approach to the coast of America, we tacked and steered to the northward. In the night we had boisterous weather, attended with snow: but the next morning it was clear and moderate; and, at eight o'clock, we got the top-gallant-yards across, and bore away, with the wind still at W. S. W. Our lat. at noon, was 69 deg. 55 min. and our long. 194 deg. 30 min. The wind slackened in the evening, and, about midnight, we had a calm. A light breeze arising from the E. N. E. at five in the morning of the 18th, we continued our progress towards the N. with a view of regaining the ice as soon as possible. We saw numbers of sea-parrots, and small ice-birds, and also many whales; and passed several logs of drift wood. The lat. at twelve o'clock, was 70 deg. 26 min. and the long. 194 deg. 54 min. Our soundings, at the same time, were twenty-three fathoms; and the ice extended from N. to E. N. E. being about one league distant. At one o'clock in the afternoon, observing that we were close in with a firm united mass of ice, stretching from E. to W. N. W. we tacked, and, the wind veering to the westward, stood to the E. along the edge of it, till eleven in the evening. A very thick fog then coming on, and the depth of water decreasing to nineteen fathoms, we hauled our wind to the southward. About nine o'clock in the evening, a white bear swam close by

the Discovery; it afterwards went towards the ice, on which were likewise two others. The weather clearing up, at one in the morning of Monday, the 19th, we bore away to the N. E. till two o'clock, when we were again so completely embayed by the ice, that no opening remained, except to the southward; to which quarter we therefore directed our course, and returned through a very smooth water, with favourable weather, by the same way we had come in. We were unable to penetrate further towards the N. than at this time, when our lat. was 70 deg. 33 min which was about five leagues short of the point to which we had advanced the preceding summer. We stood to the S. S. W. with light winds from the N. W. near the edge of the main body of ice, which was situated on our left-hand, extending between us and the American coast. At noon our lat. was 70 deg. 11 min. and our long. 196 deg. 15 min. and our soundings were sixteen fathoms. We supposed, from this circumstance, that the Ice Cape was at the distance of only seven or eight leagues from us: but though the weather was in general pretty clear, there was, at the same time, a haziness in the horizon; so that we could not expect to have an opportunity of seeing the Cape. During the afternoon, two white bears appearing in the water, some of our people immediately pursued them in the jolly-boat, and were so fortunate as to kill them both. The larger one, which was, in all probability, the dam of the younger, being shot first, the other would not leave it, though it might have escaped with ease on the ice, while the men were re-loading their muskets; but continued swimming about, till after having been several times fired upon, it was shot dead. The length of the larger one, from the snout to the end of the tail, was seven feet two inches; in its circumference, near the fore legs, was four feet ten inches; the height of the shoulder was four feet three inches; and the breadth of the fore-paw was ten inches. The weight of its four quarters was four hundred and thirty six pounds. The four quarters of the smallest weighed two hundred and fifty-six pounds. These animals furnished us with



some good meals of fresh meat. Their flesh, indeed, had a strong fishy taste, but was infinitely superior to that of the sea-horse; which, however, our people were again persuaded, with no great difficulty, to prefer to their salted provisions.

On Tuesday, the 20th, at six o'clock, A. M. a thick fog arising, we lost sight of the ice for the space of two hours; but, when the weather became clearer, we again had a view of the main body to the S. S. E. and immediately hauled our wind, which was easterly, towards it, expecting to make the American coast to the S. E. which we effected between ten and eleven o'clock. The lat. at noon, was 69 deg. 33 min. and the long. 194 deg. 53 min. Our depth of water at the same time, was nineteen fathoms. The land was at the distance of eight or ten leagues, extending from S. by E. to S. S. W. half W. being the same we had seen the preceding year; but it was, at present, much more covered with snow than at that time; and the ice seemed to adhere to the shore. We continued to sail in the afternoon, through a sea of loose ice, and to steer towards the land, as near as the wind, which blew from E. S. E. would permit. A thick fog came on at eight o'clock in the evening, and the wind abated. Observing a rippling in the water, we tried the current, and found it set to the E. N. E. at the rate of a mile an hour: we therefore resolved to steer before the wind, during the night, in order to stem it, and oppose the large pieces of loose ice, which were setting us on towards the coast. Our soundings, at midnight, were twenty fathoms. The next morning, at eight o'clock, the wind freshening, and the fog dispersing, we again had sight of the coast of America to the south-eastward, at the distance of nine or ten leagues, and hauled in for it; but the ice in a short time effectually stopped our further progress on that side, and we were obliged to bear away towards the W. along the edge of it. Our lat. at twelve, was 69 deg. 34 min. our long. was 193 deg. and our soundings were twenty-four fathoms. A connected solid field of ice, thus baffling all our efforts to make a nearer approach to the land, and (as we had

some reason to imagine) adhering to it, we relinquished all hopes of a N. E. passage to Great Britain. Our Commander now finding it impossible to advance further to the northward on the American coast, and deeming it equally improbable, that such a prodigious quantity of ice should be dissolved by the few remaining weeks that would terminate the summer, considered it as the best step that could be taken to trace the sea over to the coast of Asia, and endeavour to find some opening that would admit him further N. or see what more could be done upon that coast, where he hoped to meet with better success. In consequence of this determination, we steered W. N. W. during the afternoon of the 21st, of July, through a great quantity of loose ice. About ten o'clock in the evening, discovering the main body of ice through the fog, right a-head, and very near us, and being unwilling to stand to the southward, so long as we could possibly avoid it; we hauled our wind, which was easterly and made sail to the N. but in the space of an hour afterwards, finding that the weather became clearer, and that we were surrounded by a compact field of ice on all sides except to the S. S. W. we tacked, and steered in that direction, for the purpose of getting clear of it. On the 22nd, at noon, our lat. was 69 deg. 30 min. and our long. 187 deg. 30 min. In the afternoon, we again came up with the ice, which extending to the N. W. and S. W. obliged us to proceed to the southward, in order to weather it. It may not here be improper to remark, that, since the 8th, of July, we had twice traversed this sea; in lines almost parallel with the run we had just now made; that we were unable in the first of those traverses, to penetrate so far N. by eight or ten leagues, as in the second: and that in the last we had again met with a connected mass of ice, generally about five leagues to the southward of its position in the preceding run. This makes it evident, that the large compact fields of ice, observed by us, were moveable, or diminishing; but, at the same time, it does not authorise any expectation of advancing much farther, even in the most favourable seasons. About



seven o'clock in the evening, the weather being hazy, and no ice visible, we made sail to the westward; but, between eight and nine, the haze dispersing, we found ourselves in the midst of loose ice, and very near the main body; we therefore stood upon a wind, which was still easterly, and continued to beat to windward during the night, hoping to weather the loose pieces, which the wind drove down upon us in such quantities, that we were in great danger of being blocked up by them. On Friday, the 23rd, the clear water, in which we steered to and fro, did not exceed a mile and a half, and was lessening every moment. At length, after exerting our most strenuous endeavours to clear the loose ice, we were under the necessity of forcing a passage to the S. which we accomplished between seven and eight, though not without subjecting the ship to some very severe shocks. The *Discovery* was not so successful; for about eleven o'clock when she had almost got clear out, she became so entangled by several large pieces, that her progress was stopped, and she immediately dropped to leeward, and fell broadside foremost, on the edge of a considerable body of ice; and there being an open sea to windward, the surf occasioned her to strike with violence upon it. This mass, at length, either so far broke, or moved, as to give the crew an opportunity of making another effort to escape; but, it unfortunately happened, that, before the ship gathered way enough to be under command, she fell to leeward a second time, on another fragment, and the swell rendering it unsafe to lie to windward, and finding no prospect of getting clear, they pushed into a small opening, furled their sails, and made the vessel fast with ice-hooks. We beheld them in this dangerous situation at noon, at the distance of about three miles from us, in a N. W. direction; a fresh gale from the S. E. driving more ice towards the N. W. and augmenting the body that lay between us. Our lat. at this time, was 69 deg. 8 min. our long. 187 deg. and our soundings were twenty-eight fathoms. To add to the apprehensions which began to force themselves on our minds, between four and five in the

afternoon, the weather becoming thick and hazy, we lost sight of the *Discovery*. However, that we might be in a situation to afford her every possible assistance, we stood on close by the edge of the ice. About six o'clock, the wind shifting to the north, gave us some hopes, that the ice might drift away, and release her from her danger; and in that case, as it was uncertain in what condition she might come out, we continued, every half hour, to fire a gun, with a view of preventing a separation. Our fears for her safety did not cease till nine, when we heard her guns fired in answer to our's; and not long afterwards being hailed by her, we were informed, that upon the change of wind, the ice began to separate, and that her people, setting all the sails, forced a passage through it.

On Saturday, the 24th, we steered to the S. E. till eleven o'clock A. M. when our course was again obstructed by a large body of loose ice, to which we could discover no bounds. At noon we found ourselves in lat. 68 deg. 53 min. long 188 deg. About four in the afternoon, we had a calm, and the boats were hoisted out in pursuit of the sea-horses, which appeared in prodigious numbers. Ten of them were killed by our people, as many as could be made use of by us for eating, or for converting into lamp-oil. We held on our course with a south-westerly wind, along the edge of the ice, till four in the morning of the 25th, when perceiving a clear sea beyond it, to the south-eastward, we steered to that point. During the remaining part of the day, we continued to run towards the S. E. with no ice in sight. At noon we observed in lat. 68 deg. 38 min. long. 189 deg. 9 min. and our soundings were thirty fathoms. For the remainder of the day, and till noon of the 27th, we stood backwards and forwards, to clear ourselves of different pieces of ice. At two in the afternoon, we had sight of the continent to the S. by E. and at four, having run, since noon, to the S. W. we were encompassed by loose masses of ice, with the main body in view, stretching in the direction of N. by W. and S. by E. as far as the eye could reach, beyond which we descried the Asiatic coast,



bearing S. and S. by E. It being now necessary to come to some determination respecting the course we were next to steer, Capt. Clerke dispatched a boat, with the carpenters, on board the *Discovery*, to make enquiries into the particulars of the damages she had lately received. In the evening they returned, with the report of Capt. Gore, and of the carpenters of both vessels, that the damages sustained were such as would require three weeks to repair; and that it would be requisite, for that purpose, to make the best of their way to some port. Thus finding our farther progress to the N. as well as our nearer approach to either continent, obstructed by immense bodies of ice, we considered it as not only injurious to the service, by endangering the safety of the ships, but likewise fruitless, with respect to the design of our voyage, to make any farther attempts for the discovery of a passage. This therefore, added to Capt. Gore's representations, determined Capt. Clerke to lose no more time after what he concluded to be an unattainable object, but to proceed to the bay of Awatska, to repair our damages there, and before the winter should set in, to take a survey of the coast of Japan. It is impossible to describe the joy that sparkled in the countenance of every individual, when the Captain's resolution was made known. All were completely weary of a navigation full of danger, and in which the greatest perseverance had not been rewarded with the smallest prospect of success. We therefore turned our thoughts towards home, after an absence of three years with a delight and satisfaction, as fully enjoyed, as if we had

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been already in sight of the land's end. On Wednesday, the 28th, we worked to windward, with a fresh breeze from the S. E. being still in sight of the coast of Asia. At four in the morning, Cape Serdze Kamen bore S. S. W. distant seven leagues. On the 29th, the wind continuing unfavourable, we made but slow progress to the southward. We had no land in view till seven in the evening of the 30th, when the fog dispersing, we saw Cape Prince of Wales bearing S. by E. distant six leagues; and the Island of St. Diomede S. W. by W. We now stood to the W. and at eight made the East Cape, which at midnight, was four leagues distant, bearing W. by N. On Saturday, the 31st, at four o'clock A. M. the East Cape bore N. N. E. and the N. E. part of the Bay of St. Lawrence, W. by S. distant twelve miles. At noon, we observed in latitude 65 deg. 6. min. longitude 189 deg.

We had now passed Beering's Straits, and taken a final leave of the N. E. coast of Asia; and here we shall state our reasons for adopting two general conclusions relative to its extent, in opposition to the sentiment of Mr. Muller. The first is, that the promontory, called East Cape, is actually the most easterly point of that quarter of the globe; or in other words, that no part of that continent extends in longitude beyond 190 deg. 22 min. E. The second is, that the latitude of the north-easternmost extreme is somewhat to the southward of 70 deg. N. With regard to the former, if such land really exists, it must certainly be to the N. of the 69th, deg. of latitude, where the discoveries made in our present voyage terminate.



## CHAP. XIX.

*History of the voyage continued ; Pass the Islands of St. Lawrence and Mednoi ; Our Commodore, Capt. Clerke, confined to his sick bed, without hopes of recovery ; His death, and public services ; The Resolution and Discovery return to St Peter and St. Paul ; Promotions among the officers, in consequence of the Commodore's death ; Funeral of Capt. Clerke, and the solemnities attending it ; A supply of flour, and a reinforcement of Russian soldiers ; An account of a remarkable exile ; Bear hunting and fishing parties ; Particular description of the former diversion ; The king's coronation celebrated ; A visit from the Commander ; Discipline of the military among the Russians ; Manner of hunting the bears ; A supply of cattle received ; Entertainments in honour of the Empress's birth-day ; Present from the Commander ; The Resolution and Discovery work out of Awatska Bay ; Plan of future operations ; The Resolution and Discovery, on quitting the Bay of Awatska, sail along the coast ; A violent storm ; Proceed for the Island of Japan ; Description of a Japanese vessel ; Prosecution of the voyage to China, in which three Islands are discovered ; Fruitless search for the Bashee Islands ; The Grand Ladrone Island ; Journals, and other papers relating to the history of the voyage, delivered up ; The ships approach Macao ; Capt. King dispatched to visit the Portuguese Governor ; They anchor in the Typa ; Great demand for the sea-otterskins, and its effects on our seamen.*

ON Sunday, the 1st, of August, 1779, we observed in lat. 64 deg. 23 min. long. 189 deg. 15 min. at which time the Asiatic coast extended from N. W. by W. to W. half S. distant twelve leagues, and the land to the E. of St. Lawrence bore S. half W. On the 2nd, the weather being clear, we saw the same land again, at noon, extending from W. S. W. half W. to S. E. and forming several elevated hummocks, which had the appearance of separate Islands. Our lat. this day, at noon, we found to be 64 deg. 3 min. long. 189 deg. 28 min. and our soundings were seventeen fathoms. We were not near enough to this land to ascertain whether it was a group of Islands, or only a single one. We had passed its most westerly point in the evening of the 3rd, of July, which we then supposed to be the Isle of St. Lawrence ; the easternmost we sailed close by in September, the preceding year, and this we denominated Clerke's Island, and found it composed of a number of lofty cliffs, connected by very low land. Though those cliffs were mistaken by us, last year, for separate Islands, till we made a very near approach to the shore, we are still inclined to conjecture, that the Isle of St. Lawrence is distinct from Clerke's Island, as there appeared between them a considerable space, where we did not observe the least appearance, of

rising ground. In the afternoon, we likewise saw what had the appearance of a small Island, to the N. E. of the land that we had seen at noon, and which, from the thickness of the weather, we had only sight of once. We supposed its distance to be nineteen leagues from the Island of St. Lawrence, in the direction of N. E. by E. half E. On the 3rd, we had light variable winds, and steered round the N. W. point of the Isle of St. Lawrence. In the afternoon, a fresh breeze rising from the E. we steered to the S. S. W. and quickly lost sight of St. Lawrence. On Saturday, the 7th, at noon, we observed in lat. 59 deg. 38 min. long. 183 deg. At four o'clock, having a dead calm, part of the companies of both ships were employed in fishing, and caught a number of fine large cod, in seventeen fathoms water, which were distributed equally among the crews. To this place we gave the name of the Bank of Good Providence, and as soon as the breeze sprung up, we made sail, and stood to S. W. but we were forced more to the eastward than we wished, it being our intention to make Beering's Island. On Tuesday, the 10th, we were, by observation, in lat. 56 deg. 37 min. Friday, the 13th, we dispatched a boat to the Discovery, for the purpose of comparing time, and she carried the disagreeable intelligence, that Capt. Clerke



had been given over by the surgeon. The weather falling calm, we hove to, in order to get some fish for the sick : and distributed accordingly.

On Tuesday, the 17th, at five o'clock, A. M. the man at the mast-head called out land to the N. W. This we imagined to be the Island of Mednoi, which, in the Russian charts, is placed to the S. E. of Beer- ing's Island. It is elevated land, and was at this time apparently free from snow. By our reckoning, it lies in lat. 54 deg. 28 min. long. 167 deg. 52 min. Capt. Clerke, now perceiving his end drawing near, signified his desire, that the officers would receive their orders from Mr King ; and directed, for the last time, that we should repair, with all convenient speed, to the Bay of Awat- ska. The wind continuing westerly we held on a southerly course, till Thursday, the 19th, when, after, a few hours continuance of rain, early in the morning, it blew from the E. and became a strong gale. We made the most of it, by standing towards the W. with all the sail we could carry. On the 20th, the wind varying to the S. W. we steered a W. N. W. course. At noon, we observed in lat. 53 deg 7 min. long. 162 deg. 49 min. On Saturday, the 21st, between five and six o'clock, A. M. we descried a very lofty peaked mountain, on the coast of Kamtschatka, known by the name of Chepoonskoi mountain, bearing N. W. by N. and distant near thirty leagues. At noon, the coast was observed to extend from N. by E. to W. with a very great haziness upon it, and distant about twelve leagues.

On Sunday the 22nd, at nine o'clock, A. M. a boat was sent off to the Discovery, to announce to Capt. Gore, the death of our Commodore, Capt. Charles Clerke, who paid the debt of nature when in the 38th, year of his age. His death was occasioned by a consumption, which had manifestly commenced before his departure from England, and of which he had lingered during the whole continuance of the voyage. His very gradual decay had for a long time rendered him a melancholy object to his friends ; but the firmness and equanimity with which he bore the slow approaches of death the constant flow of good spirits

which he retained even to the last hour, and a cheerful resignation to the decree of heaven, furnished them with some consolation. It was impossible not to feel an uncommon degree of compassion for a gentleman, who had experienced a series of those difficulties and hardships, which must be the inevitable lot of every seaman, and under which he at last sunk. He was bred to the navy from his youth, and had been in many engagements during the war which commenced in 1756. In the action between the *Bellona* and *Comagaux*, he was stationed in the mizen-top, and was carried overboard with the mast ; but was taken up without having received the least injury. He was midshipman on board the *Dolphin*, commanded by Commodore Byron, when she first sailed round the world ; and was afterwards on the American station. In the year 1768, he engaged in a second voyage round the world, in the situation of master's mate of the *Endeavour* ; and, during that expedition, succeeded to a lieutenancy. In the *Resolution* he made a third voyage round the world, in the capacity of second lieutenant ; and, in a short time after his return, he was appointed master and commander. In the present expedition, he was appointed Captain of the *Discovery*, and to accompany Capt. Cook. By the calamitous death of the latter, he succeeded of course, as we have already related, to the chief command. It would savour of injustice and ingratitude, not to mention, that, during the short time he was Commodore, we always observed him to be remarkably zealous for the success of the expedition. When the principal command devolved upon him, his health began rapidly to decline ; and he was unequal, in every respect, to encounter the severity of a high northern climate. The vigour of his mind, however, was not in the least impaired by the decay of his body ; and though he was perfectly sensible, that his delaying to return to a warmer region, was depriving himself of the only chance of recovery ; yet, so attentive was he to his duty, that he was determined not to suffer his own situation to bias his judgment, to the prejudice of the service ; he therefore persevered in the search of a passage, till every officer in both ships,



declared they were of opinion it was impracticable, and that any farther attempts would be equally hazardous and ineffectual.

The messenger who was sent to the Discovery with the melancholy news of our Commodore's death, brought a letter from Capt. Gore, containing an order for Mr. King to exert his utmost endeavours to keep in company with the Discovery, and, if a separation should happen, to repair as soon as possible, to St. Peter and St. Paul. At noon, we were by observation in lat. 53 deg. 8 min. long 160 deg. 40 min. E. Cheepoonskoi Noss bearing W. On the 23rd, we steered for the entrance of Awatska Bay, which we saw in the evening, at the distance of five leagues. At eight o'clock, the lighthouse, which now furnished a good light, bore W. N. by W. three miles distant. It was now a perfect calm, but, the tide being favourable, our boats were sent a-head, which towed us beyond the narrow parts of the mouth of the harbour. On the 24th, at one o'clock A. M. we dropped anchor, the ebb tide setting against us. At nine, we weighed, and before three P. M. we anchored in the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul; having up our ensign half staff, as the body of our late Captain was in the vessel; and the Discovery followed us in a very short time. Both ships were moored in four fathoms water, muddy bottom. From the time we had set sail out of this bay, till the present time of our return we had been in no harbour to refit, and had been driven from Island to Island, and from one continent to the other, till our ships had in a manner lost their sheathing, and were otherwise in a miserable condition; we therefore thought ourselves exceeding happy in arriving at port. Soon after we had anchored, we were visited by our old friend the serjeant, still the commanding officer, who brought with him a present of berries, intended for our late Commodore. He was much affected at hearing of his death, and seeing the coffin that contained his remains. As the deceased had particularly requested to be buried on shore, and gave the preference to the church at Paratounca, we consulted the serjeant about the necessary steps to be taken on this occasion, who referred us to the priest, as being the person best qualified to give us in-

formation on this subject. At the same time he signified his intention of sending an express to the Commander of Bolcheretsk, with an account of our arrival; when Commodore Gore begged to avail himself of that opportunity of conveying a letter to him, wherein he requested that sixteen head of black cattle might be sent with all possible dispatch. At this time, we received intelligence of Soposnicoff's arrival from Oonashka, who took charge of the packet sent by Capt. Cook to the Admiralty, and which we had the pleasure to find, had been forwarded.

Wednesday, the 25th, in the morning, Capt. Gore, in consequence of the death of our late Commodore, made out the new commissions. He himself succeeded to the chief command in the Resolution; and our lieutenant, Mr. King, was appointed Captain of the Discovery. Mr. Lanyan, master's mate of the Resolution, and who had been in that capacity, in a former voyage, on board the Adventure, was appointed to the vacant lieutenancy. In consequence of these arrangements, the following promotions took place. Lieutenants Burney and Rickman (from the Discovery) were appointed first and second lieutenants of the Resolution: and lieutenant Williamson first lieutenant of the Discovery. Capt. King, by the permission of the Commodore, took in four midshipmen, who had rendered themselves useful to him in astronomical calculations; and whose assistance was become the more necessary, as we had not an ephemeris for the present year. And that astronomical observations might not be neglected to be made in either ship, Mr. Bayly took Capt. King's place in the Resolution, for these purposes. This day we were attended by the Pope Romanoff Vereshagen, the worthy priest of Paratounca. His expressions of sorrow for the death of Capt. Clerke did honour to his feelings; but the good old gentleman, though much concerned, started several difficulties, and appeared rather unwilling to comply with the request of the deceased. He urged, among the other objections, that the Church was soon to be pulled down; that every winter it was three feet deep in water; and that in a few years no vestige of it would remain, as the new Church was



to be erected near the Ostrog of Awatska, upon a drier and more convenient spot. He therefore advised, that the remains of our late Commodore should be deposited at the foot of a tree, the scite of which, was to be included in the body of the new Church, where the bones of the Captain might probably rest for ages undisturbed: however, he submitted the choice of either place entirely to Capt. Gore. These reasons, whether real or fictions, the officers who had charge of the funeral could not disprove, and therefore some of our people had orders to dig the grave where the priest should direct.

The Discovery having suffered great injury from the ice, especially on the 23rd, of July, and continued exceeding leaky ever since, it was apprehended that some of her timbers might have started: our carpenters were therefore sent to assist those of the Discovery in repairing her. To accommodate those who were to be employed on shore, a tent was erected, and a party was sent into the country, north of the harbour, to fell timber. The observatories were placed at the west end of the village, near which was erected a tent, as an abode for the Commodore and Capt. King. When the carpenters began to rip the damaged sheathing from the larboard bow, it was discovered, that three feet of the third strake were staved, and the timbers started: and as they proceeded, the decayed state of the ship's hull became more and more apparent. The season being now far advanced, Capt. King was unwilling that any hindrance or delay should happen through him, to Capt. Gore's farther views of discovery, and therefore ordered the carpenters to rip off no more of the sheathing, than should be absolutely necessary for repairing the damages occasioned by the ice. He was apprehensive of their meeting with more decayed planks, which he thought had better remain in that state, than have their places supplied with green birch, even supposing it could be procured. All hands were now fully employed in their separate departments, that we might be perfectly ready for sea, by the time the carpenters had completed their business. Four men were set apart to haul the seine for salmon, which were caught in

immense quantities, and we found them of most excellent quality. After the wants of both ships were sufficiently supplied, we daily salted down almost a hogshead. We had four invalids, who were employed in gathering greens, and cooking for those who were ashore. We also landed our powder, in order to have it dried; and the blubber of the sea horses, with which both ships had completely furnished themselves, in our passage to the north, was now boiled down for oil, and was become a very necessary article, having long since expended all our candles. The cooper was also employed in his department. Both ship's companies were thus engaged till Saturday, the 28th, in the afternoon, which was allowed to every man (except the carpenters) to wash their linen, and get their clothes in tolerable order, that on Sunday they might make a decent appearance.

On Sunday, the 29th, we performed the last affecting offices at the interment of Capt. Clerke, our late much respected Commodore; and to make the funeral the more solemn, every officer was desired to appear in his uniform; the marines were ordered to be drawn up under arms; and the common men to be dressed as nearly alike as possible, in order to attend the corpse from the water-side to the grave. All the Russians in the garrison assembled on the occasion, assisting respectfully in the solemnity, and the worthy pastor of Paratounca joined in the procession, walking with the gentleman who read the service. The ships, at the same time fired minute guns, and the drums, muffled as usual, beat the dead march. When the corpse arrived at the grave, it was deposited under a triple discharge of three vollies, fired by the marines, which concluded the burial service. When the grave was covered, it was thought proper to fence it in by piles driven deep in the ground, and afterwards to fill up the space inclosed with stones and earth, to preserve the body from being devoured in the winter by bears, or other wild beasts, who are remarkable for their sagacity in scenting out the bodies of dead passengers, when any happen to perish, and are buried near the roads.

Friday, the 10th, in the morning, the



boats from both the ships were ordered to tow a Russian galliot into the harbour, which had just arrived from Okotsk. She had been no less than thirty-five days on her passage, and, from the light-house, had been observed a fortnight before, beating up towards the mouth of the bay. The crew had at that time dispatched their boat on shore in order to procure water, which they much wanted; but, the wind increasing, the boat was lost: the galliot was again driven to sea, and those who were passengers suffered, with the crew, inconceivable hardships. On board this galliot were fifty soldiers, with their wives and children: they had also other passengers, and the crew consisted of twenty-five seamen, making in the whole, upwards of an hundred persons; which, for a vessel of eighty tons, was a great number, especially as she was heavily laden with stores and provisions. This galliot, and the sloop which we saw here in May, are built in the manner of the Dutch doggers. Soon after the vessel had come to anchor, we were visited by a Put-parouchich, or sub-lieutenant, who arrived in her, and sent to take the command of this place. Some of the soldiers were intended to reinforce the garrison; and two pieces of cannon were brought on shore, to serve as an additional defence to the town; for the honest serjeant observed shrewdly, that, as we had found the way here, others might do the same, who would not be so welcome as ourselves. On the 11th, the damages of the *Resolution* being repaired, we hauled her off from the shore, and in the course of the day, we got some pitch, tar, cordage, and twine from the galliot. She also furnished us with a hundred and forty skins of flour, amounting to thirteen thousand seven hundred and eight-two English pounds troy weight. On the 12th, Ensign Synd left us to return to Bolcheretsk, with the remainder of the soldiers, who had arrived in the galliot. During his abode here, he had been our constant guest; and on his father's account, we thought him in some degree belonging to us; and, as one of the family of discoverers, entitled to a share of our esteem. The serjeant, as being commander of the place, had hitherto been admitted to our tables; and his company was additionally

welcome to us, because he was sensible and quick in his conceptions; and comprehended, better than any other person, the few Russian words that we had acquired. Whilst Ensign Synd remained among us, he very politely permitted him to enjoy the same privileges; but when the new Commander arrived from Okotsk, the serjeant, for what cause we did not understand, fell into disgrace, and was no longer permitted to sit in the company of his own officers. Our endeavours to obtain indulgence for him, we perceived would have been ineffectual; for though highly agreeable to us, it was, perhaps, incompatible with their discipline.

On Wednesday, the 15th, we had completed the stowage of the holds, got our wood and water on board, and were ready for sea; but we could not think of taking our departure, because the cattle were not yet arrived from Verchnei; and fresh provisions were now become the most important article of our wants, and essentially necessary for preserving the health of our people. Having before us a prospect of fine weather, we considered this as a favourable opportunity of engaging in some amusement on shore, and of acquiring some knowledge of the country. A party for bear-hunting was therefore proposed by Capt. Gore; and on Friday the 17th, we set out on this expedition; which was deferred to that day, in order to give a little rest to the Hospodin Ivaskin, a new acquaintance, who had arrived here on Wednesday, and intended to be one of our party. Major Behm had desired this gentleman, who resided usually at Verchnei, to attend us on our return to the harbour, and assist us as an interpreter; and, from what we had heard of him before his arrival, our curiosity to see him was much excited. He is allied to a considerable family in Russia, and his father was a general in the service of the Empress. He received his education partly in France; he had been a page to the Empress Elizabeth, and bore an ensign's commission in her guards. At sixteen years of age he was knowted, had his nose slit, and was banished to Siberia. He was afterwards transported to Kamtschatka, and had resided there 31 years. His person was tall and thin, and his visage furrowed with deep wrinkles. Old age was,



strongly depicted in his whole figure, though only fifty-three years of his existence had scarcely elapsed. Great was our disappointment when we discovered, that he had so totally forgotten the French and German languages, as not to be able to speak a single sentence, nor to comprehend readily any thing that was said to him in either of those languages. Thus were we deprived unfortunately, of what we expected would have furnished a favourable opportunity of acquiring farther information respecting this country.

We now set out on our hunting party, directing our course to the northward, toward a pool of water, that lies near the mouth of the river Paratounca, and which was a known haunt of the bears. We had scarce landed, when unfortunately the wind changed to the eastward, and destroyed all hopes of coming up with our game; for the Kamtschadales assured us, that it was in vain to expect to meet with bears, when to the windward of them; owing to their being possessed of an uncommon acuteness, in scenting their pursuers, which enabled them under such circumstances, to avoid the danger, though at a very great distance from them. We returned therefore to the boat, and passed the night on the beach, having brought a tent with us for that purpose. The next morning, being the 18th, we crossed the bay, and pursued our course on foot along a plain abounding with berries, on which the bears feed: but though several of these animals were seen at a distance, we could never contrive, the weather being showery and unfavourable, to get within shot of them. Thus disappointed again, we changed our diversion to that of spearing salmon, which we saw pushing in great numbers, through the surf into a small river. Fortunately the water afforded us a little provision; for ill success had not only attended us in the chase by land, but we had failed in our expectations of shooting wild fowl, after having almost depended solely upon a supply of them for our subsistence; and on its failure, we began to think it time to return to head quarters. These sentiments entirely corresponded with those of the Hospodin, whom former severities had rendered unable to endure fatigue. On

Sunday, the 19th, at night, we reached the ships, after having been full twelve hours upon our legs. Poor Ivaskin seemed perfectly overcome with fatigue and was probably the more sensibly affected by it; for want of a supply of snuff: for, almost at every step, his hand sunk mechanically into his pocket, and rose instantly again with his huge empty box. When arrived at the tent, the Hospodin's box was immediately replenished, and, regaling upon a good supper, we forgot the fatigues and disappointments of our fruitless excursion.

On Monday, the 20th, we received the disagreeable intelligence, that our much esteemed friend, the serjeant, had suffered corporal punishment, which had been inflicted on him by command of the old Put-parouchick. None of us could learn the cause of his displeasure; but it was supposed to have arisen from some little jealousy, which had been excited by our civility to the former. We were unwilling to remonstrate on this subject, till Capt. Shmaleff should arrive; however, when we were next visited by the Put-parouchick, the coolness with which we received him, must have testified fully our chagrin. The 22nd, being the anniversary of the king's coronation, we fired twenty one guns; and, in honour of our royal master, prepared as elegant a feast as our situation would allow of. The arrival of Capt. Shmaleff was announced the very moment we were sitting down to dinner. We were equally pleased and surprized at this unexpected visit: first, because the Captain came so opportunely to take a share in the festivity of the day; and also, because we were lately informed, that the effects of a late illness had rendered him unequal to the journey. We had the satisfaction to hear this had been merely an excuse; and that, knowing we were distressed for tea and sugar, &c. he was hurt at the idea of coming empty handed, and therefore had deferred his setting out, waiting impatiently for the arrival of a sloop from Okotsk; but hearing no intelligence of her, and fearing we should sail before he had visited us, he was resolved to prosecute the journey, though he had nothing to present to us but apologies for the poverty of Bolcheretsk. At the same time he informed us, that the reason of our



not having received the black cattle, was, that the heavy rains at Verchnei, had prevented their setting out. So much generosity and politeness demanded the best answer we were capable of making; and on coming on board the next day, we saluted him with eleven guns. Friday, the 24th, he was entertained on board the *Discovery*; and the day following, being the 25th, he returned to Bolcheretsk. No intreaties could prevail on him to extend his visit, having, as he assured us, some expectations that the sub-governor-general would arrive in the sloop expected from Okotsk, he being on a tour through all the provinces of the governor-general of Jakutsk. Without any application from us, he reinstated the serjeant in his command, before his departure, having resolved to take the *Put-parouchick* with him. We also understood, that he was much offended with him for punishing the serjeant, as there did not appear to be the slightest grounds for inflicting such chastisement. Encouraged by the Captain's great readiness to oblige us, we ventured to request a small favour for another inhabitant of Kamtschatka. It was to requite an honest old soldier, who kept a kind of ordinary for the inferior officers, and who had done a thousand good offices both for them and the whole crew. The Captain obligingly complied with our wishes, and dubbed him instantly a corporal, telling him, at the same time, to thank the English officers for his very great promotion. It may not here be unnecessary to remark, that the lower class of officers in the Russian army, have a greater pre-eminence above the private men, than those in the British service can possibly conceive. It was, indeed, a matter of astonishment to us, to see a serjeant assume all the state, and exact as much homage from those beneath him, as though he had been a field-officer. Besides there are several gradations of rank among them, of which other countries are wholly ignorant; there being no less than four intermediate steps between a serjeant and a private soldier. But the discipline of the Russian army, though so extremely remote from the seat of government, is remarkable for its strictness and severity; not exempting even

the commissioned officers. Imprisonment, and bread and water diet, is the punishment of the latter for inconsiderable offences. A good friend of our's, an ensign in this place, informed us, that the punishment he received for having been concerned in a drunken frolic, was three months imprisonment in the black hole, with a daily allowance only of bread and water for his subsistence; which so affected his whole nervous system, that he has never since enjoyed a sufficient flow of spirits to qualify him for a convivial meeting.

Monday, the 27th, was spent by another party in the diversion of bear-hunting; when Capt. King submitted himself to the directions of the parish-clerk, who had acquired great reputation as a bear hunter. About sun-set they arrived at one of the larger lakes, where it was deemed necessary to conceal themselves; and this was effected easily among some long grass, and brush-wood, of which we saw great plenty near the water's edge. We had not been long under our covert, before our ears were agreeably saluted with the growling of bears, in almost every quarter round about us; and we soon had the pleasure of beholding one of them in the water, swimming in a direct course to where we lay concealed. At this time the moon shone, so as to afford a considerable light; and as the bear advanced toward us, three of us fired at it, almost at the same instant. Immediately the animal turned short upon one side, and set up a most horrible noise, which was neither yelling, growling, nor roaring, but a very extraordinary mixture of the whole three. We could easily perceive, that the beast was wounded severely, and that it reached the bank with difficulty; whence it retreated to some thick bushes not far distant, still continuing to make a hideous noise. The Kamtschadales supposed it to be mortally wounded; but judged it an act of imprudence to attempt to rouse it again immediately. It was then nine o'clock; and as the night became overcast, and a change of weather was to be apprehended, we thought it adviseable to return home, and wait till morning for the gratification of our curiosity, when we accordingly repaired to the spot,



and found the bear dead from the wounds it had received. It was a female, and larger than the ordinary size.

On Tuesday, the 28th, Capt. King returned from his excursion to the ships, not a little pleased, as it had afforded him an opportunity of seeing a part of the country, and of observing the manners and behaviour of the people, when under no restraint, evidently not the case when they were in company with the Russians. On the 30th, our Commodore went to Paratounca; but, before his departure, ordered Capt. King to get the ships out of the harbour, that they might be in readiness to sail.

On Friday, the 1st of October, we had a violent gale of wind, which continued the whole day; but, on the 2nd, both ships warped out of the harbour, and anchored in seven fathoms water, about a quarter of a mile from the Ostrog. Fortunately for us, the day before we quitted the harbour, the cattle from Verchnei arrived; and that the men might have the full enjoyment of this seasonable supply, by eating it whilst it was fresh, the Commodore determined to stay in our present station five or six days longer. This time, however, was far from being misapplied; for the pumps, sails, and rigging of each ship, received an additional repair. Capt. King having obtained permission to use the copper belonging to the *Resolution*, and being supplied with molasses from Capt. Gore, he was enabled to brew a sufficient quantity of beer, to last the crew a fortnight, and to make ten additional punchcons of strong spruce essence. This supply was the more acceptable, as our last cask of spirits was now serving out, except a small quantity reserved for cases of emergency. The 3rd, being the birth-day of the Empress of Russia, we were cordially disposed to shew it every possible respect. The pastor of Paratounca, Ivaskin, and the Serjeant, were invited to dine with us; and an entertainment was prepared for the two Toions of Paratounca, and St. Peter and St. Paul; as well as for the inferior officers of the garrison, and the most respectable of the inhabitants. All the other natives were invited to partake in common with the ships' companies; a pound of excellent beef being served out to every man, and the remainder

of our spirits was made into grog, and distributed among them. Twenty-one guns were fired upon the occasion; and considering we were in a very remote part of the Empress's dominions, the whole festival was conducted in a manner not unworthy so illustrious a character. On Tuesday, the 5th, we received a fresh supply of tea, sugar, and tobacco, from Bolcheretsk. Capt. Shmaleff having met this present on his return, he transmitted a letter with it, informing us, that the sloop from Okotsk had arrived in his absence, and that Madame Shmaleff had instantly dispatched a courier with these few articles, requesting our acceptance of them. On the two following days we were prevented from unmooring, by reason of foul weather; but on Friday the 8th, all the boats were hoisted in, and we sailed towards the mouth of the bay; when the wind, veering to the S. obliged us to drop anchor, the Ostrog, bearing N. distant half a league. On the 9th, at four o'clock, P. M. we again unmoored; but as we were raising our last anchor, we were informed that the drummer of the marines had fled from the boat of the *Discovery*, which had just left the village, and that he had lately been seen with a Kamtschadale woman, to whom he was known to be much attached, and who had importuned him frequently to stay behind. This man was entirely useless in the service, being lamed by a swelling in his knee; and on that very account Capt. King was the more unwilling to leave him behind, lest he should become a miserable burthen to himself and the Russians. He therefore applied to the Serjeant to send parties of his men after him; and, in the mean time some sailors visited a well known haunt of his in the neighbourhood, where the drummer and his woman were found together. On his return the *Discovery* weighed anchor, and followed the *Resolution*.

In the instructions for the regulation of the present voyage, the Lords of the Admiralty had intrusted the commanding officer of the expedition, with discretionary power, in case of not succeeding in the discovery of a passage from the Pacific Ocean into the Atlantic, to make choice, in his return to England, of whatever route he should judge proper; the Commodore therefore desired,



that the principal officers would deliver their sentiments, in writing, relative to the mode in which these instructions might most effectually be carried into execution. The result of their opinions, which, to his great satisfaction, he found unanimous, and perfectly agreeing with his own, was, that the condition of the ships, their sails, cordage, &c. rendered it hazardous and unsafe to make any attempt, as the winter was now approaching, to navigate the sea between Asia and Japan, which would otherwise have opened to us the most copious field for discovery; that it was therefore most prudent to steer to the eastward of that Island, and in our way thither, to sail along the Kuriles, and examine particularly those Islands that are situated nearest to the northern coast of Japan, which are said to be of considerable extent, and not subject to the Russians or Japanese. Should we have the good fortune to meet with some secure and commodious harbours in any of these Islands, we supposed they might prove of considerable importance, as convenient places of shelter for subsequent navigators, who might be employed in exploring the seas, or as the means of producing a commercial intercourse among the adjacent dominions of the two above-mentioned empires. Our next object was to take a survey of the Japanese Isles; after which we designed to make the coast of China as far to the N. as might be in our power, and then to proceed to Macao. This plan being adopted, Capt. King received orders, in case the two ships should separate, to repair, without delay to Macao.

On Saturday, the 9th, of October, at six o'clock P. M. having cleared the entrance of the Bay of Awatska, we made sail to the S. E. At midnight we had a dead calm, which continued till noon of the following day. A breeze springing up from the W. about three o'clock, P. M. we steered to the S. along the coast. A head-land now opened with Cape Gavareea, in the direction of S. by W. situated nearly twenty miles beyond it. On Monday, the 11th, at noon, we observed in lat. 52 deg. 4 min. long. 158 deg. 31 min. Cape Gavareea bearing N. by W. one quarter W. and the southern extremity S. W. half W. We

were now at the distance of nine or ten miles from the nearest part of the coast, and perceived the whole inland country covered with snow. A point of land towards the S. formed the northern side of a deep bay, distinguished by the name of Achachinskoi, to the southward of which, the land did not exhibit such a rugged and barren aspect, as was observable in that part of the country which we had before passed. On Tuesday, the 12th, at six o'clock P. M. we discerned, from the mast-head, Cape Lopatka, which is the most southern extreme of Kamtschatka. This, by accurate observations, we found to be in lat. 51 deg. and in the long. of 156 deg. 45 min. We perceived, to the N. W. of it, a very lofty mountain, whose summit was lost in the clouds. At the same instant, the first of the Kurile Islands, named Shoomska, made its appearance, in the direction of W. half S. On Wednesday, the 13th, at day-break, we descried the second of the Kurile Islands, named Paramousir, by the Russians, extending from W. half S. to N. W. by W. This land was exceedingly high, and almost covered with snow. The Island is the largest of the Kuriles; and its southern extremity stands, according to our computation, in lat. 49 deg. 58 min. the northern extremity we place in lat. 50 deg. 46 min. long. 10 deg. W. of Cape Lopatka. During the two following days, the wind, blowing fresh from the W. obliged us to steer to the southward, and consequently prevented us from seeing any more of the Kuriles. On Saturday, the 16th, our lat. was 45 deg. 27 min. our long. deduced from many lunar observations taken the three preceding days, was 155 deg. 30 min. and the variation 4 deg. 30 min. E. In this situation, we were almost encompassed by the real or pretended discoveries of prior navigators; not one of which we were fortunate enough to meet with in our course. The wind having veered in the afternoon to the northward, we hauled round to the W. In the course of this day, we observed several albatrosses, fulmars, and numerous flocks of gulls: we also saw a number of fish, called grampuses by our sailors; but we were rather inclined to judge, from the appearance of those which passed close by our vessels, that they



were the kasatka, or sword-fish. Sunday, the 17th, we observed in lat. 45 deg. 7 min. long. 154 deg. On the 19th, at two o'clock, A. M. we hauled our wind, and stood to the southward till five, at which time a violent storm reduced us to our courses. Though from the unfavourable state of the weather, there was but little probability of our making the land, our attention was still anxiously directed to this object; and on the appearance of day-light, we ventured to steer W. by S. We proceeded on the same course till ten o'clock, when the wind suddenly veered round to the S. W. attended with fair weather. Scarce had we availed ourselves of this, by letting out our reefs, and setting the top-sails, when it began to blow with such vehemence, that we were under the necessity of close reefing again; and, about noon, the wind shifting more to the W. we were prevented from continuing any longer on this tack: we therefore put about, and stood towards the S. We were now in lat. 44 deg. 12 min. long. 150 deg. 40 min. so that, after all our exertions, we had the mortification of finding ourselves, according to the Russian charts, upon the same meridian with Nadeegsda, which they represent as the most southerly of all the Kurile Islands. Though the violent and adverse winds that we had met with for six days past had deprived us of an opportunity of getting in with these Islands, yet the course on which we had been obliged to proceed, did not prove altogether destitute of geographical advantages: for the group of I-lands, comprehending Zellany, Kunashir, and the Three Sisters, which, in the maps of M. D'Anville, are laid down in the track we had just crossed, are, by this means, demonstrably removed from that position; and thus an additional proof is obtained of their being situated to the W. where Capt. Spanberg has placed them, between the longitudes of 142 and 147 deg. But this space being occupied, in the French charts, by Staten Island, and part of the supposed land of Jeso, the opinion of Muller becomes highly probable, that they are all the same lands; and, as we have no reason to call in question the accuracy of Spanberg, we have, in our general chart, reinstated Kunashir, Zellany, and the Three

Sisters, in their proper situation, and have totally omitted the rest. When we consider the manner in which the Russians have multiplied the Islands of the northern Archipelago, not only from the want of accuracy in ascertaining their real position, but likewise from the desire, natural to mankind, of propagating new discoveries, we shall not be surprized, that the same causes should produce similar effects. It is thus that the Islands of Jeso, which appear, as well from the earliest traditions among the Russians, as from the accounts of the Japanese, to be no other than the Kurile Islands, have been imagined to be distinct from the latter. De Gama's land is next on record; and this was originally represented as being nearly the same in situation with those we have just mentioned; but it was afterwards removed, in order to make room for Staten's Island, and the Company's land; and as Jeso, and the most southerly of the Kuriles, had likewise possession of this space, that nothing might be lost, the former had a place provided for it westward, and the latter towards the E. As, according to the Russian charts, the Isles of Kunashir and Zellany, were still to the S. we entertained some hopes of being able to make them, and with this view, kept the head of the Resolution towards the W. as much as the wind would permit. On Wednesday, the 20th, at noon, we observed in lat. 43 deg. 47 min. long. 150 deg. 30 min. We were then standing to the W. by S. with a gentle breeze from the S. E. but about three o'clock, P. M. the wind, shifting to the N. W. point, began to blow with such violence, that we were brought under our mizen stay-sail, and fore-sail. For the following twenty-four hours we had heavy rain, and vehement squalls; and as the wind continued to blow from the N. W. our attempts to make the land were rendered abortive; and we were at length obliged to relinquish all further thoughts of discovery to the northward of Japan. To this disappointment we submitted with the greater reluctance, as our curiosity had been considerably excited by the accounts that are given of the natives of these Islands. On the 21st, in the afternoon, an accident befel our ship, the Resolution; for the leach-rope of her



fore-top-sail gave way and split the sail. This having frequently happened during the life of Capt. Cook, he had, on such occasions, ordered the foot and leach-ropes of the top-sails to be taken out, and larger ones to be fixed in their room; and these likewise proving incapable of supporting the strain that was on them, gave him good reason to observe to us, that the just proportion of strength between the sail and those ropes, is extremely miscalculated in our service. On the 22nd, in the morning, we let out the reefs of our top-sails, and carried more sail. At noon, we found ourselves to be in lat. 40 deg. 58 min. long. 148 deg. 17 min. variation of the needle 3 deg. E. This day, some birds afforded us clear indications that we were not at any considerable distance from land: with this hope we steered to the W. N. W. in which direction were situated, at the distance of about fifty leagues, the southernmost Islands, seen by Capt. Spanberg, and said to be inhabited by hairy men. At eight o'clock, the following morning, a fresh breeze springing up, with which we continued our course till the evening, when we had violent squally gales, accompanied with rain; and as we had, in the course of this day, passed some patches of green grass, and observed a number of small land birds, a shag, and many flocks of gulls, we did not think it consistent with prudence, having all these signs of the vicinity of land, to stand on for the whole night: about midnight therefore we tacked, and for the space of a few hours steered S. E.

Sunday, the 24th, we again bore away to the W. N. W. and carried a press of sail till seven o'clock, P. M. when the wind veered round to the N. and blew a fresh gale. At this time our lat. was 40 deg. 57 min. long. 145 deg. 20 min. This second disappointment in our attempts to get to the N. W. the tempestuous weather with which we had been harrassed, and the small probability, at this season of the year, of its becoming more favourable to our designs, were the motives that now induced Capt. Gore to abandon finally all further search for the Islands situate to the northward of Japan, and to direct our course to the W. S. W. for the northern part of that Island.

On the 25th, at noon, we were in lat. 40 deg. 18 min. and in long. 144 deg. Flights of wild ducks were this day observed by us; a pigeon lighted upon our rigging; and many small birds, resembling linnets, flew about our ships, with a degree of vigour, that gave us reason to imagine they had not been long on the wing. We also passed a piece either of bamboo or sugar-cane, and several patches of long grass. These indications of our being at no great distance from land, determined us to try for soundings; but we could not reach the bottom with ninety fathoms of line. On the approach of evening, the wind gradually veered round to the S. with which we continued our course to the W. S. W. On Tuesday, the 26th, at day-break, we had the satisfaction of perceiving high-land towards the W. which proved to be Japan. At eight o'clock, it was at the distance of ten or twelve miles, and extended from S. by W. to N. W. A low flat Cape, which apparently constituted the southern part of the entrance of a bay, bore N. W. three quarters W. Near the S. extremity, a hill of a conic figure appeared, bearing S. by W. three quarters W. To the N. of this hill, there seemed to be an inlet of very considerable depth, the northern side of whose entrance is formed by a low point of land; and, as well as we were enabled to judge by the assistance of our glasses, has a small Island near it towards the S. Having stood on till nine o'clock, we had, by that time, approached within five or six miles of the land, which bore W. three quarters S. We now tacked, and stood off; but as the wind failed us, we had proceeded, at noon, to no greater distance than three leagues from the shore. This part of the coast extended from N. W. by N. to S. half E. and was principally bold and cliffy. The low cape above mentioned, was about six leagues distant, bearing N. W. by W. and the northern point of the inlet was in the direction of S. three quarters W. Our lat. by observation, was 40 deg. 5 min. and our long. 142 deg. 28 min. The most northerly land in view, was supposed by us to be the northern extreme of Japan. It is somewhat lower than the other parts; and from the range of the elevated lands that were discerned over it from the mast-head, the



coast manifestly appeared to trend to the westward. The northern point of the inlet was imagined by us to be Cape Nambu; and we conjectured, that the town, which Jansen calls Nabo, stood in a break of the highland, towards which the inlet apparently directed itself. The neighbouring country is of a moderate elevation, and has a double range of mountains. It is well furnished with wood, and exhibits a variety of pleasing hills and dales. We perceived the smoke arising from several villages or towns, and saw many houses in delightful and cultivated situations, at a small distance from the shore. While the calm continued, that we might lose no time, we put our fishing lines overboard, in ten fathoms water, but had no success. This being the only diversion which our present circumstances would permit us to enjoy, we very sensibly felt our disappointment; and looked back with regret to the cod-banks of the dismal regions we had lately quitted, which had furnished us with so many salutary meals, and by the amusement they had afforded, given a variety to the tedious recurrence of astronomical observations, and the wearisome succession of calms and gales. At two o'clock, P. M. the wind blew fresh from the S. and by four, had reduced us to close reefed top-sails, and obliged us to stand off to the south-eastward; in consequence of which course, and the gloominess of the weather, we soon lost sight of land. We kept on during the whole night, and till eight o'clock the following morning, when the wind shifting to the N. and becoming moderate, we made sail, and steered a W. S. W. course, towards the land, which, however, we did not make before three in the afternoon; at which time it was seen to extend from N. W. half W. to W. The most northerly extremity was a continuation of the elevated land, the southernmost we had observed the preceding day. The land to the westward, we conjectured to be the High Table Hill of Jansen. The coast, between the two extremes, was low, and could scarcely be perceived, except from the mast-head. We proceeded towards the coast till eight in the evening, when our distance from it was about five leagues, and having shortened sail for the night, we steered in a southerly direction, sounding every

four hours; but our depth of water was so great, that we did not find ground with an hundred and sixty fathoms of line.

On Thursday, the 28th, at six o'clock A. M. we again saw land, twelve leagues to the southward of that we had seen the day before, and extended from W. by N. to W. S. W. At ten o'clock we saw more land in the same direction. At noon, the northern extremity of the land in view bore N. W. by N. and a peaked hill, over a steep head-land, was fifteen or sixteen miles distant, bearing W. by N. By observation, our lat. was 38 deg. 16 min. and our long. 142 deg. 9 min. During the remainder of the day, we continued our course to the S. W. and at midnight, found our depth of water to be 70 fathoms, over a bottom of fine brown sand. We therefore hauled up towards the E. till the next morning, when we again had sight of land, 11 leagues to the S. of that we had seen the preceding day. The ground was low towards the sea, but gradually swelled into hills of a moderate elevation. At nine o'clock, the sky being overcast, and the wind veering to the S. we tacked and stood off to the E. Not long after, we observed a vessel, close in with the land, standing to the N. along the shore; and we also saw another in the offing, coming down on us before the wind. Objects belonging to a country so celebrated, and yet so imperfectly known, excited a general eagerness of curiosity; in consequence of which, every person on board came instantaneously upon deck to gaze at them. As the vessel to windward approached us, she hauled off to a greater distance from the shore; upon which, being apprehensive of alarming those who were on board of her by the appearance of a pursuit, we brought to, and she sailed a-head of us. We might have spoken to them; but Capt. Gore perceiving by their manœuvres, that they were highly terrified, was unwilling to increase their apprehensions; and imagining that we should have many better opportunities of a communication with the Japanese, suffered them to retire without interruption. According to the most probable conjectures we were enabled to form, the vessel was of the burthen of 40 tons; and there seemed to be six men on board her. She had only one mast, whereon was hoisted a quadrangular



sail, extended aloft by a yard, the braces of which worked forwards. Three pieces of black cloth came half way down the sail, at an equal distance from each other. The vessel was lower in the middle than at each end; and from her figure we supposed, that she could not sail otherwise than large. At noon, the wind blew fresh, accompanied with much rain. By three o'clock it had increased in so great a degree, that we were reduced to our courses. The sea, at the same time, ran as high as any of our people ever remember to have seen it. About eight o'clock, in the evening, the gale, without the smallest diminution of violence, shifted to the W. and by producing a sudden swell, in a direction contrary to that which had before prevailed, caused our ships to labour and strain exceedingly. During the storm, we had several of our sails split. They had, indeed, been bent for so long a time, and were worn so thin, that this accident had happened lately in both vessels almost daily; particularly when the sails were stiff, and heavy with rain, in which case they became less capable of bearing the shocks of the boisterous and variable winds we experienced occasionally. On Saturday, the 30th, at noon, we observed in lat. 36 deg. 41 min. long. 142 deg. 6 min. In the afternoon, the wind shifting to the N. E. we stood to the S. at the distance of 18 leagues from the shore. On the 31st, at two o'clock A. M. the wind veered round to the W. and blew in violent squalls, accompanied with lightning and rain.

Monday, November the 1st, the wind shifted to the S. E. and was attended with fair weather; in consequence of which, we obtained, with four different quadrants, 42 sets of distances of the moon, from the sun and stars, each set comprehending six observations. These nearly coinciding with each other, we determined, at noon, by observation, our lat. to be 35 deg. 17 min. and our long. with great accuracy, to be 141 deg. 32 min. At two o'clock, we again made land towards the W. distant 13 leagues. A hummock to the northward, which had an insular appearance bore N. N. W. half W. We steered for the land till between five and six, when we hauled our wind to the S. At this time we descried to the westward a

mountain of extraordinary height, with a round summit, rising far inland. In its neighbourhood, the coast is of a moderate elevation; but, to the S. of the hummock Island, there appeared at a considerable distance up the country, a ridge of hills, extending towards the mountain, and which might perhaps join it. As the weather, in the morning of the 2nd, had a very threatening appearance, and the wind was at S. S. E. we thought it adviseable to quit the neighbourhood of the shore, and stand off towards the E. that the ships might not be entangled with the land. We were not deceived in our prognostications; for not long afterwards, a heavy gale began to blow, which continued till the next day, and was attended with rainy and hazy weather. On Wednesday the 3d, in the morning, we found ourselves by our reckoning, upwards of fifty leagues from the coast; which circumstance, united to the consideration of the very uncommon effect of currents we had already experienced, the advanced period of the year, the variable and uncertain state of the weather, and the small prospect we had of any alteration for the better, induced Captain Gore to form the resolution of leaving Japan, and prosecuting our voyage to China: to which facts may be added; that the coast of Japan, according to Kaempfer's description of it, is the most dangerous in all the known world; that it would have been exceedingly hazardous, in case of distress, to have run into any of the harbours of that country: where, if we may credit the most authentic writers, the aversion of the natives to a communication with strangers, has prompted them to the commission of the most flagrant acts of barbarity; that our vessels were in a leaky condition; that the rigging was so rotten as to require continual repairs; and that the sails were almost entirely worn out, and incapable of withstanding the vehemence of a gale of wind. As the violent currents, which set along the eastern coast of Japan, may perhaps be attended with dangerous consequences to those navigators, who are not acquainted with their extreme rapidity, we will here subjoin a summary account of their direction and force, as remarked by us from the 1st, to the 8th, of November. On the



1st, at the time when we were about 18 leagues to the E. of White Point, the current set at the rate of 3 miles in an hour, to the N. E. and by N. On the 2nd, as we made a nearer approach to the shore, we observed, that it continued in a similar direction, but was augmented in its rapidity to 5 miles an hour. As we receded from the coast, it again became more moderate, and inclined towards the E. On the 3rd, at the distance of 60 leagues from the shore, it set, at the rate of 3 miles an hour, to the E. N. E. On the two following days, it turned to the southward, and at 120 leagues from the coast, its direction was S. E. and its rate did not exceed one mile and a half an hour. It again, on the 6th, and 7th, shifted to the N. E. and its force diminished gradually till the 8th, at which time we could not perceive any current.

During the 4th, and 5th of November, we proceeded to the south-eastward, with very unsettled weather, having much lightening and rain. On Saturday, the 6th, we changed our course to the S. S. W. but about eight o'clock, in the evening, we were obliged to stand towards the S. E. On the 9th, at noon, we observed in lat. 31 deg. 46 min. long. 146 deg. 20 min. Friday, the 12th, a most violent gale arose, which reduced us to the mizen-stay-sail and fore-sail. At noon, we were in lat. 27 deg. 36 min. and in long. 144 deg. 25 min. On the 13th, we were nearly in the same situation attributed to the Island of St. Juan, yet we saw not the least appearance of land. At six o'clock, P. M. we steered to W. S. W. Capt. Gore thinking it useless to stand any longer to the S. S. W. as we were nearly in the same meridian with the Ladrões, or Marianne Islands, and at no very considerable distance from the track of the Manilla galleons. On Monday, the 15th, we saw three Islands, and bore away for the S. point of the largest, upon which we observed a high barren hill, flattish at the top, and when seen from the W. S. W. presents an evident volcanic crater. The earth, rock, or sand, for it was not easy to distinguish of which its surface is composed, exhibited various colours, and a considerable part we conjectured to be sulphur, both from its appearance to the eye, and the strong sulphureous smell perceived by us in

our approach to the point. The *Resolution* having passed nearer the land, several of our officers thought they discerned steams proceeding from the top of the hill. These circumstances induced the Commodore to bestow on this discovery, the name of Sulphur Island. On Friday, the 26th, at six o'clock A. M. the wind having considerably abated, we set our top-sails, let out the reefs, and bore away to the westward. At noon, we observed in lat. 21 deg. 12 min. long 120 deg. 25 min. In the course of this day, we saw many tropic birds, and a flock of ducks; also porpoises and dolphins; and continued to pass many pumice stones. We spent the night on our tacks; and on the 27th, at six o'clock A. M. we again made sail to the W. in search of the Bashee Isles. On the 28th, at four o'clock, A. M. we had sight of the Island of Prata. At noon, our lat. was 20 deg. 39 min. long. 116 deg. 45 min. The extent of the Prata shoal is considerable; for it is about 6 leagues from N. to S. and extends 4 leagues to the E. of the Island: its limits to the westward, we had not an opportunity of ascertaining. We carried a press of sail during the remainder of the day, and kept the wind, which now blew from the N. E. by N. in order to secure our passage to Macao.

On Monday the 29th, in the morning, we passed some Chinese fishing-boats, the crews of which eyed us with marks of great indifference. At noon, our lat. by observation, was 22 deg. 1 min. and, since the preceding noon, we had run 110 miles upon a N. W. course. On the 30th, in the morning, we ran along the Lema Isles, which, like the other Islands, situated on this coast, are destitute of wood, and, as far we had an opportunity of observing, devoid of cultivation. We now fired a gun, and displayed our colours, as a signal for a pilot. On the repetition of the signal, there was an excellent race between four Chinese boats; and Capt. Gore engaged with the person who arrived first, to conduct the ship to the Typa, for the sum of 30 dollars, sending word, at the same time to Capt. King, that as he could easily follow with the *Discovery*, that expence might be saved to him. In a short time afterwards a second pilot got on board, and immediately laying hold of the wheel, beg



to order the sails to be trimmed. This gave rise to a violent altercation, which was at length compromised, by agreeing to divide the money between them. In obedience to the instructions from the Lords of the Admiralty, it now became necessary to demand of the officers and men, belonging to both ships, their journals, and what other papers they might have in their possession, relative to the history of the voyage. At the same time Capt. King gave the Discovery's people to understand, that whatever papers they wished should not be sent to the Lords of the Admiralty, he would seal up in their presence, and preserve in his custody till the intentions of their Lordships, respecting the publication of the history of the voyage, were accomplished, after which, he said they should be faithfully restored to them. The Captain observes upon this occasion, that it is but doing justice to his company to declare, that, as to the crew, they were the best disposed, and the most obedient men he ever knew, though the greatest part of them were very young, and had never served before in a ship of war. The same proposals were made to the people of the Resolution, and instantly complied with.

We continued working to windward, by the direction of our pilot, till about six o'clock P. M. when we let go our anchors, he being of opinion, that the tide was now setting against us. During the afternoon, we stood on our tacks, between the Grand Ladrone and the Island of Potoe, having passed to the east of the latter. At nine o'clock we again cast anchor in six fathoms water; the town of Macao being at the distance of 9 or 10 miles, in a N. W. direction; and the Island of Potoe bearing S. half W. seven miles distant.

On the 2nd, of December, in the morning, one of the Chinese contractors, called Compradors, came on board, and sold us as much beef as weighed 200 weight, together with a considerable quantity of greens, oranges, and eggs. In the evening, Capt. Gore sent Capt. King on shore to visit the Portuguese Governor, and to request his assistance in procuring refreshments, which he thought might be done on more reasonable terms than the Comprador would undertake to furnish them; with whom we

had agreed for a daily supply; for which, however, he insisted on our paying him before-hand. Upon Capt. King's arrival at the citadel, the Fort-Major informed him that the governor was sick, and not able to see company. Having acquainted the Major with his desire of proceeding immediately to Canton, the former told him, that they could not presume to provide a boat, till permission had been obtained from the Hoppo, or officer of the customs; and that it was necessary to apply, for this purpose, to the Chinese government at Canton. When the Captain was returning, the Portuguese officer asked him, if he did not mean to visit the English gentlemen at Macao? This question gave him inexpressible pleasure. He proceeded immediately to the house of one of his countrymen; from whom he received information of the French war, and of the continuance of the American war; and that five sail of English ships were now at Wampu, near Canton, in China. The intelligence we had gained concerning the state of affairs, in Europe, rendered us the more anxious to accelerate our departure as much as we possibly could. The first thing that claimed the attention of the Commodore, was to provide as well as he could for the general safety of the people under his command, on their return home. The news of a French war, without letting us know the order issued by the king of France in our favour, gave us much concern. Our ships were ill fitted for war: the decks, fore and aft, being finished flush, had no covering for men or officers; it was therefore thought necessary to raise a kind of parapet, musket-proof, on both decks; and likewise to strengthen the cabins as much as possible in case of action. On Thursday, the 9th, we received an answer from the English super-cargoes at Canton, in which they promised to exert their most strenuous endeavours in procuring the supplies of which we were in want, with all possible dispatch; and that a passport should be sent for one of our officers. Friday, the 10th, an English merchant, from one of our East-India settlements, made application to Capt Gore, for the assistance of a few of his people, to navigate as far as Canton, a vessel which he had purchased at



**Macao.** The Commodore considering this as a good opportunity for Capt. King to repair to that city, gave orders, that he should take with him his second lieutenant, the lieutenant of the marines, and 10 sailors. Accordingly, they quitted the harbour of Macao, on Saturday the 11th; and as they approached the Bocca Tygris, which is near 40 miles distant from Macao, the coast of China appeared to the eastward in white steep cliffs. Their progress being retarded by contrary winds, and the lightness of the vessel, they did not arrive at Wampu, which is only 9 leagues from the Bocca Tygris, till Saturday, the 18th. Wampu is a small town, off which, the ships of various nations, who trade with the Chinese, are stationed, in order to receive their respective ladings. At Wampu, Capt. King embarked in a Sampane, or Chinese boat, the most convenient for passengers that we ever saw; and in the evening we reached Canton, and disembarked at the English Factory, where the Captain was received with every mark of civility and respect. Messrs. Fitzhugh, Bevan, and Rapier, composed, at this time, the Select Committee; and the former of these gentlemen acted as president. They immediately gave the Captain an inventory of those stores with which the East-India ships were able to supply us, and he had the pleasure to find, that they were ready to be shipped, and that the provisions we might have occasion for, might be had at a day's notice. Being desirous of making our stay here as short as possible, the Captain requested, that the gentlemen would endeavour to procure junks for us the next day; but we were soon convinced by them, that patience is an indispensable virtue in China. After the Captain had waited several days for the issue of his negociation with the Chinese, and was considering what steps he should take, the Commander of a country ship presented him with a letter from Capt. Gore, whereby he was informed of that Commander being engaged to bring our party from Canton, and to deliver our supplies, at his own hazard, in the Typa. All difficulties being thus removed, Capt. King had leisure to bestow some attention on the purchase of our stores and provisions, which he completed on Sunday,

the 26th, and, on the following day, the whole stock was conveyed on board. As Canton was likely to be the most advantageous market for furs, the Commodore had desired Capt. King to take with him about 20 skins of sea-otters; most of which had been the property of our deceased Commanders; and to dispose of them at the best price he could obtain. The English supercargoes being informed of these circumstances, they directed him to a member of the Hong (a society of the principal merchants of the city) who being fully apprised of the nature of the business, seemed to be sensible of the delicacy of the Captain's situation, and therefore assured him, that in an affair of this kind, he should consider himself as a mere agent, without seeking any profit for himself. The skins being laid before this merchant, he examined them over and over again with particular attention; and at last informed Capt. King, that he could not think of offering more than 300 dollars for them. As the Captain knew he had not offered one half of their value, he, therefore, in his turn, demanded 1000 dollars; the Chinese merchant then advanced to five, and at length to 700 dollars; upon which the Captain lowered his demands to 900. Here, each of them declaring that he would not recede, they parted; but the Chinese speedily returned and proposed finally, that they should divide the difference, which the Captain agreed to, and received 800 dollars.

A very ludicrous alteration took place in the dress of all our crew, in consequence of the barter which the Chinese had carried on with us for our sea-otter skins. On our arrival in the Typa, not only the sailors, but likewise the younger officers, were extremely ragged in their apparel; for, as the voyage had now exceeded, almost by a year, the time it was at first supposed we should continue at sea, the far greater part of our original stock of European clothes had been long ago worn out, or repaired and patched up with skins, and the different manufactures we had met with in the course of the expedition. These were now mixed and eked out with the gayest silks and cottons that China could produce.



## CHAP. XX.

*Two mariners belonging to the Resolution make off with the six-oared cutter ; Defensible state of the two ships ; They unmoor and leave the Typa ; Orders of the French Court relative to Capt. Cook ; Pass Pulo Sapatra, and anchor in the harbour of Pulo Condore ; A party dispatched for wood ; Departure of the Resolution and Discovery from Pulo Condore ; Enter the straits of Banca ; Description of the country that borders thereon ; Enter the straits of Sunda ; Mr. Williamson sent on board a Dutch ship to procure intelligence ; The two ships anchor at Crecatoa ; That Island described ; Proceed to Prince's Island ; Unhealthy effects of the climate of Java ; A sudden storm ; Steer for the Cape of Good Hope ; Anchor in Simon's Bay ; A visit to the governor ; An account of False Bay, Simon's Bay, Noah's Ark, and Seal Island ; Set sail for England ; and stand to the west of the Islands of Ascension and St. Helena ; Descry the western coast of Ireland, and endeavour in vain, to get into Port Galway ; Steer to the north of Lewis Island ; Both ships anchor at Stromness ; And on Wednesday, the 4th, of October, arrive safe at the Nore, after an absence of four years, two months, and twenty-two days ; Concluding remarks*

ON Tuesday, the 11th, of January, 1780, two sailors, John Cave quarter-master, and Robert Spencer belonging to the Resolution, went off with the six-oared cutter ; and though the most diligent search was made, both this and the following morning, we could not gain any intelligence of them. It was imagined, that these seamen had been seduced by the hopes of acquiring a fortune, if they should return to the fur Island. On the 12th, at noon, we unmoored, and scaled the guns, which, on board the Discovery, amounted at this time to ten ; so that her people by means of four additional ports, could fight seven on a side. In the Resolution likewise, the number of guns had been augmented from 12 to 16 ; and, in each of the ships, all other precautions were taken to give our inconsiderable force a respectable appearance. We considered it as our duty to furnish ourselves with these means of defence, though there was some reason to believe, that they had in a great measure been rendered superfluous by the generosity of our enemies ; for we were informed by the public prints, which Capt. King had brought with him from Canton, of instructions having been found on board all the French ships of war, that had been taken in Europe, importing that their Commanders, if they should happen to fall in with the Resolution and Discovery, were to suffer them to proceed unmolested on their

voyage. It was also reported, that the American Congress had given similar orders to the vessels employed in their service. This intelligence being further confirmed by the private letters of some of the super-cargoes, Capt. King deemed it incumbent on him, in return for the liberal exceptions which our enemies had made in our favour, to refrain from embracing any opportunities of capture, and to maintain the strictest neutrality during the whole of our voyage. Having got under sail about two o'clock, P. M. we passed the fort of Macao, and saluted the garrison with 11 four-pounders, which they answered with an equal number. We were under the necessity of warping out into the entrance of the Typa, which we gained by eight o'clock in the evening of the 13th ; and lay there till nine o'clock the following morning, when we stood, with a fresh easterly breeze, to the S. between Wungboo and Potoe. At four in the afternoon, the Ladrone was about 2 leagues distant in an eastern direction. On Saturday, the 15th, at noon, we observed in lat. 18 deg. 57 min. long. 114 deg. 13 min. On the 16th, we struck soundings over Macclesfield Bank, and found the depth of water to be 50 fathoms, over a bottom consisting of white sand and shells. We computed this part of the bank to be situated in lat. 15 deg. 51 min. and in long. 114 deg. 20 min. Thursday, the 19th, at four o'clock P. M. we had in view Pulo Sapatra, bearing



N. W. by W. and distant about 4 leagues. Having passed this Island, we stood to the westward; and on the 20th, made the little group of Islands known by the name of Pulo Condore, at one of which we anchored in six fathoms water. The harbour where we now moored, has its entrance from the N. W. and affords the best shelter during the N. E. monsoon. Its entrance bore W. N. W. quarter W. and N. by W. the opening at the upper end bore S. E. by E. three quarters E. and we were about 2 furlongs distant from the shore. On the 21st, early in the morning, parties were sent out to cut wood, the Commodore's principal motive for touching at this Island being to supply the ships with that article.

On Friday, the 28th, we unmoored, and cleared the harbour. On the 30th, at one o'clock, P. M. we had sight of Pulo Timouan, and at five, Pulo Puissang was seen in the direction of S. by E. three quarters E. At nine o'clock, we had, from the effect of some current, out-run our reckoning, and found ourselves close upon Pulo, Aor, in the lat. of 2 deg. 46 min. N. long. 104 deg. 37 min. E. in consequence of which we hauled the wind to the E. S. E. This course we prosecuted till midnight, and then steered S. S. E. for the straits of Banca.

On Tuesday, the 1st, of February, we observed in lat. 1 deg. 20 min. N. and our long. by a number of lunar observations, we found to be 105 deg. E. Towards sun-set, we had a view of Pulo Panjang; at which time our lat. was 53 min. N. On the 2nd, we passed the straits of Sunda; and at noon, we came in sight of the small Islands known by the name of Dominis, lying off the eastern part of Lingen. At one o'clock, P. M. Pulo Taya made its appearance in the direction of S. W. by W. distant 7 leagues. On the 3rd, at day-break, we had sight of the Three Islands; and not long afterwards, saw Monopin Hill, in the Island of Banca. Having got to the W. of the shoal, named Frédéric Endric, we entered the Straits of Banca, and bore away towards the S. On the 4th, in the morning, we proceeded down the straits with the tide; and, at noon, the tide beginning to make against us, we cast anchor, at the distance of about one league from what is denominated the Third Point,

on the Sumatra shore; Monopin Hill bearing N. 54 deg. W. and our lat. being 2 deg. 22 min. S. long. 105 deg. 38 min. E. At three in the afternoon we weighed, and continued our course through the straits with a gentle breeze. In passing these straits, ships may make a nearer approach to the coast of Sumatra than to that of Banca. On Sunday, the 6th, in the morning, we passed to the W. of Losepara; and at five o'clock, P. M. we descried the Sisters, in the direction of S. by W. half W. At seven we cast anchor three leagues to the northward of those Islands. On the 7th, at five o'clock, A. M. we weighed, and in three hours afterwards we were in sight of the Sisters. These are two Islands of very small extent, plentifully stocked with wood, and situated in 50 deg. S. lat. and in long. 106 deg. 12 min. They lie nearly N. and S. from each other, encompassed by a reef of coral rocks. At noon, we had sight of the Islands of Java; and about four in the afternoon, we perceived two vessels in the straits of Sunda; one of which lay at anchor near the mid-channel Island, the other nearer the shore of Java. On the 8th, about eight o'clock in the morning, we weighed, and proceeded through the straits of Sunda. On Wednesday the 9th, between ten and eleven Capt. King was ordered by the Commodore to make sail towards a Dutch vessel, that now came in sight to the southward, which we imagined was from Europe; and, according to the nature of the information that might be obtained from her, either join him at Cracatoa, or to proceed to the south-eastern extremity of Prince's Island, and there provide a supply of water, and wait for him. In compliance with these instructions Capt. King bore down towards the Dutchman; and on the 10th, in the morning, Mr. Williamson went on board her; where he was informed, that she had been seven months from Europe, and three from the Cape of Good Hope; that, before her departure, the kings of France and Spain had declared war against his Britannic Majesty; and that she had left Sir Edward Hughes at the Cape, with a squadron of men of war, and also a fleet of East India ships. On the return of Mr. Williamson, Capt. King took the advantage of a fair breeze, and made sail towards the Island of



Cracatoa, where he soon after perceived the Resolution at anchor, and immediately dispatched a boat to communicate to Capt. Gore, the intelligence procured by Mr. Williamson. When we saw our consort preparing, at the distance of near two leagues, to come to, we fired our guns, and displayed the signal for leading a-head, by hoisting an English jack at the ensign staff. This was intended to prevent the Discovery's anchoring, on account of the foul ground, which the maps on board our ship placed in this situation. However, as Capt. King met with none, but on the contrary, found a muddy bottom, and good anchoring ground, at the depth of 60 fathoms, he remained fast till the return of the boat, which brought him orders to proceed to Prince's Island the ensuing morning.

Cracatoa is the southernmost of a cluster of Islands lying in the entrance of the straits of Sunda. It has a lofty peaked hill at its southern extremity, situated in lat. 6 deg. 9 min. S. and in long. 105 deg. 15 min. E. The whole circumference of the Island does not exceed 9 miles. The Island of Sambouricon, or Tamarin, which stands 12 miles to the northward of Cracatoa, may easily be mistaken for the latter, since it has a hill of nearly the same figure and dimensions, situate likewise near its south end. The lat. of the road where we cast anchor, is 8 deg. 6 min. S. long. by observation, 105 deg. 36 min. E. It is high water on the full and change days, at seven o'clock in the morning; and the water rises three feet two inches perpendicular.

On Friday, the 11th, at three o'clock, A. M. the Discovery weighed anchor, and steered for Prince's Island; and, at noon, she came to, and moored off its eastern extremity. On Monday, the 14th, at day break, we descried our consort, and, at two o'clock P. M. we anchored close by her. By the 16th, both ships started their casks, and had replenished them with fresh water. In the evening the decks were cleared, and we prepared for sea. On Saturday, the 19th, being favoured with a westerly breeze, we broke ground, to our extreme satisfaction, for the last time in the straits of Sunda; and on the 20th, we had totally lost sight of Prince's Island. If Mr. Lannyon had not been with us, we

should probably have met with some difficulty in finding the watering place: it may, therefore, not be improper to give a particular description of its situation, for the benefit of subsequent navigators. The peaked hill on the Island bears N. W. by N. from it. A remarkable tree, which grows on a coral reef, and is entirely detached from the adjacent shrubs, stands just to the north of it; and a small plot of reedy grass, may be seen close by it. These marks will indicate the place where the pool discharges itself into the sea; but the water here, as well as that which is in the pool, being in general salt, the casks must be filled about 50 yards higher up; where, in dry seasons, the fresh water which descends from the hills, is in great measure, lost among the leaves, and must therefore be searched for by clearing them away. The lat. of the anchoring-place at Prince's Island, is 6 deg. 36 min. 15 sec. S. and its long. 105 deg. 17 min. 30 sec. E.

On Friday, the 25th, we were attacked with a violent storm, attended with thunder, lightning, and heavy rain. From the 26th, to the 28th, of March, we had a regular trade wind from the S. E. to E. by S. accompanied with fine weather; and as we sailed in an old beaten track, no incident worthy of notice occurred. It had hitherto been Capt. Gore's intention to proceed directly to St. Helena, without stopping at the Cape; but our rudder having been for some time complaining, and, on being examined, reported to be in a dangerous state, he resolved to steer directly for the Cape, as the most eligible place, both for the recovery of the sick, and for procuring a new main piece for the rudder.

Monday, the 10th, of April, a snow was seen bearing down, which proved to be an English East India packet, that had left Table Bay three days before and was cruising with orders for the China fleet, and other India ships. She told us, that, about three weeks before, Mons. Trongollar's squadron, consisting of six ships, had sailed from the Cape, and was gone to cruise off St. Helena, for the English East Indiamen. The next morning we stood into Simon's Bay. At eight o'clock, we came to anchor, at the distance of one third of a mile from the nearest shore; the S. E. point of the bay bearing S.



by E. and Table Mountain N. E. half N. The Nassau and Southampton East India-men were here, in expectation of a convoy from Europe. We saluted the fort with 11 guns, and were complimented with an equal number in return. As soon as we had cast anchor, Mr. Brandt, the governor of this place, favoured us with a visit. This gentleman had the highest regard for Capt. Cook, who had been his constant guest, whenever he had touched at the Cape; and though he had, some time before, received intelligence of his untimely fate, he was extremely affected at the sight of our vessels returning without their old Commander. He was greatly surprised at seeing most of our people in so healthy a state, as the Dutch ship which had quitted Macao, at the time of our arrival there, and had afterwards stopped at the Cape, reported, that we were in a most wretched condition, there being only 15 hands left on board the *Resolution*, and 7 in the *Discovery*. It is difficult to conceive what could have induced these people to propagate so infamous a falsehood.

On Saturday the 15th, Capt. King accompanied our Commodore to Cape Town; and the next day, in the morning, they waited on Baron Plettenberg, the Governor, who received them with every possible indication of civility and politeness. He entertained a great personal esteem for Capt. Cook, and professed the highest admiration of his character, and on hearing the recital of his affecting catastrophe, broke forth into many expressions of unaffected sorrow. In one of the principal apartments of the Baron's house, he shewed our gentlemen two pictures, one of De Ruyter, the other of Van Tromp, with a vacant space left between them, which he said, he intended to fill up with the portrait of Capt. Cook; and for this purpose he requested that they would endeavour to procure one for him on their arrival in Great Britain, at any price. During our continuance at the Cape, we met with the most friendly treatment, not only from the Governor, but also from the other principal persons of the place, as well Africans as Europeans.

False Bay lies to the eastward of the Cape; and at the distance of about 12 miles from the latter, on the western side is

Simon's Bay, the only commodious station for shipping to lie in. To the N. N. eastward of this bay, there are some others, from which, however, it may with ease be distinguished, by a remarkable sandy way to the N. of the town, which forms a conspicuous object. The anchoring place in Simon's Bay, is situated in the lat. of 34 deg. 20 min. S. and its long. is 18 deg. 29 min. E. In steering for the harbour, along the western shore, there is a small flat rock, known by the name of Noah's Ark; and about a mile to the N. eastward of it, are others denominated the Roman Rocks. These are a mile and a half distant from the anchoring place; and either to the northward of them, or between them, there is a safe passage into the bay. When the N. westerly gales are set in, the navigator, by the following bearings, will be directed to a secure and convenient station: Noah's Ark S. 51 deg. E. and the center of the hospital S. 53 deg. W. in 7 fathoms water. But if the S. easterly winds should not have ceased blowing, it is more advisable to remain farther out in 8 or 9 fathoms water. The bottom consists of sand, and the anchors, before they get hold, settle considerably. About two leagues to the eastward of Noah's Ark, stands Seal Island, whose southern part is said to be dangerous, and not to be approached with safety, nearer than in 22 fathoms water.

On Tuesday the 9th, of May, signal was made for unmooring, and about noon, we took our departure from Simon's Bay. We had now provisions, live stock, water, and naval stores, aboard in great plenty: also healthy crews, in high spirits, wishing for nothing but a fair wind to shorten our passage home. On the 14th, we got into the S. E. trade wind, and stood to the W. of the Islands of Ascension and St Helena. Wednesday, the 31st, we were in lat. 12 deg. 48 min. S. long. 15 deg. 40 min. W. On Saturday the 10th, of June, the *Discovery's* boat brought us word, that in exercising her great guns, the carpenter's mate had his arm shattered in a shocking manner, by part of the wadding being left in after a former discharge; another man was slightly wounded at the same time. On the 12th, it began to blow very hard; and continued so till the next day, when we crossed the



line to the northward, for the fourth time during our voyage, in the long. of 26 deg. 16 min. W.

On Saturday the 12th, of August, we descried the western coast of Ireland, and endeavoured in vain to get into Port Galway, but were compelled by violent southerly winds, to stand to the N. The wind continuing in the same quarter we made the Island of Lewis.

On Tuesday, the 22nd, about eleven o'clock A. M. both ships came to anchor at Stromness in Scotland: from whence the Commodore sent Capt. King to inform the Lords of the Admiralty of our arrival.

On the 30th, we arrived off Yarmoth, in company with his Majesty's sloop of war the Fly and Alderney. Our boats were immediately sent on shore for provisions, and for a spare cable for our small bower, that we had being nearly worn out.

On the 4th, of October, 1780, the Resolution and Discovery reached the Nore in safety; and, on the 6th, dropped anchors at Deptford; having been absent 4 years. 3 months, and 2 days.

It is very extraordinary, that in so long

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and hazardous a voyage, the two ships never lost sight of each other for a day together, except twice; the first time, owing to an accident that happened to the Discovery off the coast of Owhyhee; the second, to the fogs they met with at the entrance of Awatska Bay; a striking proof of the skill and vigilance of the subaltern officers. Another circumstance, no less remarkable, is, the uncommon healthiness of the companies of both ships. When Capt. King quitted the Discovery at Stromness, he had the satisfaction of leaving the whole crew in perfect health; and, at the same time, the number of sick persons on board the Resolution did not exceed two or three, only one of whom was incapable of service. In the whole course of the voyage, the Resolution lost no more than five men by sickness; the Discovery not one. A strict attention to the excellent regulations established by Capt. Cook, with which our readers have been made acquainted, and the use of that excellent medicine, Peruvian bark, may justly be deemed the chief causes, under the blessing of an all-directing Providence, of this extraordinary success.

THE END.







