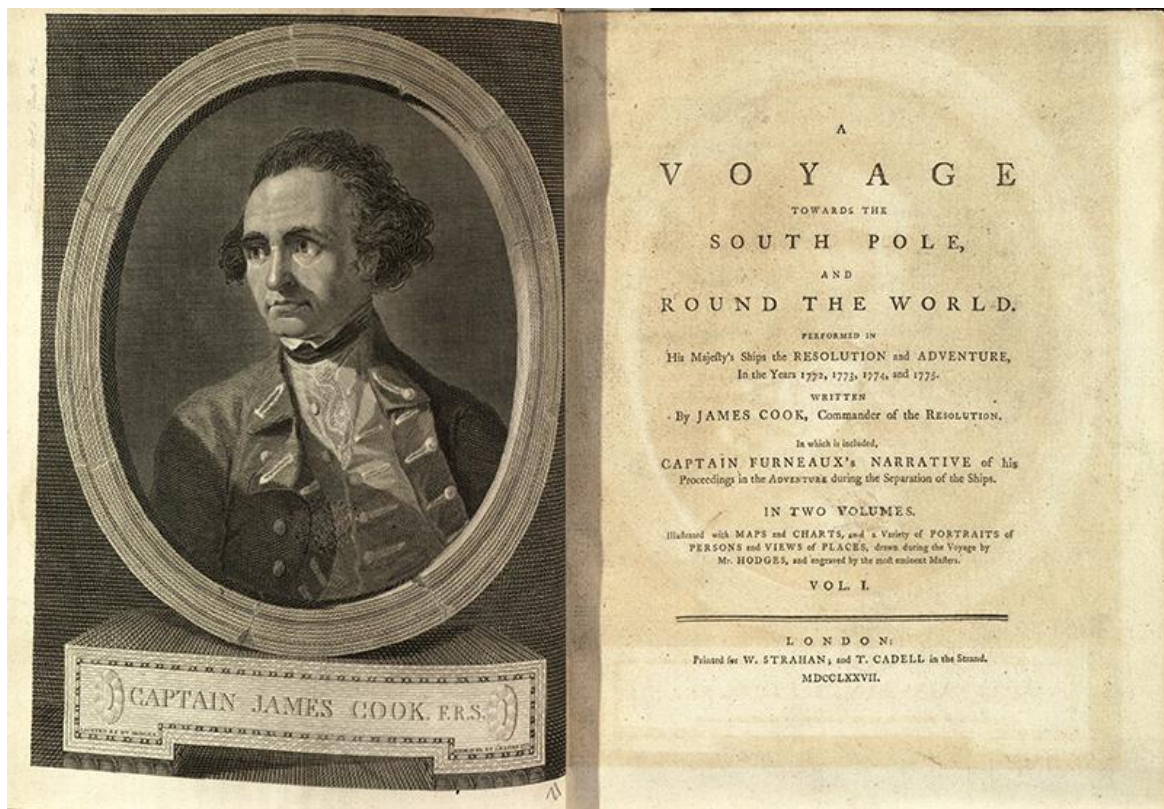


# A Voyage Towards the South Pole and Round the World, Volume 1

James Cook



1777

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# Front Matter

A voyage towards the south pole, and round the world; performed in his majesty's ships the resolution and adventure, in the years 1772, 3, 4, and 5. Written by James Cook, commander of the resolution. In which is included Captain Furneaux's narrative of his proceedings in the adventure during the separation of the ships. In two volumes. Illustrated with maps and charts, and a variety of portraits of persons and views and places, drawn during the voyage by Mr. Hodges, and engraved by the most eminent masters.

Volume I

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## General Introduction

Whether the unexplored part of the Southern Hemisphere be only an immense mass of water, or contain another continent, as speculative geography seemed to suggest, was a question which had long engaged the attention, not only of learned men, but of most of the maritime powers of Europe.

To put an end to all diversity of opinion about a matter so curious and important, was his majesty's principal motive in directing this voyage to be undertaken, the history of which is now submitted to the public.

But, in order to give the reader a clear idea of what has been done in it, and to enable him to judge more accurately, how far the great object that was proposed, has been obtained, it will be necessary to prefix a short account of the several voyages which have been made on discoveries to the Southern Hemisphere, prior to that which I had lately the honour to conduct, and which I am now going to relate.

### 1519 Magalhaens.

The first who crossed the vast Pacific Ocean, was Ferdinand Magalhaens, a Portuguese, who, in the service of Spain, sailed from Seville, with five ships, on the 10th of April, 1519. He discovered the straits which bear his name; and having passed through them, on the 27th of November, 1520, entered the South Pacific Ocean.

In this sea he discovered two uninhabited islands, whose situations are not well known. He afterwards crossed the Line; discovered the Ladrone Islands; and then proceeded to the Phillipines, in one of which he was killed in a skirmish with the natives.

His ship, called the Victory, was the first that circumnavigated the globe; and the only one of his squadron that surmounted the dangers and distresses which attended this heroic enterprise.

The Spaniards, after Magalhaens had shewed them the way, made several voyages from America to the westward, previous to that of Alvaro Mendana De Neyra, in 1595, which is the first that can be traced step by step. For the antecedent expeditions are not handed down to us with much precision.

We know, however, in general, that, in them, New Guinea, the islands called Solomon's, and several others, were discovered.

Geographers differ greatly concerning the situation of the Solomon Islands. The most probable opinion is, that they are the cluster which comprises what has since been called New Britain, New Ireland, &c.

## **1595 Mendana.**

On the 9th of April, 1595, Mendana, with intention to settle these islands, sailed from Callao, with four ships; and his discoveries in his route to the west, were the Marquesas, in the latitude of 10 deg. S.; the island of St Bernardo, which I take to be the same that Commodore Byron calls the Island of Danger; after that, Solitary Island, in the latitude of 10 deg. 40' S., longitude 178 deg. W.; and, lastly, Santa Cruz, which is undoubtedly the same that Captain Carteret calls Egmont Island.

In this last island, Mendana, with many of his companions, died; and the shattered remains of the squadron were conducted to Manilla, by Pedro Fernandes de Quiros, the chief pilot.

## **1605 Quiros.**

This same Quiros was the first sent out, with the sole view of discovering a southern continent, and, indeed, he seems to have been the first who had any idea of the existence of one.

He sailed from Callao the 21st of December, 1605, as pilot of the fleet, commanded by Luis Paz de Torres, consisting of two ships and a tender; and steering to the W.S.W., on the 26th of January, 1606. being then, by their reckoning, a thousand Spanish leagues from the coast of America, they discovered a small low island in latitude 26 deg. S. Two days after, they discovered another that was high, with a plain on the top. This is probably the same that Captain Carteret calls Pitcairn's Island.

After leaving these islands, Quiros seems to have directed his course to W.N.W. and N.W. to 10 deg. or 11 deg. S. latitude, and then westward, till he arrived at the



Bay of St Philip and Jago, in the Island of Tierra del Espirito Santo. In this route be discovered several islands; probably some of those that have been seen by later navigators.

On leaving the bay of St Philip and St Jago, the two ships were separated. Quiros, with the *Capitana*, stood to the north, and returned to New Spain, after having suffered greatly for want of provisions and water. Torres, with the *Almiranta* and the tender, steered to the west, and seems to have been the first who sailed between New Holland and New Guinea.

## **1615. Le Maire and Schouten**

The next attempt to make discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, was conducted by Le Maire and Schouten. They sailed from the Texel, on the 14th of June, 1615, with the ships *Concord* and *Horn*. The latter was burnt by accident in Port Desire. With the other they discovered the straits that bear the name of Le Maire, and were the first who ever entered the Pacific Ocean, by the way of Cape Horn.

They discovered the island of Dogs, in latitude 15 deg. 15' S., longitude 136 deg. 30' W.; Sondre Grondt in 15 deg. S. latitude, and 143 deg. 10' W. longitude; Waterland in 14 deg. 46' S., and 144 deg. 10' W.; and twenty-five leagues westward of this, Fly Island, in latitude 15 deg. 20'; Traitor's and Coco's Islands, in latitude 15 deg. 43' S., longitude 173 deg. 13' W.; two degrees more to the westward, the isle of Hope; and in the latitude of 14 deg. 56' S., longitude 179 deg. 30' E., Horn Island.

They next coasted the north side of New Britain and New Guinea, and arrived at Batavia in October, 1616.

## **1642 Tasman.**

Except some discoveries on the western and northern coasts of New Holland, no important voyage to the Pacific Ocean was undertaken till 1642, when Captain Tasman sailed from Batavia, with two ships belonging to the Dutch East India Company, and discovered Van Diemen's Land; a small part of the western coast of New Zealand; the Friendly Isles; and those called Prince William's.

## **1594 Sir Richard Hawkins.**

Thus far I have thought it best not to interrupt the progress of discovery in the South Pacific Ocean, otherwise I should before have mentioned, that Sir Richard Hawkins in 1594, being about fifty leagues to the eastward of the river Plate, was driven by a storm to the eastward of his intended course, and when the weather grew moderate, steering towards the Straits of Magalhaens, he unexpectedly fell in with land, about sixty leagues of which he coasted, and has very particularly described. This he named

Hawkins's Maiden Land, in honour of his royal mistress, Queen Elizabeth, and says it lies some threescore leagues from the nearest part of South America.

### **1689 Strong.**

This land was afterwards discovered to be two large islands, by Captain John Strong, of the Farewell, from London, who, in 1689, passed through the strait which divides the eastern from the western of those islands. To this strait he gave the name of Falkland's Sound, in honour of his patron Lord Falkland; and the name has since been extended, through inadvertency, to the two islands it separates.

Having mentioned these islands, I will add, that future navigators will mis-spend their time, if they look for Pepy's Island in 47 deg. S.; it being now certain, that Pepy's Island is no other than these islands of Falkland.

### **1675 La Roche.**

In April, 1675, Anthony la Roche, an English merchant, in his return from the South Pacific Ocean, where he had been on a trading voyage, being carried by the winds and currents, far to the east of Strait Le Maire, fell in with a coast, which may possibly be the same with that which I visited during this voyage, and have called the Island of Georgia.

Leaving this land, and sailing to the north, La Roche, in the latitude of 45 deg. S., discovered a large island, with a good port towards the eastern part, where he found wood, water, and fish.

### **1699 Halley.**

In 1699, that celebrated astronomer, Dr Edmund Halley, was appointed to the command of his majesty's ship the Paramour Pink, on an expedition for improving the knowledge of the longitude, and of the variation of the compass; and for discovering the unknown lands supposed to lie in the southern part of the Atlantic Ocean. In this voyage he determined the longitude of several places; and, after his return, constructed his variation-chart, and proposed a method of observing the longitude at sea, by means of the appulses and occultations of the fixed stars. But, though he so successfully attended to the two first articles of his instructions, he did not find any unknown southern land.

### **1721 Roggewein.**

The Dutch, in 1721, fitted out three ships to make discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, under the command of Admiral Roggewein. He left the Texel on the 21st of August, and arriving in that ocean, by going round Cape Horn, discovered Easter

Island, probably seen before, though not visited, by Davis;<sup>1</sup> then between 14 deg. 41' and 15 deg. 47' S. latitude, and between the longitude of 142 deg. and 150 deg. W., fell in with several other islands, which I take to be some of those seen by the late English navigators. He next discovered two islands in latitude 15 deg. S., longitude 170 deg. W., which he called Baumen's Islands; and, lastly, Single Island, in latitude 13 deg. 41' S., longitude 171 deg. 30' W. These three islands are, undoubtedly, the same that Bougainville calls the Isles of Navigators.

### **1738 Bouvet.**

In 1738, the French East India Company sent Lozier Bouvet with two ships, the *Eagle* and *Mary*, to make discoveries in the South Atlantic Ocean. He sailed from Port L'Orient on the 19th of July in that year; touched at the island of St Catherine; and from thence shaped his course towards the south-east.

On the 1st of January, 1739, he discovered land, or what he judged to be land, in latitude 54 deg. S., longitude 11 deg. E. It will appear in the course of the following narrative, that we made several attempts to find this land without success. It is, therefore, very probable, that what Bouvet saw was nothing more than a large ice-island. From hence he stood to the east, in 51 deg. of latitude to 35 deg. of E. longitude: After which the two ships separated, one going to the island of Mauritius, and the other returning to France.

After this voyage of Bouvet, the spirit of discovery ceased, till his present majesty formed a design of making discoveries, and exploring the southern hemisphere; and, in the year 1764, directed it to be put in execution.

### **1764 Byron.**

Accordingly Commodore Byron, having under his command the *Dolphin* and *Tamer*, sailed from the Downs on the 21st of June the same year; and having visited the Falkland Islands, passed through the Straits of Magalhaens into the Pacific Ocean, where he discovered the islands of Disappointment, George's, Prince of Wales's, the isles of Danger, York Island, and Byron Island.

### **1766 Wallis.**

He returned to England the 9th of May, 1766, and, in the month of August following, the *Dolphin* was again sent out under the command of Captain Wallis, with the *Swallow*, commanded by Captain Carteret.

They proceeded together, till they came to the west end of the Straits of Magalhaens, and the Great South Sea in sight, where they were separated.

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<sup>1</sup> See Waser's description of the Isthmus of Darien.

Captain Wallis directed his course more westerly than any navigator had done before him in so high a latitude; but met with no land till he got within the tropic, where he discovered the islands of Whitsunday, Queen Charlotte, Egmont, Duke of Gloucester, Duke of Cumberland, Maitea, Otaheite, Eimeo, Tapamanou, How, Scilly, Boscawen, Keppel, and Wallis; and returned to England in May, 1768.

## **Carteret.**

His companion Captain Carteret kept a different route, in which he discovered the islands of Osnaburg, Gloucester, Queen Charlotte's Isles, Carteret's, Gower's, and the strait between New Britain and New Ireland; and returned to England in March, 1769.

## **1766 Bougainville.**

In November, 1766, Commodore Bougainville sailed from France in the frigate *La Boudeuse*, with the store-ship *L'Etoile*. After spending some time on the coast of Brazil, and at Falkland's Islands, he got into the Pacific Sea by the Straits of Magalhaens, in January, 1768.

In this ocean he discovered the Four Facardines, the isle of Lanciers, and Harp Island, which I take to be the same that I afterwards named Lagoon, Thrum Cap, and Bow Island. About twenty leagues farther to the west he discovered four other islands; afterwards fell in with Maitea, Otaheite, isles of Navigators, and Forlorn Hope, which to him were new discoveries. He then passed through between the Hebrides, discovered the Shoal of Diana, and some others, the land of Cape Deliverance, several islands more to the north, passed the north of New Ireland, touched at Batavia, and arrived in France in March, 1769.

This year was rendered remarkable by the transit of the planet Venus over the sun's disk, a phenomenon of great importance to astronomy; and which every-where engaged the attention of the learned in that science.

In the beginning of the 1768, the Royal Society presented a memorial to his majesty, setting forth the advantages to be derived from accurate observations of this transit in different parts of the world; particularly from a set of such observations made in a southern latitude, between the 140th and 130th degrees of longitude, west from the Royal Observatory at Greenwich; and that vessels, properly equipped, would be necessary to convey the observers to their destined stations; but that the society were in no condition to defray the expence of such an undertaking.

In consequence of this memorial, the Admiralty were directed by his majesty to provide proper vessels for this purpose. Accordingly, the *Endeavour* bark, which had been built for the coal-trade, was purchased and fitted out for the southern voyage, and I was honoured with the command of her. The Royal Society, soon after, appointed me, in conjunction with Mr Charles Green the astronomer, to make the requisite observations on the transit.

It was at first intended to perform this great, and now a principal business of our voyage, either at the Marquesas, or else at one of those islands which Tasman had called Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Middleburg, now better known under the name of the Friendly Islands. But while the Endeavour was getting ready for the expedition, Captain Wallis returned from his voyage round the world, in the course of which he had discovered several islands in the South Sea; and, amongst others, Otaheite. This island was preferred to any of those before mentioned, on account of the conveniences it afforded; because its place had been well ascertained, and found to be extremely well suited to our purpose.

I was therefore ordered to proceed directly to Otaheite; and after astronomical observations should be completed, to prosecute the design of making discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, by proceeding to the south as far as the latitude of 40 deg.; then, if I found no land, to proceed to the west between 40 deg. and 35 deg., till I fell in with New Zealand, which I was to explore; and thence to return to England by such route as I should think proper.

### **1768 Cook's first voyage.**

In the prosecution of these instructions, I sailed from Deptford the 30th July, 1768; from Plymouth the 26th of August, touched at Madeira, Rio de Janeiro, and Straits Le Maire, and entered the South Pacific Ocean by Cape Horn in January the following year.

I endeavoured to make a direct course to Otaheite, and in part succeeded; but I made no discovery till I got within the tropic, where I fell in with Lagoon Island, Two Groups, Bird Island, Chain Island; and on the 13th of April arrived at Otaheite, where I remained three months, during which time the observations on the transit were made.

I then left it; discovered and visited the Society Isles and Oheteroa; thence proceeded to the south till I arrived in the latitude of 40 deg. 22', longitude 147 deg. 29' W.; and, on the 6th of October, fell in with the east side of New Zealand.

I continued exploring the coast of this country till the 31st of March, 1770, when I quitted it, and proceeded to New Holland; and having surveyed the eastern coast of that vast country, which part had not before been visited, I passed between its northern extremity and New Guinea, landed on the latter, touched at the island of Savu, Batavia, the Cape of Good Hope, and St Helena,<sup>2</sup> and arrived in England on the 12th of July, 1771.

In this voyage I was accompanied by Mr Banks and Dr Solander; the first a gentleman of ample fortune; the other an accomplished disciple of Linnaeus, and one of the librarians of the British Museum; both of them distinguished in the learned world, for

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<sup>2</sup> In the account given of St Helena in the narrative of my former voyage, I find two mistakes. Its inhabitants are far from exercising a wanton cruelty over their slaves, and they have had wheel-carriages and porters' knots for many years.

their extensive and accurate knowledge of natural history. These gentlemen, animated by the love of science, and by a desire to pursue their enquiries in the remote regions I was preparing to visit, desired permission to make a voyage with me. The Admiralty readily complied with a request that promised such advantage to the republic of letters. They accordingly embarked with me, and participated in all the dangers and sufferings of our tedious and fatiguing navigation.

The voyages of Messrs de Surville, Kerguelen, and Marion, of which some account is given in the following work, did not come to my knowledge time enough to afford me any advantage; and as they have not been communicated to the world in a public way, I can say little about them, or about two other voyages, which, I am told, have been made by the Spaniards; one to Easter Island in the year 1769, and the other to Otaheite in 1775.

Before I begin my narrative of the expedition entrusted to my care, it will be necessary to add here some account of its equipment, and of some other matters equally interesting, connected with my subject.

Soon after my return home in the *Endeavour*, it was resolved to equip two ships, to complete the discovery of the Southern Hemisphere. The nature of this voyage required ships of a particular construction, and the *Endeavour* being gone to Falkland's Isles as a store-ship, the Navy-board was directed to purchase two such ships as were most suitable for this service.

At this time various opinions were espoused by different people, touching the size and kind of vessels most proper for such a voyage. Some were for having large ships, and proposed those of forty guns, or East India Company's ships. Others preferred large good sailing frigates, or three-decked ships, employed in the Jamaica trade, fitted with round-houses. But of all that was said and offered to the Admiralty's consideration on this subject, as far as has come to my knowledge, what, in my opinion, was most to the purpose, was suggested by the Navy-board.

As the kind of ships most proper to be employed on discoveries, is a very interesting consideration to the adventurers in such undertakings, it may possibly be of use to those, who, in future, may be so employed, to give here the purport of the sentiments of the Navy-board thereon, with whom, after the experience of two voyages of three years each, I perfectly agree.

The success of such undertakings as making discoveries in distant parts of the world, will principally depend on the preparations being well adapted to what ought to be the first considerations, namely, the preservation of the adventurers and ships; and this will ever chiefly depend on the kind, the size, and the properties of the ships chosen for the service.

These primary considerations will not admit of any other that may interfere with the necessary properties of the ships. Therefore, in choosing the ships, should any of the most advantageous properties be wanting, and the necessary room in them, be in any degree diminished, for less important purposes, such a step would be laying a foundation for rendering the undertaking abortive in the first instance.

As the greatest danger to be apprehended and provided against, on a voyage of discovery, especially to the most distant parts of the globe, is that of the ship's being liable to be run a-ground on an unknown, desert, or perhaps savage coast; so no consideration should be set in competition with that of her being of a construction of the safest kind, in which the officers may, with the least hazard, venture upon a strange coast. A ship of this kind must not be of a great draught of water, yet of a sufficient burden and capacity to carry a proper quantity of provisions and necessaries for her complement of men, and for the time requisite to perform the voyage.

She must also be of a construction that will bear to take the ground; and of a size, which in case of necessity, may be safely and conveniently laid on shore, to repair any accidental damage or defect. These properties are not to be found in ships of war of forty guns, nor in frigates, nor in East India Company's ships, nor in large three-decked West India ships, nor indeed in any other but North-country-built ships, or such as are built for the coal-trade, which are peculiarly adapted to this purpose.

In such a vessel an able sea-officer will be most venturesome, and better enabled to fulfil his instructions, than he possibly can (or indeed than would be prudent for him to attempt) in one of any other sort or size.

Upon the whole, I am firmly of opinion, that no ships are so proper for discoveries in distant unknown parts, as those constructed as was the Endeavour, in which I performed my former voyage. For no ships of any other kind can contain stores and provisions sufficient (in proportion to the necessary number of men,) considering the length of time it will be necessary they should last. And, even if another kind of ships could stow a sufficiency, yet on arriving at the parts for discovery, they would still, from the nature of their construction and size, be less fit for the purpose.

Hence, it may be concluded, so little progress had been hitherto made in discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere. For all ships which attempted it before the Endeavour, were unfit for it; although the officers employed in them had done the utmost in their power.

It was upon this consideration that the Endeavour was chosen for that voyage. It was to those properties in her that those on board owed their preservation; and hence we were enabled to prosecute discoveries in those seas so much longer than any other ship ever did, or could do. And, although discovery was not the first object of that voyage, I could venture to traverse a far greater space of sea, til then unnavigated; to discover greater tracts of country in high and low south latitudes, and to persevere longer in exploring and surveying more correctly the extensive coasts of those new-discovered countries, than any former navigator perhaps had done during one voyage.

In short, these properties in the ships, with perseverance and resolution in their commanders, will enable them to execute their orders; to go beyond former discoverers; and continue to Britain the reputation of taking the lead of nations, in exploring the globe.

These considerations concurring with Lord Sandwich's opinion on the same subject, the Admiralty determined to have two such ships as are here recommended. Accord-

ingly two were purchased of Captain William Hammond of Hull. They were both built at Whitby, by the same person who built the Endeavour, being about fourteen or sixteen months old at the time they were purchased, and were, in my opinion, as well adapted to the intended service, as if they had been built for the purpose. The largest of the two was four hundred and sixty-two tons burden. She was named Resolution, and sent to Deptford to be equipped. The other was three hundred and thirty-six tons burden. She was named Adventure, and sent to be equipped at Woolwich.

It was at first proposed to sheathe them with copper; but on considering that copper corrodes the iron-work, especially about the rudder, this intention was laid aside, and the old method of sheathing and fitting pursued, as being the most secure; for although it is usual to make the rudder-bands of the same composition, it is not, however, so durable as iron, nor would it, I am well assured, last out such a voyage as the Resolution performed.

Therefore, till a remedy is found to prevent the effect of copper upon iron-work, it would not be advisable to use it on a voyage of this kind, as, the principal fastenings of the ship being iron, they may be destroyed.

On the 28th of November, 1771, I was appointed to the command of the Resolution; and Tobias Furneaux (who had been second lieutenant with Captain Wallis) was promoted, on this occasion, to the command of the Adventure.

Our Complements of Officers and Men were fixed, as in the following Table.

#### RESOLUTION

Officers and Men, Officers Names

Captain (1) James Cook. Lieutenants (3) Rob. P. Cooper, Charles Clerke, Richd. Pickersgill.

Master (1) Joseph Gilbert. Boatswain (1) James Gray. Carpenter (1) James Wallis. Gunner (1) Robert Anderson. Surgeon (1) James Patten. Master's mates (3) Midshipmen (6) Surgeon's mates (2) Captain's clerk (1) Master at arms (1) Corporal (1) Armourer (1) Ditto mate (1) Sail-maker (1) Boatswain's mate (3) Carpenter's ditto (3) Gunner's ditto (2) Carpenter's crews (4) Cook (1) Ditto mate (1) Quarter-masters (6) Able seamen (45)

Marines Lieutenant (1) John Edgecumbe. Serjeant (1) Corporals (2) Drummer (1) Privates (15)

Total, 112

#### ADVENTURE

Officers and Men, Officers Names

Captain (1) Tobias Furneaux. Lieutenants (3) Joseph Shank, Arthur Kempe.

Master (1) Peter Fannin. Boatswain (1) Edward Johns. Carpenter (1) William Offord. Gunner (1) Andrew Gloag. Surgeon (1) Thos. Andrews. Master's mate (2) Midshipmen (4) Surgeon's mates (2) Captain's clerk (1) Master at arms (1) Ditto Mate (1) Sail-maker (1) Ditto Mate (1) Boatswain's mate (1) Carpenter's ditto (2) Gunner's ditto (2) Carpenter's crews (1) Cook (4) Ditto mate (1) Quarter-masters (4) Able seamen (33)



Marines Lieutenant (1) James Scott. Serjeant (1) Corporals (1) Drummer (1) Privates (8)

Total, 81

I had all the reason in the world to be perfectly satisfied with the choice of the officers. The second and third lieutenants, the lieutenant of marines, two of the warrant officers, and several of the petty officers, had been with me during the former voyage. The others were men of known abilities; and all of them, on every occasion, shewed their zeal for the service in which they were employed, during the whole voyage.

In the equipping of these ships, they were not confined to ordinary establishments, but were fitted in the most complete manner, and supplied with every extra article that was suggested to be necessary.

Lord Sandwich paid an extraordinary attention to this equipment, by visiting the ships from time to time, to satisfy himself that the whole was completed to his wish, and to the satisfaction of those who were to embark in them.

Nor were the Navy and Victualling Boards wanting in providing them with the very best of stores and provisions, and whatever else was necessary for so long a voyage.—Some alterations were adopted in the species of provisions usually made use of in the navy. That is, we were supplied with wheat in lieu of so much oatmeal, and sugar in lieu of so much oil; and when completed, each ship had two years and a half provisions on board, of all species.

We had besides many extra articles, such as malt, sour krout, salted cabbage, portable broth, saloup, mustard, marmalade of carrots, and inspissated juice of wort and beer. Some of these articles had before been found to be highly antiscorbutic; and others were now sent out on trial, or by way of experiment;—the inspissated juice of beer and wort, and marmalade of carrots especially. As several of these antiscorbutic articles are not generally known, a more particular account of them may not be amiss.

Of malt is made sweet wort, which is given to such persons as have got the scurvy, or whose habit of body threatens them with it, from one to five or six pints a-day, as the surgeon sees necessary.

Sour krout is cabbage cut small, to which is put a little salt, juniper berries, and anniseeds; it is then fermented, and afterwards close packed in casks; in which state it will keep good a long time. This is a wholesome vegetable food, and a great antiscorbutic. The allowance to each man is two pounds a week, but I increased or diminished their allowance as I thought proper.

Salted cabbage is cabbage cut to pieces, and salted down in casks, which will preserve it a long time.

Portable broth is so well known, that it needs no description. We were supplied with it both for the sick and well, and it was exceedingly beneficial.

Saloup and rob of lemons and oranges were for the sick and scorbutic only, and wholly under the surgeon's care.

Marmalade of carrots is the juice of yellow carrots, inspissated till it is of the thickness of fluid honey, or treacle, which last it resembles both in taste and colour. It was

recommended by Baron Storsch, of Berlin, as a very great antiscorbutic; but we did not find that it had much of this quality.

For the inspissated juice of wort and beer we were indebted to Mr Pelham, secretary to the commissioners of the victualling office. This gentleman, some years ago, considered that if the juice of malt, either as beer or wort, was inspissated by evaporation, it was probable this inspissated juice would keep good at sea; and, if so, a supply of beer might be had, at any time, by mixing it with water. Mr Pelham made several experiments, which succeeded so well, that the commissioners caused thirty- one half barrels of this juice to be prepared, and sent out with our ships for trial; nineteen on board the *Resolution*, and the remainder on board the *Adventure*. The success of the experiments will be mentioned in the narrative, in the order as they were made.

The frame of a small vessel, twenty tons burthen, was properly prepared, and put on board each of the ships to be set up (if found necessary) to serve as tenders upon any emergency, or to transport the crew, in case the ship was lost.

We were also well provided with fishing-nets, lines, and hooks of every kind for catching of fish.—And, in order to enable us to procure refreshments, in such inhabited parts of the world as we might touch at, where money was of no value, the Admiralty caused to be put on board both the ships, several articles of merchandize; as well to trade with the natives for provisions, as to make them presents to gain their friendship and esteem.

Their lordships also caused a number of medals to be struck, the one side representing his majesty, and the other the two ships. These medals were to be given to the natives of new-discovered countries, and left there as testimonies of our being the first discoverers.

Some additional clothing, adapted to a cold climate, was put on board; to be given to the seamen whenever it was thought necessary. In short, nothing was wanting that could tend to promote the success of the undertaking, or contribute to the conveniences and health of those who embarked in it.

The Admiralty shewed no less attention to science in general, by engaging Mr William Hodges, a landscape painter, to embark in this voyage, in order to make drawings and paintings of such places in the countries we should touch at, as might be proper to give a more perfect, idea thereof, than could be formed from written descriptions only.

And it being thought of public utility, that some person skilled in natural history, should be engaged to accompany me in this voyage, the parliament granted an ample sum for the purpose, and Mr John Reinhold Forster, with his son, were pitched upon for this employment.

The Board of Longitude agreed with Mr William Wales and Mr William Bayley, to make astronomical observations; the former on board the *Resolution*, and the latter on board the *Adventure*. The great improvements which astronomy and navigation have met with from the many interesting observations they have made, would have done

honour to any person whose reputation for mathematical knowledge was not so well known as theirs.

The same Board furnished them with the best instruments, for making both astronomical and nautical observations and experiments; and likewise with four time-pieces, or watch machines; three made by Mr Arnold, and one made by Mr Kendal on Mr Harrison's principles. A particular account of the going of these watches, as also the astronomical and nautical observations made by the astronomers, has been before the public, by order of the Board of Longitude, under the inspection of Mr Wales.

Besides the obligation I was under to this gentleman for communicating to me the observations he made, from time to time, during the voyage, I have since been indebted to him for the perusal of his journal, with leave to take from it whatever I thought might contribute to the improvement of this work.

For the convenience of the generality of readers, I have reduced the time from the nautical to the civil computation, so that whenever the terms A.M. and P.M. are used, the former signifies the forenoon, and the latter the afternoon of the same day.

In all the courses, bearings, &c., the variation of the compass is allowed, unless the contrary is expressed. And now it may be necessary to say, that, as I am on the point of sailing on a third expedition, I leave this account of my last voyage in the hands of some friends, who, in my absence, have kindly accepted the office of correcting the press for me; who are pleased to think that what I have here to relate is better to be given in my own words, than in the words of another person; especially as it is a work designed for information, and not merely for amusement; in which, it is their opinion, that candour and fidelity will counter-balance the want of ornament.

I shall therefore conclude this introductory discourse with desiring the reader to excuse the inaccuracies of style, which doubtless he will frequently meet with in the following narrative; and that, when such occur, he will recollect that it is the production of a man, who has not had the advantage of much school education, but who has been constantly at sea from his youth; and though, with the assistance of a few good friends, he has passed through all the stations belonging to a seaman, from an apprentice boy in the coal trade, to a post-captain in the royal navy, he has had no opportunity of cultivating letters. After this account of myself, the public must not expect from me the elegance of a fine writer, or the plausibility of a professed book-maker; but will, I hope, consider me as a plain man, zealously exerting himself in the service of his country, and determined to give the best account he is able of his proceedings.

JAMES COOK.

Plymouth Sound, July 7, 1776.

# **Book 1: From Our Departure From England to Leaving the Society Isles the First Time.**

## **Chapter I. Passage from Deptford to the Cape of Good Hope, with an Account of several Incidents that happened by the Way, and Transactions there.**

### **1772 April**

I sailed from Deptford, April 9th, 1772, but got no farther than Woolwich, where I was detained by easterly winds till the 23d, when the ship fell down to Long Reach, and the next day was joined by the Adventure. Here both ships received on board their powder, guns, gunners' stores, and marines.

### **1772 May**

On the 10th of May we left Long Reach, with orders to touch at Plymouth; but in plying down the river, the Resolution was found to be very crank, which made it necessary to put into Sheerness in order to remove this evil, by making some alteration in her upper works. These the officers of the yard were ordered to take in hand immediately; and Lord Sandwich and Sir Hugh Palliser came down to see them executed in such a manner as might effectually answer the purpose intended.

### **1772 June**

On the 22d of June the ship was again completed for sea, when I sailed from Sheerness; and on the 3d of July joined the Adventure in Plymouth Sound. The evening before, we met, off the Sound, Lord Sandwich, in the Augusta yacht, (who was on his return from visiting the several dock-yards,) with the Glory frigate and Hazard sloop. We saluted his lordship with seventeen guns; and soon after he and Sir Hugh Palliser gave us the last mark of the very great attention they had paid to this equipment, by coming on board, to satisfy themselves that every thing was done to my wish, and that the ship was found to answer to my satisfaction.

At Plymouth I received my instructions, dated the 25th of June, directing me to take under my command the *Adventure*; to make the best of my way to the island of Madeira, there to take in a supply of wine, and then proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, where I was to refresh the ships' companies, and to take on board such provisions and necessaries as I might stand in need of. After leaving the Cape of Good Hope, I was to proceed to the southward, and endeavour to fall in with Cape Circumcision, which was said by Monsieur Bouvet to lie in the latitude of 54 deg. S. and in about 11 deg. 20' E. longitude from Greenwich. If I discovered this cape, I was to satisfy myself whether it was a part of the continent which had so much engaged the attention of geographers and former navigators, or a part of an island. If it proved to be the former, I was to employ myself diligently in exploring as great an extent of it as I could, and to make such notations thereon, and observations of every kind, as might be useful either to navigation or commerce, or tend to the promotion of natural knowledge. I was also directed to observe the genius, temper, disposition, and number of the inhabitants, if there were any, and endeavour, by all proper means, to cultivate a friendship and alliance with them; making them presents of such things as they might value; inviting them to traffic, and shewing them every kind of civility and regard. I was to continue to employ myself on this service, and making discoveries either to the eastward or westward, as my situation might render most eligible; keeping in as high a latitude as I could, and prosecuting my discoveries as near to the South Pole as possible, so long as the condition of the ships, the health of their crews, and the state of their provisions, would admit of; taking care to reserve as much of the latter as would enable me to reach some known port, where I was to procure a sufficiency to bring me home to England. But if Cape Circumcision should prove to be part of an island only, or if I should not be able to find the said Cape, I was in the first case to make the necessary survey of the island, and then to stand on to the southward, so long as I judged there was a likelihood of falling in with the continent, which I was also to do in the latter case, and then to proceed to the eastward in further search of the said continent, as well as to make discoveries of such islands as might be situated in that unexplored part of the southern hemisphere; keeping in high latitudes, and prosecuting my discoveries, as above mentioned, as near the pole as possible until I had circumnavigated the globe; after which I was to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, and from thence to Spithead.

In the prosecution of these discoveries, wherever the season of the year rendered it unsafe for me to continue in high latitudes, I was to retire to some known place to the northward, to refresh my people, and refit the ships; and to return again to the southward as soon as the season of the year would admit of it. In all unforeseen cases, I was authorised to proceed according to my own discretion; and in case the *Resolution* should be lost or disabled, I was to prosecute the voyage on board the *Adventure*.

I gave a copy of these instructions to Captain Furneaux, with an order directing him to carry them into execution; and, in case he was separated from me, appointed the island of Madeira for the first place of rendezvous; Port Praya in the island of St Jago for the second; Cape of Good Hope for the third; and New Zealand for the fourth.

During our stay at Plymouth, Messrs Wales and Bayley, the two astronomers, made observations on Drake's Island, in order to ascertain the latitude, longitude, and true time for putting the time-pieces and watches in motion. The latitude was found to be 50 deg. 21' 30" N., and the longitude 4 deg. 20' W. of Greenwich, which, in this voyage, is every where to be understood as the first meridian, and from which the longitude is reckoned east and west to 180 deg. each way.

## 1772 July

On the 10th of July the watches were set a-going in the presence of the two astronomers, Captain Furneaux, the first lieutenants of the ships, and myself, and put on board. The two on board the *Adventure* were made by Mr Arnold, and also one of those on board the *Resolution*; but the other was made by Mr Kendal, upon the same principle, in every respect, as Mr Harrison's time-piece. The commander, first lieutenant, and astronomer, on board each, of the ships, kept 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; or some other officer, if at any time, through indisposition, or absence upon any other necessary duties, any of them could not conveniently attend. The same day, according to the custom of the navy, the companies of both ships were paid two months wages in advance, and, as a further encouragement for their going this extraordinary voyage, they were also paid the wages due to them to the 28th of the preceding May. This enabled them to provide necessaries for the voyage.

On the 13th, at six o'clock in the morning, I sailed from Plymouth Sound, with the *Adventure* in company; and on the evening of the 29th anchored in Funchiale Road, in the island of Madeira. The next morning I saluted the garrison with eleven guns; which compliment was immediately returned. Soon after I went on shore, accompanied by Captain Furneaux, the two Mr Forsters, and Mr Wales. At our landing, we were received by a gentleman from the vice-consul, Mr Sills, who conducted us to the house of Mr Loughnans, the most considerable English merchant in the place. This gentleman not only obtained leave for Mr Forster to search the island for plants, but procured us every other thing we wanted, and insisted on our accommodating ourselves at his house during our stay.

The town of Funchiale, which is the capital of the island, is situated about the middle of the south side, in the bottom of the bay of the same name, in latitude 32 deg. 33' 34" N., longitude 17 deg. 12-7/8" W. The longitude was deduced from lunar observations made by Mr Wales, and reduced to the town by Mr Kendal's watch, which made the longitude 17 deg. 10' 14" W. During our stay here, the crews of both ships were supplied with fresh beef and onions; and a quantity of the latter was distributed amongst them for a sea-store.

## 1772 August

Having got on board a supply of water, wine, and other necessities, we left Madeira on the 1st of August, and stood to the southward with a fine gale at N.E. On the 4th we passed Palma, one of the Canary isles. It is of a height to be seen twelve or fourteen leagues, and lies in the latitude 28 deg. 38' N., longitude 17 deg. 58' W. The next day we saw the isle of Ferro, and passed it at the distance of fourteen leagues. I judged it to lie in the latitude of 27 deg. 42' N. and longitude 18 deg. 9' W.

I now made three puncheons of beer of the inspissated juice of malt. The proportion I made use of was about ten of water to one of juice. Fifteen of the nineteen half barrels of the inspissated juice which we had on board, were produced from wort that was hopped before inspissated. The other four were made of beer that had been both hopped and fermented before inspissated. This last requires no other preparation to make it fit for use, than to mix it with cold water, from one part in eight to one part in twelve of water, (or in such other proportion as might be liked,) then stop it down, and in a few days it will be brisk and drinkable. But the other sort, after being mixed with water in the same manner, will require to be fermented with yeast, in the usual way of making beer; at least it was so thought. However, experience taught us that this will not always be necessary: For by the heat of the weather, and the agitation of the ship, both sorts were at this time in the highest state of fermentation, and had hitherto evaded all our endeavours to stop it. If this juice could be kept from fermenting, it certainly would be a most valuable article at sea.

On finding that our stock of water would not last as to the Cape of Good Hope, without putting the people to a scanty allowance, I resolved to stop at St Jago for a supply. On the 9th, at nine o'clock in the morning, we made the island of Bonavista, bearing S.W. The next day, we passed the isle of Mayo on our right; and the same evening anchored in Port Praya in the island of St Jago, in eighteen fathom water. The east point of the bay bore E.; the west point S.W.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  S.; and the fort N.W. I immediately dispatched an officer to ask leave to water, and purchase refreshments, which was granted. On the return of the officer, I saluted the fort with eleven guns, on a promise of its being returned with an equal number. But by a mistake, as they pretended, the salute was returned with only nine; for which the governor made an excuse the next day. The 14th, in the evening, having completed our water, and got on board a supply of refreshments, such as hogs, goats, fowls, and fruit, we put to sea, and proceeded on our voyage.

Port Praya is a small bay, situated about the middle of the south side of the island of St Jago, in the latitude of 14 deg. 53' 30" N. longitude 23 deg. 30' W. It may be known, especially in coming from the east, by the southernmost hill on the island, which is round, and peaked at top; and lies a little way inland, in the direction of west from the port. This mark is the more necessary, as there is a small cove about a league to the eastward, with a sandy beach in the bottom of it, a valley, and cocoa-nut trees behind, which strangers may mistake for Port Praya, as we ourselves did.

The two points which form the entrance of Port Praya Bay are rather low, and in the direction of W.S.W. and E.N.E. half a league from each other. Close to the west point are sunken rocks, on which the sea continually breaks. The bay lies in N.W. near half a league; and the depth of water is from fourteen to four fathoms. Large ships ought not to anchor in less than eight, in which depth the south end of the Green Island (a small island lying under the west shore) will bear W. You water at a well that is behind the beach at the head of the bay. The water is tolerable, but scarce; and bad getting off, on account of a great surf on the beach. The refreshments to be got here, are bullocks, hogs, goats, sheep, poultry, and fruits. The goats are of the antelope kind, so extraordinarily lean, that hardly any thing can equal them; and the bullocks, hogs, and sheep, are not much better. Bullocks must be purchased with money; the price is twelve Spanish dollars a-head, weighing between 250 and 300 pounds. Other articles may be got from the natives in exchange for old clothes, &c. But the sale of bullocks is confined to a company of merchants; to whom this privilege is granted, and who keep an agent residing upon the spot. The fort above mentioned seems wholly designed for the protection of the bay, and is well situated for that purpose, being built on an elevation, which rises directly from the sea on the right, at the head of the bay.

We had no sooner got clear of Port Praya, than we got a fresh gale at N.N.E. which blew in squalls, attended with showers of rain. But the next day the wind and showers abated, and veered to the S. It was, however, variable and unsettled for several days, accompanied with dark gloomy weather, and showers of rain.

On the 19th, in the afternoon, one of the carpenter's mates fell overboard, and was drowned. He was over the side, fitting in one of the scuttles, from whence it is supposed he had fallen; for he was not seen till the very instant he sunk under the ship's stern, when our endeavours to save him were too late. This loss was sensibly felt during the voyage, as he was a sober man and a good workman. About noon the next day, the rain poured down upon us, not in drops but in streams. The wind, at the same time, was variable and squally, which obliged the people to attend the decks, so that few in the ships escaped a good soaking. We, however, benefited by it, as it gave us an opportunity of filling all our empty water-casks. This heavy rain at last brought on a dead calm, which continued twenty-four hours, when it was succeeded by a breeze from S.W. Betwixt this point and S. it continued for several days; and blew at times in squalls, attended with rain and hot sultry weather. The mercury in the thermometers at noon, kept generally from 79 to 82.

On the 27th, spoke with Captain Furneaux, who informed us that one of his petty officers was dead. At this time we had not one sick on board, although we had every thing of this kind to fear from the rain we had had, which is a great promoter of sickness in hot climates. To prevent this, and agreeable to some hints I had from Sir Hugh Palliser and from Captain Campbell, I took every necessary precaution by airing and drying the ship with fires made betwixt decks, smoaking, &c. and by obliging the people to air their bedding, wash and dry their clothes, whenever there was an



opportunity. A neglect of these things causeth a disagreeable smell below, affects the air, and seldom fails to bring on sickness, but more especially in hot and wet weather.

We now began to see some of those birds which are said never to fly far from land; that is, man-of-war and tropic birds, gannets, &c. No land, however, that we knew of, could be nearer than eighty leagues.

On the 30th at noon, being in the latitude of 2 deg. 35' N., longitude 7 deg. 30' W., and the wind having veered to the east of south, we tacked and stretched to the S.W. In the latitude of 0 deg. 52' N., longitude 9 deg. 25' W., we had one calm day, which gave us an opportunity of trying the current in a boat. We found it set to the north one-third of a mile an hour. We had reason to expect this from the difference we frequently found between the observed latitude, and that given by the log; and Mr Kendal's watch shewed us that it set to the east also. This was fully confirmed by the lunar observations; when it appeared that we were 3 deg. 0' more to the east than the common reckoning. At the time of trying the current, the mercury in the thermometer in the open air stood at 75-1/2; and when immersed in the surface of the sea, at 74; but when immersed eighty fathoms deep (where it remained fifteen minutes) when it came up, the mercury stood at 66. At the same time we sounded, without out finding the bottom, with a line of two hundred and fifty fathoms.

The calm was succeeded by a light breeze at S.W., which kept veering by little and little to the south, and at last to the eastward of south, attended with clear serene weather.

## 1772 September

At length, on the 8th of September, we crossed the Line in the longitude of 8 deg. W.; after which, the ceremony of ducking, &c., generally practised on this occasion, was not omitted.

The wind now veering more and more to the east, and blowing a gentle top- gallant gale, in eight days it carried us into the latitude 9 deg. 30' S., longitude 18 deg. W. The weather was pleasant; and we daily saw some of those birds which are looked upon as signs of the vicinity of land; such as boobies, man of war, tropic birds, and gannets. We supposed they came from the isle of St Matthew, or Ascension; which isles we must have passed at no great distance.

On the 27th, in the latitude of 25 deg. 29', longitude 24 deg. 54', we discovered a sail to the west standing after us. She was a snow; and the colours she shewed, either a Portuguese or St George's ensign, the distance being too great to distinguish the one from the other, and I did not choose to wait to get nearer, or to speak with her.

The wind now began to be variable. It first veered to the north, where it remained two days with fair weather. Afterwards it came round by the west to the south, where it remained two days longer, and, after a few hours calm, sprung up at S.W. But here it remained not long, before it veered to S.E.E. and to the north of east; blew fresh, and by squalls, with showers of rain.

## 1772 October

With these winds we advanced but slowly; and, without meeting with anything remarkable till the 11th of October, when, at 6h 24m 12s, by Mr Kendal's watch, the moon rose about four digits eclipsed, and soon after we prepared to observe the end of the eclipse, as follows, viz.

h. m. s.

By me at 6 53 51 with a common refractor. By Mr Forster 6 55 23 By Mr Wales 6 54 57 quadrant telescope. By Mr Pickersgill 6 55 30 three feet refractor. By Mr Gilert 6 53 24 naked eye. By Mr Hervey 6 55 34 quadrant telescope.

————— Mean 6 54 46-1/2 by the watch. Watch slow of apparent time 0 3 59

————— Apparent time 6 58 45-1/2 end of the eclipse. Ditto 7 25 0 at Greenwich.

————— Dif. of longitude 0 26 14-1/2 == 6 deg. 33' 30"

The longitude observed by Mr Wales, was

By the and Aquilae 5 deg. 51' | By the and Adebaran 6 deg. 35 | Mean 6 deg. 13' 0"  
By Mr Kendal's watch 6 deg. 53 7/8

The next morning, having but little wind, we hoisted a boat out, to try if there was any current, but found none. From this time to the 16th, we had the wind between the north and east, a gentle gale. We had for some time ceased to see any of the birds before-mentioned; and were now accompanied by albatrosses, pintadoes, sheerwaters, &c., and a small grey peterel, less than a pigeon. It has a whitish belly, and grey back, with a black stroke across from the tip of one wing to the tip of the other. These birds sometimes visited us in great flights. They are, as well as the pintadoes, southern birds; and are, I believe, never seen within the tropics, or north of the Line.

On the 17th, we saw a sail to the N.W., standing to the eastward, which hoisted Dutch colours. She kept us company for two days, but the third we outsailed her.

On the 21st, at 7h. 30m. 20s. a. m., our longitude, by the mean of two observed distances of the sun and moon, was 8 deg. 4' 30" E., Mr Kendal's watch at the same time gave 7 deg. 22'. Our latitude was 35 deg. 20' N. The wind was now easterly, and continued so till the 23d, when it veered to N. and N.W. after some hours calm; in which we put a boat in the water, and Mr Forster shot some albatrosses and other birds, on which we feasted the next day, and found them exceedingly good. At the same time we saw a seal, or, as some thought, a sea-lion, which probably might be an inhabitant of one of the isles of Tristian de Cunnah, being now nearly in their latitude, and about 5 deg. east of them.

The wind continued but two days at N.W. and S.W.; then veered to the S.E., where it remained two days longer; then fixed at N.W., which carried us to our intended port. As we approached the land, the sea-fowl, which had accompanied us hitherto, began to leave us; at least they did not come 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. Nor did we strike sounding till Penguin Island bore N.N.E., distant two or three leagues, where we had fifty fathom water. Not but that the soundings may extend

farther off. However, I am very sure that they do not extend very far west from the Cape. For we could not find ground with a line of 210 fathoms, twenty-five leagues west of Table-Bay; the same at thirty-five leagues, and at sixty-four leagues. I sounded these three times, in order to find a bank, which, I had been told, lies to the west of the cape; but how far I never could learn.

I was told before I left England, by some gentlemen who were well enough acquainted with the navigation between England and the Cape of Good Hope, that I sailed at an improper season of the year; and that I should meet with much calm weather, near and under the Line. This probably may be the case some years. It is, however, not general. On the contrary, we hardly met with any calms; but a brisk S.W. wind in those very latitudes where the calms are expected. Nor did we meet with any of those tornadoes, so much spoken of by other navigators. However, what they have said of the current setting towards the coast of Guinea, as you approach that shore, is true. For, from the time of our leaving St Jago, to our arrival into the latitude of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  deg. N., which was eleven days, we were carried by the current 3 deg. of longitude more east than our reckoning. On the other hand, after we had crossed the Line, and got the S.E. trade-wind, we always found, by observation, that the ship outstripped the reckoning, which we judged to be owing to a current setting between the south and west. But, upon the whole, the currents in this run seemed to balance each other; for upon our arrival at the Cape, the difference of longitude by dead reckoning kept from England, without once being corrected, was only three quarters of a degree less than that by observation.

At two in the afternoon on the 29th, we made the land of the Cape of Good Hope. The Table Mountain, which is over the Cape Town, bore E.S.E., distance twelve or fourteen leagues. At this time it was a good deal obscured by clouds, otherwise it might, from its height, have been seen at a much greater distance. We now crowded all the sail we could, thinking to get into the bay before dark. But when we found this could not be accomplished, we shortened sail, and spent the night standing off and on. Between eight and nine o'clock, the whole sea, within the compass of our sight, became at once, as it were illuminated; or, what the seamen call, all on fire. This appearance of the sea, in some degree, is very common; but the cause is not so generally known. Mr Banks and Dr Solander had satisfied me that it was occasioned by sea-insects. Mr Forster, however, seemed not to favour this opinion. I therefore had some buckets of water drawn up from alongside the ship, which we found full of an innumerable quantity of small globular insects, about the size of a common pin's-head, and quite transparent. There was no doubt of their being living animals, when in their own proper element, though we could not perceive any life in them: Mr Forster, whose province it is more minutely to describe things of this nature, was now well satisfied with the cause of the sea's illumination.

At length day-light came and brought us fair weather; and having stood into Table Bay, with the Adventure in company, we anchored in five fathom water. We afterwards moored N.E. and S.W., Green Point on the west point of the bay, bearing N.W. by W.,

and the church, in one with the valley between the Table Mountain and the Sugar-Loaf, or Lion's Head, bearing S.W. by S., and distant from the landing-place near the fort, one mile.

We had no sooner anchored than we were visited by the captain of the port, or master-attendant, some other officers belonging to the company, and Mr Brandt. This last gentleman brought us off such things as could not fail of being acceptable to persons coming from sea. The purport of the master attendant's visit was, according to custom, to take an account of the ships; to enquire into the health of the crews; and, in particular, if the small-pox was on board; a thing they dread, above all others, at the Cape, and for these purposes a surgeon is always one of the visitants.

My first step after anchoring, was, to send an officer to wait on Baron Plettenberg, the governor, to acquaint him with our arrival, and the reasons which induced me to put in there. To this the officer received a very polite answer; and, upon his return, we saluted the garrison with eleven guns, which compliment was returned. Soon after I went on shore myself, and waited upon the governor, accompanied by Captain Furneaux, and the two Mr Forsters. He received us, with very great politeness, and promised me every assistance the place could afford. From him I learned that two French ships from the Mauritius, about eight months before, had discovered land, in the latitude of 48 deg. S., and in the meridian of that island, along which they sailed forty miles, till they came to a bay into which they were about to enter, when they were driven off and separated in a hard gale of wind, after having lost some of their boats and people, which they had sent to sound the bay. One of the ships, viz. the *La Fortune*, soon after arrived at the Mauritius, the captain of which was sent home to France with an account of the discovery. The governor also informed me, that in March last, two other French ships from the island of Mauritius, touched at the Cape in their way to the South Pacific Ocean; where they were going to make discoveries, under the command of M. Marion. Aotourou, the man M. de Bougainville brought from Otaheite, was to have returned with M. Marion, had he been living.

After having visited the governor and some other principal persons of the place, we fixed ourselves at Mr Brandt's, the usual residence of most officers belonging to English ships. This gentleman spares neither trouble nor expence to make his house agreeable to those who favour him with their company, and to accommodate them with every thing they want. With him I concerted measures for supplying the ships with provisions, and all other necessities they wanted; which he set about procuring without delay, while the seamen on board were employed in overhauling the rigging; and the carpenters in caulking the ships' sides and decks, &c.

Messrs Wales and Bayley got all their instruments on shore, in order to make astronomical observations for ascertaining the going of the watches, and other purposes. The result of some of these observations shewed, that Mr Kendal's watch had answered beyond all expectation, by pointing out the longitude of this place to within one minute of time to what it was observed by Messrs Mason and Dixon in 1761.

Three or four days after us, two Dutch Indiamen arrived here from Holland; after a passage of between four and five months, in which one lost, by the scurvy and other putrid diseases, 150 men, and the other 41. They sent, on their arrival, great numbers to the hospital in very dreadful circumstances. It is remarkable that one of these ships touched at Port Praya, and left it a month before we arrived there; and yet we got here three days before her. The Dutch at the Cape having found their hospital too small for the reception of their sick, were going to build a new one at the east part of the town; the foundation of which was laid with great ceremony while we were there.

## 1772 November

By the healthy condition of the crews of both ships at our arrival, I thought to have made my stay at the Cape very short. But, as the bread we wanted was unbaked, and the spirit, which I found scarce, to be collected from different parts out of the country, it was the 18th of November before we had got every thing on board, and the 22d before we could put to sea. During this stay the crews of both ships were served every day with fresh beef or mutton, new-baked bread, and as much greens as they could eat. The ships were caulked and painted; and, in every respect, put in as good a condition as when they left England. Some alterations in the officers took place in the *Adventure*. Mr Shank the first lieutenant having been in an ill state of health ever since we sailed from Plymouth, and not finding himself recover here, desired my leave to quit, in order to return home for the re-establishment of his health. As his request appeared to be well-founded, I granted him leave accordingly, and appointed Mr Kemp, first lieutenant in his room, and Mr Burney, one of my midshipmen, second, in the room of Mr Kemp.

Mr Forster, whose whole time was taken up in the pursuit of natural history and botany, met with a Swedish gentleman, one Mr Sparman, who understood something of these sciences, having studied under Dr Linnaeus. He being willing to embark with us, Mr Forster strongly importuned me to take him on board, thinking that he would be of great assistance to him in the course of the voyage. I at last consented, and he embarked with us accordingly, as an assistant to Mr Forster, who bore his expences on board, and allowed him a yearly stipend besides.

Mr Hodges employed himself here in drawing a view of the Cape, town, and parts adjacent, in oil colours, which, was properly packed up with some others, and left with Mr Brandt, in order to be forwarded to the Admiralty by the first ship that should sail for England.

## Chapter II. Departure from the Cape of Good Hope, in search of a Southern Continent.

### 1772 November

Having at length finished my business at the Cape, and taken leave of the governor and some others of the chief officers, who, with very obliging readiness, had given me all the assistance I could desire, on the 22d of November we repaired on board; and at three o'clock in the afternoon weighed, and came to sail with the wind at N. by W. As soon as the anchor was up, we saluted the port with fifteen guns, which was immediately returned; and after making a few trips, got out of the bay by seven o'clock, at which time the town bore S.E. distant four miles. After this we stood to the westward all night, in order to get clear of the land, having the wind at N.N.W. and N.W., blowing in squalls attended with rain, which obliged us to reef our topsails. The sea was again illuminated for some time, in the same manner as it was the night before we arrived in Table Bay.

Having got clear of the land, I directed my course for Cape Circumcision. The wind continued at N.W. a moderate gale, until the 24th, when it veered round to the eastward. On the noon of this day, we were in the latitude of 35 deg. 25' S., and 29' west of the Cape; and had abundance of albatrosses about us, several of which were caught with hook and line; and were very well relished by many of the people, notwithstanding they were at this time served with fresh mutton. Judging that we should soon come into cold weather, I ordered slops to be served to such as were in want; and gave to each man the fearnought jacket and trowsers allowed them by the Admiralty.

### 1772 December

The wind continued easterly for two days, and blew a moderate gale, which brought us into the latitude of 39 deg. 4', and 2 deg. of longitude west of the Cape, thermometer 52-1/2 The wind now came to W. and S.W.; and on the 29th fixed at W.N.W., and increased to a storm, which continued, with some few intervals of moderate weather, till the 6th of December, when we were in the latitude of 48 deg. 41' S., and longitude 18 deg. 24' E. This gale, which was attended with rain and hail, blew at times with such violence that we could carry no sails; by which means we were driven far to the eastward of our intended course, and no hopes were left me of reaching Cape Circumcision. But the greatest misfortune that attended us, was the loss of great part of our live stock, which we had brought from the Cape, and which consisted of sheep, hogs, and geese. Indeed this sudden transition from warm, mild weather, to extreme cold and wet, made every man in the ship feel its effects. For by this time the mercury in the thermometer had fallen to 38; whereas at the Cape it was generally at 67 and upwards. I now made some addition to the people's allowance of spirit, by giving them a dram whenever I thought it necessary, and ordered Captain Furneaux to do the same.

The night proved clear and serene, and the only one that was so since we left the Cape; and the next morning the rising sun gave us such flattering hopes of a fine day, that we were induced to let all the reefs out of the top-sails, and to get top-gallant yards across, in order to make the most of a fresh gale at north. Our hopes, however, soon vanished; for before eight o'clock, the serenity of the sky was changed into a thick haze, accompanied with rain. The gale increasing obliged us to hand the main-sail, close-reef our top-sails, and to strike top-gallant yards. The barometer at this time was unusually low, which foreboded an approaching storm, and this happened accordingly. For, by one o'clock p. m. the wind, which was at N.W., blew with such strength as obliged us to take in all our sails, to strike top-gallant-masts, and to get the spritsail-yard in. And I thought proper to wear, and lie-to, under a mizzen-stay-sail, with the ships' heads to the N.E. as they would bow the sea, which ran prodigiously high, better on this tack.

At eight o'clock next morning, being the 8th, we wore, and lay on the other tack; the gale was a little abated, but the sea ran too high to make sail, any more than the fore-top-mast-stay-sail. In the evening, being in the latitude of 49 deg. 40 S., and 1-1/2 deg. E. of the Cape, we saw two penguins and some sea or rock-weed, which occasioned us to sound, without finding ground at 100 fathoms. At eight p. m. we wore, and lay with our heads to the N.E. till three in the morning of the 9th, then wore again to the southward, the wind blowing in squalls attended with showers of snow. At eight, being something more moderate, I made the Adventure signal to make sail; and soon after made sail ourselves under the courses and close-reefed top-sails. In the evening, took in the top-sails and main-sail, and brought-to under fore-sail and mizzen; thermometer at 36 deg. The wind still at N.W. blew a fresh gale, accompanied with a very high sea. In the night had a pretty smart frost with snow.

In the morning of the 10th we made sail under courses and top-sails close-reefed; and made the signal for the Adventure to make sail and lead. At eight o'clock saw an island of ice to the westward of us, being then in the latitude of 56 deg. 40' S. and longitude 2 deg. 0' E. of the Cape of Good Hope. Soon after the wind moderated, and we let all the reefs out of the top-sails, got the spritsail-yard out, and top-gallant-mast up. The weather coming hazy, I called the Adventure by signal under my stern, which was no sooner done, than the haze increased so much with snow and sleet, that we did not see an island of ice, which we were steering directly for, till we were less than a mile from it. I judged it to be about 50 feet high, and half a mile in circuit. It was flat at top, and its sides rose in a perpendicular direction, against which the sea broke exceedingly high. Captain Furneaux at first took this ice for land, and hauled off from it, until called back by signal. As the weather was foggy, it was necessary to proceed with caution. We therefore reefed our top-sails, and at the same time sounded, but found no ground with 150 fathoms. We kept on to the southward with the wind at north till night, which we spent in making short trips, first one way and then another, under an easy sail; thermometer these 24 hours from 36-1/2 to 31.

At day-light in the morning of the 11th, we made sail to the southward with the wind at west, having a fresh gale, attended with sleet and snow. At noon we were in the

latitude of 51 deg. 50' S., and longitude 21 deg. 3' E., where we saw some white birds about the size of pigeons, with blackish bills and feet. I never saw any such before; and Mr Forster had no knowledge of them. I believe them to be of the peterel tribe, and natives of these icy seas. At this time we passed between two ice islands, which lay at a little distance from each other.

In the night the wind veered to N.W. which enabled us to steer S.W. On the 12th we had still thick hazy weather, with sleet and snow; so that we were obliged to proceed with great caution on account of the ice islands. Six of these we passed this day; some of them near two miles in circuit, and sixty feet high. And yet, such was the force and height of the waves, that the sea broke quite over them. This exhibited a view which for a few moments was pleasing to the eye; but when we reflected on the danger, the mind was filled with horror. For were a ship to get against the weather-side of one of these islands when the sea runs high, she would be dashed to pieces in a moment. Upon our getting among the ice islands, the albatrosses left us; that is, we saw but one now and then. Nor did our other companions, the pintadoes, sheerwaters, small grey birds, fulmars, &c., appear in such numbers; on the other hand, penguins began to make their appearance. Two of these birds were seen to-day.

The wind in the night veered to west, and at last fixed at S.W., a fresh gale, with sleet and snow, which froze on our sails and rigging as it fell, so that they were all hung with icicles. We kept on to the southward, passed no less than eighteen ice islands, and saw more penguins. At noon on the 13th, we were in the latitude of 54 deg. S., which is the latitude of Cape Circumcision, discovered by M. Bouvet in 1739; but we were ten degrees of longitude east of it; that is, near 118 leagues in this latitude. We stood on to the S.S.E. till eight o'clock in the evening, the weather still continuing thick and hazy, with sleet and snow. From noon till this time, twenty ice islands, of various extent, both for height and circuit, presented themselves to our view. At eight o'clock we sounded, but found no ground with 150 fathom of line.

We now tacked and made a trip to the northward till midnight, when we stood again to the southward; and at half an hour past six o'clock in the morning of the 14th, we were stopped by an immense field of low ice; to which we could see no end, either to the east, west, or south. In different parts of this field were islands or hills of ice, like those we found floating in the sea; and some on board thought they saw land also over the ice, bearing S.W. by S. I even thought so myself; but changed my opinion upon more narrowly examining these ice hills, and the various appearances they made when seen through the haze. For at this time it was both hazy and cloudy in the horizon; so that a distant object could not be seen distinct. Being now in the latitude of 54 deg. 50' S. and longitude 21 deg. 34' E., and having the wind at N.W. we bore away along the edge of the ice, steering S.S.E. and S.E., according to the direction of the north side of it, where we saw many whales, penguins, some white birds, pintadoes, &c.

At eight o'clock we brought-to under a point of the ice, where we had smooth water: and I sent on board for Captain Furneaux. After we had fixed on rendezvouses in case of separation, and some other matters for the better keeping company, he returned



on board, and we made sail again along the ice. Some pieces we took up along-side, which yielded fresh water. At noon we had a good observation, and found ourselves in latitude 54 deg. 55' S.

We continued a south-east course along the edge of the ice, till one o'clock, when we came to a point round which we hauled S.S.W., the sea appearing to be clear of ice in that direction. But after running four leagues upon this course, with the ice on our starboard side, we found ourselves quite imbayed; the ice extending from N.N.E. round by the west and south, to east, in one compact body. The weather was indifferently clear; and yet we could see no end to it. At five o'clock we hauled up east, wind at north, a gentle gale, in order to clear the ice. The extreme east point of it, at eight o'clock, bore E. by S., over which appeared a clear sea. We however spent the night in making short boards, under an easy sail. Thermometer, these 24 hours, from 32 to 30.

Next day, the 15th, we had the wind at N.W., a small gale, thick foggy weather, with much snow; thermometer from 32 to 27; so that our sails and rigging were all hung with icicles. The fog was so thick at times, that we could not see the length of the ship; and we had much difficulty to avoid the many islands of ice that surrounded us. About noon, having but little wind, we hoisted out a boat to try the current, which we found set S.E. near  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile an hour. At the same time, a thermometer, which in the open air was at 32 deg., in the surface of the sea was at 30 deg.; and, after being immersed 100 fathoms deep for about fifteen or twenty minutes, came up at 34 deg., which is only 2 deg. above freezing. Our latitude at this time was 55 deg. 8'.

The thick fog continued till two o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, when it cleared away a little, and we made sail to the southward, wind still at N.W. a gentle gale. We had not run long to the southward before we fell in with the main field of ice extending from S.S.W. to E. We now bore away to east along the edge of it; but at night hauled off north, with the wind at W.N.W., a gentle gale, attended with snow.

At four in the morning on the 17th, stood again to the south; but was again obliged to bear up on account of the ice, along the side of which we steered betwixt E. and S.S.W., hauling into every bay or opening, in hopes of finding a passage to the south. But we found every where the ice closed. We had a gentle gale at N.W. with showers of snow. At noon we were, by observation, in the latitude of 55 deg. 16' S. In the evening the weather was clear and serene. In the course of this day we saw many whales, one seal, penguins, some of the white birds, another sort of peterel, which is brown and white, and not much unlike a pintado; and some other sorts already known. We found the skirts of the loose ice to be more broken than usual; and it extended some distance beyond the main field, insomuch that we sailed amongst it the most part of the day; and the high ice islands without us were innumerable. At eight o'clock we sounded, but found no ground with 250 fathoms of line. After this we hauled close upon a wind to the northward, as we could see the field of ice extend as far as N.E. But this happened not to be the northern point; for at eleven o'clock we were obliged to tack to avoid it.

At two o'clock the next morning we stood again to the northward, with the wind at N.W. by W., thinking to weather the ice upon this tack; on which we stood but

two hours, before we found ourselves quite imbayed, being then in latitude 55 deg. 8', longitude 24 deg. 3'. The wind veering more to the north, we tacked and stood to the westward under all the sail we could carry, having a fresh breeze and clear weather, which last was of short duration. For at six o'clock it became hazy, and soon after there was thick fog; the wind veered to the N.E., freshened and brought with it snow and sleet, which froze on the rigging as it fell. We were now enabled to get clear of the field of ice: but at the same time we were carried in amongst the ice islands, in a manner equally dangerous, and which with much difficulty we kept clear of.

Dangerous as it is to sail among these floating rocks (if I may be allowed to call them so) in a thick fog, this, however, is preferable to being entangled with immense fields of ice under the same circumstances. The great danger to be apprehended in this latter case, is the getting fast in the ice; a situation which would be exceedingly alarming. I had two men on board that had been in the Greenland trade; the one of them in a ship that lay nine weeks, and the other in one that lay six weeks, fast in this kind of ice, which they called packed ice. What they called field ice is thicker; and the whole field, be it ever so large, consists of one piece. Whereas this which I call field-ice, from its immense extent, consists of many pieces of various sizes, both in thickness and surface, from thirty or forty feet square to three or four, packed close together, and in places heaped one upon another. This, I am of opinion, would be found too hard for a ship's side, that is not properly armed against it. How long it may have lain, or will lie here, is a point not easily determined. Such ice is found in the Greenland seas all the summer long; and I think it cannot be colder there in the summer, than it is here. Be this as it may, we certainly had no thaw; on the contrary, the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer kept generally below the freezing point, although it was the middle of summer.

It is a general opinion, that the ice I have been speaking of, is formed in bays and rivers. Under this supposition we were led to believe that land was not far distant; and that it even lay to the southward behind the ice, which alone hindered us from approaching to it. Therefore, as we had now sailed above thirty leagues along the edge of the ice, without finding a passage to the south, I determined to run thirty or forty leagues to the east, afterwards endeavour to get to the southward, and, if I met with no land, or other impediment, to get behind the ice, and put the matter out of all manner of dispute. With this view, we kept standing to the N.W., with the wind at N.E. and N., thick foggy weather, with sleet and snow, till six in the evening, when the wind veered to N.W., and we tacked and stood to the eastward, meeting with many islands of ice of different magnitudes, and some loose pieces: The thermometer from 30 to 34; weather very hazy, with sleet and snow, and more sensibly colder than the thermometer seemed to point out, insomuch that the whole crew complained. In order to enable them to support this weather the better, I caused the sleeves of their jackets (which were so short as to expose their arms) to be lengthened with baize; and had a cap made for each man of the same stuff, together with canvas; which proved of great service to them.

Some of our people appearing to have symptoms of the scurvy, the surgeons began to give them fresh wort every day, made from the malt we had on board for that purpose. One man in particular was highly scorbutic; and yet he had been taking the rob of lemon and orange for some time, without being benefited thereby. On the other hand, Captain Furneaux told me, that he had two men, who, though far gone in this disease, were now in a manner entirely cured by it.

We continued standing to the eastward till eight o'clock in the morning of the 21st; when, being in the latitude of 53 deg. 50', and longitude 29 deg. 24' E., we hauled to the south, with the wind at west, a fresh gale and hazy, with snow. In the evening the wind fell and the weather cleared up, so as that we could see a few leagues round us; being in the latitude of 54 deg. 43' S. longitude 29 deg. 30' E.

At ten o'clock, seeing many islands of ice a-head, and the weather coming on foggy, with snow, we wore and stood to the northward, till three in the morning, when we stood again to the south. At eight, the weather cleared up, and the wind came to W.S.W., with which we made all the sail we could to the south; having never less than ten or twelve islands of ice in sight.

Next day we had the wind at S.W. and S.S.W., a gentle gale, with now and then showers of snow and hail. In the morning, being in the latitude of 55 deg. 20' S., and longitude 31 deg. 30' E., we hoisted out a boat to see if there was any current, but found none. Mr Forster, who went in the boat, shot some of the small grey birds before-mentioned, which were of the peterel tribe, and about the size of a small pigeon. Their back, and upper side of their wings, their feet and bills, are of a blue-grey colour. Their bellies, and under side of their wings are white, a little tinged with blue. The upper side of their quill feathers is a dark-blue tinged with black. A streak is formed by feathers nearly of this colour, along the upper parts of the wings, and crossing the back a little above the tail. The end of the tail feathers is also of the same colour. Their bills are much broader than any I have seen of the same tribe; and their tongues are remarkably broad. These blue peterels, as I shall call them, are seen no where but in the southern hemisphere, from about the latitude of 28 deg., and upwards. Thermometer at 33 deg. in the open air, and 32 deg. in the sea at the surface, and at 34-1/2 when drawn, and 6-1/2 minutes in drawing up from 100 fathoms below it, where it had been sixteen minutes.

On the 24th, the wind blew from N.W. to N.E., a gentle gale, fair and cloudy. At noon we were by observation, in the latitude of 56 deg. 31' S, and longitude 31 deg. 19' E., the thermometer at 35. And being near an island of ice, which was about fifty feet high, and 400 fathoms in circuit, I sent the master in the jolly-boat to see if any water run from it. He soon returned with an account that there was not one drop, or any other appearance of thaw. In the evening we sailed through several floats, or fields of loose ice, lying in the direction of S.E. and N.W.; at the same time we had continually several islands of the same composition in sight.

On the 25th, the wind veering round from the N.E., by the east to south, it blew a gentle gale; with which we stood to the W.S.W, and at noon were in the latitude

of 57 deg. 50' S., and longitude 29 deg. 32' E. The weather was fair and cloudy; the air sharp and cold, attended with a hard frost. And, although this was the middle of summer with us, I much question if the day was colder in any part of England. The wind continued at south, blew a fresh gale, fair and cloudy weather, till near noon the next day, when we had clear sun-shine, and found ourselves, by observation, in the latitude of 58 deg. 31' S., longitude 26 deg. 57' E.

In the course of the last twenty-four hours we passed through several fields of broken loose ice. They were in general narrow, but of a considerable length, in the direction of N.W. and S.E. The ice was so close in one, that it would hardly admit the ship through it. The pieces were flat, from four to six or eight inches thick, and appeared of that sort of ice which is generally formed in bays or rivers. Others again were different; the pieces forming various honey-combed branches, exactly like coral rocks, and exhibiting such a variety of figures as can hardly be conceived.

We supposed this ice to have broke from the main field we had lately left; and which I was determined to get to the south of, or behind, if possible, in order to satisfy myself whether or not it joined to any land, as had been conjectured. With this view I kept on to the westward, with a gentle gale at south, and S.S.W., and soon after six o'clock in the evening, we saw some penguins, which occasioned us to sound; but we found no ground with 150 fathoms.

In the morning of the 27th, we saw more loose ice, but not many islands; and those we did see were but small. The day being calm and pleasant, and the sea smooth, we hoisted out a boat, from which Mr Forster shot a penguin and some peterels. These penguins differ not from those seen in other parts of the world, except in some minute particulars distinguishable only by naturalists. Some of the peterels were of the blue sort, but differed from those before-mentioned, in not having a broad bill; and the ends of their tail feathers were tipped with white instead of dark-blue. But whether these were only the distinctions betwixt the male and female, was a matter disputed by our naturalists. We were now in the latitude of 58 deg. 19' S., longitude 24 deg. 39' E., and took the opportunity of the calm, to sound; but found no ground with a line of 220 fathoms. The calm continued till six in the evening, when it was succeeded by a light breeze from the east, which afterwards increased to a fresh gale.

In the morning of the 28th I made the signal to the Adventure to spread four miles on my starboard beam; and in this position we continued sailing W.S.W., until four o'clock in the afternoon, when the hazy weather, attended with snow showers, made it necessary for us to join. Soon after we reefed our top-sails, being surrounded on all sides with islands of ice. In the morning of the 29th we let them out again, and set top-gallant-sails; still continuing our course to the westward, and meeting with several penguins. At noon we were by observation in the latitude of 59 deg. 12', longitude 19 deg. 1' E., which is 3 deg. more to the west than we were when we first fell in with the field of ice; so that it is pretty clear that it joined to no land, as we conjectured.

Having come to a resolution to run as far west as the meridian of Cape Circumcision, provided we met with no impediment, as the distance was not more than eighty leagues,

the wind favourable, and the sea seemed to be pretty clear of ice, I sent on board for Captain Furneaux, to make him acquainted therewith, and after dinner he returned to his ship. At one o'clock we steered for an island of ice, thinking if there were any loose ice round it, to take some on board, and convert it into fresh water. At four we brought-to, close under the lee of the island, where we did not find what we wanted, but saw upon it eighty-six penguins. This piece of ice was about half a mile in circuit, and one hundred feet high and upwards, for we lay for some minutes with every sail becalmed under it. The side on which the penguins were, rose sloping from the sea, so as to admit them to creep up it.

It is a received opinion, that penguins never go far from land, and that the sight of them is a sure indication of its vicinity. The opinion may hold good where there are no ice islands; but where such are, these birds, as well as many others which usually keep near the shores, finding a roosting-place upon these islands, may be brought by them a great distance from any land. It will, however, be said, that they must go on shore to breed, that probably the females were there, and that these are only the males which we saw. Be this as it may, I shall continue to take notice of these birds whenever we see them, and leave every one to judge for himself.

We continued our course to the westward, with a gentle gale at E.N.E., the weather being sometimes tolerably clear, and at other times thick and hazy, with snow. The thermometer for a few days past was from 31 to 36. At nine o'clock the next morning, being the 30th, we shot one of the white birds, upon which we lowered a boat into the water to take it up, and by that means killed a penguin which weighed eleven pounds and a half. The white bird was of the peterel tribe; the bill, which is rather short, is of a colour between black and dark blue, and their legs and feet are blue. I believe them to be the same sort of birds that Bouvet mentions to have seen when he was off Cape Circumcision.

We continued our westerly course till eight o'clock in the evening, when we steered N.W., the point on which I reckoned the above-mentioned cape to bear. At midnight we fell in with loose ice, which soon after obliged us to tack, and stretch to the southward. At half an hour past two o'clock in the morning of the 31st, we stood for it again, thinking to take some on board, but this was found impracticable; for the wind, which had been at N.E, now veered to S.E., and increasing to a fresh gale, brought with it such a sea as made it very dangerous for the ships to remain among the ice. The danger was yet farther increased by discovering an immense field to the north, extending from N.E. by E. to S.W. by W. farther than the eye could reach. As we were not above two or three miles from this, and surrounded by loose ice, there was no time to deliberate. We presently wore; got our tacks on board; hauled to the south, and soon got clear; but not before we had received several hard knocks from the loose pieces, which were of the largest sort, and among which we saw a seal. In the afternoon the wind increased in such a manner, as to oblige us to hand the top-sails, and strike top-gallant-yards. At eight o'clock we tacked and stood to the east till midnight; when being in the latitude of 60 deg. 21' S., longitude 13 deg. 32' E, we stood again to the west.

## 1773 January

Next day, towards noon, the gale abated, so that we could carry close-reefed top-sails. But the weather continued thick and hazy, with sleet and snow, which froze on the rigging as it fell, and ornamented the whole with icicles; the mercury in the thermometer being generally below the freezing point. This weather continued till near noon the next day; at which time we were in the latitude of 59 deg. 12' S.; longitude 9 deg. 45' E.; and here we saw some penguins.

The wind had now veered to the west, and was so moderate, that we could bear two reefs out of the top-sails. In the afternoon, we were favoured with a sight of the moon, whose face we had seen but once since we left the Cape of Good Hope. By this a judgment may be formed of the sort of weather we had since we left that place. We did not fail to seize the opportunity to make several observations of the sun and moon. The longitude deduced from it was 9 deg. 34' 30" E. Mr Kendal's watch, at the same time, giving 10 deg. 6' E., and the latitude was 58 deg. 53' 30" S.

This longitude is nearly the same that is assigned to Cape Circumcision; and at the going down of the sun we were about ninety-five leagues to the south of the latitude it is said to lie in. At this time the weather was so clear, that we might have seen land at fourteen or fifteen leagues distance. It is, therefore very probable, that what Bouvet took for land, was nothing but mountains of ice, surrounded by loose or field-ice. We ourselves were undoubtedly deceived by the ice-hills, the day we first fell in with the field-ice. Nor was it an improbable conjecture, that that ice joined to land. The probability was however now greatly lessened, if not entirely set aside; for the space between the northern edge of the ice, along which we sailed, and our route to the west, when south of it, no where exceeded 100 leagues, and in some places not 60. The clear weather continued no longer than three o'clock the next morning, when it was succeeded by a thick fog, sleet, and snow. The wind also veered to N.E. and blew a fresh gale, with which we stood to S.E. It increased in such a manner, that before noon we were brought under close-reefed top-sails. The wind continued to veer to the north, at last fixed at N.W., and was attended with intervals of clear weather.

Our course was E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N., till noon the next day, when we were in the latitude of 59 deg. 2' S., and nearly under the same meridian as we were when we fell in with the last field of ice, five days before; so that had it remained in the same situation, we must now have been in the middle of it, whereas we did not so much as see any. We cannot suppose that so large a float of ice as this was, could be destroyed in so short a time. It therefore must have drifted to the northward: and this makes it probable that there is no land under this meridian, between the latitude of 55 deg. and 59 deg., where we had supposed some to lie, as mentioned above.

As we were now only sailing over a part of the sea where we had been before, I directed the course E.S.E. in order to get more to the south. We had the advantage of a fresh gale, and the disadvantage of a thick fog; much snow and sleet, which, as usual, froze on our rigging as it fell; so that every rope was covered with the finest transparent

ice I ever saw. This afforded an agreeable sight enough to the eye, but conveyed to the mind an idea of coldness, much greater than it really was; for the weather was rather milder than it had been for some time past, and the sea less encumbered with ice. But the worst was, the ice so clogged the rigging, sails, and blocks, as to make them exceedingly bad to handle. Our people, however, surmounted those difficulties with a steady perseverance, and withstood this intense cold much better than I expected.

We continued to steer to the E.S.E. with a fresh gale at N.W. attended with snow and sleet, till the 8th, when we were in the latitude of 61 deg. 12' S., longitude 31 deg. 47' E. In the afternoon we passed more ice islands than we had seen for several days. Indeed they were now so familiar to us, that they were often passed unnoticed; but more generally unseen on account of the thick weather. At nine o'clock in the evening, we came to one, which had a quantity of loose ice about it. As the wind was moderate, and the weather tolerably fair, we shortened sail, and stood on and off, with a view of taking some on board on the return of light. But at four o'clock in the morning, finding ourselves to leeward of this ice, we bore down to an island to leeward of us; there being about it some loose ice, part of which we saw break off. There we brought-to; hoisted out three boats; and in about five or six hours, took up as much ice as yielded fifteen tons of good fresh water. The pieces we took up were hard, and solid as a rock; some of them were so large, that we were obliged to break them with pick-axes before they could be taken into the boats.

The salt water which adhered to the ice, was so trifling as not to be tasted, and, after it had lain on deck for a short time, entirely drained off; and the water which the ice yielded, was perfectly sweet and well-tasted. Part of the ice we broke in pieces, and put into casks; some we melted in the coppers, and filled up the casks with the water; and some we kept on deck for present use. The melting and stowing away the ice is a little tedious, and takes up some time; otherwise this is the most expeditious way of watering I ever met with.

Having got on board this supply of water, and the Adventure about two-thirds as much (of which we stood in great need,) as we had once broke the ice, I did not doubt of getting more whenever we were in want. I therefore without hesitation directed our course more to the south, with a gentle gale at N.W., attended, as usual, with snow showers. In the morning of the 11th, being then in the latitude of 62 deg. 44' S., longitude 37 deg. E., the variation of the compass was 24 deg. 10' W., and the following morning in the latitude of 64 deg. 12' S., longitude 38 deg. 14' E., by the mean of three compasses, it was no more than 23 deg. 52' W. In this situation we saw some penguins; and being near an island of ice from which several pieces had broken, we hoisted out two boats, and took on board as much as filled all our empty casks, and the Adventure did the same. While this was doing, Mr Forster shot an albatross, whose plumage was of a colour between brown and dark-grey, the head and upper side of the wings rather inclining to black, and it had white eye-brows. We began to see these birds about the time of our first falling in with the ice islands; and some have

accompanied us ever since. These, and the dark-brown sort with a yellow bill, were the only albatrosses that had not now forsaken us.

At four o'clock p.m. we hoisted in the boats, and made sail to the S.E., with a gentle breeze at S. by W., attended with showers of snow.

On the 13th, at two o'clock a. m. it fell calm. Of this we took the opportunity to hoist out a boat, to try the current, which we found to set N.W. near one-third of a mile an hour. At the time of trying the current, a Fahrenheit's thermometer was immersed in the sea 100 fathoms below its surface, where it remained twenty minutes. When it came up, the mercury stood at 32, which is the freezing point. Some little time after, being exposed to the surface of the sea, it rose to 33-1/2, and in the open air to 36. The calm continued till five o'clock in the evening, when it was succeeded by a light breeze from the S. and S.E., with which we stood to the N.E. with all our sails set.

Though the weather continued fair, the sky, as usual, was clouded. However, at nine o'clock the next morning, it was clear; and we were enabled to observe several distances between the sun and moon. The mean result of which gave 39 deg. 30' 30" E. longitude. Mr Kendal's watch at the same time gave 38 deg. 27' 45" which is 1 deg. 2' 45" W. of the observations; whereas, on the 3d instant, it was half a degree E. of them.

In the evening I found the variation by the mean of azimuths taken with Gregory's compass to be 28 deg. 14' 0"

By the mean of six azimuths by one of Dr

Knight's 28 32 0

And by another of Dr Knight's 28 34 0

Our latitude at this time was 63 deg. 57', longitude 39 deg. 38-1/2"

The succeeding morning, the 15th, being then in latitude 63 deg. 33' S., the longitude was observed by the following persons, viz.

Myself, being the mean of six distances of the sun and moon 40 deg. 1' 45" E.

Mr Wales, ditto 39 29 45

Ditto, ditto 39 56 45

Lieutenant Clerke, ditto 39 38 0

Mr Gilbert, ditto 39 48 45

Mr Smith, ditto 39 18 15

————— Mean 39 42 12

Mr Kendal's watch made 38 41 30 which is nearly the same difference as the day before. But Mr Wales and I took each of us six distances of the sun and moon, with the telescopes fixed to our sextants, which brought out the longitude nearly the same as the watch.

The results were as follows:—By Mr Wales, 38 deg. 35' 30", and by me, 38 deg. 36' 45".

It is impossible for me to say whether these or the former are the nearest to the truth; nor can I assign any probable reason for so great a disagreement. We certainly can observe with greater accuracy through the telescope, than with the common sight,



when the ship is sufficiently steady. The use of the telescope is found difficult at first, but a little practice will make it familiar. By the assistance of the watch, we shall be able to discover the greatest error this method of observing the longitude at sea is liable to; which at the greatest does not exceed a degree and a half, and in general will be found to be much less. Such is the improvement navigation has received by the astronomers and mathematical instrument-makers of this age; by the former from the valuable tables they have communicated to the public, under the direction of the Board of Longitude, and contained in the astronomical ephemeris; and by the latter, from the great accuracy they observe in making instruments, without which the tables would, in a great measure, lose their effect. The preceding observations were made by four different sextants, of different workmen. Mine was by Mr Bird; one of Mr Wales's by Mr Dollond; the other and Mr Clerke's by Mr Ramsden; as also Mr Gilbert's and Smith's, who observed with the same instrument.

Five tolerably fine days had now succeeded one another. This, besides giving us an opportunity to make the preceding observations, was very serviceable to us on many other accounts, and came at a very seasonable time. For, having on board a good quantity of fresh water, or ice, which was the same thing, the people were enabled to wash and dry their clothes and linen; a care that can never be enough attended to in all long voyages. The winds during this time blew in gentle gales, and the weather was mild. Yet the mercury in the thermometer never rose above 36; and was frequently as low as the freezing point.

In the afternoon having but little wind, I brought-to under an island of ice, and sent a boat to take up some. In the evening the wind freshened at east, and was attended with snow showers and thick hazy weather, which continued great part of the 16th. As we met with little ice, I stood to the south, close hauled; and at six o'clock in the evening, being in the latitude of 64 deg. 56' S., longitude 39 deg. 35' E. I found the variation by Gregory's compass to be 26 deg. 41' W. At this time the motion of the ship was so great that I could by no means observe with any of Dr Knight's compasses.

As the wind remained invariably fixed at E. and E. by S., I continued to stand to the south; and on the 17th, between eleven and twelve o'clock, we crossed the Antarctic Circle in the longitude of 39 deg. 35' E., for at noon we were by observation in the latitude of 66 deg. 36' 30" S. The weather was now become tolerably clear, so that we could see several leagues round us; and yet we had only seen one island of ice since the morning. But about four p.m. as we were steering to the south, we observed the whole sea in a manner covered with ice, from the direction of S.E., round by the S. to W.

In this space, thirty-eight ice islands, great and small, were seen, besides loose ice in abundance, so that we were obliged to luff for one piece, and bear up for another, and as we continued to advance to the south, it increased in such a manner, that at three quarters past six o'clock, being then in the latitude of 67 deg. 15' S., we could proceed no farther; the ice being entirely closed to the south, in the whole extent from E. to W.S.W., without the least appearance of any opening. This immense field was composed of different kinds of ice; such as high hills, loose or broken pieces packed close

together, and what, I think, Greenlandmen call field-ice. A float of this kind of ice lay to the S.E. of us, of such extent, that I could see no end to it from the mast-head. It was sixteen or eighteen feet high at least; and appeared of a pretty equal height and surface. Here we saw many whales playing about the ice, and for two days before had seen several flocks of the brown and white pintadoes, which we named Antarctic peterels, because they seem to be natives of that region. They are, undoubtedly, of the peterel tribe; are in every respect shaped like the pintadoes, differing only from them in colour. The head and fore-part of the body of these are brown; and the hind-part of the body, tail, and the ends of the wings, are white. The white peterel also appeared in greater numbers than before; some few dark-grey albatrosses, and our constant companion the blue peterel. But the common pintadoes had quite disappeared, as well as many other sorts, which are common in lower latitudes.

### **Chapter III. Sequel of the Search for a Southern Continent, between the Meridian of the Cape of Good Hope and New Zealand; with an Account of the Separation of the two Ships, and the Arrival of the Resolution in Dusky Bay.**

#### **1773 January**

After meeting with this ice, I did not think it was at all prudent to persevere in getting farther to the south; especially as the summer was already half spent, and it would have taken up some time to have got round the ice, even supposing it to have been practicable; which, however, is doubtful. I therefore came to a resolution to proceed directly in search of the land lately discovered by the French. And, as the winds still continued at E. by S., I was obliged to return to the north, over some part of the sea I had already made myself acquainted with, and, for that reason, wished to have avoided. But this was not to be done, as our course made good, was little better than north. In the night the wind increased to a strong gale, attended with sleet and snow, and obliged us to double-reef our top-sails. About noon the next day the gale abated, so that we could bear all our reefs out; but the wind still remained in its old quarter.

In the evening, being in the latitude of 64 deg. 12' S., longitude 40 deg. 15' E., a bird, called by us in my former voyage Port Egmont Hen, (on account of the great plenty of them at Port Egmont in Falkland Isles,) came hovering several times over the ship, and then left us in the direction of N.E. They are a short thick bird, about the size of a large crow, of a dark-brown or chocolate colour, with a whitish streak under each wing, in the shape of a half-moon. I have been told that these birds are found in

great plenty at the Fero Isles, North of Scotland; and that they never go far from land. Certain it is, I never before saw them above forty leagues off; but I do not remember ever seeing fewer than two together; whereas here was but one, which, with the islands of ice, may have come a good way from land.

At nine o'clock, the wind veering to E.N.E., we tacked and stood to the S.S.E, but at four in the morning of the 20th, it returned back to its old point, and we resumed our northerly course. One of the above birds was seen this morning, probably the same we saw the night before, as our situation was not much altered. As the day advanced, the gale increased, attended with thick hazy weather, sleet, and snow, and at last obliged us to close- reef our top-sails, and strike top-gallant-yards. But in the evening the wind abated so as to admit us to carry whole top-sails, and top-gallant- yards aloft. Hazy weather, with snow and sleet continued.

In the afternoon of the 21st, being in the latitude of 62 deg. 24' S., longitude 42 deg. 19' E., we saw a white albatross with black tipped wings, and a pintado bird. The wind was now at S. and S.W., a fresh gale. With this we steered N.E., against a very high sea, which did not indicate the vicinity of land in that quarter; and yet it was there we were to expect it. The next day we had intervals of fair weather, the wind was moderate, and we carried our studding-sails. In the morning of the 23d, we were in latitude of 60 deg. 27' S., longitude 45 deg. 33' E. Snow showers continued, and the weather was so cold, that the water in our water-vessels on deck had been frozen for several preceding nights.

Having clear weather at intervals, I spread the ships a-breast four miles from each other, in order the better to discover any thing that might lie in our way. We continued to sail in this manner till six o'clock in the evening, when hazy weather and snow showers made it necessary for us to join.

We kept our course to N.E. till eight o'clock in the morning of the 25th, when the wind having veered round to N.E. by E., by the W. and N. we tacked, and stood to N.W. The wind was fresh, and yet we made but little way against a high northerly sea. We now began to see some of that sort of peterels so well known to sailors by the name of sheerwaters, latitude 58 deg. 10', longitude 50 deg. 54' E. In the afternoon the wind veered to the southward of east; and at eight o'clock in the evening, it increased to a storm, attended with thick hazy weather, sleet and snow.

During night we went under our fore-sail and main-top-sail close-reefed: At daylight the next morning, added to them the fore and mizen top-sails. At four o'clock it fell calm; but a prodigious high sea from the N.E., and a complication of the worst of weather, viz. snow, sleet, and rain, continued, together with the calm, till nine o'clock in the evening. Then the weather cleared up, and we got a breeze at S.E. by S. With this we steered N. by E. till eight o'clock the next morning, being the 27th, when I spread the ships, and steered N.N.E., all sails set, having a fresh breeze at S. by W., and clear weather.

At noon we were by observation, in the latitude of 56 deg. 28' S., and, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the sun and moon appearing at intervals, their distances were observed by the following persons; and the longitude resulting therefrom was,

By Mr Wales, (the mean of two sets) 50 deg. 59' East. Lieutenant Clerke 51 11 Mr Gilbert 50 14 Mr Smith 50 50 Mr Kendal's watch 50 50

At six o'clock in the evening, being in latitude 56 deg. 9' S., I now made signal to the Adventure to come under my stern; and at eight o'clock the next morning sent her to look out on my starboard beam, having at this time a fresh gale at west and pretty clear weather. But this was not of long duration; for, at two in the afternoon, the sky became cloudy and hazy, the wind increased to a fresh gale, blew in squalls attended with snow, sleet, and drizzling rain. I now made signal to the Adventure to come under my stern, and took another reef in each top-sail. At eight o'clock I hauled up the main-sail, and run all night under the foresail, and two top-sails; our course being N.N.E. and N.E. by N., with a strong gale at N.W.

The 29th, at noon, we observed in latitude 52 deg. 29' S., the weather being fair and tolerably clear. But in the afternoon, it again became very thick and hazy with rain; and the gale increased in such a manner as to oblige us to strike top-gallant yards, close-reef and hand the top-sails. We spent part of the night, which was very dark and stormy, in making a tack to the S.W., and in the morning of the 30th, stood again to the N.E., wind at N.W. and N., a very fresh gale; which split several of our small sails. This day no ice was seen, probably owing to the thick hazy weather. At eight o'clock in the evening we tacked and stood to the westward, under our courses; but as the sea run high, we made our course no better than S.S.W.

At four o'clock the next morning, the gale had a little abated; and the wind had backed to W. by S. We again stood to the northward, under courses and double-reefed top-sails, having a very high sea from the N.N.W., which gave us but little hopes of finding the land we were in search of. At noon we were in the latitude of 50 deg. 56' S., longitude 56 deg. 48' E., and presently after we saw two islands of ice. One of these we passed very near, and found that it was breaking or falling to pieces, by the cracking noise it made; which was equal to the report of a four-pounder. There was a good deal of loose ice about it; and had the weather been favourable, I should have brought-to, and taken some up. After passing this, we saw no more, till we returned again to the south.

## 1773 February

Hazy gloomy weather continued, and the wind remained invariably fixed at N.W., so that we could make our course no better than N.E. by N., and this course we held till four o'clock in the afternoon of the first of February. Being then in the latitude of 48 deg. 30', and longitude 58 deg. 7' E., nearly in the meridian of the island of Mauritius, and where we were to expect to find the land said to be discovered by the French, of which at this time we saw not the least signs, we bore away east.

I now made the signal to the Adventure to keep at the distance of four miles on my starboard beam. At half an hour past six, Captain Furneaux made the signal to speak with me; and upon his coming under my stern, he informed me that he had just seen a large float of sea or rock weed, and about it several birds (divers.) These were certainly signs of the vicinity of land; but whether it lay to the east or west, was not possible for us to know. My intention was to have got into this latitude four or five degrees of longitude to the west of the meridian we were in, and then to have carried on my researches to the east. But the west and north-west winds we had had the five preceding days, prevented me from putting this in execution.

The continual high sea we had lately had from the N.E., N., N.W. and W., left me no reason to believe that land of any extent lay to the West. We therefore continued to steer to the east, only lying-to a few hours in the night, and in the morning resumed our course again, four miles north and south from each other; the hazy weather not permitting us to spread farther. We passed two or three small pieces of rock weed, and saw two or three birds known by the name of egg-birds; but saw no other signs of land. At noon we observed in latitude 48 deg. 36' S., longitude 59 deg. 35' E. As we could only see a few miles farther to the south, and as it was not impossible that there might be land not far off in that direction, I gave orders to steer S. 1/2 E., and made the signal for the Adventure to follow, she being by this movement thrown a-stern: The weather continuing hazy till half an hour past six o'clock in the evening, when it cleared up so as to enable us to see about five leagues round us.

Being now in the latitude of 49 deg. 13' S., without having the least signs of land, I wore and stood again to the eastward, and soon after spoke with Captain Furneaux. He told me that he thought the land was to the N.W. of us; as he had, at one time, observed the sea to be smooth when the wind blew in that direction. Although this was not conformable to the remarks we had made on the sea, I resolved to clear up the point, if the wind would admit of my getting to the west in any reasonable time.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 3d, being in the latitude of 48 deg. 56' S. longitude 60 deg. 47' E., and upwards of 8 deg. to the east of the meridian of the Mauritius, I began to despair of finding land to the east; and as the wind had now veered to the north, resolved to search for it to the west. I accordingly tacked and stood to the west with a fresh gale. This increased in such a manner, that, before night, we were reduced to our two courses; and, at last, obliged to lie-to under the fore-sails, having a prodigious high sea from W.N.W., notwithstanding the height of the gale was from N. by W. At three o'clock the next morning, the gale abating, we made sail, and continued to ply to the west till ten o'clock in the morning of the 6th.

At this time, being in the latitude of 48 deg. 6' S., longitude 58 deg. 22' E., the wind seemingly fixed at W.N.W., and seeing no signs of meeting with land, I gave over plying, and bore away east a little southerly: Being satisfied, that if there is any land hereabout, it can only be an isle of no great extent. And it was just as probable I might have found it to the E. as to the W.

While we were plying about here we took every opportunity to observe the variation of the compass, and found it to be from 27 deg. 50' to 30 deg. 26' W. Probably the mean of the two extremes, viz. 29 deg. 4', is the nearest the truth, as it nearly agrees with the variation observed on board the Adventure. In making these observations, we found that, when the sun was on the larboard side of the ship, the variation was the least; and when on the starboard side, the greatest. This was not the first time we had made this observation, without being able to account for it. At four o'clock in the morning of the 7th, I made the Adventure's signal to keep at the distance of four miles on my starboard beam; and continued to steer E.S.E. This being a fine day, I had all our men's bedding and clothes spread on deck to air; and the ship cleaned and smoked betwixt decks. At noon I steered a point more to the south, being then in the latitude of 45 deg. 49' S., longitude 61 deg. 48' E. At six o'clock in the evening, I called in the Adventure; and at the same time took several azimuths, which gave the variation 31 deg. 28'.W. These observations could not be taken with the greatest accuracy, on account of the rolling of the ship, occasioned by a very high westerly swell.

The preceding evening, three Port Egmont hens were seen; this morning another appeared. In the evening, and several times in the night, penguins were heard; and, at daylight in the morning of the 8th, several of these were seen; and divers of two sorts, seemingly such as are usually met with on the coast of England. This occasioned us to sound, but we found no ground with a line of 210 fathoms. Our latitude now was 49 deg. 53' S., and longitude 63 deg. 39' E. This was at eight o'clock. By this time the wind had veered round by the N.E. to E., blew a brisk gale, and was attended with hazy weather, which soon after turned to a thick fog; and, at the same time, the wind shifted to N.E.

I continued to keep the wind on the larboard tack, and to fire a gun every hour till noon; when I made the signal to tack, and tacked accordingly. But, as neither this signal, nor any of the former, was answered by the Adventure, we had but too much reason to think that a separation had taken place; though we were at a loss to tell how it had been effected. I had directed Captain Furneaux, in case he was separated from me, to cruise three days in the place where he last saw me. I therefore continued making short boards, and firing half-hour guns, till the 9th in the afternoon, when, the weather having cleared up, we could see several leagues round us, and found that the Adventure was not within the limits of our horizon. At this time we were about two or three leagues to the eastward of the situation we were in when we last saw her; and were standing to the westward with a very strong gale at N.N.W., accompanied with a great sea from the same direction. This, together, with an increase of wind, obliged us to lie-to till eight o'clock the next morning, during which time we saw nothing of the Adventure, notwithstanding the weather was pretty clear, and we had kept firing guns, and burning false fires, all night. I therefore gave over looking for her, made sail, and steered S.E., with a very fresh gale at W. by N., accompanied with a high sea from the same direction.

While we were beating about here; we frequently saw penguins and divers, which made us conjecture the land was not far off; but in what direction it was not possible for us to tell. As we advanced to the south, we lost the penguins, and most of the divers; and, as usual, met with abundance of albatrosses, blue peterels, sheer-waters, &c.

The 11th, at noon, and in the latitude of 51 deg. 15' S., longitude 67 deg. 20' E., we again met with penguins: and saw an egg bird, which we also look upon to be a sign of the vicinity of land. I continued to steer to the S.E., with a fresh gale in the north-west quarter, attended with a long hollow swell, and frequent showers of rain, hail, and snow. The 12th, in the morning, being in the latitude of 52 deg. 32' S., longitude 69 deg. 47' E., the variation was 31 deg. 38' W. In the evening, in the latitude of 53 deg. 7' S., longitude 70 deg. 50' E., it was 32 deg. 33'; and, the next morning, in the latitude of 53 deg. 37' S., longitude 72 deg. 10', it was 33 deg. 8' W. Thus far we had continually a great number of penguins about the ship, which seemed to be different from those we had seen near the ice; being smaller, with reddish bills and brownish heads. The meeting with so many of these birds, gave us some hopes of finding land, and occasioned various conjectures about its situation. The great westerly swell, which still continued, made it improbable that land of any considerable extent lay to the west. Nor was it very probable that any lay to the north; as we were only about 160 leagues to the south of Tasman's track in 1642; and I conjectured that Captain Furneaux would explore this place; which accordingly happened. In the evening we saw a Port Egmont hen, which flew away in the direction of N.E. by E., and the next morning a seal was seen; but no penguins. In the evening, being in the latitude of 55 deg. 49' S., longitude 75 deg. 52' E., the variation was 34 deg. 48' W., and, in the evening of the 15th, in latitude 57 deg. 2' S., longitude 79 deg. 56' E., it was 38 deg. W. Five seals were seen this day, and a few penguins; which occasioned us to sound, without finding any bottom, with a line of 150 fathoms.

At day-light in the morning of the 16th, we saw an island of ice to the northward; for which we steered, in order to take some on board; but the wind shifting to that direction, hindered us from putting this in execution. At this time we were in the latitude of 57 deg. 8' S., longitude 80 deg. 59' E., and had two islands of ice in sight. This morning we saw one penguin, which appeared to be of the same sort which we had formerly seen near the ice. But we had now been so often deceived by these birds, that we could no longer look upon them, nor indeed upon any other oceanic birds, which frequent high latitudes, as sure signs of the vicinity of land.

The wind continued not long at north, but veered to E. by N.E., and blew a gentle gale, with which we stood to the southward; having frequent showers of sleet and snow. But, in the night, we had fair weather, and a clear serene sky; and, between midnight and three o'clock in the morning, lights were seen in the heavens, similar to those in the northern hemisphere, known by the name of Aurora Borealis, or Northern Lights; but I never heard of the Aurora Australia been seen before. The officer of the watch observed that it sometimes broke out in spiral rays, and in a circular form; then its

light was very strong, and its appearance beautiful. He could not perceive it had any particular direction; for it appeared, at various times, in different parts of the heavens, and diffused its light throughout the whole atmosphere.

At nine in the morning, we bore down to an island of ice which we reached by noon. It was full half a mile in circuit, and two hundred feet high at least, though very little loose ice about it. But while we were considering whether or no we should hoist out our boats to take some up, a great quantity broke from the island. Upon this we hoisted out our boats, and went to work to get some on board. The pieces of ice, both great and small, which broke from the island, I observed, drifted fast to the westward; that is, they left the island in that direction, and were, in a few hours, spread over a large space of sea. This, I have no doubt, was caused by a current setting in that direction. For the wind could have but little effect upon the ice; especially as there was a large hollow swell from the west. This circumstance greatly retarded our taking up ice. We, however, made a shift to get on board about nine or ten tons before eight o'clock, when we hoisted in the boats and made sail to the east, inclining to the south, with a fresh gale at south; which, soon after, veered to S.S.W. and S.W., with fair but cloudy weather. This course brought us among many ice isles; so that it was necessary to proceed with great caution. In the night the mercury in the thermometer fell two degrees below the freezing point; and the water in the scuttle casks on deck was frozen. As I have not taken notice of the thermometer of late, I shall now observe, that, as we advanced to the north, the mercury gradually rose to 45, and fell again, as we advanced to the south, to what is above-mentioned; nor did it rise, in the middle of the day, to above 34 or 35.

In the morning of the 18th, being in the latitude of 57 deg. 54' S., longitude 83 deg. 14' E., the variation was 39 deg. 33' W. In the evening, in latitude 58 deg. 2' S., longitude 84 deg. 35' E., it was only 37 deg. 8' W., which induced me to believe it was decreasing. But in the evening of the 20th, in the latitude of 58 deg. 47' S., longitude 90 deg. 56' E., I took nine azimuths, with Dr Knight's compass, which gave the variation 40 deg. 7', and nine others, with Gregory's, which gave 40 deg. 15' W.

This day, at noon, being nearly in the latitude and longitude just mentioned, we thought we saw land to the S.W. The appearance was so strong that we doubted not it was there in reality, and tacked to work up to it accordingly; having a light breeze at south, and clear weather. We were, however, soon undeceived, by finding that it was only clouds; which, in the evening, entirely disappeared, and left us a clear horizon, so that we could see a considerable way round us; in which space nothing was to be seen but ice islands.

In the night the Aurora Australis made a very brilliant and luminous appearance. It was seen first in the east, a little above the horizon; and, in a short time, spread over the whole heavens.

The 21st, in the morning, having little wind and a smooth sea, two favourable circumstances for taking up ice, I steered for the largest ice island before us, which we reached by noon. At this time, we were in the latitude of 59 deg. S., longitude 92



deg. 30' E.; having about two hours before seen three or four penguins. Finding here a good quantity of loose ice, I ordered two boats out, and sent them to take some on board. While this was doing, the island, which was not less than half a mile in circuit, and three or four hundred feet high above the surface of the sea, turned nearly bottom up. Its height, by this circumstance, was neither increased nor diminished apparently. As soon as we had got on board as much ice as we could dispose of, we hoisted in the boats, and made sail to the S.E., with a gentle breeze at N. by E., attended with showers of snow, and dark gloomy weather. At this time we had but few ice islands in sight, but, the next day, seldom less than twenty or thirty were seen at once.

The wind gradually veered to the east; and, at last, fixing at E. by S., blew a fresh gale. With this we stood to the south, till eight o'clock in the evening of the 23d; at which time we were in the latitude of 61 deg. 52' S., longitude 95 deg. 2' E. We now tacked and spent the night, which was exceedingly stormy, thick, and hazy, with sleet and snow, in making short boards. Surrounded on every side with danger, it was natural for us to wish for day-light. This, when it came, served only to increase our apprehensions, by exhibiting to our view those huge mountains of ice, which in the night we had passed without seeing.

These unfavourable circumstances, together with dark nights, at this advanced season of the year, quite discouraged me from putting in execution a resolution I had taken of crossing the Antarctic Circle once more. Accordingly, at four o'clock in the morning, we stood to the north, with a very hard gale at E.S.E., accompanied with snow and sleet, and a very high sea from the same point, which made great destruction among the ice islands. This circumstance, far from being of any advantage to us, greatly increased the number of pieces we had to avoid. The large pieces which break from the ice islands, are much more dangerous than the islands themselves. The latter are so high out of water, that we can generally see them, unless the weather be very thick and dark, before we are very near them. Whereas the others cannot be seen in the night, till they are under the ship's bows. These dangers were, however, now become so familiar to us, that the apprehensions they caused were never of long duration; and were, in some measure, compensated both by the seasonable supplies of fresh water these ice islands afforded us, (without which we must have been greatly distressed,) and also by their very romantic appearance, greatly heightened by the foaming and dashing of the waves into the curious holes and caverns which are formed in many of them; the whole exhibiting a view which at once filled the mind with admiration and horror, and can only be described by the hand of an able painter.

Towards the evening the gale abated, and in the night we had two or three hours calm. This was succeeded by a light breeze at west, with which we steered east, under all the sail we could set, meeting with many ice islands.

This night we saw a Port Egmont hen; and next morning, being the 25th, another. We had lately seen but few birds; and those were albatrosses, sheer-waters, and blue peterels. It is remarkable that we did not see one of either the white or Antarctic peterels, since we came last amongst the ice. Notwithstanding the wind kept at W.

and N.W. all day, we had a very high sea from the east, by which we concluded that no land could be near in that direction. In the evening, being in the latitude 60 deg. 51', longitude 95 deg. 41' E., the variation was 43 deg. 6' W., and the next morning, being the 26th, having advanced about a degree and a half more to the east, it was 41 deg. 30', both being determined by several azimuths.

We had fair weather all the afternoon, but the wind was unsettled, veering round by the north to the east. With this we stood to the S.E. and E., till three o'clock in the afternoon; when, being in the latitude of 61 deg. 21' S., longitude 97 deg. 7', we tacked and stood to the northward and eastward as the wind kept veering to the south. This, in the evening, increased to a strong gale, blew in squalls, attended with snow and sleet, and thick hazy weather, which soon brought us under our close-reefed top-sails.

Between eight in the morning of the 26th, and noon the next day, we fell in among several islands of ice; from whence such vast quantities had broken as to cover the sea all round us, and render sailing rather dangerous. However, by noon, we were clear of it all. In the evening the wind abated, and veered to S.W. but the weather did not clear up till the next morning, when we were able to carry all our sails, and met with but very few islands of ice to impede us. Probably the late gale had destroyed a great number of them. Such a very large hollow sea had continued to accompany the wind as it veered from E. to S.W. that I was certain no land of considerable extent could lie within 100 or 150 leagues of our situation between these two points.

The mean height of the thermometer at noon, for some days past, was at about 35, which is something higher than it usually was in the same latitude about a month or five weeks before, consequently the air was something warmer. While the weather was really warm, the gales were not only stronger, but more frequent, with almost continual misty, dirty, wet weather. The very animals we had on board felt its effects. A sow having in the morning farrowed nine pigs, every one of them was killed by the cold before four o'clock in the afternoon, notwithstanding all the care we could take of them. From the same cause, myself as well as several of my people, had fingers and toes chilblained. Such is the summer weather we enjoyed!

## 1773 March

The wind continued unsettled, veering from the south to the west, and blew a fresh gale till the evening. Then it fell little wind, and soon after a breeze sprung up at north, which quickly veered to N.E. and N.E. by E., attended with a thick fog, snow, sleet, and rain. With this wind and weather we kept on to the S.E., till four o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, being the first of March, when it fell calm, which continued for near twenty-four hours. We were now in the latitude of 60 deg. 36' S., longitude 107 deg. 54', and had a prodigious high swell from the S.W., and, at the same time, another from the S. or S.S.E. The dashing of the one wave against the other, made the ship both roll and pitch exceedingly; but at length the N.W. swell prevailed. The calm continued till noon the next day, when it was succeeded by a gentle breeze from

S.E., which afterwards increased and veered to S.W. With this we steered N.E. by E., and E. by N., under all the sail we could set.

In the afternoon of the 3d, being in latitude 60 deg. 13', longitude 110 deg. 18', the variation was 39 deg. 4' W. But the observations, by which this was determined, were none of the best, being obliged to make use of such as we could get, during the very few and short intervals when the sun appeared. A few penguins were seen this day, but not so many islands of ice as usual. The weather was also milder, though very changeable; thermometer from 36 to 38. We continued to have a N.W. swell, although the wind was unsettled, veering to N.W. by the W. and N., attended with hazy sleet and drizzling rain.

We prosecuted our course to the east, inclining to the south, till three o'clock in the afternoon of the 4th, when, (being in the latitude of 60 deg. 37', longitude 113 deg. 24') the wind shifting at once to S.W. and S.W. by S., I gave orders to steer E. by N.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  N. But in the night we steered E.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  S. in order to have the wind, which was at S.S.W., more upon the beam, the better to enable us to stand back, in case we fell in with any danger in the dark. For we had not so much time to spare to allow us to lie-to.

In the morning of the 5th, we steered E. by N., under all the sail we could set, passing one ice island and many small pieces, and at nine o'clock the wind, which of late had not remained long upon any one point, shifted all at once to east, and blew a gentle gale. With this, we stood to the north, at which time we were in the latitude of 60 deg. 44' S., and longitude 116 deg. 50' E. The latitude was determined by the meridian altitude of the sun, which appeared, now and then, for a few minutes, till three in the afternoon. Indeed the sky was, in general, so cloudy, and the weather so thick and hazy, that we had very little benefit of sun or moon; very seldom seeing the face of either the one or the other. And yet, even under these circumstances, the weather, for some days past, could not be called very cold. It, however, had not the least pretension to be called summer weather, according to my ideas of summer in the northern hemisphere, as far as 60 deg. of latitude, which is nearly as far north as I have been.

In the evening we had three islands of ice in sight, all of them large; especially one, which was larger than any we had yet seen. The side opposed to us seemed to be a mile in extent; if so, it could not be less than three in circuit. As we passed it in the night, a continual cracking was heard, occasioned, no doubt, by pieces breaking from it. For, in the morning of the 6th, the sea, for some distance round it, was covered with large and small pieces; and the island itself did not appear so large as it had done the evening before. It could not be less than 100 feet high; yet such was the impetuous force and height of the waves which were broken against it, by meeting with such a sudden resistance, that they rose considerably higher. In the evening we were in latitude of 59 deg. 58' S., longitude 118 deg. 39' E. The 7th, the wind was variable in the N.E. and S.E. quarters, attended with snow and sleet till the evening. Then the weather became fair, the sky cleared up, and the night was remarkably pleasant, as well as the morning

of the next day; which, for the brightness of the sky, and serenity and mildness of the weather, gave place to none we had seen since we left the Cape of Good Hope. It was such as is little known in this sea; and to make it still more agreeable, we had not one island of ice in sight. The mercury in the thermometer rose to 40. Mr Wales and the master made some observations of the moon and stars, which satisfied us, that, when our latitude was 59 deg. 44', our longitude was 121 deg. 9'. At three o'clock in the afternoon, the calm was succeeded by a breeze at S.E. The sky, at the same time, was suddenly obscured, and seemed to presage an approaching storm, which accordingly happened. For, in the evening, the wind shifted to south, blew in squalls, attended with sleet and rain, and a prodigious high sea. Having nothing to take care of but ourselves, we kept two or three points from the wind, and run at a good rate to the E.N.E. under our two courses, and close-reefed topsails.

The gale continued till the evening of the 10th. Then it abated; the wind shifted to the westward; and we had fair weather, and but little wind, during the night; attended with a sharp frost. The next morning, being in the latitude of 57 deg. 56', longitude 130 deg., the wind shifted to N.E., and blew a fresh gale, with which we stood S.E., having frequent showers of snow and sleet, and a long hollow swell from S.S.E. and S.E. by S. This swell did not go down till two days after the wind which raised it had not only ceased to blow, but had shifted, and blown fresh at opposite points, good part of the time. Whoever attentively considers this, must conclude, that there can be no land to the south, but what must be at a great distance.

Notwithstanding so little was to be expected in that quarter, we continued to stand to the south till three o'clock in the morning of the 12th, when we were stopped by a calm; being then in the latitude of 58 deg. 56' S., longitude 131 deg. 26' E. After a few hours calm, a breeze sprung up at west, with which we steered east. The S.S.E. swell having gone down, was succeeded by another from N.W. by W. The weather continued mild all this day, and the mercury rose to 39-1/2. In the evening it fell calm, and continued so till three o'clock in the morning of the 13th, when we got the wind at E. and S.E., a fresh breeze attended with snow and sleet. In the afternoon it became fair, and the wind veered round to the S. and S.S.W. In the evening, being in the latitude of 58 deg. 59', longitude 134 deg., the weather was so clear in the horizon, that we could see many leagues round us. We had but little wind during the night, some showers of snow, and a very sharp frost. As the day broke, the wind freshened at S.E. and S.S.E.; and soon after, the sky cleared up, and the weather became clear and serene; but the air continued cold, and the mercury in the thermometer rose only one degree above the freezing point.

The clear weather gave Mr Wales an opportunity to get some observations of the sun and moon. Their results reduced to noon, when the latitude was 58 deg. 22' S., gave us 136 deg. 22' E. longitude. Mr Kendal's watch at the same time gave 134 deg. 42'; and that of Mr Arnold the same. This was the first and only time they pointed out the same longitude since we left England. The greatest difference, however, between them, since we left the Cape, had not much exceeded two degrees.

The moderate, and I might almost say, pleasant weather, we had, at times, for the last two or three days, made me wish I had been a few degrees of latitude farther south; and even tempted me to incline our course that way. But we soon had weather which convinced us that we were full far enough; and that the time was approaching, when these seas were not to be navigated without enduring intense cold; which, by the bye, we were pretty well used to. In the afternoon, the serenity of the sky was presently obscured: The wind veered round by the S.W. to W., and blew in hard squalls, attended with thick and heavy showers of hail and snow, which continually covered our decks, sails, and rigging, till five o'clock in the evening of the 15th. At this time, the wind abated, and shifted to S.E.; the sky cleared up; and the evening was so serene and clear, that we could see many leagues round us; the horizon being the only boundary to our sight.

We were now in the latitude of 59 deg. 17' S., longitude 140 deg. 12' E., and had such a large hollow swell from W.S.W., as assured us that we had left no land behind us in that direction. I was also well assured that no land lay to the south on this side 60 deg. of latitude. We had a smart frost during the night, which was curiously illuminated with the southern lights.

At ten o'clock in the morning of the 16th, (which was as soon as the sun appeared,) in the latitude of 58 deg. 51' S., our longitude was 144 deg. 10' E. This good weather was, as usual, of short duration. In the afternoon of this day, we had again thick snow showers; but, at intervals, it was tolerably clear; and, in the evening being in the latitude of 58 deg. 58' S., longitude 144 deg. 37' E., I found the variation by several azimuths to be 31' E.

I was not a little pleased with being able to determine, with so much precision, this point of the Line, in which the compass has no variation. For I look upon half a degree as next to nothing; so that the intersection of the latitude and longitude just mentioned, may be reckoned the point without any sensible error. At any rate, the Line can only pass a very small matter west of it.

I continued to steer to the east, inclining to the south, with a fresh gale at S.W., till five o'clock the next morning, when, being in the latitude of 59 deg. 7' S., longitude 146 deg. 53' E., I bore away N.E., and, at noon, north, having come to a resolution to quit the high southern latitudes, and to proceed to New Zealand to look for the Adventure, and to refresh my people. I had also some thoughts, and even a desire to visit the east coast of Van Diemen's Land, in order to satisfy myself if it joined the coast of New South Wales.

In the night of the 17th, the wind shifted to N.W., and blew in squalls, attended with thick hazy weather and rain. This continued all the 18th, in the evening of which day, being in the latitude of 56 deg. 15' S., longitude 150 deg., the sky cleared up, and we found the variation by several azimuths to be 13 deg. 30' E. Soon after, we hauled up, with the log, a piece of rock-weed, which was in a state of decay, and covered with barnacles. In the night the southern lights were very bright.

The next morning we saw a seal; and towards noon, some penguins, and more rock-weed, being at this time in the latitude of 55 deg. 1', longitude 152 deg. 1' E. In the latitude of 54 deg. 4', we also saw a Port Egmont hen, and some weed. Navigators have generally looked upon all these to be certain signs of the vicinity of land; I cannot, however, support this opinion. At this time we knew of no land, nor is it even probable that there is any, nearer than New Holland, or Van Diemen's Land, from which we were distant 260 leagues. We had, at the same time, several porpoises playing about us; into one of which Mr Cooper struck a harpoon; but as the ship was running seven knots, it broke its hold, after towing it some minutes, and before we could deaden the ship's way.

As the wind, which continued between the north and the west, would not permit me to touch at Van Diemen's Land, I shaped my course to New Zealand; and, being under no apprehensions of meeting with any danger, I was not backward in carrying sail, as well by night as day, having the advantage of a very strong gale, which was attended with hazy rainy weather, and a very large swell from the W. and W.S.W. We continued to meet with, now and then, a seal, Port Egmont hens, and sea-weed.

On the morning of the 22d, the wind shifted to south, and brought with it fair weather. At noon, we found ourselves in the latitude of 49 deg. 55', longitude 159 deg. 28', having a very large swell out of the S.W. For the three days past, the mercury in the thermometer had risen to 46, and the weather was quite mild. Seven or eight degrees of latitude had made a surprising difference in the temperature of the air, which we felt with an agreeable satisfaction.

We continued to advance to the N.E. at a good rate, having a brisk gale between the S. and E.; meeting with seals, Port Egmont hens, egg birds, sea-weed, &c. and having constantly a very large swell from the S.W. At ten o'clock in the morning of the 25th, the land of New Zealand was seen from the mast-head; and at noon, from the deck; extending from N.E. by E. to E., distant ten leagues. As I intended to put into Dusky Bay, or any other port I could find, on the southern part of Tavai Poenammoo, we steered in for the land, under all the sail we could carry, having the advantage of a fresh gale at W., and tolerably clear weather. This last was not of long duration; for, at half an hour after four o'clock, the land, which was not above four miles distant, was in a manner wholly obscured in a thick haze. At this time, we were before the entrance of a bay, which I had mistaken for Dusky Bay, being deceived by some islands that lay in the mouth of it.

Fearing to run, in thick weather, into a place to which we were all strangers, and seeing some breakers and broken ground a-head, I tacked in twenty-five fathom water, and stood out to sea with the wind at N.W. This bay lies on the S.E. side of Cape West, and may be known by a white cliff on one of the isles which lies in the entrance of the bay. This part of the coast I did not see, but at a great distance, in my former voyage; and we now saw it under so many disadvantageous circumstances, that the less I say about it, the fewer mistakes I shall make. We stood out to sea, under close-reefed top-sails and courses, till eleven o'clock at night; when we wore and stood to

the northward, having a very high and irregular sea. At five o'clock next morning, the gale abated, and we bore up for the land; at eight o'clock, the West Cape bore E. by N.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  N., for which we steered, and entered Dusky Bay about noon. In the entrance of it, we found 44 fathoms water, a sandy bottom, the West Cape bearing S.S.E., and Five Fingers Point, or the north point of the bay, north. Here we had a great swell rolling in from the S.W. The depth of water decreased to 40 fathoms, afterwards we had no ground with 60. We were, however, too far advanced to return; and therefore stood on, not doubting but that we should find anchorage. For in this bay we were all strangers; in my former voyage, having done no more than discover and name it.

After running about two leagues up the bay, and passing several of the isles which lay in it, I brought-to, and hoisted out two boats; one of which I sent away with an officer round a point on the larboard hand to look for anchorage. This he found, and signified the same by signal. We then followed with the ship, and anchored in 50 fathoms water, so near the shore as to reach it with an hawser. This was on Friday the 26th of March, at three in the afternoon, after having been 117 days at sea; in which time we had sailed 3600 leagues, without having once sight of land.

After such a long continuance at sea, in a high southern latitude, it is but reasonable to think that many of my people must be ill of the scurvy. The contrary, however, happened. Mention hath already been made of sweet wort being given to such as were scorbutic. This had so far the desired effect, that we had only one man on board that could be called very ill of this disease; occasioned chiefly, by a bad habit of body, and a complication of other disorders. We did not attribute the general good state of health in the crew, wholly to the sweet wort, but to the frequent airing and sweetening the ship by fires, &c. We must also allow portable broth, and sour kroust, to have had some share in it. This last can never be enough recommended.

My first care, after the ship was moored, was to send a boat and people a- fishing; in the mean time, some of the gentlemen killed a seal, (out of many that were upon a rock,) which made us a fresh meal.

## **Chapter IV. Transactions in Dusky Bay, with an Account of several Interviews with the Inhabitants.**

### **1773 March**

As I did not like the place we had anchored in, I sent Lieutenant Pickersgill over to the S.E. side of the bay, to search for a better; and I went myself to the other side, for the same purpose, where I met with an exceedingly snug harbour, but nothing else worthy of notice. Mr Pickersgill reported, upon his return, that he had found a good harbour, with every conveniency. As I liked the situation of this, better than the other of my own finding, I determined to go there in the morning. The fishing-boat was very successful; returning with fish sufficient for all hands for supper; and, in a few hours

in the morning, caught as many as served for dinner. This gave us certain hopes of being plentifully supplied with this article. Nor did the shores and woods appear less destitute of wild fowl; so that we hoped to enjoy with ease, what, in our situation, might be called the luxuries of life. This determined me to stay some time in this bay, in order to examine it thoroughly; as no one had ever landed before, on any of the southern parts of this country.

On the 27th, at nine o'clock in the morning, we got under sail with a light breeze at S.W., and working over to Pickersgill harbour, entered it by a channel scarcely twice the width of the ship; and in a small creek, moored head and stern, so near the shore as to reach it with a brow or stage, which nature had in a manner prepared for us in a large tree, whose end or top reached our gunwale. Wood, for fuel and other purposes, was here so convenient, that our yards were locked in the branches of the trees; and, about 100 yards from our stern, was a fine stream of freshwater. Thus situated, we began to clear places in the woods, in order to set up the astronomer's observatory, the forge to repair our iron-work, tents for the sail-makers and coopers to repair the sails and casks in; to land our empty casks, to fill water, and to cut down wood for fuel; all of which were absolutely necessary occupations. We also began to brew beer from the branches or leaves of a tree, which much resembles the American black-spruce. From the knowledge I had of this tree, and the similarity it bore to the spruce, I judged that, with the addition of inspissated juice of wort and molasses, it would make a very wholesome beer, and supply the want of vegetables, which this place did not afford; and the event proved that I was not mistaken.

Now I have mentioned the inspissated juice of wort, it will not be amiss, in this place, to inform the reader, that I had made several trials of it since I left the Cape of Good Hope, and found it to answer in a cold climate, beyond all expectation. The juice, diluted in warm water, in the proportion of twelve parts water to one part juice, made a very good and well-tasted small-beer. Some juice which I had of Mr Pelham's own preparing, would bear sixteen parts water. By making use of warm-water, (which I think ought always to be done,) and keeping it in a warm place, if the weather be cold, no difficulty will be found in fermenting it. A little grounds of either small or strong-beer, will answer as well as yeast.

The few sheep and goats we had left were not likely to fare quite so well as ourselves; there being no grass here, but what was coarse and harsh. It was, however not so bad, but that we expected they would devour it with great greediness, and were the more surprised to find that they would not taste it; nor did they seem over-fond of the leaves of more tender plants. Upon examination, we found their teeth loose; and that many of them had every other symptom of an inveterate sea-scurvy. Out of four ewes and two rams which I brought from the Cape, with an intent to put ashore in this country, I had only been able to preserve one of each; and even these were in so bad a state, that it was doubtful if they could recover, notwithstanding all the care possible had been taken of them.



Some of the officers, on the 28th, went up the bay in a small boat on a shooting party; but, discovering inhabitants, they returned before noon, to acquaint me therewith; for hitherto we had not seen the least vestige of any. They had but just got aboard, when a canoe appeared off a point about a mile from us, and soon after, returned behind the point out of sight, probably owing to a shower of rain which then fell; for it was no sooner over, than the canoe again appeared, and came within musket-shot of the ship. There were in it seven or eight people. They remained looking at us for some time, and then returned; all the signs of friendship we could make did not prevail on them to come nearer. After dinner I took two boats and went in search of them, in the cove where they were first seen, accompanied by several of the officers and gentlemen. We found the canoe (at least a-canoe) hauled upon the shore near to two small huts, where were several fire-places, some fishing-nets, a few fish lying on the shore, and some in the canoe. But we saw no people; they probably had retired into the woods. After a short stay, and leaving in the canoe some medals, looking-glasses, beads, &c. we embarked and rowed to the head of the cove, where we found nothing remarkable. In turning back we put ashore at the same place as before; but still saw no people. However, they could not be far off, as we smelled the smoke of fire, though we did not see it. But I did not care to search farther, or to force an interview which they seemed to avoid; well knowing that the way to obtain this, was to leave the time and place to themselves. It did not appear that any thing I had left had been touched; however, I now added a hatchet, and, with the night, returned on board.

On the 29th, were showers till the afternoon; when a party of the officers made an excursion up the bay; and Mr Forster and his party were out botanizing. Both parties returned in the evening without meeting with any thing worthy of notice; and the two following days, every one was confined to the ship on account of rainy stormy weather.

## 1773 April

In the afternoon of the 1st of April, accompanied by several of the gentlemen, I went to see if any of the articles I had left for the Indians were taken away. We found every thing remaining in the canoe; nor did it appear that any body had been there since. After shooting some birds, one of which was a duck, with a blue-grey plumage and soft bill, we, in the evening, returned on board.

The 2d, being a pleasant morning, Lieutenants Clerke and Edgecumbe, and the two Mr Forsters, went in a boat up the bay to search for the productions of nature; and myself, Lieutenant Pickersgill, and Mr Hodges, went to take a view of the N.W. side. In our way, we touched at the seal-rock, and killed three seals, one of which afforded us much sport. After passing several isles, we at length came to the most northern and western arms of the bay; the same as is formed by the land of Five Fingers Point. In the bottom of this arm or cove, we found many ducks, wood-hens, and other wild fowl, some of which we killed, and returned on board at ten o'clock in the evening; where the other party had arrived several hours before us, after having had but indifferent

sport. They took with them a black dog we had got at the Cape, who, at the first musket they fired, ran into the woods, from whence he would not return. The three following days were rainy; so that no excursions were made.

Early in the morning on the 6th, a shooting party, made up of the officers, went to Goose Cove, the place where I was the 2d; and myself, accompanied by the two Mr Forsters, and Mr Hodges, set out to continue the survey of the bay. My attention was directed to the north side, where I discovered a fine capacious cove, in the bottom of which is a fresh-water river; on the west side several beautiful small cascades; and the shores are so steep that a ship might lie near enough to convey the water into her by a hose. In this cove we shot fourteen ducks, besides other birds, which occasioned my calling it Duck Cove.

As we returned in the evening, we had a short interview with three of the natives, one man and two women. They were the first that discovered themselves on the N.E. point of Indian Island, named so on this occasion. We should have passed without seeing them, had not the man hallooed to us. He stood with his club in his hand upon the point of a rock, and behind him, at the skirts of the wood, stood the two women, with each of them a spear. The man could not help discovering great signs of fear when we approached the rock with our boat. He however stood firm; nor did he move to take up some things we threw him ashore. At length I landed, went up and embraced him; and presented him with such articles as I had about me, which at once dissipated his fears. Presently after, we were joined by the two women, the gentlemen that were with me, and some of the seamen. After this, we spent about half an hour in chit-chat, little understood on either side, in which the youngest of the two women bore by far the greatest share. This occasioned one of the seamen to say, that women did not want tongue in any part of the world. We presented them with fish and fowl which we had in our boat; but these they threw into the boat again, giving us to understand that such things they wanted not. Night approaching, obliged us to take leave of them; when the youngest of the two women, whose volubility of tongue exceeded every thing I ever met with, gave us a dance; but the man viewed us with great attention. Some hours after we got on board, the other party returned, having had but indifferent sport.

Next morning, I made the natives another visit, accompanied by Mr Forster and Mr Hodges, carrying with me various articles which I presented them with, and which they received with a great deal of indifference, except hatchets and spike-nails; these they most esteemed. This interview was at the same place as last night; and now we saw the whole family, it consisted of the man, his two wives (as we supposed), the young woman before mentioned, a boy about fourteen years old, and three small children, the youngest of which was at the breast. They were all well-looking, except one woman, who had a large wen on her upper-lip, which made her disagreeable; and she seemed, on that account, to be in a great measure neglected by the man. They conducted us to their habitation, which was but a little way within the skirts of the wood, and consisted of two mean huts made of the bark of trees. Their canoe, which was a small double one, just large enough to transport the whole family from place to place, lay in a small

creek near the huts. During our stay, Mr Hodges made drawings of most of them; this occasioned them to give him the name of Toe-toe, which word, we suppose signifies marking or painting. When we took leave, the chief presented me with a piece of cloth or garment of their own manufacturing, and some other trifles. I at first thought it was meant as a return for the presents I had made him; but he soon undeceived me, by expressing a desire for one of our boat cloaks. I took the hint, and ordered one to be made for him of red baise, as soon as I got aboard; where rainy weather detained me the following day.

The 9th, being fair weather, we paid the natives another visit, and made known our approach by hallooing to them; but they neither answered us, nor met us at the shore as usual. The reason of this we soon saw; for we found them at their habitations, all dressed and dressing, in their very best, with their hair combed and oiled, tied up upon the crowns of their heads, and stuck with white feathers. Some wore a fillet of feathers round their heads; and all of them had bunches of white feathers stuck in their ears: Thus dressed, and all standing, they received us with great courtesy. I presented the chief with the cloak I had got made for him, with which he seemed so well pleased, that he took his pattapattou from his girdle and gave it me. After a short stay, we took leave; and having spent the remainder of the day in continuing my survey of the bay, with the night returned on board.

Very heavy rains falling on the two following days, no work was done; but the 12th proved clear and serene, and afforded us an opportunity to dry our sails and linen; two things very much wanted; not having had fair weather enough for this purpose since we put into this bay. Mr Forster and his party also profited by the day in botanizing.

About ten o'clock, the family of the natives paid us a visit. Seeing that they approached the ship with great caution, I met them in a boat, which I quitted when I got to them, and went into their canoe. Yet, after all, I could not prevail on them to put along-side the ship, and at last was obliged to leave them to follow their own inclination. At length they put ashore in a little creek hard by us; and afterwards came and sat down on the shore a-breast of the ship, near enough to speak with us. I now caused the bagpipes and fife to play, and the drum to beat. The two first they did not regard; but the latter caused some little attention in them; nothing however could induce them to come on board. But they entered, with great familiarity, into conversation (little understood) with such of the officers and seamen as went to them, paying much greater regard to some than to others; and these, we had reason to believe, they took for women. To one man in particular, the young woman shewed an extraordinary fondness until she discovered his sex, after which she would not suffer him to come near her. Whether it was that she before took him for one of her own sex, or that the man, in order to discover himself, had taken some liberties with her which she thus resented, I know not.

In the afternoon, I took Mr Hodges to a large cascade, which falls from a high mountain on the south side of the bay, about a league above the place where we lay. He made a drawing of it on paper, and afterwards painted it in oil colours; which

exhibits, at once, a better description of it than any I can give. Huge heaps of stones lay at the foot of this cascade, which had been broken off and brought by the stream from the adjacent mountains. These stones were of different sorts; none however, according to Mr Forster's opinion, (whom I believe to be a judge,) containing either minerals or metals. Nevertheless, I brought away specimens of every sort, as the whole country, that is, the rocky part of it, seemed to consist of those stones and no other. This cascade is at the east point of a cove, lying in S.W. two miles, which I named Cascade Cove. In it is good anchorage and other necessities. At the entrance, lies an island, on each side of which is a passage; that on the east side is much the widest. A little above the isle, and near the S.E. shore, are two rocks which are covered at high water. It was in this cove we first saw the natives.

When I returned aboard in the evening, I found our friends, the natives, had taken up their quarters at about a hundred yards from our watering- place; a very great mark of the confidence they placed in us. This evening a shooting party of the officers went over to the north side of the bay, having with them the small cutter to convey them from place to place.

Next morning, accompanied by Mr Forster, I went in the pinnacle to survey the isles and rocks which lie in the mouth of the bay. I began first with those which lie on the S.E. side of Anchor Isle. I found here a very snug cove sheltered from all winds, which we called Luncheon Cove, because here we dined on cray fish, on the side of a pleasant brook, shaded by the trees from both wind and sun. After dinner we proceeded, by rowing, out to the outermost isles, where we saw many seals, fourteen of which we killed and brought away with us; and might have got many more, if the surf had permitted us to land with safety on all the rocks. The next morning, I went out again to continue the survey, accompanied by Mr Forster. I intended to have landed again on the Seal Isles; but there ran such a high sea that I could not come near them. With some difficulty we rowed out to sea, and round the S.W. point of Anchor Isle. It happened very fortunately that chance directed me to take this course, in which we found the sportsmen's boat adrift, and laid hold of her the very moment she would have been dashed against the rocks. I was not long at a loss to guess how she came there, nor was I under any apprehensions for the gentlemen that had been in her; and after refreshing ourselves with such as we had to eat and drink, and securing the boat in a small creek, we proceeded to the place where we supposed them to be. This we reached about seven or eight o'clock in the evening, and found them upon a small isle in Goose Cove, where, as it was low water, we could not come with our boat until the return of the tide. As this did not happen till three o'clock in the morning, we landed on a naked beach, not knowing where to find a better place, and, after some time, having got a fire and broiled some fish, we made a hearty supper, having for sauce a good appetite. This done, we lay down to sleep, having a stony beach for a bed, and the canopy of heaven for a covering. At length the tide permitted us to take off the sportsmen; and with them we embarked, and proceeded for the place where we had left their boat, which, we soon reached, having a fresh breeze of wind in our favour,

attended with rain. When we came to the creek which was on the N.W. side of Anchor Isle, we found there an immense number of blue peterels, some on the wing, others in the woods in holes in the ground, under the roots of trees and in the crevices of rocks, where there was no getting them, and where we supposed their young were deposited. As not one was to be seen in the day, the old ones were probably, at that time, out at sea searching for food, which in the evening they bring to their young. The noise they made was like the croaking of many frogs. They were, I believe, of the broad-bill kind, which, are not so commonly seen at sea as the others. Here, however, they are in great numbers, and flying much about in the night, some of our gentlemen at first took them for bats. After restoring the sportsmen to their boat, we all proceeded for the ship, which we reached by seven o'clock in the morning, not a little fatigued with our expedition. I now learned that our friends the natives returned to their habitation at night; probably foreseeing that rain was at hand; which sort of weather continued the whole of this day.

On the morning of the 15th, the weather having cleared up and become fair, I set out with two boats to continue the survey of the N.W. side of the bay, accompanied by the two Mr Forsters and several of the officers, whom I detached in one boat to Goose Cove, where we intended to lodge the night, while I proceeded in the other, examining the harbours and isles which lay in my way. In the doing of this, I picked up about a score of wild fowl, and caught fish sufficient to serve the whole party; and reaching the place of rendezvous a little before dark, I found all the gentlemen out duck-shooting. They however soon returned, not overloaded with game. By this time, the cooks had done their parts, in which little art was required; and after a hearty repast, on what the day had produced, we lay down to rest; but took care to rise early the next morning, in order to have the other bout among the ducks, before we left the cove.

Accordingly, at day-light, we prepared for the attack. Those who had reconnoitred the place before, chose their stations accordingly; whilst myself and another remained in the boat, and rowed to the head of the cove to start the game, which we did so effectually, that, out of some scores of ducks, we only detained one to ourselves, sending all the rest down to those stationed below. After this I landed at the head of the cove, and walked across the narrow isthmus that disjoins it from the sea, or rather from another cove which runs in from the sea about one mile, and lies open to the north winds. It, however, had all the appearance of a good harbour and safe anchorage. At the head is a fine sandy beach, where I found an immense number of wood hens, and brought away ten couple of them, which recompensed me for the trouble of crossing the isthmus, through the wet woods, up to the middle in water. About nine o'clock we all got collected together, when the success of everyone was known, which was by no means answerable to our expectations. The morning, indeed, was very unfavourable for shooting, being rainy the most of the time we were out. After breakfast we set out on our return to the ship, which we reached by seven o'clock in the evening, with about seven dozen of wild fowl, and two seals; the most of them shot while I was

rowing about, exploring the harbours and coves which I found in my way; every place affording something, especially to us, to whom nothing came amiss.

It rained all the 17th, but the 18th bringing fair and clear weather, in the evening our friends, the natives before-mentioned, paid us another visit; and, the next morning, the chief and his daughter were induced to come on board, while the others went out in the canoe fishing. Before they came on board I shewed them our goats and sheep that were on shore, which they viewed for a moment with a kind of stupid insensibility. After this I conducted them to the brow; but before the chief set his foot upon it to come into the ship, he took a small green branch in his hand, with which he struck the ship's side several times, repeating a speech or prayer. When this was over, he threw the branch into the main chains, and came on board. This custom and manner of making peace, as it were, is practised by all the nations in the South Seas that I have seen.

I took them both down into the cabin, where we were to breakfast. They sat at table with us, but would not taste any of our victuals. The chief wanted to know where we slept, and indeed to pry into every corner of the cabin, every part of which he viewed with some surprise. But it was not possible to fix his attention to any one thing a single moment. The works of art appeared to him in the same light as those of nature, and were as far removed beyond his comprehension. What seemed to strike them most was the number and strength of our decks, and other parts of the ship. The chief, before he came aboard, presented me with a piece of cloth and a green talc hatchet; to Mr Forster he also gave a piece of cloth; and the girl gave another to Mr Hodges. This custom of making presents before they receive any, is common with the natives of the South Sea isles; but I never saw it practised in New Zealand before. Of all the various articles I gave my guest, hatchets and spike-nails were the most valuable in his eyes.

These he never would suffer to go out of his hands after he once laid hold of them; whereas many other articles he would lay carelessly down any where, and at last leave them behind him.

As soon as I could get quit of them, they were conducted into the gun-room, where I left them, and set out with two boats to examine the head of the bay; myself in one, accompanied by Mr Forster and Mr Hodges, and Lieutenant Cooper in the other. We proceeded up the south side, and without meeting with any thing remarkable, got to the head of the bay by sun-set; where we took up our lodging for the night, at the first place we could land upon; for the flats hindered us from getting quite to the head.

At day-light in the morning, I took two men in the small boat, and with Mr Forster went to take a view of the flat land at the head of the bay, near to where we spent the night. We landed on one side, and ordered the boat to meet us on the other side; but had not been long on shore before we saw some ducks, which, by their creeping through the bushes, we got a shot at, and killed one. The moment we had fired, the natives, whom we had not discovered before, set up a most hideous noise in two or three places close by us. We hallooed in our turn; and, at the same time, retired to our boat, which was full half a mile off. The natives kept up their clamouring noise,

but did not follow us. Indeed we found afterwards that they could not, because of a branch of the river between us and them, nor did we find their numbers answerable to the noise they made. As soon as we got to our boat, and found that there was a river that would admit us, I rowed in, and was soon after joined by Mr Cooper in the other boat. With this reinforcement I proceeded up the river, shooting wild ducks, of which there were great numbers; as we went along, now and then hearing the natives in the woods. At length two appeared on the banks of the river, a man and a woman; and the latter kept waving something white in her hand, as a sign of friendship. Mr Cooper being near them, I called to him to land, as I wanted to take the advantage of the tide to get as high up as possible, which did not much exceed half a mile, when I was stopped by the strength of the stream and great stones which lay in the bed of the river.

On my return, I found that as Mr Cooper did not land when the natives expected him, they had retired into the woods, but two others now appeared on the opposite bank. I endeavoured to have an interview with them, but this I could not effect. For as I approached the shore, they always retired farther into the woods, which were so thick as to cover them from our sight. The falling tide obliged me to retire out of the river to the place where we had spent the night. There we breakfasted, and afterwards embarked, in order to return on board; but, just as we were going, we saw two men on the opposite shore, hallooing to us, which induced me to row over to them. I landed with two others, unarmed; the two natives standing about 100 yards from the water-side, with each a spear in his hand. When we three advanced, they retired; but stood when I advanced alone.

It was some little time before I could prevail upon them to lay down their spears. This, at last, one of them did; and met me with a grass plant in his hand, one end of which he gave me to hold, while he held the other. Standing in this manner, he began a speech, not one word of which I understood, and made some long pauses, waiting, as I thought, for me to answer; for, when I spoke, he proceeded. As soon as this ceremony was over, which was not long, we saluted each other. He then took his hahou, or coat, from off his own back, and put it upon mine; after which peace seemed firmly established. More people joining us did not in the least alarm them; on the contrary, they saluted every one as he came up.

I gave to each a hatchet and a knife, having nothing else with me: Perhaps these were the most valuable things I could give them, at least they were the most useful. They wanted us to go to their habitation, telling us they would give us something to eat; and I was sorry that the tide and other circumstances would not permit me to accept of their invitation. More people were seen in the skirts of the wood, but none of them joined us: Probably these were their wives and children. When we took leave they followed us to our boat; and, seeing the musquets lying across the stern, they made signs for them to be taken away, which being done, they came alongside, and assisted us to launch her. At this time it was necessary for us to look well after them, for they wanted to take away every thing they could lay their hands upon, except the

muskets. These they took care not to touch, being taught, by the slaughter they had seen us make among the wild- fowl, to look upon them as instruments of death.

We saw no canoes or other boats with them, two or three logs of wood tied together served the same purpose, and were indeed sufficient for the navigation of the river, on the banks of which they lived. There fish and fowl were in such plenty, that they had no occasion to go far for food; and they have but few neighbours to disturb them. The whole number at this place, I believe, does not exceed three families.

It was noon when we took leave of these two men, and proceeded down the north side of the bay, which I explored in my way, and the isles that lie in the middle. Night, however, overtook us, and obliged me to leave one arm unlooked into, and hasten to the ship, which we reached by eight o'clock. I then learnt that the man and his daughter stayed on board the day before till noon; and that having understood from our people what things were left in Cascade Cove, the place where they were first seen, he sent and took them away. He and his family remained near us till today, when they all went away, and we saw them no more; which was the more extraordinary, as he never left us empty-handed. From one or another he did not get less than nine or ten hatchets, three or four times that number of large spike-nails, besides many other articles. So far as these things may be counted riches in New Zealand, he exceeds every man there; being, at this time, possessed of more hatchets and axes than are in the whole country besides.

In the afternoon of the 21st, I went with a party out to the isles on seal- hunting. The surf ran so high that we could only land in one place, where we killed ten. These animals served us for three purposes; the skins we made use of for our rigging; the fat gave oil for our lamps; and the flesh we eat. Their haslets are equal to that of a hog, and the flesh of some of them eats little inferior to beef-steaks. The following day nothing worthy of notice was done.

In the morning of the 23d, Mr Pickersgill, Mr Gilbert, and two others, went to the Cascade Cove, in order to ascend one of the mountains, the summit of which they reached by two o'clock in the afternoon, as we could see by the fire they made. In the evening they returned on board, and reported that inland, nothing was to be seen but barren mountains, with huge craggy precipices, disjoined by valleys, or rather chasms, frightful to behold. On the southeast side of Cape West, four miles out at sea, they discovered a ridge of rocks, on which the waves broke very high. I believe these rocks to be the same we saw the evening we first fell in with the land.

Having five geese left out of those we brought from the Cape of Good Hope, I went with them next morning to Goose Cove (named so on this account,) where I left them. I chose this place for two reasons; first, here are no inhabitants to disturb them; and, secondly, here being the most food, I make no doubt but that they will breed, and may in time spread over the whole country, and fully answer my intention in leaving them. We spent the day shooting in and about the cove, and returned aboard about ten o'clock in the evening. One of the party shot a white hern, which agreed exactly



with Mr Pennant's description, in his British Zoology, of the white herons that either now are, or were formerly, in England.

The 20th was the eighth fair day we had had successively; a circumstance, I believe, very uncommon in this place, especially at this season of the year. This fair weather gave us an opportunity to complete our wood and water, to overhaul the rigging, caulk the ship, and put her in a condition for sea. Fair weather was, however, now at an end; for it began to rain this evening, and continued without intermission till noon the next day, when we cast off the shore fasts, hove the ship out of the creek to her anchor, and steadied her with an hawser to the shore.

On the 27th, hazy weather, with showers of rain. In the morning I set out, accompanied by Mr Pickersgill and the two Mr Forsters, to explore the arm or inlet I discovered the day I returned from the head of the bay. After rowing about two leagues up it, or rather down, I found it to communicate with the sea, and to afford a better outlet for ships bound to the north than the one I came in by. After making this discovery, and refreshing ourselves on broiled fish and wild fowl, we set out for the ship, and got on board at eleven o'clock at night, leaving two arms we had discovered, and which ran into the east, unexplored. In this expedition we shot forty- four birds, sea-pies, ducks, &c., without going one foot out of our way, or causing any other delay than picking them up.

Having got the tents, and every other article on board on the 28th, we only now waited for a wind to carry us out of the harbour, and through New Passage, the way I proposed to go to sea. Every thing being removed from the shore, I set fire to the top-wood, &c., in order to dry a piece of the ground we had occupied, which, next morning, I dug up, and sowed with several sorts of garden seeds. The soil was such as did not promise success to the planter; it was, however, the best we could find. At two o'clock in the afternoon, we weighed with a light breeze at S.W., and stood up the bay for the New Passage. Soon after we had got through, between the east end of Indian Island and the west end of Long Island, it fell calm, which obliged us to anchor in forty-three fathom water, under the north side of the latter island.

In the morning of the 30th we weighed again with a light breeze at west, which, together with all our boats a-head towing, was hardly sufficient to stem the current. For, after struggling till six o'clock in the evening, and not getting more than five miles from our last anchoring-place, we anchored under the north side of Long Island, not more than one hundred yards from the shore, to which we fastened a hawser.

## 1773 May

At day-light next morning, May 1st, we got again under sail, and attempted to work to windward, having a light breeze down the bay. At first we gained ground, but at last the breeze died away; when we soon lost more than we had got, and were obliged to bear up for a cove on the north side of Long Island, where we anchored in nineteen fathom water, a muddy bottom: In this cove we found two huts not long since

inhabited; and near them two very large fire-places or ovens, such as they have in the Society Isles. In this cove we were detained by calms, attended with continual rain, till the 4th in the afternoon, when, with the assistance of a small breeze at south-west, we got the length of the reach or passage leading to sea. The breeze then left us, and we anchored under the east point, before a sandy beach, in thirty fathoms water; but this anchoring-place hath nothing to recommend it like the one we came from, which hath every thing in its favour.

In the night we had some very heavy squalls of wind, attended with rain, hail, and snow, and some thunder. Daylight exhibited to our view all the hills and mountains covered with snow. At two o'clock in the afternoon, a light breeze sprung up at S.S.W., which, with the help of our boats, carried us down the passage to our intended anchor-place, where, at eight o'clock, we anchored in sixteen fathoms water, and moored with a hawser to the shore, under the first point on the starboard side as you come in from sea, from which we were covered by the point.

In the morning of the 6th, I sent Lieutenant Pickersgill, accompanied by the two Mr Forsters, to explore the second arm which turns in to the east, myself being confined on board by a cold. At the same time I had every thing got up from between decks, the decks well cleaned and well aired with fires; a thing that ought never to be long neglected in wet moist weather. The fair weather, which had continued all this day, was succeeded in the night by a storm from north-west, which blew in hard squalls, attended with rain, and obliged us to strike top-gallant and lower yards, and to carry out another hawser to the shore. The bad weather continued the whole day and the succeeding night, after which it fell calm with fair weather.

At seven in the morning, on the 8th, Mr Pickersgill returned, together with his companions, in no very good plight, having been at the head of the arm he was sent to explore, which he judged to extend in to the eastward about eight miles. In it is a good anchoring-place, wood, fresh water, wild fowl, and fish. At nine o'clock I set out to explore the other inlet, or the one next the sea; and ordered Mr Gilbert, the master, to go and examine the passage out to sea, while those on board were getting every thing in readiness to depart. I proceeded up the inlet till five o'clock in the afternoon, when bad weather obliged me to return before I had seen the end of it. As this inlet lay nearly parallel with the sea-coast, I was of opinion that it might communicate with Doubtful Harbour, or some other inlet to the northward. Appearances were, however, against this opinion, and the bad weather hindered me from determining the point, although a few hours would have done it. I was about ten miles up, and thought I saw the end of it: I found on the north side three coves, in which, as also on the south side, between the main and the isles that lie four miles up the inlet, is good anchorage, wood, water, and what else can be expected, such as fish and wild fowl: Of the latter, we killed in this excursion, three dozen. After a very hard row, against both wind and rain, we got on board about nine o'clock at night, without a dry thread on our backs.

This bad weather continued no longer than till the next morning, when it became fair, and the sky cleared up. But, as we had not wind to carry us to sea, we made up

two shooting parties; myself, accompanied by the two Mr. Forsters and some others, went to the area I was in the day before; and the other party to the coves and isles Mr Gilbert had discovered when he was out, and where he found many wild fowl. We had a pleasant day, and the evening brought us all on board; myself and party met with good sport; but the other party found little.

All the forenoon of the 10th, we had strong gales from the west, attended with heavy showers of rain, and blowing in such flurries over high land, as made it unsafe for us to get under sail. The afternoon was more moderate, and became fair; when myself, Mr Cooper, and some others, went out in the boats to the rocks, which lie at this entrance of the bay, to kill seals. The weather was rather unfavourable for this sport, and the sea ran high, so as to make landing difficult; we, however, killed ten, but could only wait to bring away five, with which we returned on board.

In the morning of the 11th, while we were getting under sail, I sent a boat for the other five seals. At nine o'clock we weighed with a light breeze at south-east, and stood out to sea, taking up the boat in our way. It was noon before we got clear of the land; at which time we observed in 45 deg. 34' 30" S.; the entrance of the bay bore S.E. by E., and Break-sea Isles (the outermost isles that lie at the south point of the entrance of the bay,) bore S.S.E., distant three miles; the southernmost point, or that of Five Fingers Point, bore south 42 deg. W., and the northernmost land N.N.E. In this situation we had a prodigious swell from S.W., which broke with great violence on all the shores that were exposed to it.

## **Chapter V. Directions for sailing in and out of Dusky Bay, with an Account of the adjacent Country, its Produce, and Inhabitants: Astronomical and Nautical Observations.**

### **1773 May**

As there are few places where I have been in New Zealand that afford the necessary refreshments in such plenty as Dusky Bay, a short description of it, and of the adjacent country, may prove of use to some future navigators, as well as acceptable to the curious reader. For although this country be far remote from the present trading part of the world, we can, by no means, tell what use future ages may make of the discoveries made in the present. The reader of this journal must already know that there are two entrances to this bay. The south entrance is situated on the north side of Cape West, in latitude 45 deg. 48' S. It is formed by the land of the Cape to the south, and Five Fingers Point to the north. This point is made remarkable by several pointed rocks lying off it, which, when viewed from certain situations, have some resemblance to the five fingers of a man's hand; from whence it takes its name. The land of this point is

still more remarkable by the little similarity it bears to any other of the lands adjacent; being a narrow peninsula lying north and south, of a moderate and equal height, and all covered with wood.

To sail into the bay by this entrance is by no means difficult, as I know of no danger but what shews itself. The worst that attends it, is the depth of water, which is too great to admit of anchorage, except in the coves and harbours, and very near the shores; and even, in many places, this last cannot be done. The anchoring-places are, however, numerous enough, and equally safe and commodious. Pickersgill Harbour, where we lay, is not inferior to any other bay, for two or three ships: It is situated on the south shore abreast of the west end of Indian island; which island may be known from the others by its greater proximity to that shore. There is a passage into the harbour on both sides of the isle, which lies before it. The most room is on the upper or east side, having regard to a sunken rock, near the main, abreast this end of the isle: Keep the isle close aboard, and you will not only avoid the rock, but keep in anchoring-ground. The next place, on this side, is Cascade Cove, where there is room for a fleet of ships, and also a passage in on either side of the isle, which lies in the entrance, taking care to avoid a sunken rock which lies near the south-east shore, a little above the isle. This rock, as well as the one in Pickersgill Harbour, may be seen at half-ebb. It must be needless to enumerate all the anchoring-places in this capacious bay.

The north entrance lies in the latitude of 45 deg. 38' S., and five leagues to the north of Five Fingers Point. To make this entrance plain, it will be necessary to approach the shore within a few miles, as all the land within and on each side is of considerable height. Its situation may, however, be known at a greater distance, as it lies under the first craggy mountains which rise to the north of the land of Five Fingers Point. The southernmost of these mountains is remarkable, having at its summit two small hillocks. When this mountain bears S.S.E. you will be before the entrance, on the south side of which are several isles. The westernmost and outermost is the most considerable, both for height and circuit, and this I have called Break sea Isle, because it effectually covers this entrance from the violence of the southwest swell, which the other entrance is so much exposed to. In sailing in you leave this isle as well as all the others to the south. The best anchorage is in the first or north arm, which is on the larboard hand going in, either in one of the coves, or behind the isles that lie under the south-east shore.

The country is exceedingly mountainous, not only about Dusky Bay, but through all the southern part of this western coast of Tavai Poenammoo. A prospect more rude and craggy is rarely to be met with, for inland appears nothing but the summits of mountains of a stupendous height, and consisting of rocks that are totally barren and naked, except where they are covered with snow. But the land bordering on the sea-coast, and all the islands, are thickly clothed with wood, almost down to the water's edge. The trees are of various kinds, such as are common to other parts of this country, and are fit for the shipwright, house-carpenter, cabinet-maker, and many other uses. Except in the river Thames, I have not seen finer timber in all New Zealand; both

here and in that river, the most considerable for size is the Spruce-tree, as we called it, from the similarity of its foliage to the American spruce, though the wood is more ponderous, and bears a greater resemblance to the pitch-pine. Many of these trees are from six to eight and ten feet in girth, and from sixty to eighty or one hundred feet in length, large enough to make a main-mast for a fifty-gun ship.

Here are, as well as in all other parts of New Zealand, a great number of aromatic trees and shrubs, most of the myrtle kind; but amidst all this variety, we met with none which bore fruit fit to eat.

In many parts the woods are so over-run with supplejacks, that it is scarcely possible to force one's way amongst them. I have seen several which were fifty or sixty fathoms long.

The soil is a deep black mould, evidently composed of decayed vegetables, and so loose that it sinks under you at every step; and this may be the reason why we meet with so many large trees as we do, blown down by the wind, even in the thickest part of the woods. All the ground amongst the trees is covered with moss and fern, of both which there is a great variety; but except the flax or hemp plant, and a few other plants, there is very little herbage of any sort, and none that was eatable, that we found, except about a handful of water-cresses, and about the same quantity of cellery. What Dusky Bay most abounds with is fish: A boat with six or eight men, with hooks and lines, caught daily sufficient to serve the whole ship's company. Of this article the variety is almost equal to the plenty, and of such kinds as are common to the more northern coast; but some are superior, and in particular the cole fish, as we called it, which is both larger and finer flavoured than any I had seen before, and was, in the opinion of most on board, the highest luxury the sea afforded us. The shell-fish are, muscles, cockles, scallops, cray-fish, and many other sorts, all such as are to be found in every other part of the coast. The only amphibious animals are seals: These are to be found in great numbers about this bay on the small rocks and isles near the sea coast.

We found here five different kinds of ducks, some of which I do not recollect to have any where seen before. The largest are as big as a Muscovy duck, with a very beautiful variegated plumage, on which account we called it the Painted Duck; both male and female have a large white spot on each wing; the head and neck of the latter is white, but all the other feathers as well as those on the head and neck of the drake are of a dark variegated colour. The second sort have a brown plumage, with bright green feathers in their wings, and are about the size of an English tame duck. The third sort is the blue-grey duck, before mentioned, or the whistling duck, as some called them, from the whistling noise they made. What is most remarkable in these is, that the end of their beaks is soft, and of a skinny, or more properly, cartilaginous substance. The fourth sort is something bigger than a teal, and all black except the drake, which has some white feathers in his wing. There are but few of this sort, and we saw them no where but in the river at the head of the bay. The last sort is a good deal like a teal, and very common, I am told, in England. The other fowls, whether belonging to

the sea and land, are the same that are to be found in common in other parts of this country, except the blue peterel before-mentioned, and the water or wood-hens. These last, although they are numerous enough here, are so scarce in other parts, that I never saw but one. The reason may be, that, as they cannot fly, they inhabit the skirts of the woods, and feed on the sea-beach, and are so very tame or foolish, as to stand and stare at us till we knocked them down with a stick. The natives may have, in a manner, wholly destroyed them. They are a sort of rail, about the size and a good deal like a common dunghill hen; most of them are of a dirty black or dark-brown colour, and eat very well in a pye or fricassee. Among the small birds I must not omit to particularize the wattle-bird, poy-bird, and fan-tail, on account of their singularity, especially as I find they are not mentioned in the narrative of my former voyage.

The wattle-bird, so called, because it has two wattles under its beak as large as those of a small dunghill-cock, is larger, particularly in length, than an English black-bird. Its bill is short and thick, and its feathers of a dark lead colour; the colour of its wattles is a dull yellow, almost an orange colour.

The poy-bird is less than the wattle-bird. The feathers of a fine mazarine blue, except those of its neck, which are of a most beautiful silver-grey, and two or three short white ones, which are on the pinion joint of the wing. Under its throat hang two little tufts of curled, snow-white leathers, called its poies, which being the Otaheitean word for earrings, occasioned our giving that name to the bird, which is not more remarkable for the beauty of its plumage than for the sweetness of its note. The flesh is also most delicious, and was the greatest luxury the woods afforded us.

Of the fan-tail there are different sorts; but the body of the most remarkable one is scarcely larger than a good filbert, yet it spreads a tail of most beautiful plumage, full three quarters of a semi-circle, of at least four or five inches radius.

For three or four days after we arrived in Pickersgill harbour, and as we were clearing the woods to set up our tents, &c. a four-footed animal was seen by three or four of our people; but as no two gave the same description of it, I cannot say of what kind it is. All, however, agreed, that it was about the size of a cat, with short legs, and of a mouse colour. One of the seamen, and he who had the best view of it, said it had a bushy tail, and was the most like a jackall of any animal he knew. The most probable conjecture is, that it is of a new species. Be this as it may, we are now certain that this country is not so destitute of quadrupeds as was once thought.

The most mischievous animals here are the small black sand flies, which are very numerous, and so troublesome, that they exceed every thing of the kind I ever met with. Wherever they bite they cause a swelling, and such an intolerable itching, that it is not possible to refrain from scratching, which at last brings on ulcers like the small-pox.

The almost continual rains may be reckoned another evil attending this bay; though perhaps this may only happen at this season of the year. Nevertheless, the situation of the country, the vast height, and nearness of the mountains, seem to subject it to much rain at all times. Our people, who were daily exposed to the rain, felt no ill effects

from it; on the contrary, such as were sick and ailing when we came in, recovered daily, and the whole crew soon became strong and vigorous, which can only be attributed to the healthiness of the place, and the fresh provisions it afforded. The beer certainly contributed not a little. As I have already observed, we at first made it of a decoction of the spruce leaves; but finding that this alone made the beer too astringent, we afterwards mixed with it an equal quantity of the tea plant (a name it obtained in my former voyage, from our using it as tea then as we also did now,) which partly destroyed the astringency of the other, and made the beer exceedingly palatable, and esteemed by every one on board. We brewed it in the same manner as spruce-beer, and the process is as follows: First, make a strong decoction of the small branches of the spruce and tea plants, by boiling them three or four hours, or until the bark will strip with ease from off the branches; then take them out of the copper, and put in the proper quantity of molasses, ten gallons of which is sufficient to make a ton, or two hundred and forty gallons of beer; let this mixture just boil, then pot it into the casks, and to it add an equal quantity of cold water, more or less, according to the strength of the decoction, or your taste: When the whole is milk-warm, put in a little grounds of beer, or yeast, if you have it, or any thing else that will cause fermentation, and in a few days the beer will be fit to drink. After the casks have been brewed in two or three times the beer will generally ferment itself, especially if the weather is warm. As I had inspissated juice of wort on board, and could not apply it to a better purpose, we used it together with molasses or sugar, to make these two articles go farther. For of the former I had but one cask, and of the latter little to spare for this brewing. Had I known how well this beer would have succeeded, and the great use it was of to the people, I should have come better provided. Indeed I was partly discouraged by an experiment made during my former voyage, which did not succeed then, owing, as I now believe, to some mismanagement.

Any one, who is in the least acquainted with spruce pines, will find the tree which I have distinguished by that name. There are three sorts of it; that which has the smallest leaves and deepest colour, is the sort we brewed with; but doubtless all three might safely serve that purpose. The tea-plant is a small tree or shrub, with five white petals, or flower-leaves, shaped like those of a rose, having smaller ones of the same figure in the intermediate spaces, and twenty or more filaments or threads. The tree sometimes grows to a moderate height, and is generally bare on the lower part, with a number of small branches growing close together towards the top. The leaves are small and pointed, like those of the myrtle; it bears a dry roundish seed-case, and grows commonly in dry places near the shores. The leaves, as I have already observed, were used by many of us as tea, which has a very agreeable bitter and flavour when they are recent, but loses some of both when they are dried. When the infusion was made strong, it proved emetic to some in the same manner as green tea.

The inhabitants of this bay are of the same race of people with those in the other parts of this country, speak the same language, and observe nearly the same customs. These indeed seem to have a custom of making presents before they receive any, in

which they come nearer to the Otaheiteans than the rest of their countrymen. What could induce three or four families (for I believe there are not more) to separate themselves so far from the society of the rest of their fellow-creatures, is not easy to guess. By our meeting with inhabitants in this place, it seems probable that there are people scattered over all this southern island. But the many vestiges of them in different parts of this bay, compared with the number that we actually saw, indicates that they live a wandering life; and, if one may judge from appearances and circumstances, few as they are, they live not in perfect amity, one family with another. For, if they did, why do they not form themselves into some society? a thing not only natural to man, but observed even by the brute creation.

I shall conclude this account of Dusky Bay with some observations made and communicated to me by Mr Wales. He found by a great variety of observations, that the latitude of his observatory at Pickersgill Harbour, was 45 deg. 47' 26" half south; and, by the mean of several distances of the moon from the sun, that its longitude was 106 deg. 18' E., which is about half a degree less than it is laid down in my chart constructed in my former voyage. He found the variation of the needle or compass, by the mean of three different needles, to be 13 deg. 49' E, and the dip of the south end 70 deg. 5' three quarters. The times of high water, on the full and change days, he found to be at 10 deg. 57', and the tide to rise and fall, at the former eight feet, at the latter five feet eight inches. This difference, in the rise of the tides between the new and full moon, is a little extraordinary, and was probably occasioned at this time by some accidental cause, such as winds, &c., but, be it as it will, I am well assured there was no error in the observations.

Supposing the longitude of the observatory to be as above, the error of Mr Kendal's watch, in longitude, will be 1 deg. 48' minus, and that of Mr Arnold's 39 deg. 25'. The former was found to be gaining 6",461 a-day on mean time, and the latter losing 99",361. Agreeably to these rates the longitude by them was to be determined, until an opportunity of trying them again.

I must observe, that in finding the longitude by Mr Kendal's watch, we suppose it to have gone mean time from the Cape of Good Hope. Had its cape rate been allowed, the error would not have been so great.

## **Chapter VI. Passage from Dusky Bay to Queen Charlottes Sound, with an Account of some Water Spouts, and of our joining the Adventure.**

**1773 May**

After leaving Dusky Bay, as hath been already mentioned, I directed my course along shore for Queen Charlotte's Sound, where I expected to find the Adventure.



In this passage we met with nothing remarkable, or worthy of notice, till the 17th at four o'clock in the afternoon. Being then about three leagues to the westward of Cape Stephens; having a gentle gale at west by south, and clear weather, the wind at once flattened to a calm, the sky became suddenly obscured by dark dense clouds, and seemed to forebode much wind. This occasioned as to clew up all our sails, and presently after six water-spouts were seen. Four rose and spent themselves between us and the land; that is, to the south-west of us, the fifth was without us, the sixth first appeared in the south-west, at the distance of two or three miles at least from us. Its progressive motion was to the north-east, not in a straight but in a crooked line, and passed within fifty yards of our stern, without our feeling any of its effects. The diameter of the base of this spout I judged to be about fifty or sixty feet; that is, the sea within this space was much agitated, and foamed up to a great height. From this a tube, or round body, was formed, by which the water or air, or both, was carried in a spiral stream up to the clouds. Some of our people said they saw a bird in the one near us, which was whirled round like the fly of a jack, as it was carried upwards. During the time these spouts lasted, we had now and then light puffs of wind from all points of the compass, with some few slight showers of rain, which generally fell in large drops; and the weather continued thick and hazy for some hours after, with variable light breezes of wind. At length the wind fixed in its old point, and the sky resumed its former serenity. Some of these spouts appeared at times to be stationary; and at other times to have a quick but very unequal progressive motion, and always in a crooked line, sometimes one way and sometimes another; so that, once or twice, we observed them to cross one another. From the ascending motion of the bird, and several other circumstances, it was very plain to us that these spouts were caused by whirlwinds, and that the water in them was violently hurried upwards, and did not descend from the clouds as I have heard some assert. The first appearance of them is by the violent agitation and rising up of the water; and, presently after, you see a round column or tube forming from the clouds above, which apparently descends till it joins the agitated water below. I say apparently, because I believe it not to be so in reality, but that the tube is already formed from the agitated water below, and ascends, though at first it is either too small or too thin to be seen. When the tube is formed, or becomes visible, its apparent diameter increaseth till it is pretty large; after that it decreaseth, and at last it breaks or becomes invisible towards the lower part. Soon after the sea below resumes its natural state, and the tube is drawn, by little and little, up to the clouds, where it is dissipated. The same tube would sometimes have a vertical, and sometimes a crooked or inclined direction. The most rational account I have read of water-spouts, is in Mr Falconer's Marine Dictionary, which is chiefly collected from the philosophical writings of the ingenious Dr Franklin. I have been told that the firing of a gun will dissipate them; and I am very sorry I did not try the experiment, as we were near enough, and had a gun ready for the purpose; but as soon as the danger was past, I thought no more about it, being too attentive in viewing

these extraordinary meteors At the time this happened, the barometer stood at 29, 75, and the thermometer at 56.

In coming from Cape Farewell to Cape Stephens, I had a better view of the coast than I had when I passed in my former voyage, and observed that about six leagues to the east of the first-mentioned cape, is a spacious bay, which is covered from the sea by a low point of land. This is, I believe, the same that Captain Tasman anchored in on the 18th of December, 1642, and by him called Murderer's Bay, by reason of some of his men being killed by the natives. Blind Bay, so named by me in my former voyage, lies to the S.E. of this, and seems to run a long way inland to the south; the sight, in this direction, not being bounded by any land. The wind having returned to the west, as already mentioned, we resumed our course to the east; and at day-light the next morning (being the 18th,) we appeared off Queen Charlotte's Sound, where we discovered our consort the Adventure, by the signals she made to us; an event which every one felt with an agreeable satisfaction. The fresh westerly wind now died away, and was succeeded by light airs from the S. and S.W., so that we had to work in with our boats a-head towing. In the doing of this we discovered a rock, which we did not see in my former voyage. It lies in the direction of S. by E.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  E., distant four miles from the outermost of the Two Brothers, and in a line with the White Rocks, on with the middle of Long Island. It is just even with the surface of the sea, and hath deep water all round it. At noon, Lieutenant Kemp of the Adventure came on board; from whom I learnt that their ship had been here about six weeks. With the assistance of a light breeze, our boats, and the tides, we at six o'clock in the evening, got to an anchor in Ship Cove, near the Adventure, when Captain Furneaux came on board, and gave me the following account of his proceedings, from the time we parted to my arrival here.

## **Chapter VII. Captain Furneaux's Narrative, from the Time the two Ships were separated, to their joining again in Queen Charlotte's Sound, with some Account of Van Diemen's Land.**

### **1773 February**

On the 7th of February, 1773, in the morning, the Resolution being then about two miles a-head, the wind shifting then to the westward, brought on a very thick fog; so that we lost sight of her. We soon after heard a gun, the report of which we imagined to be on the larboard beam; we then hauled up S.E., and kept firing a four-pounder every half hour, but had no answer, nor further sight of her; then we kept the course we steered on before the fog came on. In the evening it began to blow hard, and was at intervals more clear, but could see nothing of her, which gave us much uneasiness.

We then tacked and stood to the westward, to cruise in the place where we last saw her, according to agreement, in case of separation; but next day came on a very heavy gale of wind and thick weather, that obliged us to bring to, and thereby prevented us reaching the intended spot. However, the wind coming more moderate, and the fog in some measure clearing away, we cruised as near the place as we could get, for three days; when giving over all hopes of joining company again, we bore away for winter quarters, distant fourteen hundred leagues, through a sea entirely unknown and reduced the allowance of water to one quart per day.

We kept between the latitude of 52 deg. and 53 deg. S., had much westerly wind, hard gales, with squalls, snow and sleet, with a long hollow sea from the S.W., so that we judged there is no land in that quarter. After we reached the longitude of 95 deg. E., we found the variation decrease very fast.

On the 26th, at night, we saw a meteor of uncommon brightness in the N.N.W. It directed its course to the S.W., with a very great light in the southern sky, such as is known to the northward by the name of Aurora Borealis, or Northern Lights. We saw the light for several nights running; and, what is remarkable, we saw but one ice island after we parted company with the Resolution, till our making land, though we were most of the time two or three degrees to the southward of the latitude we first saw it in. We were daily attended by great numbers of sea birds, and frequently saw porpoises curiously spotted white and black.

## 1773 March

On the 1st of March we were alarmed with the cry of land by the man at the mast-head, on the larboard beam; which gave us great joy. We immediately hauled our wind and stood for it, but to our mortification were disappointed in a few hours; for, what we took to be land, proved no more than clouds, which disappeared as we sailed towards them. We then bore away, and directed our course towards the land laid down in the charts by the name of Van Diemen's Land, discovered by Tasman in 1642, and laid down in the latitude 44 deg. S., and longitude 140 deg. E., and supposed to join to New Holland.

On the 9th of March, having little wind and pleasant weather, about nine a. m. being then in the latitude of 43 deg. 37' S. longitude, by lunar observation, 145 deg. 36' E., and by account 143 deg. 10' E. from Greenwich, we saw the land bearing N.N.E., about eight or nine leagues distance. It appeared moderately high, and uneven near the sea; the hills farther back formed a double land, and much higher. There seemed to be several islands, or broken land, to the N.W., as the shore trenched; but by reason of clouds that hung over them, we could not be certain whether they did not join to the main. We hauled immediately up for it, and by noon were within three or four leagues of it. A point much like the Ramhead off Plymouth, which I take to be the same that Tasman calls South Cape, bore north four leagues off us. The land from this cape runs directly to the eastward; about four leagues along shore are three islands about two

miles long, and several rocks, resembling the Mewstone, (particularly one which we so named,) about four or five leagues E.S.E  $1\frac{1}{2}$  E. off the above cape, which Tasman has not mentioned, or laid down in his draughts. After you pass these islands, the land lies E. by N., and W. by S., by the compass nearly. It is a bold shore, and seems to afford several bays or anchoring-places, but believe deep water. From the S.W. cape, which is in the latitude of 43 deg. 39' S., and longitude 145 deg. 50' E. to the S.E. cape, in the latitude 43 deg. 36' S., longitude 147 deg. E., is nearly sixteen leagues, and sounding from forty-eight to seventy fathoms, sand and broken shells three or four leagues off shore. Here the country is hilly and full of trees, the shore rocky and difficult landing, occasioned by the wind blowing here continually from the westward, which occasions such a surf that the sand cannot lie on the shore. We saw no inhabitants here.

The morning, on the 10th of March, being calm, the ship then about four miles from the land, sent the great cutter on shore with the second lieutenant, to find if there was any harbour or good bay. Soon after, it beginning to blow very hard, made the signal for the boat to return several times, but they did not see or hear any thing of it; the ship then three or four leagues off, that we could not see any thing of the boat, which gave us great uneasiness, as there was a very great sea. At half-past one p.m. to our great satisfaction, the boat returned on board safe. They landed, but with much difficulty, and saw several places where the Indians had been, and one they lately had left, where they had a fire, with a great number of pearl escallop shells round it, which shells they brought on board, with, some burnt sticks and green boughs. There was a path from this place, through the woods, which in all probability leads to their habitations; but, by reason of the weather, had not time to pursue it. The soil seems to be very rich; the country well clothed with wood, particularly on the lee side of the hills; plenty of water which falls from the rocks in beautiful cascades, for two or three hundred feet perpendicular into the sea; but they did not see the least sign of any place to anchor in with safety. Hoisted in the boat, and made sail for Frederick Henry Bay. From noon to three p.m. running along shore E. by N., at which time we were abreast of the westernmost point of a very deep bay, called by Tasman, Stormy Bay. From the west to the east point of this bay there are several small islands, and black rocks, which we called the Friars. While crossing this bay we had very heavy squalls and thick weather; at times, when it cleared up, I saw several fires in the bottom of the bay, which is near two or three leagues deep, and has, I doubt not, good places for anchoring, but the weather being so bad, did not think it safe to stand into it. From the Friars the land trenches away about N. by E. four leagues: We had smooth water, and kept in shore, having regular soundings from twenty to fifteen fathoms water. At half-past six we hauled round a high bluff point, the rocks whereof were like so many fluted pillars, and had ten fathoms water, fine sand, within half a mile of the shore. At seven, being abreast of a fine bay, and having little wind, we came-to, with the small bower, in twenty-four fathoms, sandy bottom. Just after we anchored, being a fine clear evening, had a good observation of the star Antares and the moon, which gave the longitude of 147 deg. 34' E., being in the latitude of 43 deg. 20' S. We first

took this bay to be that which Tasman called Frederick Henry Bay; but afterwards found that his is laid down five leagues to the northward of this.

At day-break the next morning, I sent the master in shore to sound the bay, and to find out a watering-place; at eight he returned, having found a most excellent harbour, clear ground from side to side, from eighteen to five fathom water all over the bay, gradually decreasing as you go in shore. We weighed and turned up into the bay; the wind being westerly, and very little of it, which baffled us much in getting in. At seven o'clock in the evening, we anchored in seven fathoms water, with a small bower, and moored with the coasting anchor to the westward, the north point of the bay N.N.E.  $1/2$  E. (which we take to be Tasman's Head), and the easternmost point (which we named Penguin Island, from a curious one we caught there) N.E. by E  $3/4$  E.; the watering-place W.  $1/2$  N.; about one mile from the shore on each side; Maria's Island, which is about five or six leagues off, shut in with both points; so that you are quite land-locked in a most spacious harbour.

We lay here five days, which time was employed in wooding and watering (which is easily got), and over-hauling the rigging. We found the country very pleasant; the soil a black, rich, though thin one; the sides of the hills covered with large trees, and very thick, growing to a great height before they branch off. They are all of the evergreen kind, different from any I ever saw; the wood is very brittle, and easily split; there is a very little variety of sorts, having seen but two. The leaves of one are long and narrow; and the seed (of which I got a few) is in the shape of a button, and has a very agreeable smell. The leaves of the other are like the bay, and it has a seed like the white thorn, with an agreeable spicy taste and smell. Out of the trees we cut down for fire-wood, there issued some gum, which the surgeon called gum-lac. The trees are mostly burnt or scorched, near the ground, occasioned by the natives setting fire to the under-wood, in the most frequented places; and by these means they have rendered it easy walking. The land birds we saw, are a bird like a raven; some of the crow kind, black, with the tips of the feathers of the tail and wings white, their bill long and very sharp; some paroquets; and several kinds of small birds. The sea-fowl are ducks, teal, and the sheldrake. I forgot to mention a large white bird, that one of the gentlemen shot, about the size of a large kite of the eagle kind. As for beasts, we saw but one, which was an opossum; but we observed the dung of some, which we judged to be of the deer kind. The fish in the bay are scarce; those we caught were mostly sharks, dog-fish, and a fish called by the seamen nurses, like the dog-fish, only full of small white spots; and some small fish not unlike sprats. The lagoons (which are brackish) abound with trout, and several other sorts of fish, of which we caught a few with lines, but being much encumbered with stumps of trees, we could not haul the seine.

While we lay here, we saw several smokes and large fires, about eight or ten miles in shore to the northward, but did not see any of the natives; though they frequently come into this bay, as there were several wigwams or huts, where we found some bags and nets made of grass, in which I imagine they carry their provisions and other necessities. In one of them there was the stone they strike fire with, and tinder made of bark, but

of what tree could not be distinguished. We found in one of their huts, one of their spears, which was made sharp at one end, I suppose, with a shell or stone. Those things we brought away, leaving in the room of them medals, gun- flints, a few nails, and an old empty barrel with the iron hoops on it. They seem to be quite ignorant of every sort of metal. The boughs, of which their huts are made, are either broken or split, and tied together with grass in a circular form, the largest end stuck in the ground, and the smaller parts meeting in a point at the top, and covered with fern and bark, so poorly done, that they will hardly keep out a shower of rain. In the middle is the fire-place, surrounded with heaps of muscle, pearl, scallop, and cray-fish shells, which I believe to be their chief food, though we could not find any of them. They lie on the ground, on dried grass, round the fire; and I believe they have no settled place of habitation (as their houses seemed built only for a few days), but wander about in small parties from place to place in search of food, and are actuated by no other motive. We never found more than three or four huts in a place, capable of containing three or four persons each only; and what is remarkable, we never saw the least marks either of canoe or boat, and it is generally thought they have none; being altogether, from what we could judge, a very ignorant and wretched set of people, though natives of a country capable of producing every necessary of life, and a climate the finest in the world. We found not the least signs of any minerals or metals.

Having completed our wood and water, we sailed from Adventure Bay, intending to coast it up along shore, till we should fall in with the land seen by Captain Cook, and discover whether Van Diemen's Land joins with New Holland. On the 16th, we passed Maria's Islands, so named by Tassman; they appear to be the same as the main land. On the 17th, having passed Shouten's Islands, we hauled in for the main land, and stood along shore at the distance of two or three leagues off. The country here appears to be very thickly inhabited, as there was a continual fire along shore as we sailed. The land hereabouts is much pleasanter, low, and even; but no signs of a harbour or bay, where a ship might anchor with safety. The weather being bad, and blowing hard at S.S.E., we could not send a boat on shore to have any intercourse with the inhabitants. In the latitude of 40 deg. 50' S., the land trenches away to the westward, which I believe forms a deep bay, as we saw from the deck several smokes arising a-back of the islands that lay before it, when we could not see the least signs of land from the mast head.

From the latitude of 40 deg. 50' S., to the latitude of 39 deg. 50' S., is nothing but islands and shoals; the land high, rocky, and barren. On the 19th, in the latitude of 40 deg. 30' S., observing breakers about half a mile within shore of us, we sounded, and finding but eight fathoms, immediately hauled off, deepened our water to fifteen fathoms, then bore away and kept along shore again. From the latitude of 39 deg. 50' to 39 deg. S., we saw no land, but had regular soundings from fifteen to thirty fathoms. As we stood on to the northward, we made land again in about 39 deg.; after which we discontinued our northerly course, as we found the ground very uneven, and shoal-water some distance off. I think it a very dangerous shore to fall in with.

The coast, from Adventure Bay to the place where we stood away for New Zealand, lies in the direction S.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  W., and N.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  E., about seventy-five leagues; and it is my opinion that there are no straits between New Holland and Van Diemen's Land, but a very deep bay.—I should have stood farther to the northward, but the wind blowing strong at S.S.E., and looking likely to haul round to the eastward, which would have blown right on the land, I therefore thought it more proper to leave the coast and steer for New Zealand.

After we left Van Diemen's Land, we had very uncertain weather, with rain and very heavy gusts of wind. On the 24th, we were surprised with a very severe squall, that reduced us from top-gallant sails to reefed courses, in the space of an hour. The sea rising equally quick, we shipped many waves, one of which stove the large cutter, and drove the small one from her lashing in the waist; and with much difficulty we saved her from being washed overboard. This gale lasted twelve hours, after which we had more moderate weather, intermixed with calms. We frequently hoisted out the boats to try the currents, and in general found a small drift to the W.S.W. We shot many birds; and had, upon the whole, good weather; but as we got near to the land, it came on thick and dirty for several days, till we made the coast of New Zealand in 40 deg. 30' S., having made twenty-four degrees of longitude, from Adventure Bay, after a passage of fifteen days.

We had the winds much southerly in this passage, and I was under some apprehensions of not being able to fetch the straits, which would have obliged us to steer away for George's Island; I would therefore advise any who sail to this part, to keep to the southward, particularly in the fall of the year, when the S. and S.E. winds prevail.

## 1773 April

The land, when we first made it, appeared high, and formed a confused jumble of hills and mountains. We steered along shore to the northward, but were much retarded in our course by reason of the swell from the N.E. At noon, on the 3rd of April, Cape Farewell, which is the south point of the entrance of the west side of the straits, bore E. by N.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  N. by the compass, three or four leagues distant. About eight o'clock we entered the straits, and steered N.E. till midnight; then brought-to till day-light, and had soundings from forty-five to fifty-eight fathoms, sand and broken shells. At day-light, made sail and steered S.E. by E.; had light airs; Mount Egmont N.N.E. eleven or twelve leagues, and Point Stephens S.E.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  E. seven leagues. At noon, Mount Egmont N. by E. twelve leagues; Stephens Island S.E. five leagues. In the afternoon we put the dredge over-board in sixty-five fathoms; but caught nothing except a few small scallops, two or three oysters, and broken shells.

Standing to the eastward for Charlotte's Sound, with a light breeze at N.W., in the morning on the 5th, Stephens Island bearing S.W. by W. four leagues, we were taken a-back with a strong easterly gale, which obliged us to haul our wind to the S.E. and work to windward up under Port Jackson. The course from Stephens Island to Point

Jackson, is nearly S.E. by the compass, eleven leagues distant, depth of water from forty to thirty-two fathoms, sandy ground. As we stood off and on, we fired several guns, but saw no signs of any inhabitants. In the afternoon, at half-past two, o'clock, finding the tide set the ship to the westward, we anchored with the coasting anchor in thirty-nine fathoms water, muddy ground; Point Jackson S.E.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  E. three leagues; the east point of an inlet (about four leagues to the westward of Point Jackson, and which appears to be a good harbour) S.W. by W.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  W. At eight p.m. the tide slackening, we weighed and made sail (having while at anchor caught several fish with hook and line), and found the tide to run to the westward, at the rate of two and a half knots per hour. Standing to the east, we found no ground at seventy fathoms, off Point Jackson N.N.W., two leagues. At eight the next morning, had the sound open; but the wind being down, it obliged us to work up under the western shore, as the tide sets up strong there, when it runs down in mid channel. At ten, the tide being done, was obliged to come-to with the best bower in thirty-eight fathoms, close to some white rocks, Point Jackson bearing N.W.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  N.; the northernmost of the Brothers E. by S.; and the middle of Entry Island (which lies on the north side of the straits) N.E. We made 15 deg. 30' E., variation in the straits. As we sailed up the sound we saw the tops of high mountains covered with snow, which remains all the year. When the tide slackened, we weighed and sailed up the sound; and about five o'clock on the 7th, anchored in Ship Cove, in ten fathoms water, muddy ground, and moored the best bower to the N.N.E., and small to S.S.W. In the night, we heard the howling of dogs, and people hallooing on the east shore.

The two following days were employed in clearing a place on Motuara Island for erecting our tents for the sick (having then several on board much afflicted with the scurvy), the sail-makers and coopers. On the top of the island was a post erected, by the Endeavour's people, with her name and time of departure on it.

On the 9th, we were visited by three canoes with about sixteen of the natives; and to induce them to bring us fish and other provisions, we gave them several things, with which they seemed highly pleased. One of our young gentlemen seeing something wrapt up in a better manner than common, had the curiosity to examine what it was; and to his great surprise found it to be the head of a man lately killed. They were very apprehensive of its being forced from them; and particularly the man who seemed most interested in it, whose very flesh crept on his bones, for fear of being punished by us, as Captain Cook had expressed his great abhorrence of this unnatural act. They used every method to conceal the head, by shifting it from one to another; and by signs endeavouring to convince us, that there was no such thing amongst them, though we had seen it but a few minutes before. They then took their leave of us, and went on shore.

They frequently mentioned Tupia, which was the name of the native of George's Island (or Otaheite), brought here by the Endeavour, and who died at Batavia; and when we told them he was dead, some of them seemed to be very much concerned, and, as well as we could understand them, wanted to know whether we killed him, or



if he died a natural death. By these questions, they are the same tribe Captain Cook saw. In the afternoon, they returned again with fish and fern roots, which they sold for nails and other trifles; though the nails are what they set the most value on. The man and woman who had the head, did not come off again. Having a catalogue of words in their language, we called several things by name, which surprised them greatly. They wanted it much, and offered a great quantity of fish for it.

Next morning, they returned again, to the number of fifty or sixty, with their chief at their head (as we supposed), in five double canoes. They gave us their implements of war, stone hatchets, and clothes, &c. for nails and old bottles, which they put a great value on. A number of the head men came on board us, and it was with some difficulty we got them out of the ship by fair means; but on the appearance of a musket with a fixed bayonet, they all went into their canoes very quickly. We were daily visited by more or less, who brought us fish in great plenty for nails, beads, and other trifles, and behaved very peaceably.

We settled the astronomer with his instruments, and a sufficient guard, on a small island, that is joined to Motuara at low water, called the Hippa, where there was an old fortified town that the natives had forsaken. Their houses served our people to live in; and, by sinking them about a foot inside, we made them very comfortable. Having done this, we struck our tents on the Motuara, and having removed the ship farther into the cove on the west shore, moored her for the winter. We then erected our tents near the river or watering-place, and sent ashore all the spars and lumber off the decks, that they might be caulked; and gave her a winter coat to preserve the hull and rigging.

## **1773 May**

On the 11th of May, we felt two severe shocks of an earthquake, but received no kind of damage. On the 17th, we were surprised by the people firing guns on the Hippa, and having sent the boat, as soon as she opened the sound, had the pleasure of seeing the Resolution off the mouth of it. We immediately sent out the boats to tow her in, it being calm. In the evening she anchored about a mile without us; and next morning weighed and warped within us. Both ships felt uncommon joy at our meeting, after an absence of fourteen weeks.

## **Chapter VIII. Transactions in Queen Charlotte's Sound, with some Remarks on the Inhabitants.**

### **1773 May**

Knowing that scurvy-grass, celery, and other vegetables, were to be found in this sound, I went myself the morning after my arrival, at day-break, to look for some, and returned on board at breakfast with a boat-load. Being now satisfied, that enough was

to be got for the crews of both ships, I gave orders that they should be boiled, with wheat and portable broth, every morning for breakfast; and with peas and broth for dinner; knowing from experience, that these vegetables, thus dressed, are extremely beneficial, in removing all manner of scorbutic complaints.

I have already mentioned a desire I had of visiting Van Diemen's Land, in order to inform myself if it made a part of New Holland; and I certainly should have done this, had the winds proved favourable. But as Captain Furneaux had now, in a great measure, cleared up that point, I could have no business there; and therefore came to a resolution to continue our researches to the east, between the latitudes of 41 deg. and 46 deg. I acquainted Captain Furneaux therewith, and ordered him to get his ship in readiness to put to sea as soon as possible.

In the morning of the 20th, I sent ashore, to the watering-place near the Adventure's tent, the only ewe and ram remaining, of those which I brought from the Cape of Good Hope, with an intent to leave them in this country. Soon after I visited the several gardens Captain Furneaux had caused to be made and planted with various articles; all of which were in a flourishing state, and, if attended to by the natives, may prove of great utility to them. The next day I set some men to work to make a garden on Long Island, which I planted with garden seeds, roots, &c.

On the 22d in the morning, the ewe and ram, I had with so much care and trouble brought to this place, were both found dead, occasioned, as was supposed, by eating some poisonous plant. Thus my hopes of stocking this country with a breed of sheep, were blasted in a moment. About noon, we were visited, for the first time since I arrived, by some of the natives, who dined with us; and it was not a little they devoured. In the evening they were dismissed with presents.

Early in the morning of the 24th, I sent Mr Gilbert the master to sound about the rock we had discovered in the entrance of the sound. Myself, accompanied by Captain Furneaux and Mr Forster, went in a boat to the west bay on a shooting party. In our way, we met a large canoe in which were fourteen or fifteen people. One of the first questions they asked was for Tupia, the person I brought from Otaheite on my former voyage; and they seemed to express some concern when we told them he was dead. These people made the same enquiry of Captain Furneaux when he first arrived; and, on my return to the ship in the evening, I was told that a canoe had been along-side, the people in which seemed to be strangers, and who also enquired for Tupia. Late in the evening Mr Gilbert returned, having sounded all round the rock, which he found to be very small and steep.

Nothing worthy of notice happened till the 29th, when several of the natives made us a visit, and brought with them a quantity of fish, which they exchanged for nails, &c. One of these people I took over to Motuara, and shewed him some potatoes planted there by Mr Fannen, master of the Adventure. There seemed to be no doubt of their succeeding; and the man was so well pleased with them, that he, of his own accord, began to hoe the earth up about the plants. We next took him to the other gardens, and shewed him the turnips, carrots, and parsnips; roots which, together with the

potatoes, will be of more real use to them than all the other articles we had planted. It was easy to give them an idea of these roots, by comparing them with such as they knew.

Two or three families of these people now took up their abode near us, employing themselves daily in fishing, and supplying us with the fruits of their labour; the good effects of which we soon felt. For we were, by no means, such expert fishers as they are; nor were any of our methods of fishing equal to theirs.

## 1773 June

On the 2d of June, the ships being nearly ready to put to sea, I sent on shore on the east side of the sound, two goats, male and female. The former was something more than a year old; but the latter was much older. She had two fine kids, some time before we arrived in Dusky Bay, which were killed by cold, as hath been already mentioned. Captain Furneaux also put on shore, in Cannibal Cove, a boar and two breeding sows; so that we have reason to hope this country will in time be stocked with these animals, if they are not destroyed by the natives before they become wild; for, afterwards, they will be in no danger. But as the natives knew nothing of their being left behind, it may be some time before they are discovered.

In our excursion to the east, we met with the largest seal I had ever seen. It was swimming on the surface of the water, and suffered us to come near enough to fire at it; but without effect; for, after a chase of near an hour, we were obliged to leave it. By the size of this animal, it probably was a sea-lioness. It certainly bore much resemblance to the drawing in Lord Anson's voyage; our seeing a sea-lion when we entered this sound, in my former voyage, increaseth the probability; and I am of opinion, they have their abode on some of the rocks, which lie in the strait, or off Admiralty Bay.

On the 3d, I sent a boat with the carpenter over to the east side of the sound, to cut down some spars which we were in want of. As she was returning, she was chased by a large double canoe full of people; but with what intent is not known. Early the next morning, some of our friends brought us a large supply of fish. One of them agreed to go away with us; but afterwards, that is, when it came to the point, he changed his mind; as did some others who had promised to go with the Adventure.

It was even said that some of them offered their children to sale. I however found that this was a mistake. The report first took its rise on board the Adventure, where they were utter strangers to their language and customs. It was very common for these people to bring their children with them, and present them to us, in expectation that we would make them presents; this happened to me the preceding morning. A man brought his son, a boy about nine or ten years of age, and presented him to me. As the report of selling their children was then current, I thought, at first, that he wanted me to buy the boy. But at last I found that he wanted me to give him a white shirt, which I accordingly did. The boy was so fond of his new dress, that he went all over the ship, presenting himself before every one that came in his way. This freedom used

by him offended Old Will, the ram goat, who gave him a butt with his horns, and knocked him backward on the deck. Will would have repeated his blow, had not some of the people come to the boy's assistance. The misfortune, however, seemed to him irreparable. The shirt was dirtied, and he was afraid to appear in the cabin before his father, until brought in by Mr Forster; when he told a very lamentable story against goury the great dog (for so they call all the quadrupeds we had aboard), nor could he be reconciled, till his shirt was washed and dried. This story, though extremely trifling in itself, will shew how liable we are to mistake these people's meaning, and to ascribe to them customs they never knew even in thought.

About nine o'clock, a large double canoe, in which were twenty or thirty people, appeared in sight. Our friends on board seemed much alarmed, telling us that these were their enemies. Two of them, the one with a spear, and the other with a stone-hatchet in his hand, mounted the arm-chests on the poop, and there, in a kind of bravado, bid those enemies defiance; while the others, who were on board, took to their canoe and went ashore, probably to secure the women and children.

All I could do, I could not prevail on the two that remained to call these strangers along-side; on the contrary, they were displeased at my doing it, and wanted me to fire upon them. The people in the canoe seemed to pay very little regard to those on board, but kept advancing slowly towards the ship, and after performing the usual ceremonies, put along-side. After this the chief was easily prevailed upon to come on board, followed by many others, and peace was immediately established on all sides. Indeed, it did not appear to me that these people had any intention to make war upon their brethren. At least, if they had, they were sensible enough to know, that this was neither the time nor place for them to commit hostilities.

One of the first questions these strangers asked, was for Tupia; and when I told them he was dead, one or two expressed their sorrow by a kind of lamentation, which to me appeared more formal than real. A trade soon commenced between our people and them. It was not possible to hinder the former from selling the clothes from off their backs for the merest trifles, things that were neither useful nor curious. This caused me to dismiss the strangers sooner than I would have done. When they departed, they went to Motuara, where, by the help of our glasses, we discovered four or five canoes, and several people on the shore. This induced me to go over in my boat, accompanied by Mr Forster and one of the officers. We were well received by the chief and the whole tribe, which consisted of between ninety and a hundred persons, men, women, and children, having with them six canoes, and all their utensils; which made it probable that they were come to reside in this sound. But this is only conjecture; for it is very common for them, when they go but a little way, to carry their whole property with them; every place being alike, if it affords them the necessary subsistence; so that it can hardly be said they are ever from home. Thus we may easily account for the emigration of those few families we found in Dusky Bay.

Living thus dispersed in small parties, knowing no head but the chief of the family or tribe, whose authority may be very little, they feel many inconveniences, to which well-

regulated societies, united under one head or any other form of government, are not subject. These form laws and regulations for their general good; they are not alarmed at the appearance of every stranger; and, if attacked or invaded by a public enemy, have strong-holds to retire to, where they can with advantage defend themselves, their property, and their country. This seems to be the state of most of the inhabitants of Eahei-nomauwe; whereas those of Tavai-poenammoo, by living a wandering life in small parties, are destitute of most of these advantages, which subjects them to perpetual alarms. We generally found them upon their guard, travelling and working, as it were with their arms in their hands. Even the women are not exempted from bearing arms, as appeared by the first interview I had with the family in Dusky Bay; where each of the two women was armed with a spear, not less than 18 feet in length.

I was led into these reflections, by not being able to recollect the face of any one person I had seen here three years ago: Nor did it once appear, that any one of them had the least knowledge of me, or of any person with me that was here at that time. It is therefore highly probable that the greatest part of the people which inhabited this sound in the beginning of the year 1770, have been since driven out of it, or have, of their own accord, removed somewhere else. Certain it is, that not one third of the inhabitants were here now, that were then. Their stronghold on the point of Motuara hath been long deserted; and we found many forsaken habitations in all parts of the sound. We are not, however, wholly to infer from this, that this place hath been once very populous; for each family may, for their own convenience, when they move from place to place, have more huts than one or two.

It may be asked, if these people had never seen the Endeavour, nor any of her crew, how could they become acquainted with the name of Tupia, or have in their possession (which many of them had) such articles, as they could only have got from that ship? To this it may be answered, that the name of Tupia was so popular among them when the Endeavour was here, that it would be no wonder if, at this time, it was known over great part of New Zealand, and as familiar to those who never saw him, as to those who did. Had ships, of any other nation whatever, arrived here, they would have equally enquired of them for Tupia. By the same way of reasoning, many of the articles left here by the Endeavour, may be now in possession of those who never saw her. I got from one of the people, now present, an ear ornament, made of glass very well formed and polished. The glass they must have got from the Endeavour.

After passing about an hour on Motuara with these people, and having distributed among them some presents, and shewed to the chief the gardens we had made, I returned on board, and spent the remainder of our royal master's birth-day in festivity; having the company of Captain Furneaux and all his officers. Double allowance enabled the seamen to share in the general joy.

Both ships being now ready for sea, I gave Captain Furneaux an account in writing of the route I intended to take; which was to proceed to the east, between the latitudes of 41 deg. and 46 deg. S., until I arrived in the longitude of 140 deg. or 135 deg. W., then, provided no land was discovered; to proceed to Otaheite; from thence back to

this place, by the shortest route; and after taking in wood and water, to proceed to the south, and explore all the unknown parts of the sea between the meridian of New Zealand and Cape Horn. Therefore, in case of separation before we reached Otaheite, I appointed that island for the place of rendezvous, where he was to wait till the 20th of August: If not joined by me before that time, he was then to make the best of his way back to Queen Charlotte's Sound, where he was to wait until the 20th of November: After which (if not joined by me,) he was to put to sea, and carry into execution their lordships' instructions.

Some may think it an extraordinary step in me to proceed on discoveries as far south at 46 deg. degrees of latitude, in the very depth of winter. But though it most be owned, that winter is by no means favourable for discoveries, it nevertheless appeared to me necessary that something should be done in it, in order to lessen the work I was upon; lest I should not be able to finish the discovery of the southern part of the South Pacific Ocean the ensuing summer. Besides, if I should discover any land in my route to the east, I should be ready to begin, with the summer, to explore it. Setting aside all these considerations, I had little to fear; having two good ships well provided; and healthy crews. Where then could I spend my time better? If I did nothing more, I was at least in hopes of being able to point out to posterity, that these seas may be navigated, and that it is practicable to go on discoveries; even in the very depth of winter.

During our stay in the sound, I had observed that this second visit made to this country, had not mended the morals of the natives of either sex. I had always looked upon the females of New Zealand to be more chaste than the generality of Indian women. Whatever favours a few of them might have granted to the people in the Endeavour, it was generally done in a private manner, and the men did not seem to interest themselves much in it. But now, I was told, they were the chief promoters of a shameful traffic, and that for a spike-nail, or any other thing they value, they would oblige the women to prostitute themselves, whether they would or no; and even without any regard to that privacy which decency required.

During our stay here, Mr Wales lost no opportunity to observe equal altitudes of the sun, for obtaining the rates of the watches. The result of his labours proved, that Mr Kendal's was gaining 9", 5 per day, and Mr Arnold's losing 94", 15s per day, on mean time.

## Chapter IX. Route from New Zealand to Otaheite, with an Account of some low Islands, supposed to be the same that were seen by M. de Bougainville.

1773 June

On the 7th of June, at four in the morning, the wind being more favourable, we unmoored, and at seven weighed and put to sea, with the Adventure in company. We had no sooner got out of the sound, than we found the wind at south, so that we had to ply through the straits. About noon the tide of ebb setting out in our favour, made our boards advantageous; so that, at five o'clock in the evening. Cape Palliser, on the island of Eahei-nomauwe, bore S.S.E.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  S., and Cape Koamaroo, or the S.E. point of the sound, N. by W.  $3\frac{3}{4}$  W.; presently after it fell calm, and the tide of flood now making against us, carried us at a great rate back to the north. A little before high-water, the calm was succeeded by a breeze from the north, which soon increased to a brisk gale. This, together with the ebb, carried us by eight o'clock the next morning quite through the strait. Cape Palliser at this time bore E.N.E., and at noon N. by W. distant seven leagues.

This day at noon, when we attended the winding-up of the watches, the fusee of Mr Arnold's would not turn round, so that after several unsuccessful trials we were obliged to let it go down.

After getting clear of the straits, I directed my course S.E. by E., having a gentle gale, but variable between the north and west. The late S.E. winds having caused a swell from the same quarter, which did not go down for some days, we had little hopes of meeting with land in that direction. We however continued to steer to the S.E., and on the 11th crossed the meridian of 180 deg., and got into the west longitude, according to my way of reckoning.

On the 16th, at seven in the morning, the wind having veered round to S.E., we tacked and stretched to N.E., being at this time in the latitude of 47 deg. 7', longitude 173 deg. W. In this situation we had a great swell from N.E.

The wind continued at S.E. and S.S.E., blew fresh at intervals, and was attended with sometimes fair, and at other times rainy weather, till the 20th, on which day, being in the latitude of 44 deg. 30', longitude 165 deg. 45' W., the wind shifted to the west, blew a gentle gale, and was attended with fair weather. With this we steered E. by N., E. by S., and E., till the 23d at noon, when, being in the latitude of 44 deg. 38' S., longitude 161 deg. 27' W., we had a few hours calm. The calm was succeeded by a wind at east, with which we stood to the north. The wind increased and blew in squalls, attended with rain, which at last brought us under our courses; and at two o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, we were obliged to lie-to under the foresail, having a very hard gale from E.N.E., and a great sea from the same direction.

At seven o'clock in the morning of the 25th, the gale being more moderate, we made sail under the courses, and in the afternoon set the top-sails close-reefed. At midnight, the wind having veered more to the north, we tacked and stretched to the S.E., being at this time in the latitude of 42 deg. 53' S., longitude 163 deg. 20' W.

We continued to stretch to the S.E., with a fresh gale and fair weather, till four o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, when we stood again to the N.E., till midnight between the 27th and 28th. Then we had a few hours calm, which was succeeded by faint breezes from the west. At this time we were in the latitude of 42 deg. 32', longitude 161 deg. 15' W. The wind remained not long at west, before it veered back to the E. by the N., and kept between the S.E. and N.E., but never blew strong.

## 1773 July

On July 2d, being in the latitude of 53 deg. 3', longitude 156 deg. 17' W., we had again a calm, which brought the wind back to the west; but it was of no longer continuance than before. For the next day it returned to the E. and S.E., blew fresh at times, and by squalls, with rain.

On the 7th, being in the latitude of 41 deg. 22', longitude 156 deg. 12' W., we had two hours calm; in which time Mr Wales went on board the Adventure to compare the watches, and they were found to agree, allowing for the difference of their rates of going: A probable, if not a certain proof, that they had gone well since we had been in this sea.

The calm was succeeded by a wind from the south; between which point and the N.W., it continued for the six succeeding days, but never blew strong. It was, however, attended with a great hollow swell from the S.W. and W., a sure indication that no large land was near in those directions. We now steered east, inclining to the south, and on the 10th, in the latitude of 43 deg. 39', longitude 144 deg. 43' W., the variation was found, by several azimuths, to be more than 3 deg. E., but the next morning it was found to be 4 deg. 5' 30", and in the afternoon, 5 deg. 56' E. The same day, at noon, we were in the latitude of 43 deg. 44', longitude 141 deg. 56' W.

At nine o'clock in the morning of the 12th, the longitude was observed as follows, viz.

Self 1st set 139 deg. 47' 15"

Ditto, 2d set 140 7 30

Mr Wales 1st set 141 22 15

Mr Wales 2d set 140 10 0

Mr Clerke 140 56 45

Mr Gilbert 140 2 0

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Mean 140 24 17-1/2 West.

This differed from my reckoning only 2 deg. 1/2. The next morning, in the latitude of 43 deg. 3', longitude 139 deg. 20' W., we had several lunar observations, which were



consonant to those made the day before, allowing for the ship's run in the time. In the afternoon we had, for a few hours, variable light airs next to a calm; after which we got a wind from the N.E., blowing fresh and in squalls, attended with dark gloomy weather, and some rain.

We stretched to the S.E. till five o'clock in the afternoon on the 14th, at which time, being in the latitude of 43 deg. 15', longitude 137 deg. 39' W., we tacked and stood to the north under our courses, having a very hard gale with heavy squalls, attended with rain, till near noon the next day, when it ended in a calm. At this time we were in the latitude of 42 deg. 39', longitude 137 deg. 58' W. In the evening, the calm was succeeded by a breeze from S.W., which soon after increased to a fresh gale; and fixing at S.S.W, with it we steered N.E.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  E. in the latitude of 41 deg. 25', longitude 135 deg. 58' W., we saw floating in the sea a billet of wood, which seemed to be covered with barnacles; so that there was no judging how long it might have been there, or from whence or how far it had come.

We continued to steer N.E.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  E., before a very strong gale which blew in squalls, attended with showers of rain and hail, and a very high sea from the same quarter, till noon, on the 17th. Being then in the latitude of 39 deg. 44', longitude 133 deg. 32' W., which was a degree and a half farther east than I intended to run; nearly in the middle between my track to the north in 1769, and the return to the south in the same year, and seeing no signs of land, I steered north-easterly, with a view of exploring that part of the sea lying between the two tracks just mentioned, down as low as the latitude of 27 deg., a space that had not been visited by any preceding navigator that I knew of.

On the 19th, being in the latitude of 36 deg. 34', longitude 133 deg. 7' W., we steered N.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  W., having still the advantage of a hard gale at south, which the next day veered to S.E. and E., blew hard and by squalls, attended with rain and thick hazy weather. This continued till the evening of the 21st, when the gale abated, the weather cleared up, and the wind backed to the S. and S.E.

We were now in the latitude of 32 deg. 30', longitude 133 deg. 40' W., from this situation we steered N.N.W. till noon the next day, when we steered a point more to the west; being at this time in the latitude of 31 deg. 6', longitude 134 deg. 12' W. The weather was now so warm, that it was necessary to put on lighter clothes; the mercury in the thermometer at noon rose to 63. It had never been lower than 46, and seldom higher than 54, at the same time of the day, since we left New Zealand.

This day was remarkable by our not seeing a single bird. Not one had passed since we left the land, without seeing some of the following birds, viz. albatrosses, sheerwaters, pintadoes, blue peterels, and Port Egmont hens. But these frequent every part of the Southern Ocean in the higher latitudes: Not a bird, nor any other thing, was seen that could induce us to think that we had ever been in the neighbourhood of any land.

The wind kept veering round from the S. by the W. to N.N.W., with which we stretched north till noon the next day, when, being in the latitude of 29 deg. 22', we tacked and stretched to the westward. The wind soon increased to a very hard gale, attended with rain, and blew in such heavy squalls as to split the most of our sails. This

weather continued till the morning of the 25th, when the wind became more moderate, and veered to N.W. and W.N.W., with which we steered and stretched to N.E., being at that time in the latitude of 29 deg. 51', longitude 130 deg. 28' W. In the afternoon the sky cleared up, and the weather became fair and settled. We now met the first tropic bird we had seen in this sea.

On the 26th, in the afternoon, being in the latitude of 28 deg. 44', we had several observations of the sun and moon, which gave the longitude 135 deg. 30' W. My reckoning at the same time was 135 deg. 27', and I had no occasion to correct it since I left the land. We continued to stretch to the north, with light breezes from the westward, till noon, the next day, when we were stopped by a calm; our latitude at this time being 27 deg. 53', longitude 135 deg. 17' W. In the evening, the calm was succeeded by a breeze from the N. and N.W., with which we plied to the N.

On the 29th I sent on board the *Adventure* to enquire into the state of her crew, having heard that they were sickly; and this I now found was but too true. Her cook was dead, and about twenty of her best men were down in the scurvy and flux. At this time we had only three men on the sick list, and only one of them attacked with the scurvy. Several more, however, began to shew symptoms of it, and were accordingly put upon the wort, marmalade of carrots, rob of lemons and oranges.

I know not how to account for the scurvy raging more in the one ship than the other, unless it was owing to the crew of the *Adventure* being more scorbutic when they arrived in New Zealand than we were, and to their eating few or no vegetables while they lay in Queen Charlotte's Sound, partly for want of knowing the right sorts, and partly because it was a new diet, which alone was sufficient for seamen to reject it. To introduce any new article of food among seamen, let it be ever so much for their good, requires both the example and authority of a commander; without both, of which it will be dropt before the people are sensible of the benefits resulting from it. Were it necessary, I could name fifty instances in support of this remark. Many of my people, officers as well seamen, at first disliked celery, scurvy-grass, &c., being boiled in the peas and wheat; and some refused to eat it. But, as this had no effect on my conduct, this obstinate kind of prejudice by little and little wore off; they began to like it as well as the others; and now, I believe, there was hardly a man in the ship that did not attribute our being so free from the scurvy, to the beer and vegetables we made use of at New Zealand. After this I seldom found it necessary to order any of my people to gather vegetables, whenever we came where any were to be got, and if scarce, happy was he who could lay hold on them first. I appointed one of my seamen to be cook of the *Adventure*, and wrote to Captain Furneaux, desiring him to make use of every method in his power to stop the spreading of the disease amongst his people, and proposing such as I thought might tend towards it. But I afterwards found all this unnecessary, as every method had been used they could think of.

## 1773 August

The wind continued in the N.W. quarter, and blew fresh at times, attended with rain; with which we stood to the N.E. On the 1st of August, at noon, we were in the latitude of 25 deg. 1', longitude 134 deg. 6' W., and had a great hollow swell from N.W. The situation we were now in, was nearly the same that Captain Carteret assigns for Pitcairn's Island, discovered by him in 1767. We therefore looked well out for it, but saw nothing. According to the longitude in which he has placed it, we must have passed about fifteen leagues to the west of it. But as this was uncertain, I did not think it prudent, considering the situation of the Adventure's people, to lose any time in looking for it. A sight of it would, however, have been of use in verifying, or correcting, not only the longitude of this isle, but of the others that Captain Carteret discovered in this neighbourhood; his longitude not being confirmed, I think, by astronomical observations, and therefore liable to errors, which he could have no method to correct.

As we had now got to the northward of Captain Carteret's tracks, all hopes of discovering a continent vanished. Islands were all we were to expect to find, until we returned again to the south. I had now, that is on this and my former voyage, crossed this ocean in the latitude of 40 deg. and upwards, without meeting any thing that in the least induced me to think I should find what I was in search after. On the contrary, every thing conspired to make me believe there is no southern continent, between the meridian of America and New Zealand; at least, this passage did not produce any indubitable signs of any, as will appear by the following remarks. After leaving the coasts of New Zealand, we daily saw floating on the sea rock- weed, for the space of 18 deg. of longitude. In my passage to New Zealand in 1769, we also saw this weed, for the space of 12 or 14 deg. of longitude before we made the land. The weed is undoubtedly the produce of New Zealand; because the nearer the coast, the greater quantity you see. At the greatest distance from the coast, we saw it only in small pieces, generally more rotten, and covered with barnacles, an indubitable sign that it had been long at sea. Were it not for this, one might be led to conjecture that some other large land lay in the neighbourhood; for it cannot be a small extent of coast to produce such a quantity of weed, as to cover so large a space of sea. It hath been already mentioned, that we were no sooner clear of the straits, than we met with a large hollow swell from the S.E., which continued till we arrived in the longitude of 177 deg. W., and latitude 46 deg.. There we had large billows from the N. and N.E., for five days successively, and until we got 5 deg. of longitude more to the east, although the wind, great part of the time, blew from different directions. This was a strong indication that there was no land between us and my track to the west in 1769. After this, we had, as is usual in all great oceans, large billows from every direction in which the wind blew a fresh gale, but more especially from the S.W. These billows never ceased with the cause that first put them in motion; a sure indication that we were not near any large land, and that there is no continent to the south, unless in a very high latitude. But this was too important a point to be left to opinions and conjectures. Facts were to

determine it, and these could only be obtained by visiting the southern parts; which was to be the work of the ensuing summer, agreeable to the plan I had laid down. As the winds continued to blow from the N.W. and W., we had no other choice but to stand to the north, inclining more or less every day to the east. In the latitude of 21 deg. we saw flying-fish, gannets, and egg-birds. On the sixth, I hoisted a boat out, and sent for Captain Furneaux to dinner, from whom I learnt that his people were much better, the flux having left them, and the scurvy was at a stand. Some cyder which he happened to have, and which he gave to the scorbutic people, contributed not a little to this happy change. The weather to-day was cloudy, and the wind very unsettled. This seemed to announce the approach of the so-much-wished-for trade-wind; which, at eight o'clock in the evening, after two hours calm, and some heavy showers of rain, we actually got at S.E. We were, at this time, in the latitude of 19 deg. 36' S., longitude 131 deg. 32" W. The not meeting with the S.E. trade-wind sooner, is no new thing in this sea. As we had now got it, I directed my course to the W.N.W., as well to keep in the strength of it, as to get to the north of the islands discovered in my former voyage; that if any other islands lay in the way, I might have a chance to discover them. During the day-time we made all the sail we could; but, in the night, either run an easy sail, or lay-to. We daily saw flying-fish, albacores, dolphins, &c., but neither by striking, nor with hook and line, could we catch any of them. This required some art, which none of my people were masters of.

On the 11th at day-break, land was seen to the south. This, upon a nearer approach, we found to be an island of about two leagues in extent, in the direction of N.W. and S.E., and clothed with wood, above which the cocoa-nut trees shewed their lofty heads. I judged it to be one of those isles discovered by Mr Bougainville. It lies in the latitude of 17 deg. 24', longitude 141 deg. 39' W., and I called it after the name of the ship, Resolution Island. The sickly state of the Adventure's crew made it necessary for me to make the best of my way to Otaheite, where I was sure of finding refreshments. Consequently I did not wait to examine this island, which appeared too small to supply our wants, but continued our course to the west, and at six o'clock in the evening, land was seen from the mast-head, bearing W. by S. Probably this was another of Bougainville's discoveries. I named it Doubtful Island, and it lies in the latitude of 17 deg. 20', longitude 141 deg. 38' W. I was sorry I could not spare time to haul to the north of Mr Bougainville's track; but the getting to a place where we could procure refreshments, was more an object at this time than discovery.

During the night we steered W. by N., in order to pass the north of the island above-mentioned. At day-break the next morning, we discovered land right a-head, distant about two miles; so that day-light advised us of our danger but just in time. This proved another of these low or half-drowned islands, or rather a large coral shoal of about twenty leagues in circuit. A very small part of it was land, which consisted of little islets ranged along the north side, and connected by sand-banks and breakers. These islets were clothed with wood, among which the cocoa-nut trees were only distinguishable. We ranged the south side of this isle or shoal at the distance of one or two miles from

the coral-bank, against which the sea broke in a dreadful surf. In the middle is a large lake or inland sea, in which was a canoe under sail.

This island, which I named after Captain Furneaux, lies in the latitude of 17 deg. 5', longitude 143 deg. 16' W. The situation is nearly the same that is assigned for one of those discovered by Bougainville. I must here observe, that amongst these low and half-drowned isles (which are numerous in this part of the ocean,) Mr Bougainville's discoveries cannot be known to that degree of accuracy which is necessary to distinguish them from others. We were obliged to have recourse to his chart for the latitudes and longitudes of the isles he discovered, as neither the one nor the other is mentioned in his narrative. Without waiting to examine this island we continued to steer to the west, all sails set, till six o'clock in the evening, when we shortened sail to three top-sails, and at nine brought-to.

The next morning at four a.m. we made sail, and at daybreak saw another of these low islands, situated in the latitude of 17 deg. 4', longitude 144 deg. 30' W., which obtained the name of Adventure Island. M. de Bougainville very properly calls this cluster of low overflowed isles the Dangerous Archipelago. The smoothness of the sea sufficiently convinced us that we were surrounded by them, and how necessary it was to proceed with the utmost caution, especially in the night.

At five o'clock p.m. we again saw land, bearing S.W. by S., which we afterwards found to be Chain Island, discovered in my former voyage. But as I was not sure of it at this time, and being desirous of avoiding the delay which lying by in the night occasioned, I hoisted out the cutter, and manned her with an officer and seven men, with orders to keep as far a-head of the ships, with a light at her masthead, as a signal could be distinguished, which she was to make in case she met with any danger. In this manner we continued to run all night; and, at six o'clock the next morning, I called her on board, and hoisted her in. For it did not appear she would be wanted again for this purpose, as we had now a large swell from the south, a sure sign that we were clear of the low islands; therefore I steered for Otaheite without being apprehensive of meeting with any danger.

## **Chapter X. Arrival of the Ships at Otaheite, with an Account of the critical Situation they were in, and of several Incidents that happened while they lay in Oaiti-piha Bay.**

### **1773 August**

On the 15th, at five o'clock in the morning, we saw Osnaburg Island, or Maitea, discovered by Captain Wallis, bearing S. by W. 1/2 W. Soon after I brought-to, and waited for the Adventure to come up with us, to acquaint Captain Furneaux that it

was my intention to put into Oaiti-piha Bay, near the south-east end of Otaheite, in order to get what refreshments we could from that part of the island, before we went down to Matavia. This done, we made sail, and at six in the evening saw the land bearing west. We continued to stand on till midnight, when we brought-to, till four o'clock in the morning, and then made sail in for the land with a fine breeze at east.

At day-break we found ourselves not more than half a league from the reef. The breeze now began to fail us, and at last fell to a calm. This made it necessary to hoist out our boats to tow the ships off; but all their efforts were not sufficient to keep them from being carried near the reef. A number of the inhabitants came off in canoes from different parts, bringing with them a little fish, a few cocoa-nuts, and other fruits, which they exchanged for nails, beads, &c. The most of them knew me again, and many enquired for Mr Banks and others who were with me before; but not one asked for Tupia. As the calm continued, our situation became still more dangerous. We were, however, not without hopes of getting round the western point of the reef and into the bay, till about two o'clock in the afternoon, when we came before an opening or break in the reef, through which I hoped to get with the ships. But on sending to examine it, I found there was not a sufficient depth of water; though it caused such an in-draught of the tide of flood through it, as was very near proving fatal to the Resolution; for as soon as the ships got into the stream, they were carried with great impetuosity towards the reef. The moment I perceived this, I ordered one of the warping machines, which we had in readiness, to be carried out with about four hundred fathoms of rope; but it had not the least effect. The horrors of shipwreck now stared us in the face. We were not more than two cables length from the breakers; and yet we could find no bottom to anchor, the only probable means we had left to save the ships. We, however, dropt an anchor; but, before it took hold, and brought us up, the ship was in less than three fathom water, and struck at every fall of the sea, which broke close under our stem in a dreadful surf, and threatened us every moment with shipwreck. The Adventure, very luckily, brought up close upon our bow without striking.

We presently carried out two kedge-anchors, with hawsers to each; these found ground a little without the bower, but in what depth we never knew. By heaving upon them, and cutting away the bower-anchor, we got the ship a-float, where we lay some time in the greatest anxiety, expecting every minute that either the kedges would come home, or the hawsers be cut in two by the rocks. At length the tide ceased to act in the same direction. I ordered all the boats to try to tow off the Resolution; and when I saw this was practicable, we hove up the two kedges. At that moment, a light air came off from the land, which so much assisted the boats, that we soon got clear of all danger. Then I ordered all the boats to assist the Adventure, but before they reached her, she was under sail with the land-breeze, and soon after joined us, leaving behind her three anchors, her coasting cable, and two hawsers, which were never recovered. Thus we were once more safe at sea, after narrowly escaping being wrecked on the very island we but a few days before so ardently wished to be at. The calm, after bringing us into this dangerous situation, very fortunately continued; for, had the sea-breeze,

as is usual, set in, the Resolution must inevitably have been lost, and probably the Adventure too.

During the lime we were in this critical situation, a number of the natives were on board and about the ships. They seemed to be insensible of our danger, shewing not the least surprise, joy, or fear, when we were striking, and left us a little before sun-set, quite unconcerned.

We spent the night, which proved squally and rainy, making short boards; and the next morning, being the 17th, we anchored in Oaiti-piha Bay in twelve fathoms water about two cables length from the shore; both ships being by this time crowded with a great number of the natives, who brought with them cocoa-nuts, plantains, bananoes, apples, yams, and other roots, which they exchanged for nails and beads. To several, who called themselves chiefs, I made presents of shirts, axes, and several other articles, and, in return, they promised to bring me hogs and fowls, a promise they never did, nor ever intended to perform.

In the afternoon, I landed in company with Captain Furneaux, in order to view the watering-place, and to sound the disposition of the natives, I also sent a boat to get some water for present use, having scarcely any left on board. We found this article as convenient as could be expected, and the natives to behave with great civility.

Early in the morning, I sent the two launches and the Resolution's cutter, under the command of Mr Gilbert, to endeavour to recover the anchors we had left behind us; they returned about noon, with the Resolution's bower anchor, but could not recover any of the Adventure's. The natives came off again with fruit, as the day before, but in no great quantity. I also had a party on shore, trading under the protection of a guard; nothing, however, was brought to market but fruit and roots, though many hogs were seen (I was told) about the houses of the natives. The cry was, that they belonged to Waheatoun the Earee de hi, or king, and him we had not yet seen, nor, I believe, any other chief of note. Many, however, who called themselves Earees, came on board, partly with a view of getting presents, and partly to pilfer whatever came in their way.

One of this sort of Earees I had, most of the day, in the cabin, and made presents to him and all his friends, which were not few; at length he was caught taking things which did not belong to him, and handing them out of the quarter gallery. Many complaints of the like nature were made to me against those on deck, which occasioned my turning them all out of the ship. My cabin guest made good haste to be gone; I was so much exasperated at his behaviour, that after he had got some distance from the ship, I fired two muskets over his head, which made him quit the canoe, and take to the water; I then sent a boat to take up the canoe, but as she came near the shore, the people from thence began to pelt her with stones. Being in some pain for her safety, as she was unarmed, I went myself in another boat to protect her, and ordered a great gun, loaded with ball, to be fired along the coast, which made them all retire from the shore, and I was suffered to bring away two canoes without the least shew of opposition. In one of the canoes was a little boy, who was much frightened, but I soon dissipated his fears,

by giving him beads, and putting him on shore. A few hours after, we were all good friends again, and the canoes were returned to the first person who came for them.

It was not till the evening of this day, that any one enquired after Tupia, and then but two or three. As soon as they learnt the cause of his death, they were quite satisfied; indeed, it did not appear to me, that it would have caused a moment's uneasiness in the breast of any one, had his death been occasioned by any other means than by sickness. As little enquiry was made after Aotourou, the man who went away with M. de Bougainville. But they were continually asking for Mr Banks, and several others who were with me in my former voyage.

These people informed us, that Toutaha, the regent of the greater peninsula of Otaheite, had been killed in a battle, which was fought between the two kingdoms about five months before, and that Otoo was the reigning prince. Tubourai Tamaide, and several more of our principal friends about Matavai, fell in this battle, as also a great number of common people; but, at present, a peace subsisted between the two kingdoms.

On the 19th, we had gentle breezes easterly, with some smart showers of rain. Early in the morning, the boats were again sent to recover the Adventure's anchors, but returned with the same ill success as the day before, so that we ceased to look for them any longer, thinking ourselves very happy in having come off so well, considering the situation we had been in. In an excursion which Captain Furneaux and I made along the coast, we met with a chief who entertained us with excellent fish, fruit, &c. In return for his hospitality, I made him a present of an axe and other things; and he afterwards accompanied us back to the ships, where he made but a short stay.

Nothing worthy of note happened on the 20th, till the dusk of the evening, when one of the natives made off with a musquet belonging to the guard on shore. I was present when this happened, and sent some of our people after him, which would have been to little purpose, had not some of the natives, of their own accord, pursued the thief. They knocked him down, took from him the musquet, and brought it to us. Fear, on this occasion, certainly operated more with them than principle. They deserve, however, to be applauded for this act of justice, for, if they had not given their immediate assistance, it would hardly have been in my power to have recovered the musquet, by any gentle means whatever, and by making use of any other, I was sure to lose more than ten times its value.

The 21st, the wind was at north, a fresh breeze. This morning a chief made me a visit, and presented me with a quantity of fruit, among which, were a number of cocoanuts we had drawn the water from, and afterwards thrown, over board; these he had picked up, and tied in bundles so artfully, that we did not at first perceive the cheat; when he was told of it, without betraying the least emotion, and, as if he knew nothing of the matter, he opened two or three of them himself, signified to us, that he was satisfied it was so, and then went ashore and sent off a quantity of plantains and bananoes. Having got on board a supply of water, fruit, and roots, I determined to sail in the morning to Matavai, as I found it was not likely that I should get an interview



with Waheatoua, without which, it was very improbable we should get any hogs. Two of the natives, who knew my intention, slept on board, with a view of going with us to Matavai, but, in the morning, the wind blew fresh at N.W., and as we could not sail, I sent the trading party on shore as usual.

In the evening, I was informed that Waheatoua was come into the neighbourhood, and wanted to see me. In consequence of this information, I determined to wait one day longer, in order to have an interview with this prince. Accordingly, early the next morning, I set out in company with Captain Furneaux, Mr Forster, and several of the natives. We met the chief about a mile from the landing-place, towards which he was advancing to meet us; but, as soon as he saw us, he stopt, with his numerous train, in the open air. I found him seated upon a stool, with a circle of people round him, and knew him at first sight, and he me, having seen each other several times in 1769. At that time he was but a boy, and went by the name of Tearee, but, upon the death of his father, Waheatoun, he took upon him that name.

After the first salutation was over, having seated me on the same stool with himself, and the other gentlemen on the ground by us, he began to enquire after several by name who were with me on my former voyage. He next enquired how long I would stay, and when I told him no longer than next day, he seemed sorry, asked me to stay some months, and at last came down to five days, promising, that in that time I should have hogs in plenty; but, as I had been here already a week, without so much as getting one, I could not put any faith in this promise; and yet, I believe, if I had staid, we should have fared much better than at Matavai. The present I made him consisted of a shirt, a sheet, a broad axe, spike-nails, knives, looking-glasses, medals, beads, &c.; in return, he ordered a pretty good hog to be carried to our boat. We staid with him all the morning, during which time, he never suffered me to go from his side, where he was seated. I was also seated on the same stool, which was carried from place to place by one of his attendants, whom he called stool-bearer. At length we took leave, in order to return on board to dinner, after which, we visited him again, and made him more presents, and he, in return, gave Captain Furneaux and me each of us an hog. Some others were got by exchanges at the trading places; so that we got in the whole, to-day, as much fresh pork as gave the crews of both the ships a meal; and this in consequence of our having this interview with the chief.

The 24th, early in the morning, we put to sea with a light land-breeze. Soon after we were out, we got the wind at west, which blew in squalls, attended with heavy showers of rain. Many canoes accompanied us out to sea, with cocoa-nuts and other fruits, and did not leave us till they had disposed of their cargoes.

The fruits we got here greatly contributed towards the recovery of the Adventure's sick people; many of them, who had been so ill as not to be able to move without assistance, were, in this short time so far recovered, that they could walk about of themselves. When we put in here, the Resolution had but one scorbutic man on board, and a marine, who had been long sick, and who died the second day after our arrival, of a complication of disorders, without the least mixture of the scurvy. I left Lieutenant

Pickersgill, with the cutter, behind the bay, to purchase hogs, as several had promised to bring some down to-day, and I was not willing to lose them.

On the 25th; about noon, Mr Pickersgill returned with eight hogs, which he got at Oaiti-piha. He spent the night at Ohedea, and was well entertained by Ereti, the chief of that district. It was remarkable, that this chief never once asked after Aotouroo, nor did he take the least notice when Mr Pickersgill mentioned his name. And yet M. de Bougainville tells us, this is the very chief who presented Aotouroo to him; which makes it the more extraordinary, that he should neither enquire after him now, nor when he was with us at Matavai, especially as they believed that we and M. de Bougainville came from the same country, that is, from Pretane, for so they called our country. They had not the least knowledge of any other European nation, nor probably will they, unless some of those men should return who had lately gone from the isle, of which mention shall be made bye and bye. We told several of them, that M. de Bougainville came from France, a name they could by no means pronounce; nor could they pronounce that of Paris much better; so that it is not likely that they will remember either the one or the other long; whereas Pretane is in every child's mouth, and will hardly ever be forgotten. It was not till the evening of this day that we arrived in Matavai bay.

## **Chapter XI. An Account of several Visits to and from Otoo; of Goats being left on the Island; and many other Particulars which happened while the Ships lay in Matavai Bay.**

### **1773 August**

Before we got to an anchor, our decks were crowded with the natives; many of whom I knew, and almost all of them knew me. A great crowd were gotten together upon the shore; amongst whom was Otoo their king. I was just going to pay him a visit, when I was told he was mataow'd, and gone to Oparree. I could not conceive the reason of his going off in a fright, as every one seemed pleased to see me. A chief, whose name was Maritata, was at this time on board, and advised me to put off my visit till the next morning, when he would accompany me; which I accordingly did.

After having given directions to pitch tents for the reception of the sick, coopers, sail-makers, and the guard, I set out on the 26th for Oparree; accompanied by Captain Furneaux, Mr Forster, and others, Maritata and his wife. As soon as we landed, we were conducted to Otoo, whom we found seated on the ground, under the shade of a tree, with an immense crowd around him. After the first compliments were over, I presented him with such articles as I guessed were most valuable in his eyes; well knowing that it was my interest to gain the friendship of this man. I also made presents

to several of his attendants; and, in return, they offered me cloth, which I refused to accept; telling them that what I had given was for tiyo (friendship). The king enquired for Tupia, and all the gentlemen that were with me in my former voyage, by name; although I do not remember that he was personally acquainted with any of us. He promised that I should have some hogs the next day; but I had much ado to obtain a promise from him to visit me on board. He said he was, mataou no to poupoue, that is, afraid of the guns. Indeed all his actions shewed him to be a timorous prince. He was about thirty years of age, six feet high, and a fine, personable, well-made man as one can see. All his subjects appeared uncovered before him, his father not excepted. What is meant by uncovering, is the making bare the head and shoulders, or wearing no sort of clothing above the breast.

When I returned from Oparree, I found the tents, and the astronomer's observatories, set up on the same spot where we observed the transit of Venus in 1769. In the afternoon, I had the sick landed; twenty from the Adventure, all ill of the scurvy; and one from the Resolution. I also landed some marines for a guard, and left the command to Lieutenant Edgumbe of the marines.

On the 27th, early in the morning, Otoo, attended by a numerous train, paid me a visit. He first sent into the ship a large quantity of cloth, fruits, a hog, and two large fish; and, after some persuasion, came aboard himself, with his sister, a younger brother, and several more of his attendants. To all of them I made presents; and, after breakfast, took the king, his sister, and as many more as I had room for, into my boat, and carried them home to Oparree. I had no sooner landed than I was met by a venerable old lady, the mother of the late Toutaha. She seized me by both hands, and burst into a flood of tears, saying, Toutaha Tiyo no Toutee matty Toutaha—(Toutaha, your friend, or the friend of Cook, is dead.) I was so much affected with her behaviour, that it would have been impossible for me to have refrained mingling my tears with hers, had not Otoo come and taken me from her. I, with some difficulty, prevailed on him to let me see her again, when I gave her an axe and some other things. Captain Furneaux, who was with me, presented the king with two fine goats, male and female, which if taken care of, or rather if no care at all is taken of them will no doubt multiply. After a short stay, we took leave and returned on board.

Very early in the morning on the 28th, I sent Mr Pickersgill, with the cutter, as far as Ottahourou, to procure hogs. A little after sun-rise, I had another visit from Otoo, who brought me more cloth, a pig, and some fruit. His sister, who was with him, and some of his attendants, came on board; but he and others went to the Adventure with the like present to Captain Furneaux. It was not long before he returned with Captain Furneaux on board the Resolution, when I made him a handsome return for the present he had brought me, and dressed his sister out in the best manner I could. She, the king's brother, and one or two more, were covered before him to-day. When Otoo came into the cabin, Ereti and some of his friends were sitting there. The moment they saw the king enter, they stripped themselves in great haste, being covered before. Seeing I took notice of it, they said Earee, Earee ; giving me to understand that it

was on account of Otoo being present. This was all the respect they paid him; for they never rose from their seats, nor made him any other obeisance. When the king thought proper to depart, I carried him again to Oparree in my boat; where I entertained him and his people with the bagpipes (of which music they are very fond) and dancing by the seamen. He then ordered some of his people to dance also, which consisted chiefly of contortions. There were some, however, who could imitate the seamen pretty well, both in country-dances and hornpipes. While we were here, I had a present of cloth from the late Toutaha's mother. This good old lady could not look upon me without shedding tears; however, she was far more composed than before. When we took leave, the king promised to visit me again the next day; but said that I must first come to him. In the evening Mr Pickersgill came back empty, but with a promise of having some hogs, if he would return in a few days.

Next morning after breakfast, I took a trip to Oparree, to visit Otoo as he had requested, accompanied by Captain Furneaux and some of the officers. We made him up a present of such things as he had not seen before. One article was a broad-sword; at the sight of which he was so intimidated, that I had much ado to persuade him to accept of it, and to have it buckled upon him; where it remained but a short time, before he desired leave to take it off, and send it out of his sight.

Soon after we were conducted to the theatre; where we were entertained with a dramatic heuva, or play, in which were both dancing and comedy. The performers were five men, and one woman, who was no less a person than the king's sister. The music consisted of three drums only; it lasted about an hour and a half, or two hours; and, upon the whole, was well conducted. It was not possible for us to find out the meaning of the play. Some part seemed adapted to the present time, as my name was frequently mentioned. Other parts were certainly wholly unconnected with us. It apparently differed in nothing, that is, in the manner of acting it, from those we saw at Ulielea in my former voyage. The dancing-dress of the lady was more elegant than any I saw there, by being decorated with long tassels, made of feathers, hanging from the waist downward. As soon as all was over, the king himself desired me to depart; and sent into the boat different kinds of fruit and fish, ready dressed. With this we returned on board; and the next morning he sent me more fruit, and several small parcels of fish.

Nothing farther remarkable happened till ten o'clock in the evening, when we were alarmed with the cry of murder, and a great noise, on shore, near the bottom of the bay, at some distance from our encampment. I suspected that it was occasioned by some of our own people; and immediately armed a boat, and sent on shore, to know the occasion of this disturbance, and to bring off such of our people as should be found there. I also sent to the Adventure, and to the post on shore, to know who were missing; for none were absent from the Resolution but those who were upon duty. The boat soon returned with three marines and a seaman. Some others belonging to the Adventure were also taken; and, being all put under confinement, the next morning I ordered them to be punished according to their deserts. I did not find that any mischief was

done, and our people would confess nothing. I believe this disturbance was occasioned by their making too free with the women. Be this as it will, the natives were so much alarmed, that they fled from their habitations in the dead of the night, and the alarm spread many miles along the coast. For when I went to visit Otoo, in the morning, by appointment, I found him removed, or rather fled, many miles from the place of his abode. Even there I was obliged to wait some hours, before I could see him at all; and when I did, he complained of the last night's riot.

As this was intended to be my last visit, I had taken with me a present suitable to the occasion. Among other things were three Cape sheep, which he had seen before and asked for; for these people never lose a thing by not asking for it. He was much pleased with them; though he could be but little benefited, as they were all weathers; a thing he was made acquainted with. The presents he got at this interview entirely removed his fears, and opened his heart so much, that he sent for three hogs; one for me, one for Captain Furneaux, and one for Mr Forster. This last was small, of which we complained, calling it ete, ete. Presently after a man came into the circle, and spoke to the king with some warmth, and in a very peremptory manner; saying something or other about hogs. We at first thought he was angry with the king for giving us so many, especially as he took the little pig away with him. The contrary, however, appeared to be the true cause of his displeasure; for, presently after he was gone, a hog, larger than either of the other two, was brought us in lieu of the little one. When we took leave, I acquainted him that I should sail from the island the next day; at which he seemed much moved, and embraced me several times. We embarked to return on board, and he, with his numerous train, directed his march back to Oparree.

## 1773 September

The sick being all pretty well recovered, our water-casks repaired, and water completed, as well as the necessary repairs of the ships, I determined to put to sea without farther delay. Accordingly, on the 1st of September, I ordered every thing to be got off from the shore, and the ships to be unmoored. On this work we were employed the most of the day. In the afternoon, Mr Pickersgill returned from Attahourou; to which place I had sent him, two days before, for the hogs he had been promised. My old friend Pottatou, the chief of that district, his wife, or mistress, (I know not which,) and some more of his friends, came along with Mr Pickersgill, in order to visit me. They brought me a present of two hogs and some fish; and Mr Pickersgill got two more hogs, by exchange, from Oamo; for he went in the boat as far as Paparra, where he saw old Oberea. She seemed much altered for the worse, poor, and of little consequence. The first words she said to Mr Pickersgill were, Earee mataou ina boa, Earee is frightened, you can have no hogs. By this it appeared that she had little or no property, and was herself subject to the Earee, which I believe was not the case when I was here before. The wind, which had blown westerly all day, having shifted at once to the east, we

put to sea; and I was obliged to dismiss my friends sooner than they wished to go; but well satisfied with the reception they had met with.

Some hours before we got under sail, a young man, whose name was Poreo, came and desired I would take him with me. I consented, thinking he might be of service to us on some occasion. Many more offered themselves, but I refused to take them. This youth asked me for an axe and a spike-nail for his father, who was then on board. He had them accordingly, and they parted just as we were getting under sail, more like two strangers than father and son. This raised a doubt in me whether it was so; which was farther confirmed, by a canoe, conducted by two men, coming along-side, as we were standing out of the bay, and demanding the young man in the name of Otoo. I now saw that the whole was a trick to get something from me; well knowing that Otoo was not in the neighbourhood, and could know nothing of the matter. Poreo seemed, however, at first undetermined whether he should go or stay; but he soon inclined to the former. I told them to return me the axe and nails, and then he should go, (and so he really should,) but they said they were on shore, and so departed. Though the youth seemed pretty well satisfied, he could not refrain from weeping when he viewed the land astern.

## **Chapter XII. An Account of the Reception we met with at Huaheine, with the Incidents that happened while the Ships lay there; and of Omai, one of the Natives, coming away in the Adventure.**

### **1773 September**

As soon as we were clear of the bay, and our boats in, I directed my course for the island of Huaheine, where I intended to touch. We made it the next day, and spent the night, making short boards under the north end of the island. At day-light, in the morning of the 3d, we made sail for the harbour of Owharre; in which the Resolution anchored, about nine o'clock, in twenty-four fathoms water. As the wind blew out of the harbour, I chose to turn in by the southern channel, it being the widest. The Resolution turned in very well, but the Adventure, missing stays, got ashore on the north side of the channel. I had the Resolution's launch in the water ready, in case of an accident of this kind, and sent her immediately to the Adventure. By this timely assistance, she was got off again, without receiving any damage. Several of the natives, by this time, had come off to us, bringing with them some of the productions of the island; and as soon as the ships were both in safety, I landed with Captain Furneaux, and was received by the natives with the utmost cordiality. I distributed some presents among them; and they presently after brought down hogs, fowls, dogs, and fruits, which they willingly exchanged for hatchets, nails, beads, &c. The like trade was soon opened on

board the ships; so that we had a fair prospect of being plentifully supplied with fresh pork and fowls; and to people in our situation, this was no unwelcome thing. I learnt that my old friend Oree, chief of the isle, was still living, and that he was hastening to this part to see me.

Early next morning, Lieutenant Pickersgill sailed with the cutter, on a trading party, toward the south end of the isle. I also sent another trading party on shore near the ships, with which I went myself, to see that it was properly conducted at the first setting out, a very necessary point to be attended to. Every thing being settled to my mind, I went, accompanied by Captain Furneaux and Mr Forster, to pay my first visit to Oree, who, I was told, was waiting for me. We were conducted to the place by one of the natives; but were not permitted to go out of our boat, till we had gone through some part of the following ceremony usually performed at this isle, on such like occasions. The boat in which we were desired to remain being landed before the chief's house, which stood close to the shore, five young plaintain trees, which are their emblems of peace, were brought on board separately, and with some ceremony. Three young pigs, with their ears ornamented with cocoa-nut fibres, accompanied the first three; and a dog, the fourth. Each had its particular name and purpose, rather too mysterious for us to understand. Lastly, the chief sent to me the inscription engraved on a small piece of pewter, which I left with him in July 1769. It was in the same bag I had made for it, together with a piece of counterfeit English coin, and a few beads, put in at the same time; which shews how well he had taken care of the whole. When they had made an end of putting into the boat the things just mentioned, our guide, who still remained with us, desired us to decorate the young plaintain trees with looking-glasses, nails, medals, beads, &c. &c. This being accordingly done, we landed with these in our hands, and were conducted towards the chief, through the multitude; they making a lane, as it were, for us to pass through. We were made to sit down a few paces short of the chief, and our plantains were then taken from us, and, one by one, laid before him, as the others had been laid before us. One was for Eatoua (or God), the second for the Earee (or king), and the third for Tiyo (or friendship). This being done, I wanted to go to the king, but was told that he would come to me; which he accordingly did, fell upon my neck, and embraced me. This was by no means ceremonious; the tears which trickled plentifully down his venerable old cheeks, sufficiently bespoke the language of his heart. The whole ceremony being over, all his friends were introduced to us, to whom we made presents. Mine to the chief consisted of the most valuable articles I had; for I regarded this man as a father. In return he gave me a hog, and a quantity of cloth, promising that all our wants should be supplied; and it will soon appear how well he kept his word. At length we took leave, and returned on board; and, some time after, Mr Pickersgill returned also with fourteen hogs. Many more were got by exchanges on shore, and along-side the ships; besides fowls and fruit in abundance.

This good old chief made me a visit early in the morning on the 5th, together with some of his friends, bringing me a hog and some fruit, for which I made him a suitable

return. He carried his kindness so far, as not to fail to send me every day, for my table, the very best of ready dressed fruit and roots, and in great plenty. Lieutenant Pickersgill being again sent with the two boats, in search of hogs, returned in the evening with twenty-eight; and about four times that number were purchased on shore, and along-side the ships.

Next morning the trading party, consisting of only two or three people, were sent on shore as usual; and, after breakfast, I went to the place myself, when I learnt that one of the inhabitants had been very troublesome and insolent. This man being pointed out to me, completely equipped in the war habit, with a club in each hand, as he seemed bent on mischief, I took these from him, broke them before his eyes, and, with some difficulty, forced him to retire from the place. As they told me that he was a chief, this made me the more suspicious of him, and occasioned me to send for a guard, which till now I had thought unnecessary. About this time, Mr Sparrman, having imprudently gone out alone botanizing, was set upon by two men, who stripped him of every thing he had about him, except his trowsers, and struck him several times with his own hanger, but happily did him no harm. As soon as they had accomplished their end, they made off; after which another of the natives brought a piece of cloth to cover him, and conducted him to the trading place, where were a great number of the inhabitants. The very instant Mr Sparrman appeared in the condition I have just mentioned, they all fled with the utmost precipitation. I at first conjectured they had stolen something; but we were soon undeceived upon Mr Sparrman's relating the affair to us. As soon as I could recal a few of the natives, and had made them sensible that I should take no step to injure those who were innocent, I went to Oree to complain of this outrage, taking with us the man who came back with Mr Sparrman, to confirm the complaint. As soon as the chief heard the whole affair related, he wept aloud, as did many others. After the first transports of his grief were over, he began to expostulate with his people, telling them (as far as we could understand) how well I had treated them, both in this and my former voyage, and how base it was in them to commit such actions. He then took a very minute account of the things Mr Sparrman had been robbed of, promised to do all in his power to recover them, and, rising up, desired me to follow him to my boat. When the people saw this, being, as I supposed, apprehensive of his safety, they used every argument to dissuade him from what they, no doubt, thought a rash step. He hastened into the boat, notwithstanding all they could do or say. As soon as they saw their beloved chief wholly in my power, they set up a great outcry. The grief they shewed was inexpressible; every face was bedewed with tears; they prayed, entreated, nay, attempted to pull him out of the boat. I even joined my entreaties to theirs; for I could not bear to see them in such distress. All that could be said, or done, availed nothing. He insisted on my coming into the boat, which was no sooner done than he ordered it to be put off. His sister, with a spirit equal to that of her royal brother, was the only person who did not oppose his going. As his intention in coming into our boat was to go with us in search of the robbers, we proceeded accordingly as far as was convenient by water, then landed, entered the country, and travelled some miles



inland, the chief leading the way, enquiring of every one he saw. At length he stepped into a house by the road side, ordered some cocoa-nuts for us, and after we were a little refreshed, wanted to proceed still farther. But this I opposed, thinking that we might be carried to the very farthest end of the island, after things, the most of which, before they came into our hands again, might not be worth the bringing home. The chief used many arguments to persuade me to proceed, telling me that I might send my boat round to meet us, or that he would get a canoe to bring us home, if I thought it too far to travel. But I was resolved to return, and he was obliged to comply and return with me, when he saw I would follow him no farther. I only desired he would send somebody for the things; for I found that the thieves had got so much start of us, that we might follow them to the remotest parts of the isle, without so much as seeing them. Besides, as I intended to sail the next morning, this occasioned a great loss to us, by putting a stop to all manner of trade; for the natives were so much alarmed, that none came near us, but those that were about the chief. It therefore became the more necessary for me to return, to restore things to their former state. When we got back to our boat, we there found Oree's sister, and several more persons, who had travelled by land to the place. We immediately stepped into the boat in order to return on board, without so much as asking the chief to accompany us. He, however, insisted on going also, and followed us into the boat in spite of the opposition and entreaties of those about him; his sister followed his example, and the tears and prayers of her daughter, who was about sixteen or eighteen years of age, had no weight with her on this occasion. The chief sat at table with us, and made a hearty dinner; his sister, according to custom, eat nothing. After dinner, I sufficiently rewarded them for the confidence they had put in me; and, soon after, carried them both on shore, where some hundreds of people waited to receive them, many of whom embraced their chief with tears of joy. All was now joy and peace: The people crowded in, from every part, with hogs, fowls, and fruit, so that we presently filled two boats: Oree himself presented me with a large hog and a quantity of fruit. The hanger (the only thing of value Mr Sparrman had lost) with part of his coat, were brought us; and we were told, we should have the others the next day. Some of the officers, who were out on a shooting party, had some things stolen from them, which were returned in like manner.

Thus ended the troublesome transactions of this day, which I have been the more particular in relating, because it shews what great confidence this brave old chief put in us; it also in some degree shews, that friendship is sacred with them. Oree and I were professed friends in all the forms customary among them; and he seemed to think that this could not be broken by the act of any other persons. Indeed this seemed to be the great argument he made use of to his people, when they opposed his going into my boat. His words were to this effect:—"Oree (meaning me, for so I was always called) and I are friends; I have done nothing to forfeit his friendship; why then should I not go with him?" We, however, may never find another chief who will act in the same manner, under similar circumstances. It may be asked, What had he to fear? to which I answer, Nothing. For it was not my intention to hurt a hair of his head, or to detain

him a moment longer than he desired. But how was he or the people to know this? They were not ignorant, that if he was once in my power, the whole force of the island could not take him from me, and that, let my demands for his ransom have been ever so high, they must have complied with them. Thus far their fears, both for his and their own safety, were founded in reason.

On the 7th, early in the morning, while the ships were unmooring, I went to pay my farewell visit to Oree, accompanied by Captain Furneaux and Mr Forster. We took with us for a present, such things as were not only valuable, but useful. I also left with him the inscription plate he had before in keeping, and another small copper-plate, on which were engraved these words: "Anchored here, his "Britannic Majesty's ships Resolution and Adventure, September, 1773," together with some medals, all put up in a bag; of which the chief promised to take care, and to produce to the first ship or ships that should arrive at the island. He then gave me a hog; and, after trading for six or eight more, and loading the boat with fruit, we took leave, when the good old chief embraced me with tears in his eyes. At this interview nothing was said about the remainder of Mr Sparrman's clothes. I judged they were not brought in; and for that reason did not mention them, lest I should give the chief pain about things I did not give him time to recover; for this was early in the morning.

When we returned to the ships, we found them crowded round with canoes full of hogs, fowls, and fruit, as at our first arrival. I had not been long on board, before Oree himself came to inform me, as we understood, that the robbers were taken, and to desire us to go on shore, either to punish, or to see them punished; but this could not be done, as the Resolution was just under sail, and the Adventure already out of the harbour. The chief stayed on board till we were a full half league out at sea; then took a most affectionate leave of me; and went away in a canoe, conducted by one man and himself; all the others having gone long before. I was sorry that it was not convenient for me to go on shore with him, to see in what manner these people would have been punished; for I am satisfied, this was what brought him on board.

During our short stay at the small but fertile isle of Huaheine, we procured to both ships not less than three hundred hogs, besides fowls and fruits; and, had we stayed longer, might have got many more: For none of these articles of refreshment were seemingly diminished, but appeared every where in as great abundance as ever.

Before we quitted this island, Captain Furneaux agreed to receive on board his ship a young man named Omai, a native of Ulitea; where he had had some property, of which he had been dispossessed by the people of Bolabola. I at first rather wondered that Captain Furneaux would encumber himself with this man, who, in my opinion, was not a proper sample of the inhabitants of these 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 Omai is to be ranked. I have, however, since my arrival in England, been convinced of my error: For excepting his complexion (which is undoubtedly of a deeper hue than that of the Earees, or gentry,

who, as in other countries, live a more luxurious life, and are less exposed to the heat of the sun), I much doubt whether any other of the natives would have given more general satisfaction by his behaviour among us. Omai has most certainly a very good understanding, quick parts, and honest principles; he has a natural good behaviour, which rendered him acceptable to the best company; and a proper degree of pride, which taught him to avoid the society of persons 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 excess. I do not imagine that he has any dislike to liquor, and if he had fallen into company where the person 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 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 ever 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 to that great and amiable prince, which I am persuaded he will preserve to the latest moment of his life. During his stay among us 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 former probably thought it a duty of his office to protect and countenance 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. It is to be observed, that though Omai 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, he expressed a satisfaction as the time of his return approached. He embarked with me in the *Resolution*, when she was fitted out for another voyage, loaded with presents from his several friends, and full of gratitude for the kind reception and treatment he had experienced among us.

## Chapter XIII. Arrival at, and Departure of the Ships from, Ulietea: With an Account of what happened there, and of Oedidee, one of the Natives, coming away in the Resolution.

1773 September

The chief was no sooner gone, than we made sail for Ulietea (where I intended to stop a few days). Arriving off the harbour of Ohamaneno at the close of the day, we spent the night making short boards. It was dark, but we were sufficiently guided by the fishers lights on the reefs and shores of the isles. The next morning, after making a few trips, we gained the entrance of the harbour; and, as the wind blew directly out, I sent a boat to lie in soundings, that we might know when to anchor. As soon as the signal was made by her, we borrowed close to the south point of the channel; and, with our sails set, shooting within the boat, we anchored in seventeen fathoms water. We then carried out anchors and hawsers, to warp in by; and, as soon as the Resolution was out of the way, the Adventure came up in like manner, and warped in by the Resolution. The warping in, and mooring the ships, took up the whole day.

We were no sooner at anchor at the entrance of the harbour, than the natives crowded round us in their canoes with hogs and fruit. The latter they exchanged for nails and beads; the former we refused as yet, having already as many on board as we could manage. Several we were, however, obliged to take, as many of the principal people brought off little pigs, pepper, or eavaa-root, and young plantain trees, and handed them into the ship, or put them into the boats along-side, whether we would or no; for if we refused to take them on board, they would throw them into the boats. In this manner, did these good people welcome us to their country.

I had forgot to mention, that Tupia was much enquired after at Huaheine; but, at this place, every one asked about him, and the occasion of his death; and, like true philosophers, were perfectly satisfied with the answers we gave them. Indeed, as we had nothing but the truth to tell, the story was the same, by whomsoever told.

Next morning we paid a formal visit to Oreo, the chief of this part of the isle, carrying with us the necessary presents. We went through no sort of ceremony at landing, but were at once conducted to him. He was seated in his own house, which stood near the water side, where he and his friends received us with great cordiality. He expressed much satisfaction at seeing me again, and desired that we might exchange names, which I accordingly agreed to. I believe this is the strongest mark of friendship they can show to a stranger. He enquired after Tupia, and all the gentlemen, by name, who were with me when I first visited the island. After we had made the chief and his friends the necessary presents, we went on board with a hog, and some fruit, received from him in return; and in the afternoon he gave me another hog, still larger, without

asking for the least acknowledgment. Exchanges for fruit, &c. were mostly carried on alongside the ships. I attempted to trade for these articles on shore, but did not succeed, as the most of them were brought in canoes from distant parts, and carried directly to the ships.

After breakfast, on the 10th, Captain Furneaux and I paid the chief a visit; and we were entertained by him with such a comedy, or dramatic heava, as is generally acted in these isles. The music consisted of three drums, the actors were seven men, and one woman, the chief's daughter. The only entertaining part in the drama, was a theft committed by a man and his accomplice, in such a masterly manner, as sufficiently displayed the genius of the people in this vice. The theft is discovered before the thief has time to carry off his prize; then a scuffle ensues with those set to guard it, who, though four to two, are beat off the stage, and the thief and his accomplices bear away their plunder in triumph. I was very attentive to the whole of this part, being in full expectation that it would have ended very differently. For I had before been informed that Teto (that is, the Thief) was to be acted, and had understood that the theft was to be punished with death, or a good tiparahying (or beating), a punishment, we are told, they inflict on such as are guilty of this crime. Be this as it may, strangers are certainly excluded from the protection of this law; them they rob with impunity, on every occasion that offers. After the play was over, we returned on board to dinner; and in the cool of the evening took a walk on shore, where we learnt from one of the natives, that nine small islands, two of which were uninhabited, lay to the westward, at no great distance from hence.

On the 11th, early in the morning, I had a visit from Oreo and his son, a youth about twelve years of age. The latter brought me a hog and some fruit; for which I made him a present of an axe, and dressed him in a shirt, and other things, which made him not a little proud of himself. Having staid some hours, they went on shore; as I also did soon after, but to another part. The chief hearing I was on shore, came to the place where he found the boat, into which he put a hog and a quantity of fruit, without saying a word to any body, and, with some of his friends, came on board, and dined with us. After dinner I had a visit from Oo-oorou, the principal chief of the isle. He was introduced to us by Oreo, and brought with him, as a present, a large hog, for which I made him a handsome return. Oreo employed himself in buying hogs for me (for we now began to take of them), and he made such bargains as I had reason to be satisfied with. At length they all took leave, after making me promise to visit them next morning; which I accordingly did, in company with several of the officers and gentlemen. Oreo ordered an heava to be acted for our entertainment, in which two very pretty young women were the actresses. This heava was somewhat different from the one I saw before, and not so entertaining. Oreo, after it was over, accompanied us on board, together with two of his friends.

The following day was spent much in the same manner; and early in the morning of the 14th, I sent Mr Pickersgill, with the Resolution's launch, and Adventure's cutter, to Otaha, to procure an additional supply of bananoes, and plantains, for a sea-store;

for we could get little more of these articles at Ulietea than were sufficient for present consumption. Oreo, and some of his friends, paid me a pretty early visit this morning. I acquainted the chief, that I would dine with him, and desired he would order two pigs to be dressed after their manner, which he accordingly did, and, about one o'clock, I, and the officers and gentlemen of both ships, went to partake of them. When we came to the chiefs house, we found the cloth laid; that is, green leaves were strewed thick on the floor. Round them we seated ourselves; presently one of the pigs came over my head souce upon the leaves, and immediately after the other; both so hot as hardly to be touched. The table was garnished round with hot bread-fruit and plantains, and a quantity of cocoa-nuts brought for drink. Each man being ready, with his knife in his hand, we turned to without ceremony; and it must be owned, in favour of their cookery, that victuals were never cleaner, nor better dressed. For, though the pigs were served up whole, and one weighed between fifty and sixty pounds, and the other about half as much, yet all the parts were equally well done, and eat much sweeter than if dressed in any of our methods. The chief and his son, and some other of his male friends, eat with us, and pieces were handed to others who sat behind: For we had a vast crowd about us; so that it might be truly said we dined in public. The chief never failed to drink his glass of Madeira whenever it came to his turn, not only now, but at all other times when he dined with us, without ever being once affected by it. As soon as we had dined, the boat's crew took the remainder; and by them, and those about them, the whole was consumed. When we rose up, many of the common people rushed in, to pick up the crumbs which had fallen, and for which they searched the leaves very narrowly. This leads me to believe, that though there is plenty of pork at these isles, but little falls to their share. Some of our gentlemen being present when these pigs were killed and dressed, observed the chief to divide the entrails, lard, &c. into ten or twelve equal parts, and serve it out to certain people. Several daily attended the ships, and assisted the butchers, for the sake of the entrails of the hogs we killed. Probably little else falls to the share of the common people. It however must be owned, that they are exceedingly careful of every kind of provision, and waste nothing that can be eaten by man; flesh and fish especially.

In the afternoon we were entertained with a play. Plays, indeed, had been acted almost every day since we had been here, either to entertain us, or for their own amusement, or perhaps both.

Next morning produced some circumstances which fully prove the timorous disposition of these people. We were surprised to find that none of them came off to the ships as usual. Two men belonging to the *Adventure* having staid on shore all night, contrary to orders, my first conjectures were, that the natives had stripped them, and were now afraid to come near us, lest we should take some step to revenge the insult; but in order to be better satisfied, Captain Furneaux and I went ashore to Oreo's house, which we found quite empty; he and all his family gone, and the whole neighbourhood, in a manner, quite deserted. The two men belonging to the *Adventure* made their appearance, and informed us that they had been very civilly treated by the natives, but could give

no account of the cause of their precipitate flight. All that we could learn from the very few that durst come near us, was, that severals were killed, others wounded by our guns, pointing out to us where the balls went in and out of the body, &c. This relation gave me a good deal of uneasiness for the safety of our people gone to Otaha, fearing that some disturbance had happened at that island. However, in order to be better informed, I determined, if possible, to see the chief himself. Accordingly we embarked in our boat, having one of the natives with us, and rowed along shore to the northward, the way we were told he was gone. We soon came in sight of the canoe in which he was; but before we could come up with her he had got on shore. We landed presently after, and found he was gone still farther. An immense crowd, however, waited our landing, who entreated me to follow him. One man offered to carry me on his back; but the whole story appearing rather more mysterious than ever, and being all unarmed, I did not choose to separate myself from the boat, but embarked again, and rowed after him. We soon came before the place where our guide told us he was, and put in the boat accordingly. It grounded at some distance from the shore, where we were met by a venerable old lady, wife to the chief. She threw herself into my arms, and wept bitterly, insomuch that it was not possible to get one plain word from her. With this old lady in my hand I went ashore, contrary to the advice of my young man from Otaheite, who was more afraid than any of us, probably believing every word the people had told us. I found the chief seated under the shade of a house, before which was a large area, and surrounded by a vast number of people. As soon as I came to him, he threw his arms about me, and burst into tears, in which he was accompanied by all the women, and some of the men, so that the lamentation became general; astonishment alone kept me from joining with them. It was some time before I could get a word from any one; at last, all my enquiries gave me no other information, than that they were alarmed on account of our boats being absent, thinking that the people in them had deserted from us, and that I should take some violent means to recover them. For when we assured them that the boats would return back, they seemed cheerful and satisfied, and to a man, denied that any one was hurt, either of their own or our people, and so it afterwards proved. Nor did it appear that there was the least foundation for these alarms, nor could we ever find out by what means this general consternation first took its rise. After a stay of about an hour, I returned on board, three of the natives coming along with us, who proclaimed the peace as we rowed along shore to all they saw.

Thus matters were again restored to their former footing, and the next morning they came off to the ships as usual. After breakfast, Captain Furneaux and I paid the chief a visit; we found him at his own house perfectly easy, insomuch that he and some of his friends came on board and dined with us. I was now told that my Otaheitean young man, Poreo, had taken a resolution to leave me. I have just mentioned before, his being with us when I followed Oreo, and his advising me not to go on shore. He was so much afraid at that time, that he remained in the boat till he heard all matters were reconciled; then he came out, and presently after, met with a young woman, for whom he had contracted a friendship. Having my powder-horn in keeping, he came

and gave it to one of my people who was by me, and then went away with her, and I saw him no more.

In the afternoon, our boats returned from Otaha, pretty well laden with plantains, an article we were most in want of. They made the circuit of the island, conducted by one of the Earees, whose name was Boba, and were hospitably entertained by the people, who provided them with victuals and lodging. The first night, they were entertained with a play, the second, their repose was disturbed by the natives stealing their military chest. This put them on making reprisals, by which means they recovered the most of what they had lost.

Having now got on board a large supply of refreshments, I determined to put to sea the next morning, and made the same known to the chief, who promised to see me again before we departed. At four o'clock we began to unmoor; and as soon as it was light, Oreo, his son, and some of his friends, came aboard. Many canoes also came off with fruit and hogs, the latter they even begged of us to take from them, calling out *Tiyo boa atoi*.—I am your friend, take my hog, and give me an axe. But our decks were already so full of them, that we could hardly move, having, on board both ships, between three and four hundred. By the increase of our stock, together with what we had salted and consumed, I judge that we got at this island 400 or upwards; many, indeed, were only roasters, others again weighed one hundred pounds, or upwards, but the general run was from forty to sixty. It is not easy to say how many we might have got, could we have found room for all that were offered us.

The chief, and his friends, did not leave me till we were under sail, and before he went away, pressed me much to know, if I would not return, and when? Questions which were daily put to me by many of these islanders. My Otaheitean youth's leaving me proved of no consequence, as many young men of this island voluntarily offered to come away with us. I thought proper to take on board one, who was about seventeen or eighteen years of age, named Oedidee, a native of Bolabola, and a near relation of the great Opoony, chief of that island. Soon after we were out of the harbour, and had made sail, we observed a canoe following us, conducted by two men; whereupon I brought-to, and they presently came alongside, having brought me a present of roasted fruit and roots from Oreo. I made them a proper return before I dismissed them, and then set sail to the west, with the *Adventure* in company.



## Chapter XIV. An Account of a Spanish Ship visiting Otaheite; the present State of the Islands; with some Observations on the Diseases and Customs of the Inhabitants; and some Mistakes concerning the Women corrected.

1773 September

I shall now give some farther account of these islands; for, although I have been pretty minute in relating the daily transactions, some things, which are rather interesting, have been omitted.

Soon after our arrival at Otaheite, we were informed that a ship about the size of the Resolution, had been in at Owhaiurua harbour, near the S.E. end of the island, where she remained about three weeks; and had been gone about three months before we arrived. We were told that four of the natives were gone away with her, whose names were Debedebea, Paoodou, Tanadooee, and Opahiah. At this time, we conjectured this was a French ship, but, on our arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, we learnt she was a Spaniard, which had been sent out from America. The Otaheiteans complained of a disease communicated to them by the people in this ship, which they said affected the head, throat, and stomach, and at length killed them. They seemed to dread it much, and were continually enquiring if we had it. This ship they distinguished by the name of Pahai no Pep-pe (ship of Peppe), and called the disease Apa no Pep-pe, just as they call the venereal disease Apa no Pretane (English disease), though they, to a man, say it was brought to the isle by M. de Bougainville; but I have already observed that they thought M. de Bougainville came from Pretane, as well as every other ship which has touched at the isle.

Were it not for this assertion of the natives, and none of Captain Wallis's people being affected with the venereal disease, either while they were at Otaheite, or after they left it, I should have concluded that long before these islanders were visited by Europeans, this or some disease which is near akin to it, had existed amongst them. For I have heard them speak of people dying of a disorder which we interpreted to be the pox before that period. But, be this as it will, it is now far less common amongst them, than it was in the year 1769, when I first visited these isles. They say they can cure it, and so it fully appears, for, notwithstanding most of my people had made pretty free with the women, very few of them were afterwards affected with the disorder; and those who were, had it in so slight a manner, that it is easily removed. But among the natives, whenever it turns to a pox, they tell us it is incurable. Some of our people pretend to have seen some of them who had this last disorder in a high degree, but the surgeon, who made it his business to enquire, could never satisfy himself in this

point. These people are, and were, before Europeans visited them, very subject to scrophulous diseases, so that a seaman might easily mistake one disorder for another.

The island of Otaheite, which, in the years 1767 and 1768, as it were, swarmed with hogs and fowls, was now so ill supplied with these animals, that hardly any thing could induce the owners to part with them. The few they had at this time, among them, seemed to be at the disposal of the kings. For while we lay at Oaitipiha Bay, in the kingdom of Tiarrabou, or lesser peninsula, every hog or fowl we saw we were told belonged to Waheatoua; and all we saw in the kingdom of Opoureonu, or the greater peninsula, belonged to Otoo. During the seventeen days we were at this island, we got but twenty-four hogs, the half of which came from the two kings themselves; and, I believe, the other half were sold us by their permission or order. We were, however, abundantly supplied with all the fruits the island produces, except bread-fruit, which was not in season either at this or the other isles. Cocoa-nuts and plantains were what we got the most of; the latter, together with a few yams and other roots, were to us a succedaneum for bread. At Otaheite we got great plenty of apples, and a fruit like a nectarine, called by them Aheeva. This fruit was common to all the isles; but apples we got only at Otaheite, and found them of infinite use to the scorbutic people. Of all the seeds that have been brought to those islands by Europeans, none have succeeded but pumpkins; and these they do not like, which is not to be wondered at.

The scarcity of hogs at Otaheite may be owing to two causes; first, to the number which have been consumed, and carried off by the shipping which have touched here of late years; and, secondly, to the frequent wars between the two kingdoms. We know of two since the year 1767; at present a peace subsists between them, though they do not seem to entertain much friendship for each other. I never could learn the cause of the late war, nor who got the better in the conflict. In the battle, which put an end to the dispute, many were killed on both sides. On the part of Opoureonu, fell Toutaha, and several other chiefs, who were mentioned to me by name. Toutaha lies interred in the family Marai at Oparree; and his mother, and several other women who were of his household, are now taken care of by Otoo, the reigning prince—a man who, at first, did not appear to us to much advantage. I know but little of Waheatoua of Tiarrabou. This prince, who is not above twenty years of age, appeared with all the gravity of a man of fifty. His subjects do not uncover before him, or pay him any outward obeisance as is done to Otoo; nevertheless, they seem to shew him full as much respect, and he appeared in rather more state. He was attended by a few middle-aged, or elderly men, who seemed to be his counsellors. This is what appeared to me to be the then state of Otaheite. The other islands, that is, Huaheine, Ulietea, and Otaha, were in a more flourishing state than they were when I was there before. Since that time, they had enjoyed the blessing of peace; the people seemed to be as happy as any under heaven; and well they may, for they possess not only the necessaries, but many of the luxuries of life in the greatest profusion; and my young man told me that hogs, fowls, and fruits, are in equal plenty at Bola-bola, a thing which Tupia would never allow. To clear up

this seeming contradiction, I must observe, that the one was prejudiced against, and the other in favour of, this isle.

The produce of the islands, the manners and customs of the natives, &c. having been treated at large in the narrative of my former voyage, it will be unnecessary to take notice of these subjects in this, unless where I can add new matter, or clear up any mistakes which may have been committed.

As I had some reason to believe, that amongst their religious customs, human sacrifices were sometimes considered as necessary, I went one day to a Marai in Matavai, in company with Captain Furneaux; having with us, as I had upon all other occasions, one of my men who spoke their language tolerably well, and several of the natives, one of whom appeared to be an intelligent sensible man. In the Marai was a Tupapow, on which lay a corpse and some viands; so that every thing promised success to my enquiries. I began with asking questions relating to the several objects before me, if the plantains, &c. were for the Eatua? If they sacrificed to the Eatua, hogs, dogs, fowls, &c.? To all of which he answered in the affirmative. I then asked, If they sacrificed men to the Eatua? He answered Taata eno; that is, bad men they did, first Tipperahy, or beating them till they were dead. I then asked him, If good men were put to death in this manner? His answer was No, only Taata eno. I asked him if any Earees were? He said, they had hogs to give to the Eatua, and again repeated Taatu eno. I next asked, If Towtows, that is, servants or slaves, who had no hogs, dogs, or fowls, but yet were good men, if they were sacrificed to the Eatua? His answer was No, only bad men. I asked him several more questions, and all his answers seemed to tend to this one point, that men for certain crimes were condemned to be sacrificed to the gods, provided they had not wherewithal to redeem themselves. This, I think, implies, that on some occasions, human sacrifices are considered as necessary, particularly when they take such men as have, by the laws of their country, forfeited their lives, and have nothing to redeem them; and such will generally be found among the lower class of people.

The man of whom I made these enquiries, as well as some others, took some pains to explain the whole of this custom to us; but we were not masters enough of their language to understand them. I have since learnt from Omai, that they offer human sacrifices to the Supreme Being. According to his account, what men shall be so sacrificed, depends on the caprice of the high priest, who, when they are assembled on any solemn occasion, retires alone into the house of God, and stays there some time. When he comes out, he informs them, that he has seen and conversed with their great God (the high priest alone having that privilege), and that he has asked for a human sacrifice, and tells them that he has desired such a person, naming a man present, whom, most probably, the priest has an antipathy against. He is immediately killed, and so falls a victim to the priest's resentment, who, no doubt (if necessary), has address enough to persuade the people that he was a bad man. If I except their funeral ceremonies, all the knowledge that has been obtained of their religion, has been from information: And as their language is but imperfectly understood, even by those who

pretend to the greatest knowledge of it, very little on this head is yet known with certainty.

The liquor which they make from the plant called Ava ava, is expressed from the root, and not from the leaves, as mentioned in the narrative of my former voyage. The manner of preparing this liquor is as simple as it is disgusting to an European. It is thus: Several people take some of the root, and chew it till it is soft and pulpy, then they spit it out into a platter or other vessel, every one into the same; when a sufficient quantity is chewed, more or less water is put to it, according as it is to be strong or weak; the juice, thus diluted, is strained through some fibrous stuff like fine shavings; after which it is fit for drinking, and this is always done immediately. It has a pepperish taste, drinks flat, and rather insipid. But, though it is intoxicating I only saw one instance where it had that effect, as they generally drink it with great moderation, and but little at a time. Sometimes they chew this root in their mouths, as Europeans do tobacco, and swallow their spittle; and sometimes I have seen them eat it wholly.

At Ulietea they cultivate great quantities of this plant. At Otaheite but very little. I believe there are but few islands in this sea, that do not produce more or less of it; and the natives apply it to the same use, as appears by Le Mair's account of Horn Island, in which he speaks of the natives making a liquor from a plant in the same manner as above mentioned.

Great injustice has been done the women of Otaheite, and the Society isles, by those who have represented them, without exception, as ready to grant the last favour to any man who will come up to their price. But this is by no means the case; the favours of married women, and also the unmarried of the better sort, are as difficult to be obtained here, as in any other country whatever. Neither can the charge be understood indiscriminately of the unmarried of the lower class, for many of these admit of no such familiarities. That there are prostitutes here, as well as in other countries, is very true, perhaps more in proportion, and such were those who came on board the ships to our people, and frequented the post we had on shore. By seeing these mix indiscriminately with those of a different turn, even of the first rank, one is at first inclined to think that they are all disposed the same way, and that the only difference is in the price. But the truth is, the woman who becomes a prostitute does not seem, in their opinion, to have committed a crime of so deep a dye as to exclude her from the esteem and society of the community in general. On the whole, a stranger who visits England might, with equal justice, draw the characters of the women there, from those which he might meet with on board the ships in one of the naval ports, or in the purlieus of Covent-Garden and Drury-Lane. I must however allow, that they are all completely versed in the art of coquetry, and that very few of them fix any bounds to their conversation. It is therefore no wonder that they have obtained the character of libertines.

To what hath been said of the geography of these isles, in the narrative of my former voyage, I shall now only add, that we found the latitude of Oaiti-piha Bay, in

Otaheite, to be 17 deg. 43' 26" south, and the longitude 0 deg. 21' 25" 1/2 east from Point Venus; or 149 deg. 13' 24" west from Greenwich. The difference both of latitude and longitude, between Point Venus and Oaiti- piha, is greater than I supposed it to be, when I made the circuit of the island in 1769, by two miles, and 4-3/4 miles respectively. It is therefore highly probable, that the whole island is of a greater extent than I, at that time, estimated it to be. The astronomers set up their observatory, and made their observations on Point Venus, the latitude of which they found to be 17 deg. 29' 13" south. This differs but two seconds from that which Mr Green and I found; and its longitude, viz. 149 deg. 34' 49" 1/2 west, for any thing that is yet known to the contrary, is as exact.

Mr Kendal's watch was found to be gaining on mean time 8" 863 per day, which is only 0" 142 less than at Queen Charlotte's Sound, consequently its error in longitude was trifling.

# **Book 2: From Our Departure From the Society Isles, to Our Return to and Leaving Them the Second Time**

## **Chapter I. Passage from Ulitea to the Friendly Islands, with an Account of the Discovery of Hervey's Island, and the Incidents that happened at Middleburg.**

**1773 September**

After leaving Ulitea, as before mentioned, I steered to the west, inclining to the south, to get clear of the tracts of former navigators, and to get into the latitude of the islands of Middleburgh and Amsterdam; for I intended to run as far west as these islands, and to touch there if I found it convenient, before I hauled up for New Zealand. I generally lay-to every night, lest we might pass any land in the dark. Part of the 21st and 22d the wind blew from N.W., attended with thunder, lightning, and rain, having a large swell from S.S.E. and S., which kept up for several days,— an indication that no land was near us in that direction.

On the 23d, at ten o'clock in the morning, land was seen from the top-mast head, and at noon from the deck, extending from S. by W. to S.W. by S. We hauled up for it with the wind at S.E., and found it to consist of two or three small islets, connected together by breakers like most of the low isles in the sea, lying in a triangular form, and about six leagues in circuit. They were clothed with wood, among which were many cocoa-nut trees. We saw no people, or signs of inhabitants; and had reason to think there were none. The situation of this isle, which is in the latitude of 19 deg. 18' S., longitude 158 deg. 54' W., is not very different from that assigned by Mr Dalrymple to La Dezena. But as this is a point not easily determined, I named it Hervey's Island, in honour of the Honourable Captain Hervey of the navy, one of the lords of the Admiralty, and afterwards Earl of Bristol.

As the landing on this isle, if practicable, would have caused a delay which I could ill spare at this time, we resumed our course to the west; and on the 25th we again began to use our sea-biscuits, the fruit which had served as a succedaneum being all consumed; but our stock of fresh pork still continued, each man having as much every day as was needful. In our route to the west we now and then saw men-of-war and tropic birds, and a small sea-bird, which is seldom seen but near the shores of the isles; we, therefore, conjectured that we had passed some land at no great distance. As we advanced to the west, the variation of the compass gradually increased, so that on the 29th, being in the latitude of 21 deg. 26' S., longitude 170 deg. 40' W., it was 10 deg. 45' E.

## 1773 October

At two o'clock p.m. on the 1st of October, we made the island of Middleburg, bearing W.S.W.; at six o'clock it extended from S.W. by W. to N.W., distant four leagues, at which time another land was seen in the direction of N.N.W. The wind being at S.S.E., I hauled to the south, in order to get round the south end of the island before the morning; but at eight o'clock a small island was seen lying off it, and not knowing but they might be connected by a reef, the extent of which we must be ignorant of, I resolved to spend the night where we were. At day-break the next morning, we bore up for the S.W. side of Middleburg, passing between it and the little isle above mentioned, where we found a clear channel two miles broad.

After ranging the S.W. side of the greater isle, to about two-thirds of its length, at the distance of half a mile from the shore, without seeing the least prospect of either anchorage or landing-place, we bore away for Amsterdam, which we had in sight. We had scarcely turned our sails before we observed the shores of Middleburg to assume another aspect, seeming to offer both anchorage and landing. Upon this we hauled the wind, and plied in under the island. In the mean time, two canoes, each conducted by two or three men, came boldly alongside; and some of them entered the ship without hesitation. This mark of confidence gave me a good opinion of these islanders, and determined me to visit them, if possible. After making a few trips, we found good anchorage, and came to in twenty-five fathoms water, and gravel bottom, at three cables' length from the shore. The highest land on the island bore S.E. by E.; the north point N.E.  $1/2$  E., and the west S. by W.  $1/2$  W., and the island of Amsterdam extending from N. by W.  $1/2$  W. to N.W.  $1/2$  W. We had scarcely got to an anchor before we were surrounded by a great number of canoes full of people, who had brought with them cloth, and other curiosities, which they exchanged for nails, &c. Several came on board; among them was one whom, by the authority he seemed to have over the others, I found was a chief, and accordingly made him a present of a hatchet, spike-nails, and several other articles, with which he was highly pleased. Thus I obtained the friendship of this chief, whose name was Tioony.

Soon after, a party of us embarked in two boats, in company with Tioony, who conducted us to a little creek formed by the rocks, right abreast of the ships, where landing was extremely easy, and the boats secure against the surf. Here we found an immense crowd of people, who welcomed us on shore with loud acclamations. Not one of them had so much as a stick, or any other weapon in their hands; an indubitable sign of their pacific intentions. They thronged so thick round the boats with cloth, matting, &c. to exchange for nails, that it was some time before we could get room to land. They seemed to be more desirous to give than receive; for many who could not get near the boats, threw into them, over the others heads, whole bales of cloth, and then retired, without either asking, or waiting for any thing in return. At length the chief caused them to open to the right and left, and make room for us to land. He then conducted us up to his house, which was situated about three hundred yards from the sea, at the head of a fine lawn, and under the shade of some shaddock trees. The situation was most delightful. In front was the sea, and the ships at anchor; behind, and on each side, were plantations, in which were some of the richest productions of Nature. The floor was laid with mats, on which we were seated, and the people seated themselves in a circle round us on the outside. Having the bagpipes with us, I ordered them to be played; and in return, the chief directed three young women to sing a song, which they did with a very good grace; and having made each of them a present, this immediately set all the women in the circle a-singing. Their songs were musical and harmonious, and nowise harsh or disagreeable. After sitting here some time, we were, at our own request, conducted into one of the adjoining plantations, where the chief had another house, into which we were introduced. Bananoes and cocoa-nuts were set before us to eat, and a bowl of liquor prepared in our presence of the juice of Eava for us to drink. Pieces of the root were first offered us to chew; but as we excused ourselves from assisting in the operation, this was performed by others. When sufficiently chewed, it was put into a large wooden bowl; then mixed with water, in the manner already related; and as soon as it was properly strained for drinking, they made cups, by folding of green leaves, which held near half a pint, and presented to each of us one of these filled with the liquor. But I was the only one who tasted it; the manner of brewing it having quenched the thirst of every one else. The bowl was, however; soon emptied of its contents, of which both men and women partook. I observed that they never filled the same cup twice; nor did two persons drink out of the same; each had a fresh cup and fresh liquor.

This house was situated at one corner of the plantation, and had an area before it on which we were seated. The whole was planted round with fruit and other trees, whose spreading branches afforded an agreeable shade, and whose fragrance diffused a pleasing odour through the air.

Before we had well viewed the plantation it was noon, and we returned on board to dinner, with the chief in our company. He sat at table but eat nothing, which, as we had fresh pork roasted, was a little extraordinary. After dinner we landed again, and were received by the crowd as before; Mr Forster with his botanical party, and some



of the officers and gentlemen, walked into the country. Captain Furneaux and myself were conducted to the chief's house, where fruit and some greens, which had been stewed, were set before us to eat. As we had but just dined, it cannot be supposed we eat much; but Oedidee, and Omai, the man on board the *Adventure*, did honour to the feast. After this we signified our desire of seeing the country. Tioony very readily assented, and conducted us through several plantations, which were laid out with great judgment, and inclosed with very neat fences made of reeds. They were all in very good order, and well planted with various fruit-trees, roots, &c. The chief took some pains to let us know the most of them belonged to himself. Near some of the houses, and in the lanes that divided the plantations, were running about some hogs and very large fowls, which were the only domestic animals we saw; and these they did not seem willing to part with. Nor did any one, during the whole day, offer in exchange any fruit, or roots, worth mentioning, which determined me to leave this island, and to visit that of Amsterdam.

The evening brought every one on board, highly delighted with the country, and the very obliging behaviour of the inhabitants, who seemed to vie with each other in doing what they thought would give us pleasure. The ships were crowded with people the whole day, trafficking with those on board, in which the greatest good order was observed; and I was sorry that the season of the year would not admit of my making a longer stay with them. Early the next morning, while the ships were getting under sail, I went on shore with Captain Furneaux and Mr Forster, to take leave of the chief. He met us at the landing-place, and would have conducted us to his house, had we not excused ourselves. We therefore were seated on the grass, where we spent about half an hour in the midst of a vast crowd of people. After making the chief a present, consisting of various articles, and an assortment of garden-seeds, I gave him to understand that we were going away, at which he seemed not at all moved. He, and two or three more, came into our boat, in order to accompany us on board; but seeing the *Resolution* under sail, he called to a canoe to put alongside, into which he and his friends went, and returned on shore. While he remained in our boat, he continued to exchange fish-hooks for nails, and engrossed the trade in a manner wholly to himself; but, when on shore, I never saw him make the least exchange.

## Chapter II. The Arrival of the Ships at Amsterdam; a Description of a Place of Worship; and an Account of the Incidents which happened while we remained at that Island.

1773 October

As soon as I was on board, we made sail down to Amsterdam. The people of this isle were so little afraid of us, that some met us in three canoes about midway between the two isles. They used their utmost efforts to get on board, but without effect, as we did not shorten sail for them, and the rope which we gave them broke. They then attempted to board the Adventure, and met with the same disappointment. We ran along the S.W. coast of Amsterdam at half a mile from shore, on which the sea broke in a great surf. We had an opportunity, by the help of our glasses, to view the face of the island, every part of which seemed to be laid out in plantations. We observed the natives running along the shore, displaying small white flags, which we took for ensigns of peace, and answered them by hoisting a St George's ensign. Three men belonging to Middleburg, who, by some means or other, had been left on board the Adventure, now quitted her, and swam to the shore; not knowing that we intended to stop at this isle, and having no inclination, as may be supposed, to go away with us.

As soon as we opened the west side of the isle, we were met by several canoes, each conducted by three or four men. They came boldly alongside, presented us with some Eava root, and then came on board without farther ceremony, inviting us, by all the friendly signs they could make, to go to their island, and pointing to the place where we should anchor; at least we so understood them. After a few boards, we anchored in Van Diemen's Road, in eighteen fathoms water, little more than a cable's length from the breakers, which line the coast. We carried out the coasting-anchor and cable to seaward, to keep the ship from tailing on the rocks, in case of a shift of wind or a calm. This last anchor lay in forty-seven fathoms water; so steep was the bank on which we anchored. By this time we were crowded with people; some came off in canoes, and others swam; but, like those of the other isle, brought nothing with them but cloth, matting, &c., for which the seamen only bartered away their clothes. As it was probable they would soon feel the effects of this kind of traffic, with a view to put a stop to it, and to obtain the necessary refreshments, I gave orders that no sort of curiosities should be purchased by any person whatever.

The good effect of this order was found in the morning. For, when the natives saw we would purchase nothing but eatables, they brought off bananoes and cocoa-nuts in abundance, some fowls and pigs; all of which they exchanged for small nails and pieces of cloth: even old rags of any sort, was enough for a pig, or a fowl.

Matters being thus established, and proper persons appointed to trade under the direction of the officers, to prevent disputes, after breakfast I landed, accompanied by Captain Furneaux, Mr Forster, and several of the officers; having along with us a chief, or person of some note, whose name was Attago, who had attached himself to me, from the first moment of his coming on board, which was before we anchored. I know not how he came to discover that I was the commander; but, certain it is, he was not long on deck before he singled me out from all the gentlemen, making me a present of some cloth, and other things he had about him; and as a greater testimony of friendship, we now exchanged names; a custom which is practised at Otaheite, and the Society Isles. We were lucky, or rather we may thank the natives, for having anchored before a narrow creek in the rocks which line the shore. To this creek we were conducted by my friend Attago; and there we landed dry on the beach, and within the breakers, in the face of a vast crowd of people, who received us in the same friendly manner that those of Middleburg had done.

As soon as we were landed; all the gentlemen set out into the country, accompanied by some of the natives. But the most of them remained with Captain Furneaux and me, who amused ourselves some time distributing presents amongst them; especially to such as Attago pointed out, which were not many, but who I afterwards found, were of superior rank to himself. At this time, however, he seemed to be the principal person, and to be obeyed as such. After we had spent some time on the beach, as we complained of the heat, Attago immediately conducted and seated us under the shade of a tree, ordering the people to form a circle round us. This they did, and never once attempted to push themselves upon us like the Otaheiteans.

After sitting here some time, and distributing some presents to those about us, we signified our desire to see the country. The chief immediately took the hint, and conducted us along a lane that led to an open green, on the one side of which was a house of worship built on a mount that had been raised by the hand of man, about sixteen or eighteen feet above the common level. It had an oblong figure, and was inclosed by a wall or parapet of stone, about three feet in height. From this wall the mount rose with a gentle slope, and was covered with a green turf. On the top of it stood the house, which had the same figure as the mount, about twenty feet in length, and fourteen or sixteen broad. As soon as we came before the place, every one seated himself on the green, about fifty or sixty yards from the front of the house. Presently came three elderly men, who seated themselves between us and it, and began a speech, which I understood to be a prayer, it being wholly directed to the house. This lasted about ten minutes; and then the priests, for such I took them to be, came and sat down along with us, when we made them presents of such things as were about us. Having then made signs to them that we wanted to view the premises, my friend Attago immediately got up, and going with us, without showing the least backwardness, gave us full liberty to examine every part of it.

In the front were two stone steps leading to the top of the wall; from this the ascent to the house was easy, round which was a fine gravel walk. The house was built, in

all respects, like to their common dwelling-houses; that is, with posts and rafters, and covered with palm thatch. The eaves came down within about three feet of the ground, which space was filled up with strong matting made of palm leaves, as a wall. The floor of the house was laid with fine gravel; except, in the middle, where there was an oblong square of blue pebbles, raised about six inches higher than the floor. At one corner of the house stood an image rudely carved in wood, and on one side lay another; each about two feet in length. I, who had no intention to offend either them or their gods, did not so much as touch them, but asked Attago, as well as I could, if they were Eatuas, or gods. Whether he understood me or no, I cannot say; but he immediately turned them over and over, in as rough a manner as he would have done any other log of wood, which convinced me that they were not there as representatives of the Divinity. I was curious to know if the dead were interred there, and asked Attago several questions relative thereto; but I was not sure that he understood me, at least I did not understand the answers he made well enough to satisfy my enquiries. For the reader must know, that at our first coming among these people, we hardly could understand a word they said. Even my Otaheitean youth, and the man on board the *Adventure*, were equally at a loss; but more of this by and by. Before we quitted the house we thought it necessary to make an offering at the altar. Accordingly we laid down upon the blue pebbles, some medals, nails, and several other things, which we had no sooner done than my friend Attago took them up, and put them in his pocket. The stones with which the walls were made that inclosed this mount, were some of them nine or ten feet by four, and about six inches thick. It is difficult to conceive how they can cut such stones out of the coral rocks.

This mount stood in a kind of grove open only on the side which fronted the high road, and the green on which the people were seated. At this green or open place, was a junction of five roads, two or three of which appeared to be very public ones. The groves were composed of several sorts of trees. Among others was the Etoa tree, as it is called at Otaheite, of which are made clubs, &c. and a kind of low palm, which is very common in the northern parts of New Holland.

After we had done examining this place of worship, which in their language is called A-fia-tou-ca, we desired to return; but, instead of conducting us to the water-side as we expected, they struck into a road leading into the country. This road, which was about sixteen feet broad, and as level as a bowling-green, seemed to be a very public one; there being many other roads from different parts, leading into it, all inclosed on each side, with neat fences made of reeds, and shaded from the scorching sun by fruit trees, I thought I was transported into the most fertile plains in Europe. There was not an inch of waste ground; the roads occupied no more space than was absolutely necessary; the fences did not take up above four inches each; and even this was not wholly lost, for in many were planted some useful trees or plants. It was everywhere the same; change of place altered not the scene. Nature, assisted by a little art, nowhere appears in more splendour than at this isle. In these delightful walks we met numbers of people; some travelling down to the ships with their burdens of fruit; others

returning back empty. They all gave us the road, by turning either to the right or left, and sitting down or standing, with their backs to the fences, till we had passed.

At several of the cross-roads, or at the meeting of two or more roads, were generally Afiatoucas, such as already described; with this difference, the mounts were pallisadoed round, instead of a stone wall. At length, after walking several miles, we came to one larger than common; near to which was a large house belonging to an old chief, in our company. At this house we were desired to stop, which we accordingly did, and were treated with fruit, &c.

We were no sooner seated in the house, than the eldest of the priests began a speech or prayer, which was first directed to the Afiatouca, and then to me, and alternately. When he addressed me, he paused at every sentence, till I gave a nod of approbation. I, however, did not understand one single word he said. At times, the old gentleman seemed to be at a loss what to say, or perhaps his memory failed him; for, every now and then, he was prompted by one of the other priests who sat by him. Both during this prayer and the former one, the people were silent, but not attentive. At this last place we made but a short stay. Our guides conducted us down to our boat, and we returned with Attago to our ship to dinner. We had no sooner got on board, than an old gentleman came alongside, who, I understood from Attago, was some king or great man. He was, accordingly, ushered on board; when I presented him with such things as he most valued (being the only method to make him my friend,) and seated him at table to dinner. We now saw that he was a man of consequence; for Attago would not sit down and eat before him, but got to the other end of the table; and, as the old chief was almost blind, he sat there, and eat with his back towards him. After the old man had eaten a bit of fish, and drank two glasses of wine, he returned ashore. As soon as Attago had seen him out of the ship, he came and took his place at table, finished his dinner, and drank two glasses of wine. When dinner was over, we all went ashore, where we found the old chief, who presented me with a hog; and he and some others took a walk with us into the country.

Before we set out, I happened to go down with Attago to the landing-place, and there found Mr Wales in a laughable, though distressed situation. The boats which brought us on shore, not being able to get near the landing-place for want of a sufficient depth of water, he pulled off his shoes and stockings to walk through, and as soon as he got on dry land, he put them down betwixt his legs to put on again, but they were instantly snatched away by a person behind him, who immediately mixed with the crowd. It was impossible for him to follow the man barefooted over the sharp coral rocks, which compose the shore, without having his feet cut to pieces. The boat was put back to the ship, his companions had each made his way through the crowd, and he left in this condition alone. Attago soon found out the thief, recovered his shoes and stockings, and set him at liberty. Our route into the country, was by the first-mentioned Afiatouca, before which we again seated ourselves, but had no prayers, although the old priest was with us. Our stay here was but short. The old chief, probably thinking that we might want water on board, conducted us to a plantation hard by, and shewed

us a pool of fresh water, though we had not made the least enquiry after any. I believe this to be the same that Tasman calls the washing- place for the king and his nobles.

From hence we were conducted down to the shore of Maria Bay, or north-east side of the isle; where, in a boat-house, was shewn to us a fine large double canoe not yet launched. The old chief did not fail to make us sensible it belonged to himself. Night now approaching, we took leave of him, and returned on board, being conducted by Attago down to the water- side.

Mr Forster and his party spent the day in the country botanizing; and several of the officers were out shooting. All of them were very civilly treated by the natives. We had also a brisk trade for bananoes, cocoa-nuts, yams, pigs, and fowls; all of which were procured for nails, and pieces of cloth. A boat from each ship was employed in trading ashore, and bringing off their cargoes as soon as they were laden, which was generally in a short time. By this method we got cheaper, and with less trouble, a good quantity of fruit, as well as other refreshments, from people who had no canoes to carry them off to the ships.

Pretty early in the morning on the 5th, my friend brought me a hog and some fruit; for which I gave him a hatchet, a sheet, and some red cloth. The pinnace was sent ashore to trade as usual, but soon returned. The officer informed me that the natives were for taking every thing out of the boat, and, in other respects, were very troublesome. The day before, they stole the grapling at the time the boat was riding by it, and carried it off undiscovered. I now judged it necessary to have a guard on shore, to protect the boats and people whose business required their being there; and accordingly sent the marines, under the command of Lieutenant Edgcumbe. Soon after I went myself, with my friend Attago, Captain Furneaux, and several of the gentlemen. At landing, we found the chief, who presented me with a pig. After this, Captain Furneaux and I took a walk into the country, with Mr Hodges, to make drawings of such places and things as were most interesting. When this was done, we returned on board to dinner, with my friend and two other chiefs; one of which sent a hog on board the Adventure for Captain Furneaux, some hours before, without stipulating for any return. The only instance of this kind. My friend took care to put me in mind of the pig the old king gave me in the morning; for which I now gave a chequed shirt and a piece of red cloth. I had tied them up for him to carry ashore; but with this he was not satisfied. He wanted to have them put on him, which was no sooner done, than he went on deck, and shewed himself to all his countrymen. He had done the same thing in the morning with the sheet I gave him. In the evening we all went on shore again, where we found the old king, who took to himself every thing my friend and the others had got.

The different trading parties were so successful to-day as to procure for both ships a tolerably good supply of refreshments. In consequence of which, I, the next morning, gave every one leave to purchase what curiosities and other things they pleased. After this, it was astonishing to see with what eagerness every one caught at every thing he saw. It even went so far as to become the ridicule of the natives, who offered pieces of

sticks and stones to exchange. One waggish boy took a piece of human excrement on the end of a stick, and held it out to every one he met with.

This day, a man got into the master's cabin, through the outside scuttle, and took out some books and other things. He was discovered just as he was getting out into his canoe, and pursued by one of our boats, which obliged him to quit the canoe and take to the water. The people in the boat made several attempts to lay hold of him; but he as often dived under the boat, and at last having unshipped the rudder, which rendered her ungovernable, by this means he got clear off. Some other very daring thefts were committed at the landing-place. One fellow took a seaman's jacket out of the boat, and carried it off, in spite of all that our people in her could do. Till he was both pursued and fired at by them, he would not part with it; nor would he have done it then, had not his landing been intercepted by some of us who were on shore. The rest of the natives, who were very numerous, took very little notice of the whole transaction; nor were they the least alarmed when the man was fired at.

My friend Attago having visited me again next morning, as usual, brought with him a hog, and assisted me in purchasing several more. Afterwards we went ashore; visited the old king, with whom we staid till noon, then returned on board to dinner, with Attago, who never once left me. Intending to sail next morning, I made up a present for the old king, and carried it on shore in the evening. As soon as I landed, I was told by the officers who were on shore, that a far greater man than any we had yet seen was come to pay us a visit. Mr Pickersgill informed me that he had seen him in the country, and found that he was a man of some consequence, by the extraordinary respect paid him by the people. Some, when they approached him, fell on their faces, and put their head between their feet; and no one durst pass him without permission. Mr Pickersgill, and another of the gentlemen, took hold of his arms, and conducted him down to the landing- place, where I found him seated with so much sullen and stupid gravity, that notwithstanding what had been told me, I really took him for an idiot, whom the people, from some superstitious notions, were ready to worship. I saluted and spoke to him; but he neither answered, nor took the least notice of me; nor did he alter a single feature in his countenance. This confirmed me in my opinion, and I was just going to leave him, when one of the natives, an intelligent youth, undertook to undeceive me; which he did in such a manner as left me no room to doubt that he was the king, or principal man on the island. Accordingly I made him the present I intended for the old chief, which consisted of a shirt, an axe, a piece of red cloth, a looking-glass, some nails, medals, and beads. He received these things, or rather suffered them to be put upon him, and laid down by him, without losing a bit of his gravity, speaking one word, or turning his head either to the right or left; sitting the whole time like a statue; in which situation I left him to return on board, and he soon after retired. I had not been long on board before word was brought me, that a quantity of provisions had come from this chief. A boat was sent to bring it from the shore; and it consisted of about twenty baskets of roasted bananoes, sour bread, and yams, and a roasted pig of about twenty pounds weight. Mr Edgcumbe and his party were just re-embarking, when these were

brought to the water-side, and the bearers said it was a present from the Areeke, that is, the king of the island, to the Areeke of the ship. After this I was no longer to doubt the dignity of this sullen chief.

Early in the morning of the 7th, while the ships were unmooring, I went ashore with Captain Furneaux and Mr Forster, in order to make some return to the king, for his last night's present. We no sooner landed than we found Attago, of whom we enquired for the king, whose name was Kohaghee- too-Fallangou. He accordingly undertook to conduct us to him; but, whether he mistook the man we wanted, or was ignorant where he was, I know not. Certain it is, that he took us a wrong road, in which he had not gone far before he stopped, and after some little conversation between him and another man, we returned back, and presently after the king appeared, with very few attendants. As soon as Attago saw him coming, he sat down under a tree, and desired us to do the same. The king seated himself on a rising ground, about twelve or fifteen yards from us: Here we sat facing one another for some minutes. I waited for Attago to shew us the way; but seeing he did not rise, Captain Furneaux and I got up, went and saluted the king, and sat down by him. We then presented him with a white shirt, (which we put on his back) a few yards of red cloth, a brass kettle, a saw, two large spikes, three looking-glasses, a dozen of medals, and some strings of beads. All this time he sat with the same sullen stupid gravity as the day before; he even did not seem to see or know what we were about; his arms appeared immoveable at his sides; he did not so much as raise them when we put on the shirt. I told him, both by words and signs, that we were going to leave his island; he scarcely made the least answer to this, or any other thing we either said or did. We, therefore, got up and took leave; but I yet remained near him, to observe his actions. Soon after, he entered into conversation with Attago and an old woman, whom we took to be his mother. I did not understand any part of the conversation; it however made him laugh, in spite of his assumed gravity. I say assumed, because it exceeded every thing of the kind I ever saw; and therefore think it could not be his real disposition, unless he was an idiot indeed, as these islanders, like all the others we had lately visited, have a great deal of levity, and he was in the prime of life. At last he rose up, and retired with his mother and two or three more.

Attago conducted us to another circle, where were seated the aged chief and several respectable old persons of both sexes; among whom was the priest, who was generally in company with this chief. We observed, that this reverend father could walk very well in a morning, but in the evening was obliged to be led home by two people. By this we concluded, that the juice of the pepper-root had the same effect upon him, that wine and other strong liquors have on Europeans who drink a large portion of them. It is very certain, that these old people seldom sat down without preparing a bowl of this liquor, which is done in the same manner as at Ulietea. We however must do them the justice to believe, that it was meant to treat us; nevertheless, the greatest part, if not the whole, generally fell to their share. I was not well prepared to take leave of this chief, having exhausted almost all our store on the other. However, after rummaging



our pockets, and treasury-bag, which was always carried with me wherever I went, we made up a tolerable present, both for him and his friends. This old chief had an air of dignity about him that commanded respect, which the other had not. He was grave, but not sullen; would crack a joke, talk on indifferent subjects, and endeavour to understand us and be understood himself. During this visit, the old priest repeated a short prayer or speech, the purport of which we did not understand. Indeed he would frequently, at other times, break out in prayer; but I never saw any attention paid to him by any one present. After a stay of near two hours, we took leave, and returned on board, with Attago and two or three more friends, who staid and breakfasted with us; after which they were dismissed, loaded with presents.

Attago was very importunate with me to return again to this isle, and to bring with me cloth, axes, nails, &c. &c. telling me that I should have hogs, fowls, fruit, and roots, in abundance. He particularly desired me, more than once, to bring him such a suit of clothes as I had on, which was my uniform. This good-natured islander was very serviceable to me, on many occasions, during our short stay. He constantly came on board every morning soon after it was light, and never quitted us till the evening. He was always ready, either on board or on shore, to do me all the service in his power: His fidelity was rewarded at a small expence, and I found my account in having such a friend.

In heaving in the coasting cable, it parted in the middle of its length, being chafed by the rocks. By this accident we lost the other half, together with the anchor, which lay in forty fathoms water, without any buoy to it. The best bower-cable suffered also by the rocks; by which a judgment may be formed of this anchorage. At ten o'clock we got under sail; but as our decks were much encumbered with fruit, &c. we kept plying under the land till they were cleared. The supplies we got at this isle, were about one hundred and fifty pigs, twice that number of fowls, as many bananoes and cocoa-nuts as we could find room for, with a few yams; and had our stay been longer, we no doubt might have got a great deal more. This in some degree shews the fertility of the island, of which, together with the neighbouring one of Middleburg, I shall now give a more particular account.

### Chapter III. A Description of the Islands and their Produce; with the Cultivation, Houses, Canoes, Navigation, Manufactures, Weapons, Customs, Government, Religion, and Language of the Inhabitants.

1773 October

These islands were first discovered by Captain Tasman, in January, 1642-3, and by him called Amsterdam and Middleburg. But the former is called by the natives Ton-ga-ta-bu, and the latter Ea-oo-wee. They are situated between the latitude of 21 deg. 29' and 21 deg. 3' south, and between the longitude of 174 deg. 40' and 175 deg. 15' west, deduced from observations made on the spot.

Middleburg, or Eaoowee, which is the southernmost, is about ten leagues in circuit, and of a height sufficient to be seen twelve leagues. The skirts of this isle are mostly taken up in the plantations; the S.W. and N.W. sides especially. The interior parts are but little cultivated, though very fit for cultivation. However, the want of it added greatly to the beauty of the isle; for here are, agreeably dispersed, groves of cocoa-nut and other trees, lawns covered with thick grass, here and there plantations, and paths leading to every part of the island, in such beautiful disorder, as greatly enlivens the prospect.

The anchorage, which I named English Road, being the first who anchored there, is on the N.W. side, in latitude 21 deg. 20' 30" south. The bank is a coarse sand; it extends two miles from the land, and on it there is from twenty to forty fathoms water. The small creek before it affords convenient landing for boats at all times of the tide; which here, as well as at the other islands, rises about four or five feet, and is high water on the full and change days about seven o'clock. The island of Tongatabu is shaped something like an isosceles triangle, the longest sides whereof are seven leagues each, and the shortest four. It lies nearly in the direction of E.S.E. and W.N.W.; is nearly all of an equal height, rather low, not exceeding sixty or eighty feet above the level of the sea. This island, and also that of Eaoowee, is guarded from the sea by a reef of coral rocks, extending out from the shore one hundred fathoms more or less. On this reef the force of the sea is spent before it reaches the land or shore. Indeed, this is in some measure the situation of all the tropical isles in this sea that I have seen; and thus nature has effectually secured them from the encroachments of the sea, though many of them are mere points when compared to this vast ocean. Van Diemen's Road, where we anchored, is under the northwest part of the island, between the most northern and western points. There lies a reef of rocks without it, bearing N.W. by W., over which the sea breaks continually. The bank does not extend more than three cables length from the shore; without that, is an unfathomable depth. The loss of an anchor, and

the damage our cables sustained, are sufficient proofs that the bottom is none of the best.

On the east side of the north point of the island, (as Mr Gilbert, whom I sent to survey the parts, informed me) is a very snug harbour, of one mile or more in extent, wherein is seven, eight, and ten fathoms water, with a clean sandy bottom. The channel, by which he went in and out, lies close to the point, and has only three fathoms water; but he believes, that farther to the N.E. is a channel with a much greater depth, which he had not time to examine. Indeed, it would have taken up far more time than I could spare to have surveyed these parts minutely; as there lies a number of small islets and reefs of rocks along the N.E. side of the island, which seemed to extend to the N.E. farther than the eye could reach. The island of Amsterdam, or Tongatabu, is wholly laid out in plantations, in which are planted some of the richest productions of nature, such as bread-fruit, cocoa-nut trees, plantains, bananoes, shaddocks, yams, and some other roots, sugar-cane, and a fruit like a nectarine, called by them Fighegea, and at Otaheite Ahuya: In short, here are most of the articles which the Society Islands produce, besides some which they have not. Mr Forster tells me, that he not only found the same plants here that are at Otaheite and the neighbouring isles, but several others which are not to be met with there. And I probably have added to their stock of vegetables, by leaving with them an assortment of garden seeds, pulse, &c. Bread-fruit here, as well as at all the other isles, was not in season; nor was this the time for roots and shaddocks. We got the latter only at Middleburg.

The produce and cultivation of this isle is the same as at Amsterdam; with this difference, that a part only of the former is cultivated, whereas the whole of the latter is. The lanes or roads necessary for travelling, are laid out in so judicious a manner, as to open a free and easy communication from one part of the island to the other. Here are no towns or villages; most of the houses are built in the plantations, with no other order than what conveniency requires; they are neatly constructed, but do not exceed those in the other isles. The materials of which they are built are the same; and some little variation in the disposition of the framing, is all the difference in their construction. The floor is a little raised, and covered with thick strong mats; the same sort of matting serves to inclose them on the windward side, the other being open. They have little areas before the most of them, which are generally planted round with trees, or shrubs of ornament, whose fragrancly perfumes the very air in which they breathe. Their household furniture consists of a few wooden platters, cocoa-nut shells, and some neat wooden pillows shaped like four-footed stools or forms. Their common clothing, with the addition of a mat, serves them for bedding. We got from them two or three earthen vessels, which were all we saw among them. One was in the shape of a bomb-shell, with two boles in it, opposite each other; the others were like pipkins, containing about five or six pints, and had been in use on the fire. I am of opinion they are the manufacture of some other isle; for, if they were of their own, we ought to have seen more of them. Nor am I to suppose they came from Tasman's ships; the time is too long for brittle vessels like these to be preserved.

We saw no other domestic animals amongst them but hogs and fowls. The former are of the same sort as at the other isles in this sea; but the latter are far superior, being as large as any we have in Europe, and their flesh equally good, if not better. We saw no dogs, and believe they have none, as they were exceedingly desirous of those we had on board. My friend Attago was complimented with a dog and a bitch, the one from New Zealand, the other from Ulietea. The name of a dog with them is kooree or gooree, the same as at New Zealand, which shews that they are not wholly strangers to them. We saw no rats in these isles, nor any other wild quadrupeds, except small lizards. The land birds are pigeons, turtle-doves, parrots, parroquets, owls, bald coues with a blue plumage, a variety of small birds, and large bats in abundance. The produce of the sea we know but little of; it is reasonable to suppose, that the same sorts of fish are found here as at the other isles. Their fishing instruments are the same; that is, hooks made of mother-of-pearl, gigs with two, three, or more prongs, and nets made of a very fine thread, with the meshes wrought exactly like ours. But nothing can be a more demonstrative evidence of their ingenuity than the construction and make of their canoes, which, in point of neatness and workmanship, exceed every thing of this kind we saw in this sea. They are built of several pieces sewed together with bandage, in so neat a manner, that on the outside it is difficult to see the joints. All the fastenings are on the inside, and pass through kants or ridges, which are wrought on the edges and ends of the several boards which compose the vessel, for that purpose. They are of two kinds, viz. double and single. The single ones are from twenty to thirty feet long, and about twenty or twenty-two inches broad in the middle; the stern terminates in a point, and the head something like the point of a wedge. At each end is a kind of deck, for about one-third part of the whole length, and open in the middle. In some the middle of the deck is decorated with a row of white shells, stuck on little pegs wrought out of the same piece which composes it. These single canoes have all outriggers, and are sometimes navigated with sails, but more generally with paddles, the blades of which are short, and broadest in the middle. The two vessels which compose the double canoe are each about sixty or seventy feet long, and four or five broad in the middle, and each end terminates nearly in a point; so that the body or hull differs a little in construction from the single canoe, but is put together exactly in the same manner; these having a rising in the middle round the open part, in the form of a long trough, which is made of boards, closely fitted together, and well secured to the body of the vessel. Two such vessels are fastened to, and parallel to each other, about six or seven feet asunder, by strong cross beams, secured by bandages to the upper part of the risings above mentioned. Over these beams, and others which are supported by stanchions fixed on the bodies of the canoes, is laid a boarded platform. All the parts which compose the double canoe, are made as strong and light as the nature of the work will admit, and may be immersed in water to the very platform, without being in danger of filling. Nor is it possible, under any circumstance whatever, for them to sink, so long as they hold together. Thus they are not only vessels of burden, but fit for distant navigation. They are rigged with one mast, which steps upon the platform,

and can easily be raised or taken down; and are sailed with a latteen-sail, or triangular one, extended by a long yard, which is a little bent or crooked. The sail is made of mats; the rope they make use of is exactly like ours, and some of it is four or five inch. On the platform is built a little shed or hut, which screens the crew from the sun and weather, and serves for other purposes. They also carry a moveable fire- hearth, which is a square, but shallow trough of wood, filled with stones. The way into the hold of the canoe is from off the platform, down a sort of uncovered hatchway, in which they stand to bale out the water. I think these vessels are navigated either end foremost, and that, in changing tacks, they have only occasion to shift or jib round the sail; but of this I was not certain, as I had not then seen any under sail, or with the mast and sail an end, but what were a considerable distance from us.

Their working tools are made of stone, bone, shells, &c. as at the other islands. When we view the work which is performed with these tools, we are struck with admiration at the ingenuity and patience of the workman. Their knowledge of the utility of iron was no more than sufficient to teach them to prefer nails to beads, and such trifles; some, but very few, would exchange a pig for a large nail, or a hatchet. Old jackets, shirts, cloth, and even rags, were in more esteem than the best edge-tool we could give them; consequently they got but few axes from us but what were given as presents. But if we include the nails which were given by the officers and crews of both ships for curiosities, &c. with those given for refreshments, they cannot have got less than five hundred weight, great and small. The only piece of iron we saw among them was a small broad awl, which had been made of a nail.

Both men and women are of a common size with Europeans; and their colour is that of a lightish copper, and more uniformly so than amongst the inhabitants of Otaheite and the Society Isles. Some of our gentlemen were of opinion these were a much handsomer race; others maintained a contrary opinion, of which number I was one. Be this as it may, they have a good shape, and regular features, and are active, brisk, and lively. The women, in particular, are the merriest creatures I ever met with, and will keep chattering by one's side, without the least invitation, or considering whether they are understood, provided one does but seem pleased with them. In general they appeared to be modest; although there was no want of those of a different stamp; and as we had yet some venereal complaints on board, I took all possible care to prevent the disorder being communicated to them. On most occasions they shewed a strong propensity to pilfering; in which they were full as expert as the Otaheitans.

Their hair in general is black, but more especially that of the women. Different colours were found among the men, sometimes on the same head, caused by something they put upon it, which stains it white, red, and blue. Both sexes wear it short; I saw but two exceptions to this custom, and the most of them combed it upwards. Many of the boys had it cut very close, except a single lock on the top of the head, and a small quantity on each side. The men cut or shave their beards quite close, which operation is performed with two shells. They have fine eyes, and in general good teeth, even to an advanced age. The custom of tattowing or puncturing the skin prevails. The men

are tattooed from the middle of the thigh to above the hips. The women have it only on their arms and fingers; and there but very slightly.

The dress of both sexes consists of a piece of cloth or matting wrapped round the waist, and hanging down below the knees. From the waist, upwards, they are generally naked; and it seemed to be a custom to anoint these parts every morning. My friend Attago never failed to do it; but whether out of respect to his friend, or from custom, I will not pretend to say; though I rather think from the latter, as he was not singular in the practice.

Their ornaments are amulets, necklaces, and bracelets of bones, shells, and beads of mother-of-pearl, tortoise-shell, &c. which are worn by both sexes. The women also wear on their fingers neat rings made of tortoise-shell, and pieces in their ears about the size of a small quill; but ear ornaments are not commonly worn, though all have their ears pierced. They have also a curious apron made of the outside fibres of the cocoa-nut shell, and composed of a number of small pieces sewed together in such a manner as to form stars, half-moons, little squares, &c. It is studded with beads of shells, and covered with red feathers, so as to have a pleasing effect. They make the same kind of cloth, and of the same materials, as at Otaheite; though they have not such a variety, nor do they make any so fine; but, as they have a method of glazing it, it is more durable, and will resist rain for some time, which Otaheite cloth will not. Their colours are black, brown, purple, yellow, and red; all made from vegetables. They make various sorts of matting; some of a very fine texture, which is generally used for clothing; and the thick and stronger sort serves to sleep on, and to make sails for their canoes, &c. Among other useful utensils, they have various sorts of baskets; some are made of the same materials as their mats; and others of the twisted fibres of cocoa-nuts. These are not only durable but beautiful; being generally composed of different colours, and studded with beads made of shells or bones. They have many little nick-nacks amongst them; which shews that they neither want taste to design, nor skill to execute, whatever they take in hand.

How these people amuse themselves in their leisure hours, I cannot say, as we are but little acquainted with their diversions. The women frequently entertained us with songs, in a manner which was agreeable enough. They accompany the music by snapping their fingers, so as to keep time to it. Not only their voices, but their music was very harmonious, and they have a considerable compass in their notes. I saw but two musical instruments amongst them. One was a large flute made of a piece of bamboo, which they fill with their noses as at Otaheite; but these have four holes or stops, whereas those of Otaheite have only two. The other was 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; and the open ends of the reeds into which they blow with their mouths, are of equal height, or in a line. They have also a drum, which, without any impropriety, may be compared to an hollow log of wood. The one I saw was five feet six inches long, and thirty inches in girth, and had a slit in it, from the one end to the other, about three inches wide, by means of which it had been hollowed out.

They beat on the side of this log with two drum-sticks, and produce an hollow sound, not quite so musical as that of an empty cask.

The common method of saluting one another is by touching or meeting noses, as is done in New Zealand, and their sign of peace to strangers, is the displaying a white flag or flags; at least such were displayed to us, when we first drew near the shore. But the people who came first on board brought with them some of the pepper plant, and sent it before them into the ship; a stronger sign of friendship than which one could not wish for. From their unsuspecting manner of coming on board, and of receiving us at first on shore, I am of opinion, they are seldom disturbed by either foreign or domestic troubles. They are, however, not unprovided with very formidable weapons; such as clubs and spears, made of hard wood, also bows and arrows. The clubs are from three to five feet in length, and of various shapes. Their bows and arrows are but indifferent; the former being very slight, and the latter only made of a slender reed, pointed with hard wood. Some of their spears have many barbs, and must be very dangerous weapons where they take effect. On the inside of the bow is a groove, in which is put the arrow; from which it would seem that they use but one.

They have a singular custom of putting every thing you give them to their heads, by way of thanks, as we conjectured. This manner of paying a compliment, is taught them from their very infancy; for when we gave things to little children, the mother lifted up the child's hand to its head. They also used this custom in their exchanges with us; whatever we gave them for their goods, was always applied to the head, just as if it had been given them for nothing. Sometimes they would look at our goods, and if not approved, return them back; but whenever they applied them to the head, the bargain was infallibly struck. When I had made a present to the chief of any thing curious, I frequently saw it handed from one to another; and every one, into whose hands it came, put it to the head. Very often the women would take hold of my hand, kiss it, and lift it to their heads. From all this it should seem, that this custom, which they call *fagafatie*, has various significations according as it is applied; all, however, complimentary.

It must be observed, that the sullen chief or king did not pay me any of these compliments for the presents I made him.

A still more singular custom prevails in these isles: We observed that the greater part of the people, both men and women, had lost one, or both their little fingers. We endeavoured, but in vain, to find out the reason of this mutilation; for no one would take any pains to inform us. It was neither peculiar to rank, age, or sex; nor is it done at any certain age, as I saw those of all ages on whom the amputation had been just made; and, except some young children, we found few who had both hands perfect. As it was more common among the aged than the young, some of us were of opinion that it was occasioned by the death of their parents, or some other near relation. But Mr Wales one day met with a man, whose hands were both perfect, of such an advanced age, that it was hardly possible his parents could be living. They also burn or make incisions in their cheeks, near the cheek-bone. The reason of this was equally unknown

to us. In some, the wounds were quite fresh; in others, they could only be known by the scars, or colour of the skin. I saw neither sick nor lame amongst them; all appeared healthy, strong, and vigorous; a proof of the goodness of the climate in which they live.

I have frequently mentioned a king, which implies the government being in a single person, without knowing for certain whether it is so or no. Such an one was however pointed out to us; and we had no reason to doubt it. From this, and other circumstances, I am of opinion that the government is much like that of Otaheite: That is, in a king or great chief, who is here called Areeke, with other chiefs under him, who are lords of certain districts, and perhaps sole proprietors, to whom the people seem to pay great obedience. I also observed a third rank, who had not a little authority over the common people; my friend Attago was one of these. I am of opinion that all the land on Tongatabu is private property, and that there are here, as at Otaheite, a set of people, who are servants or slaves, and have no property in land. It is unreasonable to suppose every thing in common in a country so highly cultivated as this. Interest being the greatest spring which animates the hand of industry, few would toil in cultivating and planting the land, if they did not expect to reap the fruit of their labour: Were it otherwise, the industrious man would be in a worse state than the idle sluggard. I frequently saw parties of six, eight, or ten people, bring down to the landing place fruit and other things to dispose of, where one person, a man or woman, superintended the sale of the whole; no exchanges were made but with his or her consent; and whatever we gave in exchange was always given them, which I think plainly shewed them to be the owners of the goods, and the others no more than servants. Though benevolent nature has been very bountiful to these isles, it cannot be said that the inhabitants are wholly exempt from the curse of our forefathers: Part of their bread must be earned by the sweat of their brows. The high state of cultivation their lands are in, must have cost them immense labour. This is now amply rewarded by the great produce, of which every one seems to partake. No one wants the common necessities of life; joy and contentment are painted in every face. Indeed, it can hardly be otherwise; an easy freedom prevails among all ranks of people; they feel no wants which they do not enjoy the means of gratifying; and they live in a clime where the painful extremes of heat and cold are equally unknown. If nature has been wanting in any thing, it is in the article of fresh water, which as it is shut up in the bowels of the earth, they are obliged to dig for. A running stream was not seen, and but one well, at Amsterdam. At Middleburg, we saw no water but what the natives had in vessels; but as it was sweet and cool, I had no doubt of its being taken up upon the island; and probably not far from the spot where I saw it.

So little do we know of their religion, that I hardly dare mention it. The buildings called Afiatoucas, before mentioned, are undoubtedly set apart for this purpose. Some of our gentlemen were of opinion, that they were merely burying-places. I can only say, from my own knowledge, that they are places to which particular persons directed set speeches, which I understood to be prayers, as hath been already related. Joining my opinion with that of others, I was inclined to think that they are set apart to be



both temples and burying-places, as at Otaheite, or even in Europe. But I have no idea of the images being idols; not only from what I saw myself, but from Mr Wales's informing me that they set one of them up, for him and others to shoot at.

One circumstance shewed that these Afiatoucas were frequently resorted to, for one purpose or other—the areas, or open places, before them, being covered with a green sod, the grass on which was very short. This did not appear to have been cut, or reduced by the hand of man, but to have been prevented in its growth, by being often trod, or sat upon.

It cannot be supposed that we could know much, either of their civil or religious policy, in so short a time as four or five days, especially as we understood but little of their language: Even the two islanders we had on board could not at first understand them, and yet as we became the more acquainted with them, we found their language was nearly the same spoken at Otaheite and the Society Isles. The difference not being greater than what we find betwixt the most northern and western parts of England, as will more fully appear by the vocabulary.

## **Chapter IV. Passage from Amsterdam to Queen Charlotte's Sound, with an Account of an Interview with the Inhabitants, and the final Separation of the two Ships.**

### **1773 October**

About the time we were in a condition to make sail, a canoe, conducted by four men, came along-side, with one of those drums already mentioned, on which one man kept continually beating; thinking, no doubt, the music would charm us. I gave them a piece of cloth and a nail, for the drum; and took an opportunity to send to my friend Attago some wheat, pease, and beans, which I had forgot to give him when he had the other seeds. As soon as this canoe was gone, we made sail to the southward, having a gentle gale at S.E. by E.; it being my intention to proceed directly to Queen Charlotte's Sound in New Zealand, there to take in wood and water, and then to go on farther discoveries to the south and east.

In the afternoon on the 8th, we made the island of Pilstart, bearing S.W. by W. 1/2 W., distant seven or eight leagues. This island, which was also discovered by Tasman, is situated in the latitude of 22 deg. 26' south, longitude 175 deg. 59' west, and lies in the direction of S. 52 deg. west, distant thirty-two leagues from the south end of Middleburg. It is more conspicuous in height than circuit; having in it two considerable hills, seemingly disjoined from each other by a low valley. After a few hours calm the wind came to S.W.; with which we stretched to the S.E.; but on the 10th, it veered

round by the south to the S.E. and E.S.E. and then we resumed our course to the S.S.W.

At five o'clock in the morning of the 21st, we made the land of New Zealand, extending from N.W. by N. to W.S.W.; at noon, Table Cape bore west, distant eight or ten leagues. I was very desirous of having some intercourse with the natives of this country as far to the north as possible; that is, about Poverty or Tolaga Bays, where I apprehended they were more civilized than at Queen Charlotte's Sound; in order to give them some hogs, fowls, seeds, roots, &c. which I had provided for the purpose. The wind veering to the N.W. and north, enabled us to fetch in with the land a little to the north of Portland, and we stood as near the shore as we could with safety. We observed several people upon it, but none attempted to come off to us. Seeing this, we bore away under Portland, where we lay-to some time, as well to give time for the natives to come off, as to wait for the Adventure. There were several people on Portland, but none seemed inclined to come to us; indeed the wind, at this time, blew rather too fresh for them to make the attempt. Therefore, as soon as the Adventure was up with us, we made sail for Cape Kidnappers, which we passed at five o'clock in the morning, and continued our course along-shore till nine, when, being about three leagues short off Black-head, we saw some canoes put off from the shore. Upon this I brought to, in order to give them time to come on board; but ordered the Adventure, by signal, to stand on, as I was willing to lose as little time as possible.

Those in the first canoe, which came along-side, were fishers, and exchanged some fish for pieces of cloth and nails. In the next, were two men, whom, by their dress and behaviour, I took to be chiefs.—These two were easily prevailed on to come on board, when they were presented with nails and other articles. They were so fond of nails, as to seize on all they could find, and with such eagerness, as plainly shewed they were the most valuable things we could give them. To the principal of these two men I gave the pigs, fowls, seeds, and roots. I believe, at first, he did not think I meant to give them to him; for he took but little notice of them, till he was satisfied they were for himself. Nor was he then in such a rapture as when I gave him a spike-nail half the length of his arm. However, at his going away I took notice, that he very well remembered how many pigs and fowls had been given him, as he took care to have them all collected together, and kept a watchful eye over them, lest any should be taken away. He made me a promise not to kill any; and if he keeps his word, and proper care is taken of them, there were enough to stock the whole island in due time; being two boars, two sows, four hens, and two cocks; The seeds were such as are most useful (*viz.*) wheat, French and kidney beans, pease, cabbage, turnips, onions, carrots, parsnips, and yams, &c. With these articles they were dismissed. It was evident these people had not forgot the Endeavour being on their coast; for the first words they spoke to us were, *Mataou no te pow pow* (we are afraid of the guns). As they could be no strangers to the affair which happened off Cape Kidnappers in my former voyage, experience had taught them to have some regard to these instruments of death.

As soon as they were gone, we stretched off to the southward, the wind having now veered to the W.S.W. In the afternoon it increased to a fresh gale, and blew in squalls; in one of which we lost our fore-top-gallant mast, having carried the sail a little too long. The fear of losing the land induced me to carry as much sail as possible. At seven in the morning, we tacked and stretched in shore, Cape Turnagain at this time bore about N.W.  $1/2$  N. distant six or seven leagues. The Adventure, being a good way to leeward, we supposed, did not observe the signal, but stood on; consequently was separated from us. During the night (which was spent in plying) the wind increased in such a manner as to bring us under our courses; it also veered to S.W. and S.S.W., and was attended with rain.

At nine in the morning on the 23d, the sky began to clear up, and the gale to abate, so that we could carry close-reefed top-sails. At eleven o'clock we were close in with Cape Turnagain, when we tacked and stood off; at noon the said Cape bore west a little northerly, distant six or seven miles. Latitude observed 41 deg. 30' south. Soon after, the wind falling almost to a calm, and flattering ourselves that it would be succeeded by one more favourable, we got up another top-gallant-mast, rigged top-gallant-yards, and loosed all the reefs out of the top-sails. The event was not equal to our wishes. The wind, indeed, came something more favourable, that is at W. by N., with which we stretched along shore to the southward; but it soon increased in such a manner, as to undo what we had but just done, and at last stripped us to our courses, and two close-reefed top-sails under which sails we continued all night. About day-light, the next morning, the gale abating, we were again tempted to loose out the reefs, and rig top-gallant-yards, which proved all lost labour; for, by nine o'clock, we were reduced to the same sail as before. Soon after, the Adventure joined us; and at noon Cape Palliser bore west, distant eight or nine leagues. This Cape is the northern point of Eaheinomauwe. We continued to stretch to the southward till midnight, when the wind abated and shifted to S.E. Three hours after, it fell calm, during which we loosed the reefs out, with the vain hopes that the next wind which came would be favourable. We were mistaken; the wind only took this short repose, in order to gain strength, and fall the heavier upon us. For at five o'clock in the morning, being the 25th, a gale sprung up at N.W. with which we stretched to S.W.; Cape Palliser at this time bore N.N.W., distant eight or nine leagues. The wind increased in such a manner, as obliged us to take in one reef after another; and, at last, it came on with such fury, as made it necessary to take in all our sails with the utmost expedition, and to lie-to under bare poles. The sea rose in proportion with the wind; so that we had a terrible gale and a mountainous sea to encounter. Thus after beating up against a hard gale for two days, and arriving just in sight of our port, we had the mortification to be driven off from the land by a furious storm. Two favourable circumstances attended it, which gave us some consolation; it was fair over head, and we were not apprehensive of a lee-shore.

The storm continued all the day without the least intermission. In the evening we bore down to look for the Adventure, she being out of sight to leeward, and after

running the distance we supposed her to be off, brought to again without seeing her; it being so very hazy and thick in the horizon, that we could not see a mile round us, occasioned by the spray of the sea being lifted up to a great height by the force of the wind. At midnight the gale abated; soon after fell little wind; and at last shifted to S.W., when we wore, set the courses and top-sails close-reefed, and stood in for the land. Soon after the wind freshened and fixed at south; but as the Adventure was some distance a-stern, we lay by for her till eight o'clock, when we both made all sail, and steered N. by W.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  W. for the Strait. At noon observed in 42 deg. 27' south, Cape Palliser, by judgment, bore north, distant seventeen leagues. This favourable wind was not of sufficient duration; in the afternoon it fell by little and little, and at length to a calm; this at ten o'clock was succeeded by a fresh breeze from the north, with which we stretched to the westward.

At three o'clock next morning, we were pretty well in with Cape Campbell on the west side of the Strait, when we tacked, and stretched over for Cape Palliser, under courses and close-reefed top-sails, having the wind at N.W., a very strong gale and fair weather. At noon, we tacked and stretched to S.W., with the last-mentioned Cape bearing west, distant four or five leagues. In the afternoon, the gale increased in such a manner as brought us under our courses. We continued to stretch to the S.W. till midnight, when we wore, and set close-reefed top-sails.

On the 28th, at eight o'clock in the morning, we wore, and stood again to the S.W. till noon, when we were obliged to lie-to under the fore-sail. At this time the high land over Cape Campbell bore west, distant ten or twelve leagues. The Adventure four or five miles to leeward. In the afternoon the fury of the gale began to abate; when we set the main-sail, close-reefed main-top-sail, and stood to the windward with the wind at W.N.W. and W. by N. a strong gale, attended with heavy squalls.

In the morning of the 29th, the wind abated and shifted to S.W. a gentle gale. Of this we took immediate advantage, set all our sails, and stood for Cape Palliser, which at noon bore W. by N.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  N., distant about six leagues. The wind continued between the S.W. and south till five in the evening, when it fell calm. At this time we were about three leagues from the Cape. At seven o'clock the calm was succeeded by a gentle breeze from N.N.E., as fair as we could wish; so that we began to reckon what time we should reach the Sound the next day; but at nine the wind shifted to its old quarter N.W., and blew a fresh gale, with which we stretched to the S.W., under single-reefed topsails and courses, with the Adventure in company. She was seen until midnight, at which time she was two or three miles a-stern, and presently after she disappeared; nor was she to be seen at day-light. We supposed she had tacked and stood to the N.E., by which manoeuvre we lost sight of her.

We continued to stretch to the westward with the wind at N.N.W., which increased in such a manner as to bring us under our two courses, after splitting a new main-topsail. At noon Cape Campbell bore W. by N., distant seven or eight leagues. At three in the afternoon the gale began to abate, and to veer more to the north, so that we fetched in with the land, under the Snowy Mountains, about four or five leagues

to windward of the Lookers- on, where there was the appearance of a large bay, I now regretted the loss of the Adventure; for had she been with me, I should have given up all thoughts of going to Queen Charlotte's Sound to wood and water, and have sought for a place to get these articles farther south, as the wind was now favourable for ranging along the coast. But our separation made it necessary for me to repair to the Sound, that being the place of rendezvous.

As we approached the land, we saw smoke in several places along the shore; a sure sign that the coast was inhabited. Our soundings were from forty- seven to twenty-five fathoms; that is, at the distance of three miles from the shore, forty-seven fathoms; and twenty-five fathoms at the distance of one mile, where we tacked, and stood to the eastward, under the two courses and close-reefed top-sails; but the latter we could not carry long before we were obliged to hand them. We continued to stand to the eastward all night, in hopes of meeting with the Adventure in the morning.

Seeing nothing of her then, we wore and brought to, under the fore-sail and mizen-stay-sail, the wind having increased to a perfect storm; but we had not been long in this situation before it abated, so as to permit us to carry the two courses, under which we stood to the west; and at noon the Snowy Mountains bore W.N.W., distant twelve or fourteen leagues. At six o'clock in the evening the wind quite ceased; but this proved only a momentary repose; for presently after it began to blow with redoubled fury, and obliged us to lie-to under the mizen-stay-sail; in which situation we continued till midnight, when the storm lessened; and two hours after it fell calm.

## 1773 November

On the 1st of November, at four o'clock in the morning, the calm was succeeded by a breeze from the south. This soon after increased to a fresh gale, attended with hazy, rainy weather, which gave us hopes that the N.W. winds were done; for it must be observed, that they were attended with clear and fair weather. We were not wanting in taking immediate advantage of this favourable wind, by setting all our sails, and steering for Cape Campbell, which at noon bore north, distant three or four leagues. At two o'clock we passed the Cape, and entered the Strait with a brisk gale a- stern, and so likely to continue that we thought of nothing less than reaching our port the next morning. Once more we were to be deceived; at six o'clock, being off Cloudy Bay, our favourable wind was succeeded by one from the north, which soon after veered to N.W., and increased to a fresh gale. We spent the night plying; our tacks proved disadvantageous; and we lost more on the ebb than we gained on the flood. Next morning, we stretched over for the shore of Eaheinomauwe. At sun-rise the horizon being extraordinarily clear to leeward, we looked well out for the Adventure; but as we saw nothing of her, judged she had got into the Sound. As we approached the above-mentioned shore, we discovered on the east side of Cape Teerawhitte, a new inlet I had never observed before. Being tired with beating against the N.W. winds, I resolved to put into this place if I found it practicable, or to anchor in the bay which

lies before it. The flood being favourable, after making a stretch off, we fetched under the Cape, and stretched into the bay along the western shore, having from thirty-five to twelve fathoms, the bottom everywhere good anchorage. At one o'clock we reached the entrance of the inlet just as the tide of ebb was making out; the wind being likewise against us, we anchored in twelve fathoms water, the bottom a fine sand. The easternmost of the Black Rocks, which lie on the larboard side of the entrance of the inlet, bore N. by E., one mile distant; Cape Teerawhitte, or the west point of the bay, west, distant about two leagues; and the east point of the bay N. by east, four or five miles.

Soon after we had anchored, several of the natives came off in their canoes; two from one shore, and one from the other. It required but little address to get three or four of them on board. These people were extravagantly fond of nails above every other thing. To one man I gave two cocks and two hens, which he received with so much indifference, as gave me little hopes he would take proper care of them.

We had not been at anchor here above two hours, before the wind veered to N.E., with which we weighed; but the anchor was hardly at the bows before it shifted to the south. With this we could but just lead out of the bay, and then bore away for the Sound under all the sail we could set; having the advantage, or rather disadvantage, of an increasing gale, which already blew too hard. We hauled up into the Sound just at dark, after making two boards, in which most of our sails were split; and anchored in eighteen fathoms water, between the White Rocks and the N.W. shore.

The next morning the gale abated, and was succeeded by a few hours calm; after that a breeze sprang up at N.W., with which we weighed and ran up into Ship Cove, where we did not find the Adventure, as was expected.

## **Chapter V. Transactions at Queen Charlotte's Sound; with an Account of the Inhabitants being Cannibals; and various other Incidents.—Departure from the Sound, and our Endeavours to find the Adventure; with some Description of the Coast.**

### **1773 November**

The first thing we did after mooring the ship, was to unbend all the sails; there not being one but what wanted repair. Indeed, both our sails and rigging had sustained much damage in beating off the Strait's mouth.

We had no sooner anchored than we were visited by the natives, several of whom I remembered to have seen when I was here in the Endeavour, particularly an old man named Goubiah. In the afternoon, I gave orders for all the empty water casks

to be landed, in order to be repaired, cleaned, and filled, tents to be set up for the sail-makers, coopers, and others, whose business made it necessary for them to be on shore. The next day we began to caulk the ship's sides and decks, to overhaul her rigging, repair the sails, cut wood for fuel, and set up the smith's forge to repair the iron-work; all of which were absolutely necessary. We also made some hauls with the seine, but caught no fish; which deficiency the natives in some measure, made up, by bringing us a good quantity, and exchanging them for pieces of Otaheitean cloth, &c.

On the 5th, the most part of our bread being in casks, I ordered some to be opened, when, to our mortification, we found a good deal of it damaged. To repair this loss in the best manner we could, all the casks were opened; the bread was picked, and the copper oven set up, to bake such parcels of it, as, by that means, could be recovered. Some time this morning, the natives stole, out of one of the tents, a bag of clothes belonging to one of the seamen. As soon as I was informed of it, I went to them in an adjoining cove, demanded the clothes again, and, after some time spent in friendly application, recovered them. Since we were among thieves, and had come off so well, I was not sorry for what had happened, as it taught our people to keep a better lookout for the future.

With these people I saw the youngest of the two sows Captain Furneaux had put on shore in Cannibal Cove, when we were last here: It was lame of one of its hind legs; otherwise in good case, and very tame. If we understood these people right, the boar and other sow were also taken away and separated, but not killed. We were likewise told, that the two goats I had put on shore up the Sound, had been killed by that old rascal Goubiah. Thus all our endeavours to stock this country with useful animals were likely to be frustrated, by the very people we meant to serve. Our gardens had fared somewhat better. Every thing in them, except the potatoes, they had left entirely to nature, who had acted her part so well, that we found most articles in a flourishing state: A proof that the winter must have been mild. The potatoes had most of them been dug up; some, however, still remained, and were growing, though I think it is probable they will never be got out of the ground.

Next morning I sent over to the cove, where the natives reside, to haul the seine; and took with me a boar, and a young sow, two cocks, and two hens, we had brought from the isles. These I gave to the natives, being persuaded they would take proper care of them, by their keeping Captain Furneaux's sow near five months; for I am to suppose it was caught soon after we sailed. We had no better success with the seine than before; nevertheless we did not return on board quite empty, having purchased a large quantity from the natives. When we were upon this traffic, they shewed a great inclination to pick my pockets, and to take away the fish with one hand, which they had just given me with the other. This evil one of the chiefs undertook to remove, and with fury in his eyes made a shew of keeping the people at a proper distance. I applauded his conduct, but at the same time kept so good a look-out, as to detect him in picking my pocket of an handkerchief; which I suffered him to put in his bosom before I seemed to know any thing of the matter, and then told him what I had lost.

He seemed quite ignorant and innocent, till I took it from him; and then he put it off with a laugh, acting his part with so much address, that it was hardly possible for me to be angry with him; so that we remained good friends, and he accompanied me on board to dinner. About that time, we were visited by several strangers, in four or five canoes, who brought with them fish, and other articles, which they exchanged for cloth, &c. These newcomers took up their quarters in a cove near us; but very early the next morning moved off with six of our small water casks; and with them all the people we found here on our arrival. This precipitate retreat of these last, we supposed was owing to the theft the others had committed. They left behind them some of their dogs, and the boar I had given them the day before, which I now took back again as I had not another. Our casks were the least loss we felt by these people leaving us: While they remained, we were generally well supplied with fish at a small expence.

We had fair weather, with the wind at N.E., on the 9th, which gave us some hopes of seeing the Adventure; but these hopes vanished in the afternoon, when the wind shifted to the westward.

The next morning, our friends the natives returned again, and brought with them a quantity of fish, which they exchanged for two hatchets.

Fair weather on the 12th, enabled us to finish picking, airing, and baking our biscuit; four thousand two hundred and ninety-two pounds of which we found totally unfit to eat; and about three thousand pounds more could only be eaten by people in our situation.

On the 13th, clear and pleasant weather. Early in the morning the natives brought us a quantity of fish, which they exchanged as usual. But their greatest branch of trade was the green talc or stone, called by them Poenammoo, a thing of no great value; nevertheless it was so much sought after by our people, that there was hardly a thing they would not give for a piece of it.

The 15th being a pleasant morning, a party of us went over to the East Bay, and climbed one of the hills which overlooked the eastern part of the Strait, in order to look for the Adventure. We had a fatiguing walk to little purpose; for when we came to the summit, we found the eastern horizon so foggy, that we could not see above two miles. Mr Forster, who was one of the party, profited by this excursion, in collecting some new plants. I now began to despair of seeing the Adventure any more; but was totally at a loss to conceive what was become of her. Till now, I thought she had put into some port in the Strait, when the wind came to N.W., the day we anchored in the Cove, and waited to complete her water. This conjecture was reasonable enough at first, but it was now hardly probable she could be twelve days in our neighbourhood, without our either hearing or seeing something of her.

The hill we now mounted is the same that I was upon in 1770, when I had the second view of the Strait: We then built a tower, with the stones we found there, which we now saw had been levelled to the ground; no doubt by the natives, with a view of finding something hid in it. When we returned from the hill, we found a number of them collected round our boat. After some exchanges, and making them



some presents, we embarked, in order to return on board; and, in our way, visited others of the inhabitants, by whom we were kindly received.

Our friends, the natives, employed themselves on the 17th in fishing in our neighbourhood; and, as fast as they caught the fish, came and disposed of them to us; insomuch that we had more than we could make use of. From this day to the 22d nothing remarkable happened, and we were occupied in getting every thing in readiness to put to sea, being resolved to wait no longer than the assigned time for the Adventure.

The winds were between the south and west, stormy with rain till the 23d, when the weather became settled, clear, and pleasant. Very early in the morning, we were visited by a number of the natives, in four or five canoes, very few of whom we had seen before. They brought with them various articles (curiosities), which they exchanged for Otaheitean cloth, &c. At first, the exchanges were very much in our favour, till an old man, who was no stranger to us, came and assisted his countrymen with his advice; which, in a moment, turned the trade above a thousand per cent, against us.

After these people were gone, I took four hogs (that is, three sows and one boar), two cocks and two hens, which I landed in the bottom of the West Bay; carrying them a little way into the woods, where we left them with as much food as would serve them ten or twelve days. This was done with a view of keeping them in the woods, lest they should come down to the shore in search of food, and be discovered by the natives; which, however, seemed not probable, as this place had never been frequented by them; nor were any traces of them to be seen near it. We also left some cocks and hens in the woods in Ship Cove; but these will have a chance of falling into the hands of the natives, whose wandering way of life will hinder them from breeding, even suppose they should be taken proper care of. Indeed, they took rather too much care of those which I had already given them, by keeping them continually confined, for fear of losing them in the woods. The sow pig we had not seen since the day they had her from me; but we were now told she was still living, as also the old boar and sow given them by Captain Furneaux; so that there is reason to hope they may succeed. It will be unfortunate, indeed, if every method I have taken, to provide this country with useful animals, should be frustrated. We were likewise told, that the two goats were still alive, and running about; but I gave more credit to the first story than this. I should have replaced them, by leaving behind the only two I had left, but had the misfortune to lose the ram soon after our arrival here, in a manner we could hardly account for. They were both put ashore at the tents, where they seemed to thrive very well; at last, the ram was taken with fits bordering on madness. We were at a loss to tell whether it was occasioned by any thing he had eaten, or by being stung with nettles, which were in plenty about the place; but supposed it to be the latter, and therefore did not take the care of him we ought to have done. One night, while he was lying by the centinel, he was seized with one of these fits, and ran headlong into the sea; but soon came out again, and seemed quite easy. Presently after, he was seized with another fit, and ran along the beach, with the she-goat after him. Some time after she returned, but the other was never seen more. Diligent search was made for him

in the woods to no purpose; we therefore supposed he had run into the sea a second time, and had been drowned. After this accident, it would have been in vain to leave the she-goat, as she was not with kid; having kidded but a few days before we arrived, and the kids dead. Thus the reader will see how every method I have taken to stock this country with sheep and goats has proved ineffectual.

When I returned on board in the evening, I found our good friends the natives had brought us a large supply of fish. Some of the officers visiting them at their habitations, saw, among them, some human thigh-bones, from which the flesh had been but lately picked. This, and other circumstances, led us to believe that the people, whom we took for strangers this morning, were of the same tribe; that they had been out on some war expedition; and that those things they sold us, were the spoils of their enemies. Indeed, we had some information of this sort the day before; for a number of women and children came off to us in a canoe, from whom we learnt that a party of men were then out, for whose safety they were under some apprehension; but this report found little credit with us, as we soon after saw some canoes come in from fishing, which we judged to be them.

Having now got the ship in a condition for sea, and to encounter the southern latitudes, I ordered the tents to be struck, and every thing to be got on board.

The boatswain, with a party of men, being in the woods cutting broom, some of them found a private hut of the natives, in which was deposited most of the treasure they had received from us, as well as some other articles of their own. It is very probable some were set to watch this hut; as, soon after it was discovered, they came and took all away. But missing some things, they told our people they had stolen them; and in the evening, came and made their complaint to me, pitching upon one of the party as the person who had committed the theft. Having ordered this man to be punished before them, they went away seemingly satisfied; although they did not recover any of the things they had lost, nor could I by any means find out what had become of them; though nothing was more certain, than that something had been stolen by some of the party, if not by the very man the natives had pitched upon. It was ever a maxim with me, to punish the least crimes any of my people committed against these uncivilized nations. Their robbing us with impunity is, by no means, a sufficient reason why we should treat them in the same manner, a conduct, we see, they themselves cannot justify: They found themselves injured, and sought for redress in a legal way. The best method, in my opinion, to preserve a good understanding with such people, is, first, by shewing them the use of firearms, to convince them of the superiority they give you over them, and then to be always upon your guard. When once they are sensible of these things, a regard for their own safety will deter them from disturbing you, or from being unanimous in forming any plan to attack you; and strict honesty, and gentle treatment on your part, will make it their interest not to do it.

Calm or light airs from the north all day on the 23d, hindered us from putting to sea as intended. In the afternoon, some of the officers went on shore to amuse themselves among the natives, where they saw the head and bowels of a youth, who had lately

been killed, lying on the beach; and the heart stuck on a forked stick, which was fixed to the head of one of the largest canoes. One of the gentlemen bought the head, and brought it on board, where a piece of the flesh was broiled and eaten by one of the natives, before all the officers and most of the men. I was on shore at this time, but soon after returning on board, was informed of the above circumstances; and found the quarter-deck crowded with the natives, and the mangled head, or rather part of it, (for the under-jaw and lip were wanting) lying on the tafferal. The skull had been broken on the left side, just above the temples; and the remains of the face had all the appearance of a youth under twenty.

The sight of the head, and the relation of the above circumstances, struck me with horror, and filled my mind with indignation against these cannibals. Curiosity, however, got the better of my indignation, especially when I considered that it would avail but little; and being desirous of becoming an eye-witness of a fact which many doubted, I ordered a piece of the flesh to be broiled and brought to the quarter-deck, where one of these cannibals eat it with surprising avidity. This had such an effect on some of our people as to make them sick. Oedidee (who came on board with me) was so affected with the sight as to become perfectly motionless, and seemed as if metamorphosed into the statue of horror. It is utterly impossible for art to describe that passion with half the force that it appeared in his countenance. When roused from this state by some of us, he burst into tears; continued to weep and scold by turns; told them they were vile men; and that he neither was, nor would be any longer their friend. He even would not suffer them to touch him; he used the same language to one of the gentlemen who cut off the flesh; and refused to accept, or even touch the knife with which it was done. Such was Oedidee's indignation against the vile custom; and worthy of imitation by every rational being.

I was not able to find out the reason for their undertaking this expedition; all I could understand for certain was, that they went from hence into Admiralty Bay (the next inlet to the west), and there fought with their enemies, many of whom they killed. They counted to me fifty; a number which exceeded probability, as they were not more, if so many, themselves. I think I understood them clearly, that this youth was killed there; and not brought away prisoner, and afterwards killed. Nor could I learn that they had brought away any more than this one; which increased the improbability of their having killed so many. We had also reason to think that they did not come off without loss; for a young woman was seen, more than once, to cut herself, as is the custom when they lose a friend or relation.

That the New Zealanders are cannibals, can now no longer be doubted. The account given of this in my former voyage, being partly founded on circumstances, was, as I afterwards understood, discredited by many persons. Few consider what a savage man is in his natural state, and even after he is, in some degree, civilized. The New Zealanders are certainly in some state of civilization; their behaviour to us was manly and mild, shewing, on all occasions, a readiness to oblige. They have some arts among them which they execute with great judgment and unwearied patience; they are far

less addicted to thieving than the other islanders of the South Sea; and I believe those in the same tribe, or such as are at peace one with another, are strictly honest among themselves. This custom of eating their enemies slain in battle (for I firmly believe they eat the flesh of no others) has undoubtedly been handed down to them from the earliest times; and we know it is not an easy matter to wean a nation from their ancient customs, let them be ever so inhuman and savage; especially if that nation has no manner of connexion or commerce with strangers. For it is by this that the greatest part of the human race has been civilized; an advantage which the New Zealanders, from their situation, never had. An intercourse with foreigners would reform their manners, and polish their savage minds. Or, were they more united under a settled form of government, they would have fewer enemies, consequently this custom would be less in use, and might in time be in a manner forgotten. At present, they have but little idea of treating others as themselves would wish to be treated, but treat them as they expect to be treated. If I remember right, one of the arguments they made use of to Tupia, who frequently expostulated with them against this custom, was, that there could be no harm in killing and eating the man who would do the same by them if it was in his power. "For," said they, "can there be any harm in eating our enemies, whom we have killed in battle? Would not those very enemies have done the same to us?" I have often seen them listen to Tupia with great attention; but I never found his arguments have any weight with them, or that with all his rhetoric, he could persuade any one of them that this custom was wrong. And when Oedidee, and several of our people, shewed their abhorrence of it, they only laughed at them.

Among many reasons which I have heard assigned for the prevalence of this horrid custom, the want of animal food has been one; but how far this is deducible either from facts or circumstances, I shall leave those to find out who advanced it. In every part of New Zealand where I have been, fish was in such plenty, that the natives generally caught as much as served both themselves and us. They have also plenty of dogs; nor is there any want of wild fowl, which they know very well how to kill. So that neither this, nor the want of food of any kind, can, in my opinion, be the reason. But, whatever it may be, I think it was but too evident, that they have a great liking for this kind of food.

I must here observe, that Oedidee soon learnt to converse with these people, as I am persuaded, he would have done with the people of Amsterdam, had he been a little longer with them; for he did not understand the New Zealanders, at first, any more, or not so much, as he understood the people of Amsterdam.

At four o'clock in the morning, on the 24th, we unmoored with an intent to put to sea; but the wind being at N. and N.E. without, and blowing strong puffs into the cove, made it necessary for us to lie fast. While we were unmooring, some of our old friends came on board to take their leave of us, and afterwards left the cove with all their effects; but those who had been out on the late expedition remained; and some of the gentlemen having visited them, found the heart still sticking on the canoe, and

the intestines lying on the beach; but the liver and lungs were now wanting. Probably they had eaten them, after the carcass was all gone.

On the 25th, early in the morning, we weighed, with a small, breeze out of the cove, which carried us no farther than between Motuara and Long Island, where we were obliged to anchor; but presently after a breeze springing up at north, we weighed again, turned out of the Sound, and stood over for Cape Teerawhitte.

During our stay in the Sound, we were plentifully supplied with fish, procured from the natives at a very easy rate; and, besides the vegetables our own gardens afforded, we found every where plenty of scurvy grass and cellery, which I caused to be dressed every day for all hands. By this means, they had been mostly on a fresh diet for the three preceding months; and at this time, we had neither a sick nor scorbutic man on board. It is necessary to mention, for the information of others, that we had now some pork on board, salted at Ulietea, and as good as any I ever eat. The manner in which we cured it, was this: In the cool of the evening the hogs were killed, dressed, cut up, the bones cut out, and the flesh salted while it was yet hot. The next morning we gave it a second salting, packed it into a cask, and put to it a sufficient quantity of strong pickle. Great care is to be taken that the meat be well covered with pickle, otherwise it will soon spoil.

The morning before we sailed, I wrote a memorandum, setting forth the time we last arrived, the day we sailed, the route I intended to take, and such other information as I thought necessary for Captain Furneaux, in case he should put into the Sound; and buried it in a bottle under the root of a tree in the garden, which is in the bottom of the cove, in such a manner as must be found by him or any other European who might put into the cove. I, however, had little reason to hope it would fall into the hands of the person for whom it was intended, thinking it hardly possible that the Adventure could be in any port in New Zealand, as we had not heard of her all this time. Nevertheless I was resolved not to leave the coast without looking for her, where I thought it most likely for her to be. It was with this view that I stood over for Cape Teerawhitte, and afterwards ran along-shore, from point to point, to Cape Palliser, firing guns every half hour; but all to no effect. At eight o'clock we brought-to for the night, Cape Palliser bearing S.E. by E. distant three leagues; in which situation we had fifty fathoms water.

I had now an opportunity of making the following remarks on the coast between Cape Teerawhitte and Cape Palliser: The bay which lies on the west side of the last Cape, does not appear to run so far inland to the northward as I at first thought; the deception being caused by the land in the bottom of it being low: It is, however, at least five leagues deep, and full as wide at the entrance. Though it seems to be exposed to southerly and S.W. winds, it is probable there may be places in the bottom of it sheltered even from these. The bay or inlet, on the east side of Cape Teerawhitte, before which we anchored, lies in north, inclining to the west, and seemed to be sheltered from all winds. The middle cape, or point of land that disjoins these two bays, rises to a considerable height, especially inland; for close to the sea is a skirt of low land, off which

lie some pointed rocks, but so near to the shore as to be noways dangerous. Indeed, the navigation of this side of the Strait seems much safer than the other, because the tides here are not near so strong. Cape Teerawhitte and Cape Palliser lie in the direction of N. 69 deg. W., and S. 69 deg. east, from each other distant ten leagues. The cape which disjoins the two bays above-mentioned lies within, or north of this direction. All the land near the coast, between and about these capes, is exceedingly barren; probably owing to its being so much exposed to the cold southerly winds. From Cape Teerawhitte to the Two Brothers, which lie off Cape Koamoroo, the course is nearly N.W. by N. distant sixteen miles. North of Cape Teerawhitte, between it and Entry Island, is an island lying pretty near the shore. I judged this to be an island when I saw it in my former voyage, but not being certain, left it undetermined in my chart of the Strait, which is the reason of my taking notice of it now, as also of the bays, &c. above-mentioned.

At day-light in the morning on the 26th, we made sail round Cape Palliser, firing guns as usual, as we ran along the shore. In this manner we proceeded till we were three or four leagues to the N.E. of the Cape; when the wind shifted to N.E., we bore away for Cape Campbell on the other side of the Strait. Soon after, seeing a smoke ascend, at some distance inland, away to the N.E. we hauled the wind, and continued to ply till six o'clock in the evening; which was several hours after the smoke disappeared, and left us not the least signs of people.

Every one being unanimously of opinion that the Adventure could neither be stranded on the coast, nor be in any of the harbours thereof, I gave up looking for her, and all thoughts of seeing her any more during the voyage, as no rendezvous was absolutely fixed upon after leaving New Zealand. Nevertheless, this did not discourage me from fully exploring the southern parts of the Pacific Ocean, in the doing of which I intended to employ the whole of the ensuing season.

On our quitting the coast, and consequently all hopes of being joined by our consort, I had the satisfaction to find that not a man was dejected, or thought the dangers we had yet to go through, were in the least increased by being alone; but as cheerfully proceeding to the south, or wherever I might think proper to lead them, as if the Adventure, or even more ships, had been in our company.

## Chapter VI. Route of the Ship from New Zealand in Search of a Continent; with an Account of the various Obstructions met with from the Ice, and the Methods pursued to explore the Southern Pacific Ocean.

### 1773 November

AT eight o'clock in the evening of the 26th, we took our departure from Cape Paliser, and steered to the south, inclining to the east, having a favourable gale from the N.W. and S.W. We daily saw some rock-weeds, seals, Port Egmont hens, albatrosses, pintadoes, and other peterels.

### 1773 December

And on the 2d of December, being in the latitude of 48 deg. 23' south, longitude 179 deg. 16' west, we saw a number of red-billed penguins, which remained about us for several days. On the 5th, being in the latitude 50 deg. 17' south, longitude 179 deg. 40' east, the variation was 18 deg. 25' east. At half an hour past eight o'clock the next evening, we reckoned ourselves antipodes to our friends in London, consequently as far removed from them as possible.

On the 8th, being in the latitude 55 deg. 39', longitude 178 deg. 53' west, we ceased to see penguins and seals, and concluded that those we had seen, retired to the southern parts of New Zealand, whenever it was necessary for them to be at land. We had now a strong gale at N.W., and a great swell from S.W. This swell we got as soon as the south point of New Zealand came in that direction; and as we had had no wind from that quarter the six preceding days, but, on the contrary, it had been at east, north, and N.W., I conclude there can be no land to the southward, under the meridian of New Zealand, but what must lie very far to the south. The two following days we had very stormy weather, sleet and snow, winds between the north and south-west.

The 11th the storm abated, and the weather clearing up, we found the latitude to be 61 deg. 15' south, longitude 173 deg. 4' W. This fine weather was of short duration; in the evening, the wind increased to a strong gale at S. W., blew in squalls, attended with thick snow showers, hail, and sleet. The mercury in the thermometer fell to thirty-two; consequently the weather was very cold, and seemed to indicate that ice was not far off.

At four o'clock the next morning, being in the latitude of 62 deg. 10' south, longitude 172 deg. west, we saw the first ice island, 11 deg.  $\frac{1}{2}$  farther south than the first ice we saw the preceding year after leaving the Cape of Good Hope. At the time we saw this ice, we also saw an antarctic peterel, some grey albatrosses, and our old companions

pintadoes and blue peterels. The wind kept veering from S.W. by the N.W. to N.N.E. for the most part a fresh gale, attended with a thick haze and snow; on which account we steered to the S.E. and E., keeping the wind always on the beam, that it might be in our power to return back nearly on the same track, should our course have been interrupted by any danger whatever. For some days we had a great sea from the N.W. and S.W., so that it is not probable there can be any land near, between these two points.

We fell in with several large islands on the 14th, and about noon, with a quantity of loose ice, through which we sailed. Latitude 64 deg. 55' south, longitude 163 deg. 20' west. Grey albatrosses, blue peterels, pintadoes, and fulmers, were seen. As we advanced to the S.E. by E. with a fresh gale at west, we found the number of ice islands increase fast upon us. Between noon and eight in the evening we saw but two; but before four o'clock in the morning of the 15th, we had passed seventeen, besides a quantity of loose ice which we ran through. At six o'clock, we were obliged to haul to the N.E., in order to clear an immense field that lay to the south and S. E. The ice, in most part of it, lay close packed together; in other places, there appeared partitions in the field, and a clear sea beyond it. However, I did not think it safe to venture through, as the wind would not permit us to return the same way that we must go in. Besides, as it blew strong, and the weather at times was exceedingly foggy, it was the more necessary for us to get clear of this loose ice, which is rather more dangerous than the great islands. It was not such ice as is usually found in bays or rivers and near shore; but such as breaks off from the islands, and may not improperly be called parings of the large pieces, or the rubbish or fragments which fall off when the great islands break loose from the place where they are formed.

We had not stood long to the N.E. before we found ourselves embayed by the ice, and were obliged to tack and stretch to the S.W., having the field, or loose ice, to the south, and many huge islands to the north. After standing two hours on this tack, the wind very luckily veering to the westward, we tacked, stretched to the north, and soon got clear of the loose ice; but not before we had received several hard knocks from the larger pieces, which, with all our care, we could not avoid. After clearing one danger we still had another to encounter; the weather remained foggy, and many large islands lay in our way; so that we had to luff for one, and bear up for another. One we were very near falling aboard of, and, if it had happened, this circumstance would never have been related. These difficulties, together with the improbability of finding land farther south, and the impossibility of exploring it, on account of the ice, if we should find any, determined me to get more to the north. At the time we last tacked, we were in the longitude of 159 deg. 20' W., and in the latitude of 66 deg. 0' S. Several penguins were seen on some of these islands, and a few antarctic peterels on the wing.

We continued to stand to the north, with a fresh gale at west, attended with thick snow showers, till eight o'clock in the evening, when the wind abated, the sky began to clear up, and at six o'clock in the morning of the 16th it fell calm. Four hours after, it was succeeded by a breeze at N.E. with which we stretched to the S.E., having



thick hazy weather, with snow showers, and all our rigging coated with ice. In the evening, we attempted to take some up out of the sea, but were obliged to desist; the sea running too high, and the pieces being so large, that it was dangerous for the boat to come near them.

The next morning, being the 17th, we succeeded better; for, falling in with a quantity of loose ice, we hoisted out two boats; and by noon got on board as much as we could manage. We then made sail for the east, with a gentle breeze northerly, attended with snow and sleet, which froze to the rigging as it fell. At this time we were in the latitude of 64 deg. 41' south, longitude 155 deg. 44' west. The ice we took up proved to be none of the best, being chiefly composed of frozen snow; on which account it was porous, and had imbibed a good deal of salt water; but this drained off, after lying a while on deck, and the water then yielded was fresh. We continued to stretch to the east, with a piercing cold northerly wind, attended with a thick fog, snow, and sleet, that decorated all our rigging with icicles. We were hourly meeting with some of the large ice islands, which, in these high latitudes, render navigation so very dangerous: At seven in the evening, falling in with a cluster of them, we narrowly escaped running aboard of one, and, with difficulty, wore clear of the others. We stood back to the west till ten o'clock; at which time the fog cleared away, and we resumed our course to the east. At noon, the next day, we were in the latitude of 64 deg. 49' S., longitude 149 deg. 19' W. Some time after, our longitude, by observed distance of the sun and moon, was 149 deg. 19' W.; by Mr Kendal's watch 148 deg. 36'; and, by my reckoning, 148 deg. 43', latitude 64 deg. 48' S.

The clear weather, and the wind veering to N.W., tempted me to steer south; which course we continued till seven in the morning of the 20th, when the wind changing to N.E. and the sky becoming clouded, we hauled up S.E. In the afternoon the wind increased to a strong gale, attended with a thick fog, snow, sleet, and rain, which constitutes the very worst of weather. Our rigging, at this time, was so loaded with ice, that we had enough to do to get our topsails down, to double the reef. At seven o'clock in the evening, in the longitude of 147 deg. 46', we came, the second time, within the antarctic or polar circle, continuing our course to the S.E. till six o'clock the next morning. At that time, being in the latitude of 67 deg. 5' S., all at once we got in among a cluster of very large ice islands, and a vast quantity of loose pieces; and as the fog was exceedingly thick, it was with the utmost difficulty we wore clear of them. This done, we stood to the N.W. till noon, when, the fog being somewhat dissipated, we resumed our course again to the S.E. The ice islands we met with in the morning were very high and rugged, forming at their tops, many peaks; whereas the most of those we had seen before, were flat at top, and not so high; though many of them were between two and three hundred feet in height, and between two and three miles in circuit, with perpendicular cliffs or sides, astonishing to behold. Most of our winged companions had now left us; the grey albatrosses only remained; and, instead of the other birds, we were visited by a few antarctic peterels.

The 22d we steered E.S.E. with a fresh gale at north, blowing in squalls, one of which took hold of the mizen top-sail, tore it all to rags, and rendered it forever after useless. At six o'clock in the morning, the wind veering towards the west, our course was east northerly. At this time we were in the latitude of 67 deg. 31', the highest we had yet been in, longitude 142 deg. 54' W.

We continued our course to the E. by N. till noon, the 23d, when being in the latitude of 67 deg. 12', longitude 138 deg. 0', we steered S.E.; having then twenty-three ice islands in sight, from off the deck, and twice that number from the mast-head; and yet we could not see above two or three miles round us. At four o'clock in the afternoon, in the latitude of 67 deg. 20', longitude 137 deg. 12', we fell in with such a quantity of field, or loose ice, as covered the sea in the whole extent from south to east, and was so thick and close as wholly to obstruct our passage. At this time, the wind being pretty moderate, and the sea smooth, we brought-to, at the outer edge of the ice, hoisted out two boats, and sent them to take some up. In the mean time, we laid hold of several large pieces along-side, and got them on board with our tackle. The taking up ice proved such cold work, that it was eight o'clock by the time the boats had made two trips, when we hoisted them in, and made sail to the west, under double-reefed top-sails and courses, with a strong gale at north, attended with snow and sleet, which froze to the rigging as it fell, making the ropes like wires, and the sails like boards or plates of metal. The sheaves also were frozen so fast in the blocks, that it required our utmost efforts to get a top-sail down and up; the cold so intense as hardly to be endured; the whole sea, in a manner, covered with ice; a hard gale, and a thick fog.

Under all these unfavourable circumstances, it was natural for me to think of returning more to the north; seeing no probability of finding any land here, nor a possibility of getting farther south. And to have proceeded to the east in this latitude, must have been wrong, not only on account of the ice, but because we must have left a vast space of sea to the north unexplored, a space of 24 deg. of latitude; in which a large tract of land might have lain. Whether such a supposition was well-grounded, could only be determined by visiting those parts.

While we were taking up ice, we got two of the antarctic peterels so often mentioned, by which our conjectures were confirmed of their being of the peterel tribe. They are about the size of a large pigeon; the feathers of the head, back, and part of the upper side of the wings, are of a light- brown; the belly, and under side of the wings white, the tail feathers are also white, but tipped with brown; at the same time, we got another new peterel, smaller than the former, and all of a dark-grey plumage. We remarked that these birds were fuller of feathers than any we had hitherto seen; such care has nature taken to clothe them suitably to the climate in which they live. At the same time we saw a few chocolate-coloured albatrosses; these, as well as the peterels above-mentioned, we no where saw but among the ice; hence one may with reason conjecture that there is land to the south. If not, I must ask where these birds breed? A question which perhaps will never be determined; for hitherto we have found these lands, if any, quite inaccessible. Besides these birds, we saw a very large seal, which kept playing

about us some time. One of our people who had been at Greenland, called it a sea-horse; but every one else took it for what I have said. Since our first falling in with the ice, the mercury in the thermometer had been from 33 to 31 at noon-day.

On the 24th, the wind abated, veering to the N.W., and the sky cleared up, in the latitude of 67 deg. 0' longitude 138 deg. 15'. As we advanced to the N.E. with a gentle gale at N.W., the ice islands increased so fast upon us, that this day, at noon, we could see near 100 round us, besides an immense number of small pieces. Perceiving that it was likely to be calm, I got the ship into as clear a birth as I could, where she drifted along with the ice, and by taking the advantage of every light air of wind, was kept from falling aboard any of these floating isles. Here it was we spent Christmas day, much in the same manner as we did the preceding one. We were fortunate in having continual day-light, and clear weather, for had it been as foggy as on some of the preceding days, nothing less than a miracle could have saved us from being dashed to pieces.

In the morning of the 26th, the whole sea was in a manner covered with ice, 200 large islands, and upwards, being seen within the compass of four or five miles, which was the limits of our horizon, besides smaller pieces innumerable. Our latitude at noon was 66 deg. 15', longitude 134 deg. 22'. By observation we found that the ship had drifted, or gone about 20 miles to the N.E. or E.N.E.; whereas, by the ice islands, it appeared that she had gone little or nothing; from which we concluded that the ice drifted nearly in the same direction, and at the same rate. At four o'clock a breeze sprung up at W.S.W., and enabled us to steer north, the most probable course to extricate ourselves from these dangers.

We continued our course to the north with a gentle breeze at west, attended with clear weather, till four o'clock the next morning, when meeting with a quantity of loose ice, we brought-to, and took on board as much as filled all our empty casks, and for several days present expence. This done, we made sail, and steered N.W. with a gentle breeze at N.E., clear frosty weather. Our latitude at this time was 65 deg. 53' S., longitude 133 deg. 42' W.; islands of ice not half so numerous as before.

At four in the morning of the 28th, the wind having veered more to the E. and S.E., increased to a fresh gale, and was attended with snow showers. Our course was north till noon the next day. Being then in the latitude of 62 deg. 24', longitude 134 deg. 37', we steered N.W. by N. Some hours after, the sky cleared up, and the wind abating, veered more to the south.

On the 30th, had little wind westerly; dark gloomy weather; with snow and sleet at times; several whales seen playing about the ship, but very few birds; islands of ice in plenty, and a swell from W.N.W.

On the 31st, little wind from the westward, fair and clear weather, which afforded an opportunity to air the spare sails, and to clean and smoke the ship between decks. At noon our latitude was 59 deg. 40' S., longitude 135 deg. 11' W. Our observation to-day gave us reason to conjecture that we had a southerly current. Indeed, this was no more than what might reasonably be supposed, to account for such huge masses of

ice being brought from the south. In the afternoon we had a few hours calm, succeeded by a breeze from the east, which enabled us to resume our N.W. by N. course.

## 1774 January

January 1st, the wind remained not long at east, but veered round by the south to the west; blew fresh, attended with snow showers. In the evening, being in the latitude of 58 deg. 39' S., we passed two islands of ice, after which we saw no more till we stood again to the south.

At five o'clock in the morning on the 2d, it fell calm; being at this time in the latitude of 58 deg. 2', longitude 137 deg. 12'. The calm being succeeded by a breeze at east, we steered N.W. by W. My reason for steering this course, was to explore part of the great space of sea between us and our track to the south.

On the 3d, at noon, being in latitude 56 deg. 46', longitude 139 deg. 45', the weather became fair, and the wind veered to S.W. About this time we saw a few small divers (as we call them) of the peterel tribe, which we judged to be such as are usually seen near land, especially in the bays, and on the coast of New Zealand. I cannot tell what to think of these birds; had there been more of them, I should have been ready enough to believe that we were, at this time, not very far from land, as I never saw one so far from known land before. Probably these few had been drawn thus far by some shoal of fish; for such were certainly about us, by the vast number of blue peterels, albatrosses, and such other birds as are usually seen in the great ocean; all or most of which left us before night. Two or three pieces of seaweed were also seen, but these appeared old and decayed.

At eight o'clock in the evening, being in the latitude of 56 deg. S., longitude 140 deg. 31' W., the wind fixing in the western board, obliged us to steer north-easterly, and laid me under the necessity of leaving unexplored a space of the sea to the west, containing near 40 deg. of longitude, and half that of latitude. Had the wind continued favourable, I intended to have run 15 or 20 degrees of longitude more to the west in the latitude we were then in, and back again to the east in the latitude of 50 deg. This route would have so intersected the space above mentioned, as hardly to have left room for the bare supposition of any land lying there. Indeed, as it was, we have little reason to believe that there is; but rather the contrary, from the great hollow swell we had had, for several days, from the W. and N.W., though the wind had blown from a contrary direction great part of the time; which is a great sign we had not been covered by any land between these two points.

While we were in the high latitudes, many of our people were attacked with a slight fever, occasioned by colds. It happily yielded to the simplest remedies; was generally removed in a few days; and, at this time, we had not above one or two on the sick list.

We proceeded N.E. by N. till the 6th, at noon. Being then in the latitude of 52 deg. 0' S., longitude 135 deg. 32' W., and about 200 leagues from our track to Otaheite, in which space it was not probable, all circumstances considered, there is any extensive

land, and it being still less probable any lay to the west, from the great mountainous billows we had had, and still continued to have, from that quarter, I therefore steered N.E., with a fresh gale at W.S.W.

At eight o'clock in the morning, on the 7th, being in the latitude of 50 deg. 49' S., we observed several distances of the sun and moon, which gave the longitude as follows, viz.

By Mr. Wales, 133 deg. 24' 0" West.

Gilbert, 133 10 0

Clarke, 133 0 0

Smith, 133 37 25

Myself, 133 37 0

---

Mean, 133 21 43

By the Watch, 133 44 0 west.

My reckoning, 133 39 0

---

Variation of the compass, 6 2 0 East.

thermometer, 50 0 0

The next morning we observed again, and the results were agreeable to the preceding observations, allowing for the ship's run. I must here take notice, that our longitude can never be erroneous, while we have so good a guide as Mr Kendall's watch. This day, at noon, we steered E.N.E.  $1/2$  E., being then in the latitude of 49 deg. 7' S., longitude 131 deg. 2' W.

On the 9th, in latitude 48 deg. 17' S., longitude 127 deg. 10' W., we steered east, with a fine fresh gale at west, attended with clear pleasant weather, and a great swell from the same direction as the wind.

In the morning of the 10th, having but little wind, we put a boat in the water, in which some of the officers went and shot several birds. These afforded us a fresh meal; they were of the peterel tribe, and such as are usually seen at any distance from land. Indeed, neither birds, nor any other thing was to be seen, that could give us the least hopes of finding any; and, therefore, at noon the next day, being then in the latitude of 47 deg. 51' S., longitude 122 deg. 12' W., and a little more than 200 leagues from my track to Otaheite in 1769, I altered the course, and steered S.E., with a fresh gale at S.W. by W. In the evening, when our latitude was 48 deg. 22' S., longitude 121 deg. 29' W., we found the variation to be 2 deg. 34' E., which is the least variation we had found without the tropic. In the evening of the next day, we found it to be 4 deg. 30' E., our latitude, at that time, was 50 deg. 5' S., longitude 119 deg.  $1/2$  W.

Our course was now more southerly, till the evening of the 13th, when we were in the latitude of 53 deg. 0' S., longitude 118 deg. 3' W. The wind being then at N.W. a strong gale with a thick fog and rain, which made it unsafe to steer large, I hauled up S.W., and continued this course till noon the next day, when our latitude was 56 deg. 4' S., longitude 122 deg. 1' W. The wind having veered to the north, and the fog continuing, I hauled to the east, under courses and close-reefed top-sails. But this sail

we could not carry long; for before eight o'clock in the evening, the wind increased to a perfect storm, and obliged us to lie-to, under the mizen-stay-sail, till the morning of the 16th, when the wind having a good deal abated, and veered to west, we set the courses, reefed top-sails, and stood to the south. Soon after, the weather cleared up, and, in the evening, we found the latitude to be 56 deg. 48' S., longitude 119 deg. 8' W. We continued to steer to the south, inclining to the east, till the 18th, when we stood to the S.W., with the wind at S.E., being at this time in the latitude of 61 deg. 9' S., longitude 116 deg. 7' W. At ten o'clock in the evening, it fell calm, which continued till two the next morning, when a breeze sprung up at north, which soon after increased to a fresh gale, and fixed at N.E. With this we steered south till noon on the 20th, when, being now in the latitude of 62 deg. 34' S., longitude 116 deg. 24' W., we were again becalmed.

In this situation we had two ice islands in sight, one of which seemed to be as large as any we had seen. It could not be less than two hundred feet in height, and terminated in a peak not unlike the cupola of St Paul's church. At this time we had a great westerly swell, which made it improbable that any land should lie between us and the meridian of 133 deg.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , which was our longitude, under the latitude we were now in, when we stood to the north. In all this route we had not seen the least thing that could induce us to think we were ever in the neighbourhood of any land. We had, indeed, frequently seen pieces of sea-weed; but this, I am well assured, is no sign of the vicinity of land; for weed is seen in every part of the ocean. After a few hours calm, we got a wind from S.E.; but it was very unsettled, and attended with thick snow-showers; at length it fixed at S. by E., and we stretched to the east. The wind blew fresh, was piercing cold, and attended with snow and sleet. On the 22d, being in the latitude of 62 deg. 5' S., longitude 112 deg. 24' W., we saw an ice island, an antarctic peterel, several blue peterels, and some other known birds; but no one thing that gave us the least hopes of finding land.

On the 23d, at noon, we were in the latitude of 62 deg. 22' S., longitude 110 deg. 24'. In the afternoon, we passed an ice island. The wind, which blew fresh, continued to veer to the west; and at eight o'clock the next morning it was to the north of west, when I steered S. by W. and S.S.W. At this time we were in the latitude of 63 deg. 20' S., longitude 108 deg. 7' W., and had a great sea from S.W. We continued this course till noon the next day, the 25th, when we steered due south. Our latitude, at this time, was 65 deg. 24' S., longitude 109 deg. 31' W.; the wind was at north; the weather mild and not unpleasant; and not a bit of ice in view. This we thought a little extraordinary, as it was but a month before, and not quite two hundred leagues to the east, that we were in a manner blocked up with large islands of ice in this very latitude. Saw a single pintadoe peterel, some blue peterels, and a few brown albatrosses. In the evening, being under the same meridian, and in the latitude of 65 deg. 44' S., the variation was 19 deg. 27' E.; but the next morning, in the latitude of 66 deg. 20' S., longitude the same as before, it was only 18 deg. 20' E.; probably the mean between the two is the nearest the truth. At this time, we had nine small islands in sight; and

soon after we came, the third time, within the antarctic polar circle, in the longitude of 109 deg. 31' W. About noon, seeing the appearance of land to the S.E., we immediately trimmed our sails and stood towards it. Soon after it disappeared, but we did not give it up till eight o'clock the next morning, when we were well assured that it was nothing but clouds, or a fog bank; and then we resumed our course to the south, with a gentle breeze at N.E., attended with a thick fog, snow, and sleet.

We now began to meet with ice islands more frequently than before; and, in the latitude of 69 deg. 38' S., longitude 108 deg. 12' W., we fell in with a field of loose ice. As we began to be in want of water, I hoisted out two boats and took up as much as yielded about ten tons. This was cold work, but it was now familiar to us. As soon as we had done, we hoisted in the boats, and afterwards made short boards over that part of the sea we had in some measure made ourselves acquainted with. For we had now so thick a fog, that we could not see two hundred yards round us; and as we knew not the extent of the loose ice, I durst not steer to the south till we had clear weather. Thus we spent the night, or rather that part of twenty-four hours which answered to night; for we had no darkness but what was occasioned by fogs.

At four o'clock in the morning of the 29th, the fog began to clear away; and the day becoming clear and serene, we again steered to the south with a gentle gale at N.E. and N.N.E. The variation was found to be 22 deg. 41' E. This was in the latitude of 69 deg. 45' S., longitude 108 deg. 5' W.; and, in the afternoon, being in the same longitude, and in the latitude of 70 deg. 23' S., it was 24 deg. 31' E. Soon after, the sky became clouded, and the air very cold. We continued our course to the south, and passed a piece of weed covered with barnacles, which a brown albatross was picking off. At ten o'clock, we passed a very large ice island; it was not less than three or four miles in circuit. Several more being seen a-head, and the weather becoming foggy, we hauled the wind to the northward; but in less than two hours, the weather cleared up, and we again stood south.

On the 30th, at four o'clock in the morning, we perceived the clouds, over the horizon to the south, to be of an unusual snow-white brightness, which we knew denounced our approach to field-ice. Soon after, it was seen from the top-mast-head; and at eight o'clock, we were close to its edge. It extended east and west, far beyond the reach of our sight. In the situation we were in, just the southern half of our horizon was illuminated, by the rays of light reflected from the ice, to a considerable height. Ninety-seven ice hills were distinctly seen within the field, besides those on the outside; many of them very large, and looking like a ridge of mountains, rising one above another till they were lost in the clouds. The outer or northern edge of this immense field, was composed of loose or broken ice close packed together, so that it was not possible for any thing to enter it. This was about a mile broad, within which, was solid ice in one continued compact body. It was rather low and flat (except the hills), but seemed to increase in height, as you traced it to the south; in which direction it extended beyond our sight. Such mountains of ice as these, I believe, were never seen in the Greenland seas, at

least, not that I ever heard or read of, so that we cannot draw a comparison between the ice here and there.

It must be allowed, that these prodigious ice mountains must add such additional weight to the ice fields which inclose them, as cannot but make a great difference between the navigating this icy sea and that of Greenland.

I will not say it was impossible any where to get farther to the south; but the attempting it would have been a dangerous and rash enterprise, and what, I believe, no man in my situation would have thought of. It was, indeed, my opinion, as well as the opinion of most on board, that this ice extended quite to the pole, or perhaps joined on some land, to which it had been fixed from the earliest time; and that it is here, that is to the south of this parallel, where all the ice we find scattered up and down to the north, is first formed, and afterwards broken off by gales of wind, or other causes, and brought to the north by the currents, which we always found to set in that direction in the high latitudes. As we drew near this ice some penguins were heard, but none seen; and but few other birds or any other thing that could induce us to think any land was near. And yet I think, there must be some to the south behind this ice; but if there is, it can afford no better retreat for birds, or any other animals, than the ice itself, with which it must be wholly covered. I, who had ambition not only to go farther than any one had been before, but as far as it was possible for man to go, was not sorry at meeting with this interruption, as it in some measure relieved us, at least shortened the dangers and hardships inseparable from the navigation of the southern polar regions. Since, therefore, we could not proceed one inch farther to the south, no other reason need be assigned for my tacking and standing back to the north; being at this time in the latitude of 71 deg. 10' S., longitude 106 deg. 54' W.

It was happy for us that the weather was clear when we fell in with this ice, and that we discovered it so soon as we did; for we had no sooner tacked than we were involved in a thick fog. The wind was at east, and blew a fresh breeze, so that we were enabled to return back over that space we had already made ourselves acquainted with. At noon, the mercury in the thermometer stood at 32-1/2, and we found the air exceedingly cold. The thick fog continuing with showers of snow, gave a coat of ice to our rigging of near an inch thick. In the afternoon of the next day the fog cleared away at intervals; but the weather was cloudy and gloomy, and the air excessively cold; however, the sea within our horizon was clear of ice.

## 1774 February

We continued to stand to the north, with the wind easterly, till the afternoon on the first of February, when falling in with some loose ice which had been broken from an island to windward we hoisted out two boats, and having taken some on board, resumed our course to the N. and N.E., with gentle breezes from S.E., attended sometimes with fair weather, and at other times with snow and sleet. On the 4th we were in the latitude of 65 deg. 42' S., longitude 99 deg. 44'. The next day the wind was very unsettled both



in strength and position, and attended with snow and sleet. At length, on the 6th, after a few hours calm, we got a breeze at south, which soon after freshened, fixed at W.S.W., and was attended with snow and sleet.

I now came to the resolution to proceed to the north, and to spend the ensuing winter within the tropic, if I met with no employment before I came there. I was now well satisfied no continent was to be found in this ocean, but what must lie so far to the south, as to be wholly inaccessible on account of ice; and that if one should be found in the southern Atlantic Ocean, it would be necessary to have the whole summer before us to explore it. On the other hand, upon a supposition that there is no land there, we undoubtedly might have reached the Cape of Good Hope by April, and so have put an end to the expedition, so far as it related to the finding a continent; which indeed was the first object of the voyage. But for me at this time to have quitted the southern Pacific Ocean, with a good ship expressly sent out on discoveries, a healthy crew, and not in want either of stores or of provisions, would have been betraying not only a want of perseverance, but of judgment, in supposing the south Pacific Ocean to have been so well explored, that nothing remained to be done in it. This, however, was not my opinion; for though I had proved that there was no continent but what must lie far to the south, there remained nevertheless room for very large islands in places wholly unexamined; and many of those which were formerly discovered, are but imperfectly explored, and their situations as imperfectly known. I was besides of opinion, that my remaining in this sea some time longer, would be productive of improvements in navigation and geography, as well as in other sciences. I had several times communicated my thoughts on this subject to Captain Furneaux; but as it then wholly depended on what we might meet with to the south, I could not give it in orders, without running a risk of drawing us from the main object. Since now nothing had happened to prevent me from, carrying these views into execution, my intention was first to go in search of the land said to have been discovered by Juan Fernandez, above a century ago, in about the latitude of 38 deg.; if I should fail in finding this land, then to go in search of Easter Island or Davis's Land, whose situation was known with so little certainty, that the attempts lately made to find it had miscarried. I next intended to get within the tropic, and then proceed to the west, touching at, and settling the situations of such islands as we might meet with till we arrived at Otaheite, where it was necessary I should stop to look for the Adventure. I had also thoughts of running as far west as the Tierra Austral del Espiritu Santo, discovered by Quiros, and which M. de Bougainville calls the Great Cyclades. Quiros speaks of this land as being large, or lying in the neighbourhood of large lands; and as this was a point which M. de Bougainville had neither confirmed nor refuted, I thought it was worth clearing up. From this land my design was to steer to the south, and so back to the east, between the latitudes of 50 deg. and 60 deg.; intending, if possible, to be the length of Cape Horn in November next, when we should have the best part of the summer before us to explore the southern part of the Atlantic Ocean. Great as this design appeared to be, I however thought it possible to be executed; and when I came to communicate it

to the officers, I had the satisfaction to find, that they all heartily concurred in it. I should not do these gentlemen justice, if I did not take some opportunity to declare, that they always shewed the utmost readiness to carry into execution, in the most effectual manner, every measure I thought proper to take. Under such circumstances, it is hardly necessary to say, that the seamen were always obedient and alert; and, on this occasion, they were so far from wishing the voyage at an end, that they, rejoiced at the prospect of its being prolonged another year, and of soon enjoying the benefits of a milder climate.

I now steered north, inclining to the east, and in the evening we were overtaken with a furious storm at W.S.W., attended with snow and sleet. It came so suddenly upon us, that before we could take in our sails, two old top-sails, which we had bent to the yards, were blown to pieces, and the other sails much damaged. The gale lasted, without the least intermission, till the next morning, when it began to abate; it continued, however, to blow very fresh till noon on the 12th, when it ended in a calm.

At this time we were in the latitude of 50 deg. 14' S., longitude 95 deg. 18' W. Some birds being about the ship, we took the advantage of the calm to put a boat in the water, and shot several birds, on which we feasted the next day. One of these birds was of that sort which has been so often mentioned in this journal under the name of Port Egmont hens. They are of the gull kind, about the size of a raven, with a dark-brown plumage, except the under-side of each wing, where there are some white feathers. The rest of the birds were albatrosses and sheer-waters.

After a few hours calm, having got a breeze at N.W., we made a stretch to the S.W. for twenty-four hours; in which route we saw a piece of wood, a bunch of weed, and a diving peterel. The wind having veered more to the west, made us tack and stretch to the north till noon on the 14th, at which time we were in the latitude of 49 deg. 32' S., longitude 95 deg. 11' W. We had now calms and light breezes, succeeding each other, till the next morning, when the wind freshened at W.N.W., and was attended with a thick fog and drizzling rain the three following days, during which time we stretched to the north, inclining to the east, and crossed my track to Otaheite in 1769. I did intend to have kept more to the west, but the strong winds from that direction put it out of my power.

On the 18th, the wind veered to S.W., and blew very fresh, but was attended with clear weather, which gave us an opportunity to ascertain our longitude by several lunar observations made by Messrs Wales, Clarke, Gilbert, and Smith. The mean result of all, was 94 deg. 19' 30" W.; Mr Kendal's watch, at the same time, gave 94 deg. 46' W.; our latitude was 43 deg. 53' S. The wind continued not long at S.W. before it veered back to the west and W.N.W.

As we advanced to the north, we felt a most sensible change in the weather. The 20th, at noon, we were in the latitude of 39 deg. 58' S., longitude 94 deg. 37' W. The day was clear and pleasant, and I may say, the only summer's day we had had since we left New Zealand. The mercury in the thermometer rose to 66.

We still continued to steer to the north, as the wind remained in the old quarter; and the next day, at noon, we were in the latitude 37 deg. 54' S.; which was the same that Juan Fernandez's discovery is said to lie in. We, however, had not the least signs of any land lying in our neighbourhood.

The next day at noon, we were in latitude 36 deg. 10' S., longitude 94 deg. 56' W. Soon after, the wind veered to S.S.E., and enabled us to steer W.S.W., which I thought the most probable direction to find the land of which we were in search; and yet I had no hopes of succeeding, as we had a large hollow swell from the same point. We however continued this course till the 25th, when the wind having veered again round to the westward, I gave it up, and stood away to the north, in order to get into the latitude of Easter Island: our latitude, at this time, was 37 deg. 52', longitude 101 deg. 10' W.

I was now well assured that the discovery of Juan Fernandez, if any such was ever made, can be nothing but a small island; there being hardly room for a large land, as will fully appear by the tracks of Captain Wallis, Bougainville, of the Endeavour, and this of the Resolution. Whoever wants to see an account of the discovery in question, will meet with it in Mr Dalrymple's collection of voyages to the south seas. This gentleman places it under the meridian of 90 deg., where I think it cannot be; for M. de Bougainville seems to have run down under that meridian; and we had now examined the latitude in which it is said to lie, from the meridian of 94 deg. to 101 deg. It is not probable it can lie to the east of 90 deg.; because if it did, it must have been seen, at one time or other, by ships bound from the northern to the southern parts of America. Mr Pengre, in a little treatise concerning the transit of Venus, published in 1768, gives some account of land having been discovered by the Spaniards in 1714, in the latitude of 38 deg., and 550 leagues from the coast of Chili, which is in the longitude of 110 deg. or 111 deg. west, and within a degree or two of my track in the Endeavour; so that this can hardly be its situation. In short, the only probable situation it can have must be about the meridian of 106 deg. or 108 deg. west; and then it can only be a small isle, as I have already observed.

I was now taken ill of the bilious cholic, which was so violent as to confine me to my bed, so that the management of the ship was left to Mr Cooper the first officer, who conducted her very much to my satisfaction. It was several days before the most dangerous symptoms of my disorder were removed; during which time, Mr Patten the surgeon was to me, not only a skilful physician, but an affectionate nurse; and I should ill deserve the care he bestowed on me, if I did not make this public acknowledgment. When I began to recover, a favourite dog belonging to Mr Forster fell a sacrifice to my tender stomach. We had no other fresh meat on board, and I could eat of this flesh, as well as broth made of it, when I could taste nothing else. Thus I received nourishment and strength from food which would have made most people in Europe sick: So true it is, that necessity is governed by no law.

On the 28th, in the latitude of 33 deg. 7' S., longitude 102 deg. 33' W., we began to see flying-fish, egg-birds, and nodies, which are said not to go above sixty or eighty

leagues from land; but of this we have no certainty. No one yet knows to what distance any of the oceanic birds go to sea; for my own part, I do not believe there is one in the whole tribe that can be relied on, in pointing out the vicinity of land.

In the latitude of 30 deg. 30' S., longitude 101 deg. 45' W., we began to see men-of-war birds. In the latitude of 29 deg. 44', longitude 100 deg. 45' W., we had a calm for nearly two days together, during which time the heat was intolerable; but what ought to be remarked, there was a great swell from the S.W.

## **1774 March**

On the 6th of March, the calm was succeeded by an easterly wind, with which we steered N.W. till noon the 8th, when being in the latitude of 27 deg. 4' S., longitude 103 deg. 58' W., we steered west; meeting every day with great numbers of birds, such as men-of-war, tropic, and egg-birds, podies, sheer-waters, &c. and once we passed several pieces of sponge, and a small dried leaf not unlike a bay one. Soon after, we saw a sea-snake, in every respect like those we had before seen at the tropical islands. We also saw plenty of fish, but we were such bad fishers that we caught only four albacores, which were very acceptable, to me especially, who was just recovering from my late illness.

## **Chapter VII. Sequel of the Passage from New Zealand to Easter Island, and Transactions there, with an Account of an Expedition to discover the Inland Part of the Country, and a Description of some of the surprising gigantic Statues found in the Island.**

## **1774 March**

At eight o'clock in the morning, on the 11th, land was seen, from the mast-head, bearing west, and at noon from the deck, extending from W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  N. to W. by S., about twelve leagues distant. I made no doubt that this was Davis's Land, or Easter Island; as its appearance from this situation, corresponded very well with Wafer's account; and we expected to have seen the low sandy isle that Davis fell in with, which would have been a confirmation; but in this we were disappointed. At seven o'clock in the evening, the island bore from north 62 deg. W., to north 87 deg. W., about five leagues distant; in which situation, we sounded without finding ground with a line of an hundred and forty fathoms. Here we spent the night, having alternately light airs and calms, till ten o'clock the next morning, when a breeze sprung up at W.S.W. With this we stretched

in for the land; and by the help of our glass, discovered people, and some of those Colossean statues or idols mentioned in the account of Roggewein's voyage. At four o'clock p.m. we were half a league S.S.E. and N.N.W. of the N.E. point of the island; and, on sounding, found thirty-five fathoms, a dark sandy bottom. I now tacked, and endeavoured to get into what appeared to be a bay, on the west side of the point or S.E. side of the island; but before this could be accomplished, night came upon us, and we stood on and off, under the land, till the next morning; having sounding from seventy-five to an hundred and ten fathoms, the same bottom as before.

On the 13th, about eight o'clock in the morning, the wind, which had been variable most part of the night, fixed at S.E., and blew in squalls, accompanied with rain; but it was not long before the weather became fair. As the wind now blew right to the S.E. shore, which does not afford that shelter I at first thought, I resolved to look for anchorage on the west and N.W. sides of the island. With this view I bore up round the south point, off which lie two small islets, the one nearest the point high and peaked, and the other low and flattish. After getting round the point, and coming before a sandy beach, we found soundings thirty and forty fathoms, sandy ground, and about one mile from the shore. Here a canoe, conducted by two men, came off to us. They brought with them a bunch of plantains, which they sent into the ship by a rope, and then they returned ashore. This gave us a good opinion of the islanders, and inspired us with hopes of getting some refreshments, which we were in great want of.

I continued to range along the coast, till we opened the northern point of the isle, without seeing a better anchoring-place than the one we had passed. We therefore tacked, and plied back to it; and, in the mean time, sent away the master in a boat to sound the coast. He returned about five o'clock in the evening; and soon after we came to an anchor in thirty-six fathoms water, before the sandy beach above mentioned. As the master drew near the shore with the boat, one of the natives swam off to her, and insisted on coming a-board the ship, where he remained two nights and a day. The first thing he did after coming a-board, was to measure the length of the ship, by fathoming her from the taffarel to the stern, and as he counted the fathoms, we observed that he called the numbers by the same names that they do at Otaheite; nevertheless his language was in a manner wholly unintelligible to all of us.

Having anchored too near the edge of a bank, a fresh breeze from the land, about three o'clock the next morning, drove us off it; on which the anchor was heaved up, and sail made to regain the bank again. While the ship was plying in, I went ashore, accompanied by some of the gentlemen, to see what the island was likely to afford us. We landed at the sandy beach, where some hundreds of the natives were assembled, and who were so impatient to see us, that many of them swam off to meet the boats. Not one of them had so much as a stick or weapon of any sort in their hands. After distributing a few trinkets amongst them, we made signs for something to eat, on which they brought down a few potatoes, plantains, and sugar canes, and exchanged them for nails, looking-glasses, and pieces of cloth.

We presently discovered that they were as expert thieves and as tricking in their exchanges, as any people we had yet met with. It was with some difficulty we could keep the hats on our heads; but hardly possible to keep any thing in our pockets, not even what themselves had sold us; for they would watch every opportunity to snatch it from us, so that we sometimes bought the same thing two or three times over, and after all did not get it.

Before I sailed from England, I was informed that a Spanish ship had visited this isle in 1769. Some signs of it were seen among the people now about us; one man had a pretty good broad-brimmed European hat on, another had a grego jacket, and another a red silk handkerchief. They also seemed to know the use of a musquet, and to stand in much awe of it; but this they probably learnt from Roggewein, who, if we are to believe the authors of that voyage, left them sufficient tokens.

Near the place where we landed, were some of those statues before mentioned, which I shall describe in another place. The country appeared barren and without wood; there were, nevertheless, several plantations of potatoes, plantains, and sugar-canes; we also saw some fowls, and found a well of brackish water. As these were articles we were in want of, and as the natives seemed not unwilling to part with them, I resolved to stay a day or two. With this view I repaired on board, and brought the ship to an anchor in thirty-two fathoms water; the bottom a fine dark sand. Our station was about a mile from the nearest shore, the south point of a small bay, in the bottom of which is the sandy beach before mentioned, being E.S.E., distant one mile and a-half. The two rocky islets lying off the south point of the island, were just shut behind a point to the north of them; they bore south  $3/4$  west, four miles distant; and the other extreme of the island bore north 25 deg. E., distant about six miles. But the best mark for this anchoring-place is the beach, because it is the only one on this side of the island. In the afternoon, we got on board a few casks of water, and opened a trade with the natives for such things as they had to dispose of. Some of the gentlemen also made an excursion into the country to see what it produced; and returned again in the evening, with the loss only of a hat, which one of the natives snatched off the head of one of the party.

Early next morning, I sent Lieutenants Pickersgill and Edgecumbe with a party of men, accompanied by several of the gentlemen, to examine the country. As I was not sufficiently recovered from my late illness to make one of the party, I was obliged to content myself with remaining at the landing-place among the natives. We had, at one time, a pretty brisk trade with them for potatoes, which we observed they dug up out of an adjoining plantation; but this traffic, which was very advantageous to us, was soon put a stop to by the owner (as we supposed) of the plantation coming down, and driving all the people out of it. By this we concluded, that he had been robbed of his property, and that they were not less scrupulous of stealing from one another, than from us, on whom they practised every little fraud they could think of, and generally with success; for we no sooner detected them in one, than they found out another.

About seven o'clock in the evening, the party I had sent into the country returned, after having been over the greatest part of the island.

They left the beach about nine o'clock in the morning, and took a path which led across to the S.E. side of the island, followed by a great crowd of the natives, who pressed much upon them. But they had not proceeded far, before a middle-aged man, punctured from head to foot, and his face painted with a sort of white pigment, appeared with a spear in his hand, and walked along-side of them, making signs to his countrymen to keep at a distance, and not to molest our people. When he had pretty well effected this, he hoisted a piece of white cloth on his spear, placed himself in the front, and led the way, with his ensign of peace, as they understood it to be. For the greatest part of the distance across, the ground had but a barren appearance, being a dry hard clay, and every where covered with stones; but notwithstanding this, there were several large tracts planted with potatoes; and some plantain walks, but they saw no fruit on any of the trees. Towards the highest part of the south end of the island, the soil, which was a fine red earth, seemed much better, bore a longer grass, and was not covered with stones as in the other parts; but here they saw neither house nor plantation.

On the east side, near the sea, they met with three platforms of stone- work, or rather the ruins of them. On each had stood four of those large statues, but they were all fallen down from two of them, and also one from the third; all except one were broken by the fall, or in some measure defaced. Mr Wales measured this one, and found it to be fifteen feet in length, and six feet broad over the shoulders, Each statue had on its head a large cylindric stone of a red colour, wrought perfectly round. The one they measured, which was not by far the largest, was fifty-two inches high, and sixty-six in diameter. In some, the upper corner of the cylinder was taken off in a sort of concave quarter-round, but in others the cylinder was entire.

From this place they followed the direction of the coast to the N.E., the man with the flag still leading the way. For about three miles they found the country very barren, and in some places stript of the soil to the bare rock, which seemed to be a poor sort of iron ore. Beyond this, they came to the most fertile part of the island they saw, it being interspersed with plantations of potatoes, sugar-caness, and plantain trees, and these not so much encumbered with stones as those which they had seen before; but they could find no water except what the natives twice or thrice brought them, which, though brackish and stinking, was rendered acceptable, by the extremity of their thirst. They also passed some huts, the owners of which met them with roasted potatoes and sugar-caness, and, placing themselves a- head of the foremost party (for they marched in a line in order to have the benefit of the path), gave one to each man as he passed by. They observed the same method in distributing the water which they brought; and were particularly careful that the foremost did not drink too much, lest none should be left for the hindmost. But at the very time these were relieving the thirsty and hungry, there were not wanting others who endeavoured to steal from them the very things which had been given them. At last, to prevent worse consequences, they were

obliged to fire a load of small shot at one who was so audacious as to snatch from one of the men the bag which contained every thing they carried with them. The shot hit him on the back, on which he dropped the bag, ran a little way, and then fell; but he afterwards got up and walked, and what became of him they knew not, nor whether he was much wounded. As this affair occasioned some delay, and drew the natives together, they presently saw the man who had hitherto led the way and one or two more, coming running towards them; but instead of stopping when they came up, they continued to run round them, repeating, in a kind manner, a few words, until our people set forwards again. Then their old guide hoisted his flag, leading the way as before, and none ever attempted to steal from them the whole day afterwards. As they passed along, they observed on a hill a number of people collected together, some of whom had spears in their hands; but on their being called to by their countrymen, they dispersed, except a few, amongst whom was one seemingly of some note. He was a stout well-made man, with a fine open countenance, his face was painted, his body punctured, and he wore a better Ha hou, or cloth, than the rest. He saluted them as he came up, by stretching out his arms, with both hands clenched, lifting them over his head, opening them wide, and then letting them fall gradually down to his sides. To this man, whom they understood to be chief of the island, their other friend gave his white flag, and he gave him another, who carried it before them the remainder of the day.

Towards the eastern end of the island, they met with a well whose water was perfectly fresh, being considerably above the level of the sea; but it was dirty, owing to the filthiness or cleanliness (call it which you will) of the natives, who never go to drink without washing themselves all over as soon as they have done; and if ever so many of them are together, the first leaps right into the middle of the hole, drinks, and washes himself without the least ceremony; after which another takes his place and does the same.

They observed that this side of the island was full of those gigantic statues so often mentioned; some placed in groupes on platforms of masonry, others single, fixed only in the earth, and that not deep; and these latter are, in general, much larger than the others. Having measured one, which had fallen down, they found it very near twenty-seven feet long, and upwards of eight feet over the breast or shoulders; and yet this appeared considerably short of the size of one they saw standing; its shade, a little past two o'clock, being sufficient to shelter all the party, consisting of near thirty persons, from the rays of the sun. Here they stopped to dine; after which they repaired to a hill, from whence they saw all the east and north shores of the isle, on which they could not see either bay or creek fit even for a boat to land in; nor the least signs of fresh water. What the natives brought them here was real salt water; but they observed that some of them drank pretty plentifully of it, so far will necessity and custom get the better of nature! On this account they were obliged to return to the last-mentioned well, where, after having quenched their thirst, they directed their route across the island towards the ship, as it was now four o'clock.



In a small hollow, on the highest part of the island, they met with several such cylinders as are placed on the heads of the statues. Some of these appeared larger than any they had seen before; but it was now too late to stop to measure any of them. Mr Wales, from whom I had this information, is of opinion that there had been a quarry here, whence these stones had formerly been dug; and that it would have been no difficult matter to roll them down the hill after they were formed. I think this a very reasonable conjecture, and have no doubt that it has been so.

On the declivity of the mountain towards the west, they met with another well, but the water was a very strong mineral, had a thick green scum on the top, and stunk intolerably. Necessity, however, obliged some to drink of it; but it soon made them so sick, that they threw it up the same way that it went down.

In all this excursion, as well as the one made the preceding day, only two or three shrubs were seen. The leaf and seed of one (called by the natives *Torromedo*) were not much unlike those of the common vetch; but the pod was more like that of a tamarind in its size and shape. The seeds have a disagreeable bitter taste; and the natives, when they saw our people chew them, made signs to spit them out; from whence it was concluded that they think them poisonous. The wood is of a reddish colour, and pretty hard and heavy, but very crooked, small, and short, not exceeding six or seven feet in height. At the S.W. corner of the island, they found another small shrub, whose wood was white and brittle, and in some measure, as also its leaf, resembling the ash. They also saw in several places the *Otaheitean* cloth plant, but it was poor and weak, and not above two and a half feet high at most.

They saw not an animal of any sort, and but very few birds; nor indeed any thing which can induce ships that are not in the utmost distress, to touch at this island.

This account of the excursion I had from Mr Pickersgill and Mr Wales, men on whose veracity I could depend; and therefore I determined to leave the island the next morning, since nothing was to be obtained that could make it worth my while to stay longer; for the water which we had sent on board, was not much better than if it had been taken up out of the sea.

We had a calm till ten o'clock in the morning of the 16th, when a breeze sprung up at west, accompanied with heavy showers of rain, which lasted about an hour. The weather then clearing up, we got under sail, stood to sea, and kept plying to and fro, while an officer was sent on shore with two boats, to purchase such refreshments as the natives might have brought down; for I judged this would be the case, as they knew nothing of our sailing. The event proved that I was not mistaken; for the boats made two trips before night, when we hoisted them in, and made sail to the N.W., with a light breeze at N.N.E.

## **Chapter VIII. A Description of the Island, and its Produce, Situation, and Inhabitants; their Manners and Customs; Conjectures concerning their Government, Religion, and other Subjects; with a more particular Account of the gigantic Statues.**

**1774 March**

I shall now give some farther account of this island, which is undoubtedly the same that Admiral Roggewein touched at in April 1722; although the description given of it by the authors of that voyage does by no means agree with it now. It may also be the same that was seen by Captain Davis in 1686; for, when seen from the east, it answers very well to Wafer's description, as I have before observed. In short, if this is not the land, his discovery cannot lie far from the coast of America, as this latitude has been well explored from the meridian of 80 deg. to 110 deg. Captain Carteret carried it much farther; but his track seems to have been a little too far south. Had I found fresh water, I intended spending some days in looking for the low sandy isle Davis fell in with, which would have determined the point. But as I did not find water, and had a long run to make before I was assured of getting any, and being in want of refreshments, I declined the search; as a small delay might have been attended with bad consequences to the crew, many of them beginning to be more or less affected with the scurvy.

No nation need contend for the honour of the discovery of this island, as there can be few places which afford less convenience for shipping than it does. Here is no safe anchorage, no wood for fuel, nor any fresh water worth taking on board. Nature has been exceedingly sparing of her favours to this spot. As every thing must be raised by dint of labour, it cannot be supposed that the inhabitants plant much more than is sufficient for themselves; and as they are but few in number, they cannot have much to spare to supply the wants of visitant strangers. The produce is sweet potatoes, yams, tara or eddy root, plantains, and sugar-canes, all pretty good, the potatoes especially, which are the best of the kind I ever tasted. Gourds they have also, but so very few, that a cocoa-nut shell was the most valuable thing we could give them. They have a few tame fowls, such as cocks and hens, small but well tasted. They have also rats, which it seems they eat; for I saw a man with some dead ones in his hand, and he seemed unwilling to part with them, giving me to understand they were for food. Of land-birds there were hardly any, and sea-birds but few; these were men-of-war, tropic, and egg-birds, noddies, tern, &c. The coast seemed not to abound with fish, at least we could catch none with hook and line, and it was but very little we saw among the natives.

Such is the produce of Easter Island, or Davis's Land, which is situated in latitude 27 deg. 5' 30" S., longitude 109 deg. 46' 20" W. It is about ten or twelve leagues in circuit, hath a hilly and stony surface, and an iron-bound shore. The hills are of such a height as to be seen fifteen or sixteen leagues. Off the south end, are two rocky islets, lying near the shore. The north and east points of the island rise directly from the sea to a considerable height; between them and the S.E. side, the shore forms an open bay, in which I believe the Dutch anchored. We anchored, as hath been already mentioned, on the west side of the island, three miles to the north of the south point, with the sandy beach bearing E.S.S. This is a very good road with easterly winds, but a dangerous one with westerly; as the other on the S.E. side must be with easterly winds.

For this, and other bad accommodations already mentioned, nothing but necessity will induce any one to touch at this isle, unless it can be done without going much out of the way; in which case, touching here may be advantageous, as the people willingly and readily part with such refreshments as they have, and at an easy rate. We certainly received great benefit from the little we got; but few ships can come here without being in want of water, and this want cannot be here supplied. The little we took on board, could not be made use of, it being only salt water which had filtered through a stony beach into a stone well; this the natives had made for the purpose, a little to the southward of the sandy beach so often mentioned, and the water ebbed and flowed into it with the tide.

The inhabitants of this island do not seem to exceed six or seven hundred souls, and above two-thirds of those we saw were males. They either have but few females amongst them, or else many were restrained from making their appearance during our stay, for though we saw nothing to induce us to believe the men were of a jealous disposition, or the women afraid to appear in public, something of this kind was probably the case.

In colour, features, and language, they bear such an affinity to the people of the more western isles, that no one will doubt they have had the same origin. It is extraordinary that the same nation should have spread themselves over all the isles in this vast ocean, from New Zealand to this island, which is almost one-fourth part of the circumference of the globe. Many of them have now no other knowledge of each other, than what is preserved by antiquated tradition; and they have, by length of time, become, as it were, different nations, each having adopted some peculiar custom or habit, &c. Nevertheless, a careful observer will soon see the affinity each has to the other. In general, the people of this isle are a slender race. I did not see a man that would measure six feet; so far are they from being giants, as one of the authors of Roggewein's voyage asserts. They are brisk and active, have good features, and not disagreeable countenances; are friendly and hospitable to strangers, but as much addicted to pilfering as any of their neighbours.

Tattooing, or puncturing the skin, is much used here. The men are marked from head to foot, with figures all nearly alike; only some give them one direction, and some another, as fancy leads. The women are but little punctured; red and white paint is an

ornament with them, as also with the men; the former is made of turmeric, but what composes the latter I know not.

Their clothing is a piece or two of quilted cloth, about six feet by four, or a mat. One piece wrapped round their loins, and another over their shoulders, make a complete dress. But the men, for the most part, are in a manner naked, wearing nothing but a slip of cloth betwixt their legs, each end of which is fastened to a cord or belt they wear round the waist. Their cloth is made of the same materials as at Otaheite, viz. of the bark of the cloth-plant; but, as they have but little of it, our Otaheitean cloth, or indeed any sort of it, came here to a good market.

Their hair in general is black; the women wear it long, and sometimes tied up on the crown of the head; but the men wear it, and their beards, cropped short. Their headdress is a round fillet adorned with feathers, and a straw bonnet something like a Scotch one; the former, I believe, being chiefly worn by the men, and the latter by the women. Both men and women have very large holes, or rather slits, in their ears, extending to near three inches in length. They sometimes turn this slit over the upper part, and then the ear looks as if the flap was cut off. The chief ear-ornaments are the white down of feathers, and rings, which they wear in the inside of the hole, made of some elastic substance, rolled up like a watch-spring. I judged this was to keep the hole at its utmost extension. I do not remember seeing them wear any other ornaments, excepting amulets made of bone or shells.

As harmless and friendly as these people seemed to be, they are not without offensive weapons, such as short wooden clubs and spears; the latter of which are crooked sticks about six feet long, armed at one end with pieces of flint. They have also a weapon made of wood, like the Patoo patoo of New Zealand.

Their houses are low miserable huts, constructed by setting sticks upright in the ground, at six or eight feet distance, then bending them towards each other, and tying them together at the top, forming thereby a kind of Gothic arch. The longest sticks are placed in the middle, and shorter ones each way, and a less distance asunder, by which means the building is highest and broadest in the middle, and lower and narrower towards each end. To these are tied others horizontally, and the whole is thatched over with leaves of sugar-cane. The door-way is in the middle of one side, formed like a porch, and so low and narrow, as just to admit a man to enter upon all fours. The largest house I saw was about sixty feet long, eight or nine feet high in the middle, and three or four at each end; its breadth, at these parts, was nearly equal to its height. Some have a kind of vaulted houses built with stone, and partly under ground; but I never was in one of these.

I saw no household utensils among them, except gourds, and of these but very few. They were extravagantly fond of cocoa-nut shells, more so than of any thing we could give them. They dress their victuals in the same manner as at Otaheite; that is, with hot stones in an oven or hole in the ground. The straw or tops of sugar-cane, plantain heads, &c. serve them for fuel to heat the stones. Plantains, which require but little dressing, they roast under fires of straw, dried grass, &c. and whole races of them are

ripened or roasted in this manner. We frequently saw ten or a dozen, or more, such fires in one place, and most commonly in the mornings and evenings.

Not more than three or four canoes were seen on the whole island, and these very mean, and built of many pieces sewed together with small line. They are about eighteen or twenty feet long, head and stem carved or raised a little, are very narrow, and fitted with out-riggers. They do not seem capable of carrying above four persons, and are by no means fit for any distant navigation. As small and mean as these canoes were, it was a matter of wonder to us, where they got the wood to build them with; for in one of them was a board six or eight feet long, fourteen inches broad at one end, and eight at the other; whereas we did not see a stick on the island that would have made a board half this size, nor, indeed, was there another piece in the whole canoe half so big.

There are two ways by which it is possible they may have got this large wood; it might have been left here by the Spaniards, or it might have been driven on the shore of the island from some distant land. It is even possible that there may be some land in the neighbourhood, from whence they might have got it. We, however, saw no signs of any, nor could we get the least information on this head from the natives, although we tried every method we could think of to obtain it. We were almost as unfortunate in our enquiries for the proper or native name of the island; for, on comparing notes, I found we had got three different names for it, viz. Tamareki, Whyhu, and Teapy. Without pretending to say which, or whether any of them is right, I shall only observe, that the last was obtained by Oedidee, who understood their language much better than any of us, though even he understood it but very imperfectly.

It appears by the account of Roggewein's voyage, that these people had no better vessels than when he first visited them. The want of materials, and not of genius, seems to be the reason why they have made no improvement in this art. Some pieces of carving were found amongst them, both well designed and executed. Their plantations are prettily laid out by line, but not inclosed by any fence; indeed they have nothing for this purpose but stones.

I have no doubt that all these plantations are private property, and that there are here, as at Otaheite, chiefs (which they call Areekes ) to whom these plantations belong. But of the power or authority of these chiefs, or of the government of these people, I confess myself quite ignorant.

Nor are we better acquainted with their religion. The gigantic statues, so often mentioned, are not, in my opinion, looked upon as idols by the present inhabitants, whatever they might have been in the days of the Dutch; at least I saw nothing that could induce me to think so. On the contrary, I rather suppose that they are burying-places for certain tribes or families. I, as well as some others, saw a human skeleton lying in one of the platforms, just covered with stones. Some of these platforms of masonry are thirty or forty feet long, twelve or sixteen broad, and from three to twelve in height; which last in some measure depends on the nature of the ground; for they are generally at the brink of the bank facing the sea, so that this face may be ten or twelve

feet or more high, and the other may not be above three or four. They are built, or rather faced, with hewn stones, of a very large size; and the workmanship is not inferior to the best plain piece of masonry we have in England. They use no sort of cement, yet the joints are exceedingly close, and the stones morticed and tenanted one into another, in a very artful manner. The side-walls are not perpendicular, but inclining a little inwards, in the same manner that breast-works, &c. are built in Europe; yet had not all this care, pains, and sagacity, been able to preserve these curious structures from the ravages of all-devouring time.

The statues, or at least many of them, are erected on these platforms, which serve as foundations. They are, as near as we could judge, about half length, ending in a sort of stump at the bottom, on which they stand. The workmanship is rude, but not bad; nor are the features of the face ill formed, the nose and chin in particular; but the ears are long beyond proportion; and, as to the bodies, there is hardly any thing like a human figure about them.

I had an opportunity of examining only two or three of these statues, which are near the landing-place; and they were of a grey stone, seemingly of the same sort as that with which the platforms were built. But some of the gentlemen, who travelled over the island, and examined many of them, were of opinion that the stone of which they were made, was different from any they saw on the island, and had much the appearance of being factitious. We could hardly conceive how these islanders, wholly unacquainted with any mechanical power, could raise such stupendous figures, and afterwards place the large cylindric stones before mentioned upon their heads. The only method I can conceive, is by raising the upper end by little and little, supporting it by stones as it is raised, and building about it till they got it erect; thus a sort of mount or scaffolding would be made, upon which they might roll the cylinder, and place it upon the head of the statue, and then the stones might be removed from about it. But if the stones are factitious, the statues might have been put together on the place, in their present position, and the cylinder put on by building a mount round them, as above mentioned. But, let them have been made and set up by this or any other method, they must have been a work of immense time, and sufficiently shew the ingenuity and perseverance of these islanders in the age in which they were built; for the present inhabitants have most certainly had no hand in them, as they do not even repair the foundations of those which are going to decay. They give different names to them, such as Gotomoara, Marapate, Kanaro, Goway-too-goo, Matta Matta, &c. &c. to which they sometimes prefix the word Moi, and sometimes annex Areeke. The latter signifies chief, and the former burying, or sleeping-place, as well as we could understand.

Besides the monuments of antiquity, which were pretty numerous, and no where but on or near the sea-coast, there were many little heaps of stones, piled up in different places along the coast. Two or three of the uppermost stones in each pile were generally white, perhaps always so, when the pile is complete. It will hardly be doubted that these piles of stone had a meaning; probably they might mark the place where people had been buried, and serve instead of the large statues.

The working-tools of these people are but very mean, and, like those of all the other islanders we have visited in this ocean, made of stone, bone, shells, &c. They set but little value on iron or iron tools, which is the more extraordinary, as they know their use; but the reason may be, their having but little occasion for them.

## **Chapter IX. The Passage from Easter Island to the Marquesas Islands. Transactions and Incidents which happened while the Ship lay in Madre de Dios, or Resolution Bay, in the Island of St Christina.**

### **1774 March**

After leaving Easter Island, I steered N.W. by N. and N.N.W., with a fine easterly gale, intending to touch at the Marquesas, if I met with nothing before I got there. We had not been long at sea, before the bilious disorder made another attack upon me, but not so violent as the former. I believe this second visit was owing to exposing and fatiguing myself too much at Easter Island.

On the 22d, being in the latitude of 19 deg. 20' S., longitude 114 deg. 49' W., steered N.W. Since leaving Easter Island, the variation had not been more than 3 deg. 4', nor less than 2 deg. 32' E.; but on the 26th, at six a.m., in latitude 15 deg. 7' S., longitude 119 deg. 45' W., it was no more than 1 deg. 1' E.; after which it began to increase.

On the 29th, being in the latitude of 10 deg. 20', longitude 123 deg. 58' W., altered the course to W.N.W., and the next day to west, being then in latitude 9 deg. 24', which I judged to be the parallel of Marquesas; where, as I have before observed, I intended to touch, in order to settle their situation, which I find different in different charts. Having now a steady settled trade-wind, and pleasant weather, I ordered the forge to be set up, to repair and make various necessary articles in the iron way; and the caulkers had already been some time at work caulking the decks, weather- works, &c.

### **1774 April**

As we advanced to the west, we found the variation to increase but slowly; for, on the 3d of April, it was only 4 deg. 40' E., being then in the latitude of 9 deg. 32', longitude 132 deg. 45', by observation made at the same time.

I continued to steer to the west till the 6th, at four in the afternoon, at which time, being in the latitude of 9 deg. 20', longitude 138 deg. 14' W., we discovered an island, bearing west by south, distant about nine leagues. Two hours after we saw another,

bearing S.W. by S., which appeared more extensive than the former. I hauled up for this island, and ran under an easy sail all night, having squally unsettled rainy weather, which is not very uncommon in this sea, when near high land. At six o'clock the next morning, the first island bore N.W., the second S.W. 1/2 W., and a third W. I gave orders to steer for the separation between the two last; and soon after, a fourth was seen, still more to the west. By this time, we were well assured that these were the Marquesas, discovered by Mendana in 1595. The first isle was a new discovery, which I named Hood's Island, after the young gentleman who first saw it, the second was that of Saint Pedro, the third La Dominica, and the fourth St Christina. We ranged the S.E. coast of La Dominica, without seeing the least signs of anchorage, till we came to the channel that divides it from St Christina, through which we passed, hauled over for the last-mentioned island, and ran along the coast to the S.W. in search of Mendana's Port. We passed several coves in which there seemed to be anchorage; but a great surf broke on all the shores. Some canoes put off from these places, and followed us down the coast.

At length, having come before the port we were in search of, we attempted to turn into it, the wind being right out; but as it blew in violent squalls from this high land, one of these took us just after we had put in stays, payed the ship off again, and before she wore round, she was within a few yards of being driven against the rocks to leeward. This obliged us to stand out to sea, and to make a stretch to windward; after which we stood in again, and without attempting to turn, anchored in the entrance of the bay in thirty-four fathoms water, a fine sandy bottom. This was no sooner done, than about thirty or forty of the natives came off to us in ten or twelve canoes; but it required some address to get them alongside. At last a hatchet, and some spike-nails, induced the people in one canoe to come under the quarter-gallery; after which, all the others put alongside, and having exchanged some breadfruit and fish for small nails, &c. retired ashore, the sun being already set. We observed a heap of stones on the bow of each canoe, and every man to have a sling tied round his hand.

Very early next morning, the natives visited us again in much greater numbers than before; bringing with them bread-fruit, plantains, and one pig, all of which they exchanged for nails, &c. But in this traffic they would frequently keep our goods, and make no return, till at last I was obliged to fire a musket-ball over one man who had several times served us in this manner; after which they dealt more fairly; and soon after several of them came on board. At this time we were preparing to warp farther into the bay, and I was going in a boat, to look for the most convenient place to moor the ship in. Observing too many of the natives on board, I said to the officers, "You must look well after these people, or they will certainly carry off something or other." I had hardly got into the boat, before I was told they had stolen one of the iron stanchions from the opposite gang-way, and were making off with it. I ordered them to fire over the canoe till I could get round in the boat, but not to kill any one. But the natives made too much noise for me to be heard, and the unhappy thief was killed at the third shot. Two others in the same canoe leaped overboard, but got in again just



as I came to them. The stanchion they had thrown over board. One of them, a man grown, sat bailing the blood and water out of the canoe, in a kind of hysteric laugh; the other, a youth about fourteen or fifteen years of age, looked on the deceased with a serious and dejected countenance; we had afterwards reason to believe he was his son.

At this unhappy accident, all the natives retired with precipitation. I followed them into the bay, and prevailed upon the people in one canoe to come alongside the boat, and receive some nails, and other things, which I gave them; this in some measure allayed their fears. Having taken a view of the bay, and found that fresh water, which we most wanted, was to be had, I returned on board, and carried out a kedge-anchor with three hawsers upon an end, to warp the ship in by, and hove short on the bower. One would have thought that the natives, by this time, would have been so sensible of the effect of our fire-arms, as not to have provoked us to fire upon them any more, but the event proved otherwise; for the boat had no sooner left the kedge-anchor, than two men in a canoe put off from the shore, took hold of the buoy rope, and attempted to drag it ashore, little considering what was fast to it. Lest, after discovering their mistake, they should take away the buoy, I ordered a musket to be fired at them; the ball fell short, and they took not the least notice of it; but a second having passed over them, they let go the buoy, and made for the shore. This was the last shot we had occasion to fire at any of them, while we lay at this place. It probably had more effect than killing the man, by shewing them that they were not safe at any distance; at least we had reason to think so, for they afterwards stood in great dread of the musket. Nevertheless, they would very often be exercising their talent of thieving upon us, which I thought proper to put up with, as our stay was not likely to be long amongst them. The trouble these people gave us retarded us so long, that, before we were ready to heave the anchor, the wind began to increase, and blew in squalls out of the bay, so that we were obliged to lie fast. It was not long before the natives ventured off to us again. In the first canoe which came, was a man who seemed to be of some consequence; he advanced slowly, with a pig on his shoulder, and speaking something which we did not understand. As soon as he got alongside, I made him a present of a hatchet and several other articles: In return, he sent in his pig; and was at last prevailed upon to come himself up to the gang-way, where he made but a short stay. The reception this man met with, induced the people in all the other canoes to put alongside; and exchanges were presently reestablished.

Matters being thus settled on board, I went on shore with a party of men, to see what was to be done there. We were received by the natives with great courtesy; and, as if nothing had happened, trafficked with them for some fruit and a few small pigs; and after loading the launch with water, returned aboard. After dinner I sent the boats ashore for water, under the protection of a guard; on their landing, the natives all fled but one man, and he seemed much frightened; afterwards one or two more came down, and these were all that were seen this afternoon. We could not conceive the reason of this sudden fright.

Early in the morning of the 9th, the boats were sent as usual for water; and just as they were coming off, but not before, some of the natives made their appearance. After breakfast I landed some little time before the guard, when the natives crowded round me in great numbers; but as soon as the guard landed, I had enough to do to keep them from running off: At length their fears vanished, and a trade was opened for fruit and pigs. I believe the reason of the natives flying from our people the day before, was their not seeing me at the head of them; for they certainly would have done the same to-day, had I not been present. About noon, a chief of some consequence, attended by a great number of people, came down to the landing-place. I presented him with such articles as I had with me, and, in return, he gave me some of his ornaments. After these mutual exchanges, a good understanding seemed to be established between us; so that we got by exchanges as much fruit as loaded two boats, with which we returned on board to dinner; but could not prevail on the chief to accompany us.

In the afternoon, the watering and trading parties were sent on shore, though the latter got but little, as most of the natives had retired into the country. A party of us went to the other, or southern cove of the bay, where I procured five pigs, and came to the house which, we were told, did belong to the man we had killed. He must have been a person of some note, as there were six pigs in and about his house, which we were told belonged to his son, who fled on our approach. I wanted much to have seen him, to make him a present, and, by other kind treatment, to convince him and the others that it was not from any bad design against the nation, that we had killed his father. It would have been to little purpose if I had left any thing in the house, as it certainly would have been taken by others; especially as I could not sufficiently explain to them my meaning. Strict honesty was seldom observed when the property of our things came to be disputed. I saw a striking instance of this in the morning, when I was going ashore. A man in a canoe offered me a small pig for a six-inch spike, and another man being employed to convey it, I gave him the spike, which he kept for himself, and instead of it, gave to the man who owned the pig a sixpenny nail. Words of course arose, and I waited to see how it would end; but as the man who had possession of the spike seemed resolved to keep it, I left them before it was decided. In the evening we returned on board with what refreshments we had collected, and thought we had made a good day's work.

On the 10th, early in the morning, some people from more distant parts came in canoes alongside, and sold us some pigs; so that we had now sufficient to give the crew a fresh meal. They were, in general, so small, that forty or fifty were hardly sufficient for this purpose. The trade on shore for fruit was as brisk as ever. After dinner, I made a little expedition in my boat along the coast to the south-ward, accompanied by some of the gentlemen: At the different places we touched at, we collected eighteen pigs; and I believe, might have got more. The people were exceedingly obliging wherever we landed, and readily brought down whatever we desired.

Next morning I went down to the same place where we had been the preceding evening; but instead of getting pigs, as I expected, found the scene quite changed. The

nails and other things they were mad after but the evening before, they now despised, and instead of them wanted they did not know what; so that I was obliged to return, with three or four little pigs, which cost more than a dozen did the day before. When I got on board, I found the same change had happened there, as also at the trading place on shore. The reason was, several of the young gentlemen having landed the preceding day, had given away in exchange various articles which the people had not seen before, and which took with them more than nails or more useful iron tools. But what ruined our market the most, was one of them giving for a pig a very large quantity of red feathers he had got at Amsterdam. None of us knew at this time, that this article was in such estimation here; and, if I had known it, I could not have supported the trade, in the manner it was begun, one day. Thus was our fine prospect of getting a plentiful supply of refreshments from these people frustrated; which will ever be the case so long as every one is allowed to make exchanges for what he pleases, and in what manner he pleases. When I found this island was not likely to supply us, on any conditions, with sufficient refreshments, such as we might expect to find at the Society Isles, nor very convenient for taking in wood and water, nor for giving the ship the necessary repairs she wanted, I resolved forthwith to leave it, and proceed to some other place, where our wants might be effectually relieved. For after having been nineteen weeks at sea, and living all the time upon salt diet, we could not but want some refreshments; although I must own, and that with pleasure, that on our arrival here, it could hardly be said we had one sick man; and but a few who had the least complaint. This was undoubtedly owing to the many antiscorbutic articles we had on board, and to the great attention of the surgeon, who was remarkably careful to apply them in time.

## **Chapter X. Departure from the Marquesas; a Description of the Situation, Extent, Figure, and Appearance of the several Islands; with some Account of the Inhabitants, their Customs, Dress, Habitations, Food, Weapons, and Canoes.**

**1774 April**

At three o'clock in the afternoon, we weighed, and stood over from St Christina for La Dominica, in order to take a view of the west side of that isle; but as it was dark before we reached it, the night was spent in plying between the two isles. The next morning we had a full view of the S.W. point, from which the coast trended N.E.; so that it was not probable we should find good anchorage on that side, as being exposed to the easterly winds. We had now but little wind, and that very variable, with showers of rain. At length we got a breeze at E.N.E. with which we steered to the south. At five

o'clock p.m., Resolution Bay bore E.N.E.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  E. distant five leagues, and the island Magdalena S.E., about nine leagues distant. This was the only sight we had of this isle. From hence I steered S.S.W.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  W. for Otaheite, with a view of falling in with some of those isles discovered by former navigators, especially those discovered by the Dutch, whose situations are not well determined. But it will be necessary to return to the Marquesas; which were, as I have already observed, first discovered by Mendana, a Spaniard, and from him obtained the general name they now bear, as well as those of the different isles. The nautical account of them, in vol. i. p. 61, of Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages to the South Seas, is deficient in nothing but situation. This was my chief reason for touching, at them; the settling this point is the more useful, as it will in a great measure fix the situations of Mendana's other discoveries.

The Marquesas are five in number, viz. La Magdalena, St Pedro, La Dominica, Santa Christina, and Hood's Island, which is the northernmost, situated in latitude 9 deg. 26' S., and N. 13 deg. W., five leagues and a half distant from the east point of La Dominica, which is the largest of all the isles, extending east and west six leagues. It hath an unequal breadth, and is about fifteen or sixteen leagues in circuit. It is full of rugged hills, rising in ridges directly from the sea; these ridges are disjoined by deep vallies which are clothed with wood, as are the sides of some of the hills; the aspect, however, is barren; but it is, nevertheless, inhabited. Latitude 9 deg. 44' 30" S. St Pedro, which is about three leagues in circuit, and of a good height, lies south, four leagues and a half from the east end of La Dominica; we know not if it be inhabited. Nature has not been very bountiful to it. St Christina lies under the same parallel, three or four leagues more to the west. This island stretches north and south, is nine miles long in that direction, and about seven leagues in circuit. A narrow ridge of hills of considerable height extends the whole length of the island. There are other ridges, which, rising from the sea, and with an equal ascent, join the main ridge. These are disjoined by deep narrow vallies, which are fertile, adorned with fruit and other trees, and watered by fine streams of excellent water. La Magdalena we only saw at a distance. Its situation must be nearly in the latitude of 10 deg. 25', longitude 138 deg. 50'. So that these isles occupy one degree in latitude, and near half a degree in longitude, viz. from 138 deg. 47' to 139 deg. 13' W., which is the longitude of the west end of La Dominica.

The port of Madre de Dios, which I named Resolution Bay, is situated near the middle of the west side of St Christina, and under the highest land in the island, in latitude 9 deg. 55' 30", longitude 139 deg. 8' 40" W.; and north 15' W. from the west end of La Dominica. The south point of the bay is a steep rock of considerable height, terminating at the top in a peaked hill, above which you will see a path-way leading up a narrow ridge to the summits of the hills. The north point is not so high, and rises with a more gentle slope. They are a mile from each other, in the direction of N. by E. and S. by W. In the bay, which is near three quarters of a mile deep, and has from thirty-four to twelve fathoms water, with a clean sandy bottom, are two sandy coves, divided from each other by a rocky point. In each is a rivulet of excellent water. The

northern cove is the most commodious for wooding and watering. Here is the little water-fall mentioned by Quiros, Mendana's pilot; but the town, or village, is in the other cove. There are several other coves, or bays, on this side of the island, and some of them, especially to the northward, may be mistaken for this; therefore, the best direction is the bearing of the west end of La Dominica.

The trees, plants, and other productions of these isles, so far as we know, are nearly the same as at Otaheite and the Society Isles. The refreshments to be got are hogs, fowls, plantains, yams, and some other roots; likewise bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, but of these not many. At first these articles were purchased with nails. Beads, looking-glasses, and such trifles, which are so highly valued at the Society Isles, are in no esteem here; and even nails at last lost their value for other articles far less useful.

The inhabitants of these islands collectively, are, without exception, the finest race of people in this sea. For fine shape and regular features, they perhaps surpass all other nations. Nevertheless, the affinity of their language to that spoken in Otaheite and the Society Isles, shews that they are of the same nation. Oedidee could converse with them tolerably well, though we could not; but it was easy to see that their language was nearly the same.

The men are punctured, or curiously tattowed, from head to foot. The figures are various, and seem to be directed more by fancy than custom. These puncturations make them look dark: But the women, who are but little punctured, youths and young children, who are not at all, are as fair as some Europeans. The men are in general tall, that is, about five feet ten inches, or six feet; but I saw none that were fat and lusty like the Earees of Otaheite; nor did I see any that could be called meagre. Their teeth are not so good, nor are their eyes so full and lively as those of many other nations. Their hair, like ours, is of many colours, except red, of which I saw none. Some have it long, but the most general custom is to wear it short, except a bunch on each side of the crown, which they tie in a knot. They observe different modes in trimming the beard, which is in general long. Some part it, and tie it in two bunches under the chin, others plait it, some wear it loose, and others quite short.

Their clothing is the same as at Otaheite, and made of the same materials; but they have it not in such plenty, nor is it so good. The men, for the most part, have nothing to cover their nakedness, except the Marra, as it is called at Otaheite; which is a slip of cloth passed round the waist and betwixt the legs; This simple dress is quite sufficient for the climate, and answers every purpose modesty requires. The dress of the women is a piece of cloth wrapped round the loins like a petticoat, which reaches down below the middle of the leg, and a loose mantle over their shoulders. Their principal head-dress, and what appears to be their chief ornament, is a sort of broad fillet, curiously made of the fibres of the husk of cocoa-nuts. In the front is fixed a mother-o'-pearl shell wrought round to the size of a tea saucer. Before that is another smaller one, of very fine tortoise-shell, perforated into curious figures. Also before, and in the centre of that, is another round piece of mother-o'-pearl, about the size of half-a-crown; and before this another piece of perforated tortoise-shell, about the size of a shilling. Besides this

decoration in front, some have it also on each side, but in smaller pieces; and all have fixed to them, the tail feathers of cocks, or tropic birds, which, when the fillet is tied on, stand upright; so that the whole together makes a very sightly ornament. They wear round the neck a kind of ruff or necklace, call it which you please, made of light wood, the out and upper side covered with small red pease, which are fixed on with gum. They also wear small bunches of human hair, fastened to a string, and tied round the legs and arms. Sometimes, instead of hair, they make use of short feathers; but all the above-mentioned ornaments are seldom seen on the same person.

I saw only the chief, who came to visit us, completely dressed in this manner. Their ordinary ornaments are necklaces and amulets made of shells, &c. I did not see any with ear-rings; and yet all of them had their ears pierced.

Their dwellings are in the vallies, and on the sides of the hills, near their plantations. They are built after the same manner as at Otaheite; but are much meaner, and only covered with the leaves of the bread-tree. The most of them are built on a square or oblong pavement of stone, raised some height above the level of the ground. They likewise have such pavements near their houses, on which they sit to eat and amuse themselves.

In the article of eating, these people are by no means so cleanly as the Otaheiteans. They are likewise dirty in their cookery. Pork and fowls are dressed in an oven of hot stones, as at Otaheite; but fruit and roots they roast on the fire, and after taking off the rind or skin, put them into a platter or trough, with water, out of which I have seen both men and hogs eat at the same time. I once saw them make a batter of fruit and roots diluted with water, in a vessel that was loaded with dirt, and out of which the hogs had been but that moment eating, without giving it the least washing, or even washing their hands, which were equally dirty; and when I expressed a dislike, was laughed at. I know not if all are so. The actions of a few individuals are not sufficient to fix a custom on a whole nation. Nor can I say if it is the custom for men and women to have separate messes. I saw nothing to the contrary: Indeed I saw but few women upon the whole.

They seemed to have dwellings, or strong-holds, on the summits of the highest hills. These we only saw by the help of our glasses; for I did not permit any of our people to go there, as we were not sufficiently acquainted with the disposition of the natives, which (I believe) is humane and pacific.

Their weapons are clubs and spears, resembling those of Otaheite, but somewhat neater. They have also slings, with which they throw stones with great velocity, and to a great distance, but not with a good aim.

Their canoes are made of wood, and pieces of the bark of a soft tree, which grows near the sea in great plenty, and is very tough and proper for the purpose. They are from sixteen to twenty feet long, and about fifteen inches broad; the head and stern are made of two solid pieces of wood; the stern rises or curves a little, but in an irregular direction, and ends in a point; the head projects out horizontally, and is carved into

some faint and very rude resemblance of a human face. They are rowed by paddles, and some have a sort of lateen sail, made of matting.

Hogs were the only quadrupeds we saw; and cocks and hens the only tame fowls. However, the woods seemed to abound with small birds of a very beautiful plumage, and fine notes; but the fear of alarming the natives hindered us from shooting so many of them as might otherwise have been done.

## **Chapter XI. A Description of several Islands discovered, or seen in the Passage from the Marquesas to Otaheite; with an Account of a Naval Review.**

### **1774 April**

With a fine easterly wind I steered S.W.—S.W. by W. and W. by S. till the 17th, at ten o'clock in the morning, when land was seen bearing W.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  N., which, upon a nearer approach, we found to be a string of low islets connected together by a reef of coral rocks. We ranged the northwest coast, at the distance of one mile from shore, to three quarters of its length, which in the whole is near four leagues, when we came to a creek or inlet that seemed to open a communication into the lake in the middle of the isle. As I wanted to obtain some knowledge of the produce of these half-drowned isles, we brought-to, hoisted out a boat, and sent the master in to sound; there being no soundings without.

As we ran along the coast, the natives appeared in several places armed with long spears and clubs; and some were got together on one side of the creek. When the master returned he reported that there was no passage into the lake by the creek, which was fifty fathoms wide at the entrance, and thirty deep; farther in, thirty wide, and twelve deep; that the bottom was every where rocky, and the sides bounded by a wall of coral rocks. We were under no necessity to put the ship into such a place as this; but as the natives had shewn some signs of a friendly disposition, by coming peaceably to the boat, and taking such things as were given them, I sent two boats well armed ashore, under the command of Lieutenant Cooper, with a view of having some intercourse with them, and to give Mr Forster an opportunity of collecting something in his way. We saw our people land without the least opposition being made by a few natives who were on the shores. Some little time after, observing forty or fifty more, all armed, coming to join them, we stood close in shore, in order to be ready to support our people in case of an attack. But nothing of this kind happened; and soon after our boats returned aboard, when Mr Cooper informed me, that, on his landing, only a few of the natives met him on the beach, but there were many in the skirts of the woods with spears in their hands. The presents he made them were received with great

coolness, which plainly shewed we were unwelcome visitors. When their reinforcement arrived he thought proper to embark, as the day was already far spent, and I had given orders to avoid an attack by all possible means. When his men got into the boats, some were for pushing them off, others for detaining them; but at last they suffered them to depart at their leisure. They brought aboard five dogs, which seemed to be in plenty there. They saw no fruit but cocoa-nuts, of which, they got, by exchanges, two dozen. One of our people got a dog for a single plantain, which led us to conjecture they had none of this fruit.

This island, which is called by the inhabitants Ti-oo-kea, was discovered and visited by Commodore Byron. It has something of an oval shape, is about ten leagues in circuit, lying in the direction of E.S.E. and W.N.W., and situated in the latitude of 14 deg. 27' 30" S., longitude 144 deg. 56' W. The inhabitants of this island, and perhaps of all the low ones, are of a much darker colour than those of the higher islands, and seem to be of a more ferine disposition. This may be owing to their situation. Nature not having bestowed her favours to these low islands with that profusion she has done to some of the others, the inhabitants are chiefly beholden to the sea for their subsistence, consequently are much exposed to the sun and weather; and by that means become more dark in colour, and more hardy and robust; for there is no doubt of their being of the same nation. Our people observed that they were stout, well-made men, and had the figure of a fish marked on their bodies; a very good emblem of their profession.

On the 18th, at day-break, after having spent the night snaking short boards, we wore down to another isle we had in sight to the westward, which we reached by eight o'clock, and ranged the S.E. side at one mile from shore. We found it to be just such another as that we had left, extending N.E. and S.W. near four leagues, and from five to three miles broad. It lies S.W. by W., two leagues distant from the west end of Ti-oo-kea; and the middle is situated in the latitude of 14 deg. 37' S., longitude 145 deg. 10' W. These must be the same islands to which Commodore Byron gave the name of George's Islands. Their situation in longitude, which was determined by lunar observations made near the shores, and still farther corrected by the difference of longitude carried by the watch to Otaheite, is 3 deg. 54' more east than he says they lie. This correction, I apprehend, may be applied to all the islands he discovered.

After leaving these isles, we steered S.S.W.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  W., and S.W. by S., with a fine easterly gale, having signs of the vicinity of land, particularly a smooth sea; and on the 19th, at seven in the morning, land was seen to the westward, which we bore down to, and reached the S.E. end by nine o'clock. It proved to be another of these half-overflowed or drowned islands, which are so common in this part of the ocean; that is, a number of little isles ranged in a circular form, connected together by a reef or wall of coral rock. The sea is in general, every-where, on their outside, unfathomable; all their interior parts are covered with water, abounding, I have been told, with fish and turtle, on which the inhabitants subsist, and sometimes exchange the latter with the high islanders for cloth, &c. These inland seas would be excellent harbours, were they not shut up from the access of shipping, which is the case with most of them, if we can



believe the report of the inhabitants of the other isles. Indeed, few of them have been well searched by Europeans; the little prospect of meeting with fresh water having generally discouraged every attempt of this kind. I, who have seen a great many, have not yet seen an inlet into one.

This island is situated in the latitude of 15 deg. 26', longitude 146 deg. 20'. It is five leagues long in the direction of N.N.E. and S.S.W. and about three leagues broad. As we drew near the south end, we saw from the mast-head, another of these low isles bearing S.E., distant about four or five leagues, but being to windward we could not fetch it. Soon after a third appeared, bearing S.W. by S., for which we steered; and at two o'clock p.m. reached the east end, which is situated in latitude 15 deg. 47' S., longitude 146 deg. 30' W. This island extends W.N.W. and E.S.E., and is seven leagues long in that direction; but its breadth is not above two. It is, in all respects, like the rest; only here are fewer islets, and less firm land on the reef which incloses the lake. As we ranged the north coast, at the distance of half a mile, we saw people, huts, canoes, and places built, seemingly for drying of fish. They seemed to be the same sort of people as on Ti-oo-kea, and were armed with long spikes like them. Drawing near the west end, we discovered another or fourth island, bearing N.N.E. It seemed to be low, like the others, and lies west from the first isle, distant six leagues. These four isles I called Palliser's Isles, in honour of my worthy friend Sir Hugh Palliser, at this time comptroller of the navy.

Not chusing to run farther in the dark, we spent the night making short boards under the top-sail; and on the 20th, at day-break, hauled round the west end of the third isle, which was no sooner done than we found a great swell rolling in from the south; a sure sign that we were clear of these low islands; and as we saw no more land, I steered S.W.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  S. for Otaheite, having the advantage of a stout gale at east, attended with showers of rain. It cannot be determined with any degree of certainty whether the group of isles we had lately seen, be any of those discovered by the Dutch navigators, or no; the situation of their discoveries not being handed down to us with sufficient accuracy. It is, however, necessary to observe, that this part of the ocean, that is, from the latitude of 20 deg. down to 14 deg. or 12 deg., and from the meridian of 138 deg. to 148 deg. or 150 deg. W., is so strewed with these low isles, that a navigator cannot proceed with too much caution.

We made the high land of Otaheite on the 21st, and at noon were about thirteen leagues E. of Point Venus, for which we steered, and got pretty well in with it by sun set, when we shortened sail; and having spent the night, which was squally with rain, standing on and off, at eight o'clock the next morning anchored in Matavai Bay in seven fathoms water. This was no sooner known to the natives, than many of them made us a visit, and expressed not a little joy at seeing us again.

As my chief reason for putting in at this place was to give Mr Wales an opportunity to know the error of the watch by the known longitude, and to determine anew her rate of going, the first thing we did was to land his instruments, and to erect tents for the reception of a guard and such other people as it was necessary to have on shore.

Sick we had none; the refreshments we had got at the Marquesas had removed every complaint of that kind.

On the 23d, showery weather. Our very good friends the natives supplied us with fruit and fish sufficient for the whole crew.

On the 24th, Otoo the king, and several other chiefs, with a train of attendants, paid us a visit, and brought as presents ten or a dozen large hogs, besides fruits, which made them exceedingly welcome. I was advertised of the king's coming, and looked upon it as a good omen. Knowing how much it was my interest to make this man my friend, I met him at the tents, and conducted him and his friends on board, in my boat, where they staid dinner; after which they were dismissed with suitable presents, and highly pleased with the reception they had met with.

Next day we had much thunder, lightning, and rain. This did not hinder the king from making me another visit, and a present of a large quantity of refreshments. It hath been already mentioned, that when we were at the island of Amsterdam we had collected, amongst other curiosities, some red parrot feathers. When this was known here, all the principal people of both sexes endeavoured to ingratiate themselves into our favour by bringing us hogs, fruit, and every other thing the island afforded, in order to obtain these valuable jewels. Our having these feathers was a fortunate circumstance, for as they were valuable to the natives, they became so to us; but more especially as my stock of trade was by this time greatly exhausted; so that, if it had not been for the feathers, I should have found it difficult to have supplied the ship with the necessary refreshments.

When I put in at this island, I intended to stay no longer than till Mr Wales had made the necessary observations for the purposes already mentioned, thinking 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, which did not exceed the plains of Matavai and Oparree, convinced us of our error. We found at these two places, built and building, a great number of large canoes, and houses of every kind; people living in spacious habitations who had not a place to shelter themselves in eight months before; several large hogs about every house; and every other sign of a rising state.

Judging from these favourable circumstances that we should not mend ourselves by removing to another island, I resolved to make a longer stay, and to begin with the repairs of the ship and stores, &c. Accordingly I ordered the empty casks and sails to be got ashore to be repaired; the ship to be caulked, and the rigging to be overhauled; all of which the high southern latitudes had made indispensably necessary.

In the morning of the 26th, I went down to Oparree, accompanied by some of the officers and gentlemen, to pay Otoo a visit by appointment. As we drew near, we observed a number of large canoes in motion; but we were surprised, when we arrived, to see upwards of three hundred ranged in order, for some distance, along the shore, all completely equipped and manned, besides a vast number of armed men upon the shore. So unexpected an armament collected together in our neighbourhood, in the space of

one night, gave rise to various conjectures. We landed, however, in the midst of them, and were received by a vast multitude, many of them under arms, and many not. The cry of the latter was *Tiyo no Otoo*, and that of the former *Tiyo no Towha*. This chief, we afterwards learnt, was admiral or commander of the fleet and troops present. The moment we landed I was met by a chief whose name was Tee, uncle to the king, and one of his prime ministers, of whom I enquired for Otoo. Presently after we were met by Towha, who received me with great courtesy. He took me by the one hand, and Tee by the other; and, without my knowing where they intended to carry me, dragged me, as it were, through the crowd that was divided into two parties, both of which professed themselves my friends, by crying out *Tiyo no Tootee*. One party wanted me to go to Otoo, and the other to remain with Towha. Coming to the visual place of audience, a mat was spread for me to sit down upon, and Tee left me to go and bring the king. Towha was unwilling I should sit down, partly insisting on my going with him; but, as I knew nothing of this chief, I refused to comply. Presently Tee returned, and wanted to conduct me to the king, taking hold of my hand for that purpose. This Towha opposed; so that, between the one party and the other, I was like to have been torn in pieces; and was obliged to desire Tee to desist, and to leave me to the admiral and his party, who conducted me down to the fleet. As soon as we came before the admiral's vessel, we found two lines of armed men drawn up before her, to keep off the crowd, as I supposed, and to clear the way for me to go in. But, as I was determined not to go, I made the water, which was between me and her, an excuse. This did not answer; for a man immediately squatted himself down at my feet, offering to carry me; and then I declared I would not go. That very moment Towha quitted me, without my seeing which way he went, nor would any one inform me. Turning myself round I saw Tee, who, I believe, had never lost sight of me. Enquiring of him for the king, he told me he was gone into the country *Mataou*, and advised me to go to my boat; which we accordingly did, as soon as we could get collected together; for Mr Edgcumbe was the only person that could keep with me, the others being jostled about in the crowd, in the same manner we had been.

When we got into our boat, we took our time to view this grand fleet. The vessels of war consisted of an hundred and sixty large double canoes, very well equipped, manned, and armed. But I am not sure that they had their full complement of men or rowers; I rather think not. The chiefs, and all those on the fighting stages, were dressed in their war habits; that is, in a vast quantity of cloth, turbans, breast-plates, and helmets. Some of the latter were of such a length as greatly to encumber the wearer. Indeed, their whole dress seemed to be ill calculated for the day of battle, and to be designed more for shew than use. Be this as it may, it certainly added grandeur to the prospect, as they were so complaisant as to shew themselves to the best advantage. The vessels were decorated with flags, streamers, &c.; so that the whole made a grand and noble appearance, such as we had never seen before in this sea, and what no one would have expected. Their instruments of war were clubs, spears, and stones. The vessels were ranged close along-side of each other with their heads ashore, and their stern to the

sea; the admiral's vessel being nearly in the centre. Besides the vessels of war, there were an hundred and seventy sail of smaller double canoes, all with a little house upon them, and 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 was no sort of provisions whatever. In these three hundred and thirty vessels, I guessed there were no less than seven thousand seven hundred and sixty men; a number which appears incredible, especially as we were told they all belonged to the districts of Attahourou and Ahopatea. In this computation I allow to each war canoe forty men, troops and rowers, and to each of the small canoes eight. Most of the gentlemen who were with me, thought the number of men belonging to the war canoes exceeded this. It is certain that the most of them were fitted to row with more paddles than I have allowed them men; but, at this time, I think they were not complete. Tupia informed us, when I was first here, that the whole island raised only between six and seven thousand men; but we now saw two districts only raise that number; so that he must have taken his account from some old establishment; or else he only meant Tatatous, that is warriors, or men trained from their infancy to arms, and did not include the rowers, and those necessary to navigate the other vessels. I should think he only spoke of this number as the standing troops or militia of the island, and not their whole force. This point I shall leave to be discussed in another place, and return to the subject.

After we had well viewed this fleet, I wanted much to have seen the admiral, to have gone with him on board the war-canoes. We enquired for him as we rowed past the fleet to no purpose. We put ashore and enquired; but the noise and crowd was so great that no one attended to what we said. At last Tee came and whispered us in the ear, that Otoo was gone to Matavai, advising us to return thither, and not to land where we were. We accordingly proceeded for the ship; and this intelligence and advice received from Tee, gave rise to new conjectures. In short, we concluded that this Towha was some powerful disaffected chief, who was upon the point of making war against his sovereign; for we could not imagine Otoo had any other reason for leaving Oparree in the manner he did.

We had not been long gone from Oparree, before the whole fleet was in motion to the westward, from whence it came. When we got to Matavai, our friends there told us, that this fleet was part of the armament intended to go against Eimea, whose chief had thrown off the yoke of Otaheite, and assumed an independency. We were likewise informed that Otoo neither was nor had been at Matavai; so that we were still at a loss to know why he fled from Oparree. This occasioned another trip thither in the afternoon, where we found him, and now understood that the reason of his not seeing me in the morning was, that some of his people having stolen a quantity of my clothes which were on shore washing, he was afraid I should demand restitution. He repeatedly asked me if I was not angry; and when I assured him that I was not, and that they might keep what they had got, he was satisfied. Towha was alarmed, partly on the same account. He thought I was displeased when I refused to go aboard his vessel; and I was jealous of seeing such a force in our neighbourhood without being able to

know any thing of its design. Thus, by mistaking one another, I lost the opportunity of examining more narrowly into part of the naval force of this isle, and making myself better acquainted with its manoeuvres. Such another opportunity may never occur; as it was commanded by a brave, sensible, and intelligent chief, who would have satisfied us in all the questions we had thought proper to ask; and as the objects were before us, we could not well have misunderstood each other. It happened unluckily that Oedidee was not with us in the morning; for Tee, who was the only man we could depend on, served only to perplex us. Matters being thus cleared up, and mutual presents having passed between Otoo and me, we took leave and returned on board.

## **Chapter XII. Some Account of a Visit from Otoo, Towha, and several other Chiefs; also of a Robbery committed by one of the Natives, and its Consequences, with general Observations on the Subject.**

**1774 April**

In the morning of the 27th, I received a present from Towha, consisting of two large hogs and some fruit, sent by two of his servants, who had orders not to receive any thing in return; nor would they when offered them. Soon after I went down to Oparree in my boat, where, having found both this chief and the king, after a short stay, I brought them on board to dinner, together with Tarevatoo, the king's younger brother, and Tee. As soon as we drew near the ship, the admiral, who had never seen one before, began to express much surprise at so new a sight. He was conducted all over the ship, every part of which he viewed with great attention. On this occasion Otoo was the principal show-man; for, by this time, he was well acquainted with the different parts of the ship. After dinner Towha put a hog on board, and retired, without my knowing any thing of the matter, or having made him any return either for this, or the present I had in the morning. Soon after, the king and his attendants went away also. Otoo not only seemed to pay this chief much respect, but was desirous I should do the same; and yet he was jealous of him, but on what account we knew not. It was but the day before that he frankly told us, Towha was not his friend. Both these chiefs when on board solicited me to assist them against Tiarabou, notwithstanding a peace at this time subsisted between the two kingdoms, and we were told their joint force was to go against Eimea. Whether this was done with a view of breaking with their neighbours and allies if I had promised them assistance, or only to sound my disposition, I know not. Probably they would have been ready enough to have embraced an opportunity, which would have enabled them to conquer that kingdom, and annex it to their own,

as it formerly was. Be this as it may, I heard no more of it; indeed, I gave them no encouragement.

Next day we had a present of a hog sent by Waheatoua, king of Tiarabou. For this, in return, he desired a few red feathers, which were, together with other things, sent him accordingly. Mr Forster and his party set out for the mountains, with an intent to stay out all night. I did not go out of the ship this day.

Early in the morning of the 29th, Otoo, Towha, and several other grandees, came on board, and brought with them as presents, not only provisions, but some of the most valuable curiosities of the island. I made them returns, with which they were well pleased. I likewise took this opportunity to repay the civilities I had received from Towha.

The night before, one of the natives attempting to steal a water-cask from the watering-place, was caught in the act, sent on board, and put in irons; in which situation Otoo and the other chiefs saw him. Having made known his crime to them, Otoo begged he might be set at liberty. This I refused, telling him, that since I punished my people, when they committed the least offence against his, it was but just this man should be punished also; and as I knew he would not do it, I was resolved to do it myself. Accordingly, I ordered the man to be carried on shore to the tents, and having followed myself, with Otoo, Towha, and others, I ordered the guard out, under arms, and the man to be tied up to a post. Otoo, his sister, and some others, begged hard for him; Towha said not one word, but was very attentive to every thing going forward. I expostulated with Otoo on the conduct of this man, and of his people in general; telling him, that neither I, nor any of my people, took any thing from them, without first paying for it; enumerating the articles we gave in exchange for such and such things; and urging that it was wrong in them to steal from us, who were their friends. I moreover told him, that the punishing this man would be the means of saving the lives of others of his people, by deterring them from committing crimes of this nature, in which some would certainly be shot dead, one time or another. With these and other arguments, which I believe he pretty well understood, he seemed satisfied, and only desired the man might not be *Matterou* (or killed). I then ordered the crowd, which was very great, to be kept at a proper distance, and, in the presence of them all, ordered the fellow two dozen lashes with a cat-o'-nine-tails, which he bore with great firmness, and was then set at liberty. After this the natives were going away; but Towha stepped forth, called them back, and harangued them for near half an hour. His speech consisted of short sentences, very little of which I understood; but, from what we could gather, he recapitulated part of what I had said to Otoo; named several advantages they had received from us; condemned their present conduct, and recommended a different one for the future. The gracefulness of his action, and the attention with which he was heard, bespoke him a great orator.

Otoo said not one word. As soon as Towha had ended his speech, I ordered the marines to go through their exercise, and to load and fire in volleys with ball; and as they were very quick in their manoeuvres, it is easier to conceive than to describe the

amazement the natives were under the whole time, especially those who had not seen any thing of the kind before.

This being over, the chiefs took leave, and retired with all their attendants, scarcely more pleased than frightened at what they had seen. In the evening Mr Forster and his party returned from the mountains, where he had spent the night; having found some new plants, and some others which grew in New Zealand. He saw Huaheine, which lies forty leagues to the westward; by which a judgment may be formed of the height of the mountains in Otaheite.

Next morning I had an opportunity to see the people of ten war-canoes go through part of their paddling exercise. They had put off from the shore before I was apprised of it; so that I was only present at their landing. They were properly equipped for war, the warriors with their arms, and dressed in their war habits, &c. In landing, I observed that the moment the canoe touched the ground, all the rowers leaped out, and with the assistance of a few people on the shore, dragged the canoe on dry land to her proper place; which being done, every one walked off with his paddle, &c. All this was executed with such expedition, that in five minutes time after putting ashore, you could not tell that any thing of the kind had been going forward. I thought these vessels were thinly manned with rowers; the most being not above thirty, and the least sixteen or eighteen. I observed the warriors on the stage encouraged the rowers to exert themselves. Some youths sat high up in the curved stern, above the steersmen, with white wands in their hands. I know not what they were placed there for, unless it was to look out and direct, or give notice of what they saw, as they were elevated above every one else. Tarevadoo, the king's brother, gave me the first notice of these canoes being at sea; and knowing that Mr Hodges made drawings of every thing curious, desired of his own accord that he might be sent for. I being at this time on shore with Tarevadoo, Mr Hodges was therefore with me, and had an opportunity to collect some materials for a large drawing or picture of the fleet assembled at Oparree, which conveys a far better idea of it than can be expressed by words. Being present when the warriors undressed, I was surprised at the quantity and weight of cloth they had upon them, not conceiving how it was possible for them to stand under it in time of battle. Not a little was wrapped round their heads as a turban, and made into a cap. This, indeed, might be necessary in preventing a broken head. Many had, fixed to one of this sort of caps, dried branches of small shrubs covered over with white feathers, which, however, could only be for ornament.

## 1774 May

On the 1st of May, I had a very great supply of provisions sent and brought by different chiefs; and the next day received a present from Towha, sent by his servants, consisting of a hog, and a boat-load of various sorts of fruits and roots. The like present I also had from Otoo, brought by Tarevadoo, who stayed dinner; after which I went down to Oparree, paid a visit to Otoo, and returned on board in the evening.

On the 3d, in looking into the condition of our sea-provisions, we found that the biscuit was in a state of decay, and that the airing and picking we had given it at New Zealand, had not been of that service we expected and intended; so that we were obliged to take it all on shore here, where it underwent another airing and cleaning, in which a good deal was found wholly rotten and unfit to be eaten. We could not well account for this decay in our bread, especially as it was packed in good casks, and stowed in a dry part of the hold. We judged it was owing to the ice we so frequently took in when to the southward, which made the hold damp and cold, and to the great heat which succeeded when to the north. Be it this, or any other cause, the loss was the same to us; it put us to a scanty allowance of this article; and we had bad bread to eat too.

On the 4th, nothing worthy of note.

On the 5th, the king and several other great men, paid us a visit, and brought with them, as usual, some hogs and fruit. In the afternoon, the botanists set out for the mountains, and returned the following evening, having made some new discoveries in their way.

On going ashore in the morning of the 7th, I found Otoo at the tents, and took the opportunity to ask his leave to cut down some trees, for fuel. He not well understanding me, I took him to some growing near the sea-shore, where I presently made him comprehend what I wanted, and he as readily gave his consent. I told him, at the same time, that I should cut down no trees that bore any fruit. He was pleased with this declaration, and told it aloud, several times, to the people about us.

In the afternoon, this chief and the whole of the royal family, viz. his father, brother, and three sisters, paid us a visit on board. This was properly his father's visit of ceremony. He brought me, as a present, a complete mourning dress, a curiosity we most valued. In return, I gave him whatever he desired, which was not a little, and having distributed red feathers to all the others, conducted them ashore in my boat. Otoo was so well pleased with the reception he and his friends met with, that he told me, at parting, I might cut down as many trees as I pleased, and what sort I pleased.

During the night, between the 7th and 8th, some time in the middle watch, all our friendly connections received an interruption, through the negligence of one of the centinels on shore. He having either slept or quitted his post, gave one of the natives an opportunity to carry off his musket. The first news I heard of it was from Tee, whom Otoo had sent on board for that purpose, and to desire that I would go to him, for that he was mataoued. We were not well enough acquainted with their language to understand all Tee's story; but we understood enough to know that something had happened which had alarmed the king. In order, therefore, to be fully informed, I went ashore with Tee and Tarevadoo, who had slept aboard all night. As soon as we landed, I was informed of the whole by the serjeant who commanded the party. I found the natives all alarmed, and the most of them fled. Tarevadoo slipped from me in a moment, and hardly any remained by me but Tee. With him I went to look for Otoo; and, as we advanced, I endeavoured to allay the fears of the people, but, at the same



time, insisted on the musket being restored. After travelling some distance into the country, enquiring of every one we saw for Otoo, Tee stopped all at once and advised me to return, saying, that Otoo was gone to the mountains, and he would proceed and tell him that I was still his friend; a question which had been asked me fifty times by different people, and if I was angry, &c. Tee also promised that he would use his endeavours to recover the musket. I was now satisfied it was to no purpose to go farther; for, although I was alone and unarmed, Otoo's fears were such, that he durst not see me; and, therefore, I took Tee's advice, and returned aboard. After this I sent Oedidee to Otoo to let him know that his fears were ill- grounded; for that I only required the return of the musket, which I knew was in his power.

Soon after Oedidee was gone, we observed six large canoes coming round Point Venus. Some people whom I had sent out, to watch the conduct of the neighbouring inhabitants, informed me they were laden with baggage, fruit, hogs, &c. There being room for suspecting that some person belonging to these canoes had committed the theft, I presently came to a resolution to intercept them; and having put off in a boat for that purpose, gave orders for another to follow. One of the canoes, which was some distance ahead of the rest, came directly for the ship. I went alongside this, and found two or three women in her whom I knew. They told me they were going on board the ship with something for me; and, on my enquiring of them for Otoo, was told he was then at the tents. Pleased with this news, I contradicted the orders I had given for intercepting the other canoes, thinking they might be coming on board also, as well as this one, which I left within a few yards of the ship, and rowed ashore to speak with Otoo. But when I landed, I was told that he had not been there, nor knew they any thing of him. On my looking behind me, I saw all the canoes making off in the greatest haste; even the one I had left alongside the ship had evaded going on board, and was making her escape. Vexed at being thus outwitted, I resolved to pursue them; and as I passed the ship, gave orders to send another boat for the same purpose. Five out of six we took, and brought alongside; but the first, which acted the finesse so well, got clear off. When we got on board with our prizes, I learnt that the people who had deceived me, used no endeavours to lay hold of the ship on the side they were up on, but let their canoe drop past, as if they meant to come under the stern, or on the other side; and that the moment they were past, they paddled off with all speed. Thus the canoe, in which were only a few women, was to have amused us with false stories as they actually did, while the others, in which were most of the effects, got off.

In one of the canoes we had taken, was a chief, a friend of Mr Forster's, who had hitherto called himself an Earee, and would have been much offended if any one had called his title in question; also three women, his wife and daughter, and the mother of the late Toutaha. These, together with the canoes, I resolved to detain, and to send the chief to Otoo, thinking he would have weight enough with him to obtain the return of the musket, as his own property was at stake. He was, however, very unwilling to go on this embassy, and made various excuses, one of which was his being of too low a rank for this honourable employment; saying he was no Earee, but a Manahouna,

and, therefore, was not a fit person to be sent; that an Earee ought to be sent to speak to an Earee; and as there were no Earees but Otoo and myself, it would be much more proper for me to go. All his arguments would have availed him little, if Tee and Oedidee had not at this time come on board, and given a new turn to the affair, by declaring that the man who stole the musket was from Tiarabou, and had gone with it to that kingdom, so that it was not in the power of Otoo to recover it. I very much doubted their veracity, till they asked me to send a boat to Waheatoua, the king of Tiarabou, and offered to go themselves in her, and get it. I asked why this could not be done without my sending a boat? They said, it would not otherwise be given to them.

This story of theirs, although it did not quite satisfy me, nevertheless carried with it a probability of truth; for which reason I thought it better to drop the affair altogether, rather than to punish a nation for a crime I was not sure any of its members had committed. I therefore suffered my new ambassador to depart with his two canoes without executing his commission. The other three canoes belonged to Maritata, a Tiarabou chief, who had been some days about the tents; and there was good reason to believe it was one of his people that carried off the musket. I intended to have detained them; but as Tee and Oedidee both assured me that Maritata and his people were quite innocent, I suffered them to be taken away also, and desired Tee to tell Otoo, that I should give myself no farther concern about the musket, since I was satisfied none of his people had stolen it. Indeed, I thought it was irrecoverably lost; but, in the dusk of the evening it was brought to the tents, together with some other things we had lost, which we knew nothing of, by three men who had pursued the thief, and taken them from him. I know not if they took this trouble of their own accord, or by the order of Otoo. I rewarded them, and made no other enquiry about it. These men, as well as some others present, assured me that it was one of Maritata's people who had committed this theft; which vexed me that I had let his canoes so easily slip through my fingers. Here, I believe, both Tee and Oedidee designedly deceived me.

When the musket and other things were brought in, every one then present, or who came after, pretended to have had some hand in recovering them, and claimed a reward accordingly. But there was no one who acted this farce so well as Nuno, a man of some note, and well known to us when I was here in 1769. This man came, with all the savage fury imaginable in his countenance, and a large club in his hand, with which he beat about him, in order to shew us how he alone had killed the thief; when, at the same time, we all knew that he had not been out of his house the whole time.

Thus ended this troublesome day; and next morning early, Tee, Otoo's faithful ambassador, came again on board, to acquaint me that Otoo was gone to Oparree, and desired I would send a person (one of the natives as I understood), to tell him that I was still his Tiyo. I asked him why he did not do this himself, as I had desired. He made some excuse; but, I believe the truth was, he had not seen him. In short, I found it was necessary for me to go myself; for, while we thus spent our time in messages, we remained without fruit, a stop being put to all exchanges of this nature; that is, the

natives brought nothing to market. Accordingly, a party of us set out with Tee in our company, and proceeded to the very utmost limits of Oparree, where, after waiting some considerable time, and several messages having passed, the king at last made his appearance. After we were seated under the shade of some trees, as usual, and the first salutations were over, he desired me to parou (that is, to speak). Accordingly, I began with blaming him for being frightened and alarmed at what had happened, since I had always professed myself his friend, and I was not angry with him or any of his people, but with those of Tiarabou, who were the thieves. I was then asked, how I came to fire at the canoes? Chance on this occasion furnished me with a good excuse. I told them, that they belonged to Maritata, a Tiarabou man, one of whose people had stolen the musket, and occasioned all this disturbance; and if I had them in my power I would destroy them, or any other belonging to Tiarabou. This declaration pleased them, as I expected, from the natural aversion the one kingdom has to the other. What I said was enforced by presents, which perhaps had the greatest weight with them. Thus were things once more restored to their former state; and Otoo promised on his part, that the next day we should be supplied with fruit, &c. as usual.

We then returned with him to his proper residence at Oparree, and there took a view of some of his dock-yards (for such they well deserve to be called) and large canoes; some lately built, and others building; two of which were the largest I had ever seen in this sea; or indeed any where else, under that name. This done, we returned on board, with Tee in our company; who, after he had dined with us, went to inform old Happi, the king's father, that all matters were again accommodated.

This old chief was at this time in the neighbourhood of Matavai; and it should seem, from what followed, that he was not pleased with the conditions; for that same evening all the women, which were not a few, were sent for out of the ship, and people stationed on different parts of the shore, to prevent any from coming off; and the next morning no supplies whatever being brought, on my enquiring into the reason, I was told Happi was mataoued. Chagrined at this disappointment as I was, I forbore taking any step, from a supposition that Tee had not seen him, or that Otoo's orders had not yet reached Matavai. A supply of fruit sent us from Oparree, and some brought us by our friends, served us for the present, and made us less anxious about it. Thus matters stood till the afternoon, when Otoo himself came to the tents with a large supply. Thither I went, and expostulated with him for not permitting the people in our neighbourhood to bring us fruit as usual, insisting on his giving immediate orders about it; which he either did or had done before. For presently after, more was brought us than we could well manage. This was not to be wondered at, for the people had every thing in readiness to bring, the moment they were permitted, and I believe thought themselves as much injured by the restriction as we did.

Otoo desiring to see some of the great guns fire from the ship, I ordered twelve to be shotted and fired towards the sea. As he had never seen a cannon fired before, the sight gave him as much pain as pleasure. In the evening, we entertained him with fire-works, which gave him great satisfaction.

Thus ended all our differences, on which I beg leave to suggest the following remarks. I have had occasion before, in this journal, to observe that these people were continually watching opportunities to rob us. This their governors either encouraged, or had not power to prevent; but most probably the former, because the offender was always screened. That they should commit such daring thefts was the more extraordinary, as they frequently run the risk of being shot in the attempt; and if the article that they stole was of any consequence, they knew they should be obliged to make restitution. The moment a theft of this kind was committed, it spread like the wind over the whole neighbourhood. They judged of the consequences from what they had got. If it were a trifle, and such an article as we usually gave them, little or no notice was taken of it; but if the contrary, every one took the alarm, and moved off with his moveables in all haste. The chief then was mataoued, giving orders to bring us no supplies, and flying to some distant part. All this was sometimes done so suddenly, that we obtained, by these appearances, the first intelligence of our being robbed. Whether we obliged them to make restitution or no, the chief must be reconciled before any of the people were permitted to bring in refreshments. They knew very well we could not do without them, and therefore they never failed strictly to observe this rule, without ever considering, that all their war-canoes, on which the strength of their nation depends, their houses, and even the very fruit they refused to supply us with, were entirely in our power. It is hard to say how they would act, were one to destroy any of these things. Except the detaining some of their canoes for a while, I never touched the least article of their property. Of the two extremes I always chose that which appeared the most equitable and mild. A trifling present to the chief always succeeded to my wish, and very often put things upon a better footing than they had been before. That they were the first aggressors had very little influence on my conduct in this respect, because no difference happened but when it was so. My people very rarely or never broke through the rules I thought it necessary to prescribe. Had I observed a different conduct, I must have been a loser by it in the end; and all I could expect, after destroying some part of their property, would have been the empty honour of obliging them to make the first overture towards an accommodation. But who knows if this would have been the event? Three things made them our fast friends. Their own good-nature and benevolent disposition; gentle treatment on our part; and the dread of our fire-arms. By our ceasing to observe the second; the first would have worn out of course; and the too frequent use of the latter would have excited a spirit of revenge, and perhaps have taught them that fire-arms were not such terrible things as they had imagined. They were very sensible of the superiority of their numbers; and no one knows what an enraged multitude might do.

## **Chapter XIII. Preparations to leave the Island. Another Naval Review, and various other Incidents; with some Account of the Island, its Naval Force, and Number of Inhabitants.**

**1774 May**

In the morning of the 11th, a very large supply of fruit was brought us from all parts. Some of it came from Towha, the admiral, sent as usual by his servants, with orders to receive nothing in return. But he desired I would go and see him at Attahourou, as he was ill and could not come to me. As I could not well undertake this journey, I sent Oedidee along with Towha's servants, with a present suitable to that which I had in so genteel a manner received from him. As the most essential repairs of the ship were nearly finished, I resolved to leave Otaheite in a few days; and accordingly ordered every thing to be got off from the shore, that the natives might see we were about to depart.

On the 12th, old Oberea, the woman who, when the Dolphin was here in 1767, was thought to be queen of the island, and whom I had not seen since 1769, paid us a visit, and brought a present of hogs and fruit. Soon after came Otoo, with a great retinue, and a large quantity of provisions. I was pretty liberal in my returns, thinking it might be the last time I should see these good people, who had so liberally relieved our wants; and in the evening entertained them with fire-works.

On the 13th, wind easterly, fair weather. Nevertheless we were not ready to sail, as Otoo had made me promise to see him again; and I had a present to make him, which I reserved to the last. Oedidee was not yet come back from Attahourou; various reports arose concerning him: Some said he had returned to Matavai; others, that he would not return; and some would have it, that he was at Oparree. In order to know more of the truth, a party of us in the evening went down to Oparee; where we found him, and likewise Towha, who, notwithstanding his illness, had resolved to see me before I sailed; and had got thus far on his journey. He was afflicted with a swelling in his feet and legs, which had entirely taken away the use of them. As the day was far spent, we were obliged to shorten our stay; and after seeing Otoo, we returned with Oedidee on board.

This youth, I found, was desirous of remaining at this isle, having before told him, as likewise many others, that we should not return. I now mentioned to him, that he was at liberty to remain here; or to quit us at Ulietea; or to go with us to England; frankly owning that if he chose the latter, it was very probable he would never return to his country; in which case I would take care of him, and he must afterwards look upon me as his father. He threw his arms about me, and wept much, saying many people persuaded him to remain at Otaheite. I told him to go ashore and speak to

his friends, and then come to me in the morning. He was well beloved in the ship; so that every one was persuading him to go with us; telling what great things he would see in England, and the immense riches (according to his idea of riches) he would return with. But I thought proper to undeceive him, as knowing that the only inducement to his going, was the expectation of returning, and I could see no prospect of an opportunity of that kind happening, unless a ship should be expressly sent out for that purpose; which neither I, nor anyone else, had a right to expect. I thought it an act of the highest injustice to take a person from these isles, under any promise which was not in my power to perform. At this time indeed it was quite unnecessary; for many youths voluntarily offered themselves to go, and even to remain and die in Pretanee; as they call our country. Otoo importuned me much to take one or two to collect red feathers for him at Amsterdam, willing to risk the chance of their returning. Some of the gentlemen on board were likewise desirous of taking some as servants; but I refused every solicitation of this kind, knowing, from experience, they would be of no use to us in the course of the voyage; and farther my views were not extended. What had the greatest weight with me was, the thinking myself bound to see they were afterwards properly taken care of, as they could not be carried from their native spot without consent.

Next morning early, Oedidee came on board, with a resolution to remain on the island; but Mr Forster prevailed upon him to go with us to Ulietea. Soon after, Towha, Potatou, Oamo, Happi, Oberea, and several more of our friends, came on board with fruit, &c. Towha was hoisted in and placed on a chair on the quarter-deck; his wife was with him. Amongst the various articles which I gave this chief, was an English pendant, which pleased him more than all the rest, especially after he had been instructed in the use of it.

We had no sooner dispatched our friends, than we saw a number of war-canoes coming round the point of Oparree. Being desirous of having a nearer view of them, accompanied by some of the officers and gentlemen, I hastened down to Oparree, which we reached before all the canoes were landed, and had an opportunity of seeing in what manner they approached the shore. When they got before the place where they intended to land, they formed themselves into divisions, consisting of three or four, or perhaps more, lashed square and close along-side of each other; and then each division, one after the other, paddled in for the shore with all their might, and conducted in so judicious a manner, that they formed and closed a line along, the shore, to an inch. The rowers were encouraged to exert their strength by their leaders on the stages, and directed by a man who stood with a wand in his hand in the forepart of the middlemost vessel. This man, by words and actions, directed the paddlers when all should paddle, when either the one side or the other should cease, &c.; for the steering paddles alone were not sufficient to direct them. All these motions they observed with such quickness, as clearly shewed them to be expert in their business. After Mr Hodges had made a drawing of them, as they lay ranged along the shore, we landed and took a nearer view of them, by going on board several. This fleet consisted of forty sail, equipped in the

same manner as those we had seen before, belonged to the little district of Tettaha, and were come to Oparree to be reviewed before the king, as the former fleet had been. There were attending on his fleet some small double canoes, which they called Marais, having on their fore-part a kind of double bed place laid over with green leaves, each just sufficient to hold one man. These, they told us, were to lay their dead upon; their chiefs I suppose they meant, otherwise their slain must be few. Otoo, who was present, caused at my request some of their troops to go through their exercise on shore. Two parties first began with clubs, but this was over almost as soon as begun; so that I had no time to make my observations upon it. They then went to single combat, and exhibited the various methods of fighting, with great alertness; parrying off the blows and pushes which each combatant aimed at the other, with great dexterity. Their arms were clubs and spears; the latter they also use as darts. In fighting with the club, all blows intended to be given the legs, were evaded by leaping over it; and those intended for the head, by couching a little, and leaping on one side; thus the blow would fall to the ground. The spear or 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 to the part of the body they saw their antagonist intending to make a push, or 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. I thought that when one combatant had parried off the blows, &c. of the other, he did not use the advantage which seemed to me to accrue. As for instance, after he had parried off a dart, he still stood on the defensive, and suffered his antagonist to take up another, when I thought there was time to run him through the body.

These combatants had no superfluous dress upon them; an unnecessary piece of cloth or two, which they had on when they began, were presently torn off by the by-standers, and given to some of our gentlemen present. This being over, the fleet departed; not in any order, but as fast as they could be got afloat; and we went with Otoo 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 almost ready to launch, and were intended to make one joint double pahie or canoe. The king begged of me a grappling and rope, to which I added an English jack and pendant (with the use of which he was well acquainted), and desired the pahie might be called Britannia. This he very readily agreed to; and she was named accordingly. After this he gave me a hog, and a turtle of about sixty pounds weight, which was put privately into our boat; the giving it away not being agreeable to some of the great lords about him, who were thus deprived of a feast. He likewise would have given me a large shark they had prisoner in a creek (some of his fins being cut off, so that he could not make his escape), but the fine pork and fish we had got at this isle, had spoiled our palates for such food. The king, and Tee, his prime minister, accompanied us on board to dinner; and after it was over, took a most affectionate farewell. He hardly ever ceased soliciting me, this day, to return to Otaheite; and just before he went out of the ship, took a youth by the hand, and presented him to me, desiring I would keep him on board to go to Amsterdam

to collect red feathers. I told him I could not, since I knew he would never return; but that if any ship should happen to come from Britain to this isle, I would either bring or send him red feathers in abundance. This in some measure satisfied him; but the youth was exceedingly desirous of going; and if I had not come to a resolution to carry no one from the isles (except Oedidee if he chose to go), and but just refused Mr Forster the liberty of taking a boy, I believe I should have consented. Otoo remained alongside in his canoe till we were under sail, when we put off, and was saluted with three guns.

Our treatment here was such as had induced one of our gunner's mates to form a plan to remain at this isle. He knew he could not execute it with success while we lay in the bay, therefore took the opportunity, as soon as we were out, the boats in, and sails set, to slip overboard, being a good swimmer. But he was discovered before he got clear of the ship; and we presently hoisted a boat out, and took him up. A canoe was observed about half-way between us and the shore, seemingly coming after us. She was intended to take him up; but as soon as the people in her saw our boat, they kept at a distance. This was a pre-concerted plan between the man and them, which Otoo was acquainted with, and had encouraged. When I considered this man's situation in life, I did not think him so culpable, nor the resolution he had taken of staying here so extraordinary, as it may at first appear. He was an Irishman by birth, and had sailed in the Dutch service. I picked him up at Batavia on my return from my former voyage, and he had been with me ever since. I never learnt that he had either friends or connections, to confine him to any particular part of the world. All nations were alike to him. Where then could such a man be more happy than at one of these isles? where, in one of the finest climates in the world, he could enjoy not only the necessaries, but the luxuries of life, in ease and plenty. I know not if he might not have obtained my consent, if he had applied for it in a proper time. As soon as we had got him on board, and the boat in, I steered for Huaheine, in order to pay a visit to our friends there. But before we leave Otaheite, it will be necessary to give some account of the present state of that island; especially as it differs very much from what it was eight months before.

I have already mentioned the improvements we found in the plains of Oparree and Matavai. The same was observable in every other part into which we came. It seemed to us almost incredible, that so many large canoes and houses could be built in so short a space as eight months. The iron tools which they had got from the English, and other nations who have lately touched at the isle, had no doubt greatly accelerated the work; and they had no want of hands, as I shall soon make appear.

The number of hogs was another thing that excited our wonder. Probably they were not so scarce when we were here before, as we imagined, and not chusing to part with any, they had conveyed them out of our sight. Be this as it may, we now not only got as many as we could consume during our stay, but some to take to sea with us.

When I was last here, I conceived but an unfavourable opinion of Otoo's talents. The improvements since made in the island convinced me of my mistake; and that he



must have been a man of good parts. He had indeed some judicious sensible men about him, who, I believe, had a great share in the government. In truth, we know not how far his power extended as king, nor how far he could command the assistance of the other chiefs, or was controulable by them. It should seem, however, that all had contributed towards bringing the isle to its present flourishing state. We cannot doubt that there were divisions amongst the great men of this state, as well as of most others; or else why did the king tell us, that Towha the admiral, and Poatatou were not his friends? They were two leading chiefs; and he must have been jealous of them on account of their great power; for on every occasion he seemed to court their interest. We had reason to believe that they raised by far the greatest number of vessels and men, to go against Eimea, and were to be two of the commanders in the expedition, which we were told was to take place five days after our departure. Waheatoua, king of Tiarabou, was to send a fleet to join that of Otoo, to assist him in reducing to obedience the chief of Eimea. I think, we were told, that young prince was one of the commanders. One would suppose that so small an island as Eimea would hardly have attempted to make head against the united force of these two kingdoms, but have endeavoured to settle matters by negotiation. Yet we heard of no such thing; on the contrary, every one spoke of nothing but fighting. Towha told us more than once, that he should die there; which, in some measure, shews that he thought of it. Oedidee told me the battle would be fought at sea; in which case the other must have a fleet nearly equal, if not quite, to the one going against them; which I think was not probable. It was therefore more likely they would remain ashore upon the defensive; as we were told they did about five or six years ago, when attacked by the people of Tiarabou, whom they repulsed. 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. This seems probable enough; as being but a young man, he could not have sufficient experience to command such an expedition, where the greatest skill and judgment seemed to be necessary. I confess I would willingly have staid five days longer, had I been sure the expedition would have then taken place; but it rather seemed that they wanted us to be gone first. We had been all along told, it would be ten moons before it took place; and it was not till the evening before we sailed, that Otoo and Towha told us it was to be in five days after we were gone; as if it were necessary to have that time to put every thing in order; for, while we lay there, great part of their time and attention was taken up with us. I had observed that for several days before we sailed, Otoo and the other chiefs had ceased to solicit my assistance, as they were continually doing at first, till I assured Otoo that, if they got their fleet ready in time, I would sail with them down to Eimea: After this I heard no more of it. They probably had taken it into consideration, and concluded themselves safer without me; well knowing it would be in my power to give the victory to whom I pleased; and that, at the best, I might thwart some favourite custom, or run away with the spoils. But be their reasons what they might, they certainly wanted us to be gone, before they undertook any thing. Thus we were deprived of seeing the whole

fleet equipped on this occasion; and perhaps of being spectators of a sea-fight, and by that means, gaining some knowledge of their manoeuvres.

I never could learn what number of vessels were to go on this expedition. We knew of no more than two hundred and ten, besides smaller canoes to serve as transports, &c. and the fleet of Tiarabou, the strength of which we never learnt. Nor could I ever learn the number of men necessary to man this fleet; and whenever I asked the question, the answer was Warou, warou, warou te Tata, that is, many, many, many, men; as if the number far exceeded their arithmetic. If we allow forty men to each war-canoë, and four to each of the others, which is thought a moderate computation, the number will amount to nine thousand. An astonishing number to be raised in four districts; and one of them, viz. Matavia, did not equip a fourth part of its fleet. The fleet of Tiarabou is not included in this account; and many other districts might be arming, which we knew nothing of. I however believe, that the whole isle did not arm on this occasion; for we saw not the least preparations making in Oparree. From what we saw and could learn, I am clearly of opinion that the chief or chiefs of each district superintended the equipping of the fleet belonging to that district; but after they are equipped, they must pass in review before the king, and be approved of by him. By this means he knows the state of the whole, before they assemble to go on service.

It hath been already observed, that the number of war-canoes belonging to Attahourou and Ahopata was a hundred and sixty; to Tettaba, forty; and to Matavia, ten; and that this district did not equip one-fourth part of their number. 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, we shall find, by this estimate, that the whole island can raise and equip one thousand seven hundred and twenty war-canoes, and sixty-eight thousand able men; allowing forty men to each canoe. And as 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, a number which at first sight exceeded my belief. But when I came to reflect on the vast swarms which appeared wherever we came, I was convinced that this estimate was not much, if at all, too great. There cannot be a greater proof of the riches and fertility of Otaheite (not forty leagues in circuit) than its supporting such a number of inhabitants.

This island made formerly but one kingdom; how long it has been divided into two, I cannot pretend to say; but I believe not long. The kings of Tiarabou are a branch of the family of those of Opoureonu; at present, the two are nearly related; and, I think, the former is, in some measure, dependent on the latter. Otoo is styled Earee de hie of the whole island; and we have been told that Waheatoua, the king of Tiarabou, must uncover before him, in the same manner as the meanest of his subjects. This homage is due to Otoo as Earee de hie of the isle, to Tarevatou, his brother, and his second sister; to the one as heir, and to the other as heir apparent; his eldest sister being married, is not entitled to this homage.

The Eowas and Whannos, we have sometimes seen covered before the king; but whether by courtesy, or by virtue of their office, we never could learn. These men, who are the principal persons about the king, and form his court, are generally, if not always, his relations; Tee, whom I have so often mentioned, was one of them. We have been told, that the Eowas, who have the first rank, attend in their turns, a certain number each day, which occasioned us to call them lords in waiting; but whether this was really so, I cannot say. We seldom found Tee absent; indeed his attendance was necessary, as being best able to negotiate matters between us and them, on which service he was always employed; and he executed it, I have reason to believe, to the satisfaction of both parties.

It is to be regretted, that we know little more of this government than the general out-line; for, of its subdivisions, classes, or orders of the constituent parts, how disposed, or in what manner connected, so as to form one body politic, we know but little. We are sure, however, that it is of the feudal kind; and if we may judge from what we have seen, it has sufficient stability, and is by no means badly constructed.

The Eowas and Whannos always eat with the king; indeed I do not know if any one is excluded from this privilege but the Toutous. For as to the women, they are out of the question, as they never eat with the men, let their rank be ever so much elevated.

Notwithstanding this kind of kingly establishment, there was very little about Otoo's person or court by which a stranger could distinguish the king from the subject. I seldom saw him dressed in any thing but a common piece of cloth wrapped round his loins; so that he seemed to avoid all unnecessary pomp, and even to demean himself more than any other of the Earees. I have seen him work at a paddle, in coming to and going from the ship, in common with the other paddlers; and even when some of his Toutous sat looking on. All have free access to him, and speak to him wherever they see him, without the least ceremony; such is the easy freedom which every individual of this happy isle enjoys. I have observed that the chiefs of these isles are more beloved by the bulk of the people, than feared. May we not from hence conclude, that the government is mild and equitable?

We have mentioned that Waheatoua or Tiarabou is related to Otoo. The same may be said of the chiefs of Eimea, Tapamanoo, Huaheine, Ulietea, Otaha, and Bolabola; for they are all related to the royal family of Otaheite. It is a maxim with the Earees, and others of superior rank, never to intermarry with the Toutous, or others of inferior rank. Probably this custom is one great inducement to the establishing of the societies called Eareeoies. It is certain that these societies greatly prevent the increase of the superior classes of people of which they are composed, and do not at all interfere with the inferiors, or Toutous; for I never heard of one of these being an Eareeoy. Nor did I ever hear that a Toutou could rise in life above the rank in which he was born.

I have occasionally mentioned the extraordinary fondness the people of Otaheite shewed for red feathers. These they call Oora, and they are as valuable here as jewels are in Europe, especially those which they call Ooravine, and grow on the head of the green paraquet: Indeed, all red feathers are esteemed, but none equally with these;

and they are such good judges as to know very well how to distinguish one sort from another. Many of our people attempted to deceive them by dying other feathers; but I never heard that any one succeeded. These feathers they make up in little bunches, consisting of eight or ten, and fix them to the end of a small cord about three or four inches long, which is made of the strong outside fibres of the cocoa-nut, twisted so hard that it is like a wire, and serves as a handle to the bunch. Thus prepared, they are used as symbols of the Eatuas, or divinities, in all their religious ceremonies. I have often seen them hold one of these bunches, and sometimes only two or three feathers, between the fore finger and thumb, and say a prayer, not one word of which I could ever understand. Whoever comes 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, &c. Sheets and shirts are much sought after, especially by the ladies; as many of our gentlemen found by experience.

The two goats which Captain 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 now so far grown as to be nearly ready to propagate; and the old ewe was again with kid. The people seemed to be very fond of them, and they to like their situation as well; for they were in excellent condition. From this circumstance we may hope that, in a few years, they will have some to spare to their neighbours; and by that means they may in time spread over all the isles in this ocean. The sheep which we left died soon after, excepting one, which we understood was yet alive. We have also furnished them with a stock of cats; no less than twenty having been given away at this isle, besides those which were left at Ulietea and Huaheine.

## **Chapter XIV. The Arrival of the Ship at the Island of Huaheine; with an Account of an Expedition into the Island, and several other Incidents which happened while she lay there.**

**1774 May**

At one o'clock in the afternoon, on the 15th, we anchored in the north entrance of O'Wharre harbour, in the island of Huaheine; hoisted out the boats, warped into a proper birth, and moored with the bower and kedge anchor, not quite a cable's length from the shore. While this was doing, several of the natives made us a visit, amongst whom was old Oree the chief, who brought a hog and some other articles, which he presented to me, with the usual ceremony.

Next morning, the natives began to bring us fruit. I returned Oree's visit, and made my present to him; one article of which was red feathers. Two or three of these the chief took in his right hand, holding them up between the finger and thumb, and said a prayer, as I understood, which was little noticed by any present. Two hogs were soon after put into my boat, and he and several of his friends came on board and dined with us. After dinner Oree gave me to understand what articles would be most acceptable to him and his friends, which were chiefly axes and nails. Accordingly I gave him what he asked, and desired he would distribute them to the others, which he did, seemingly to the satisfaction of every one. A youth about ten or twelve years of age, either his son or grandson, seemed to be the person of most note, and had the greatest share.

After the distribution was over, they all returned ashore. Mr Forster and his party being out in the country botanizing, his servant, a feeble man, was beset by five or six fellows, who would have stripped him, if that moment one of the party had not come to his assistance; after which they made off with a hatchet they had got from him.

On the 17th, I went ashore to look for the chief, in order to complain of the outrage committed as above; but he was not in the neighbourhood. Being ashore in the afternoon, a person came and told me Oree wanted to see me. I went with the man, and was conducted to a large house, where the chief and several other persons of note were assembled in council, as well as I could understand. After I was seated, and some conversation had passed among them, Oree made a speech, and was answered by another. I understood no more of either, than just to know it regarded the robbery committed the day before. The chief then began to assure me, that neither he, nor any one present (which were the principal chiefs in the neighbourhood) had any hand in it; and desired me to kill, with the guns, all those which had. I assured him, that I was satisfied that neither he nor those present were at all concerned in the affair; and that I should do with the fellows as he desired, or any others who were guilty of the like crimes. Having asked where the fellows were, and desired they would bring them to me, that I might do with them as he had said, his answer was, they were gone to the mountains, and he could not get them. Whether this was the case or not, I will not pretend to say. I knew fair means would never make them deliver them up; and I had no intention to try others. So the affair dropt, and the council broke up.

In the evening, some of the gentlemen went to a dramatic entertainment. The piece represented a girl as running away with us from Otaheite; which was in some degree true; as a young woman had taken a passage with us down to Ulietea, and happened now to be present at the representation of her own adventures; which had such an effect upon her, that it was with great difficulty our gentlemen could prevail upon her to see the play out, or to refrain from tears while it was acting. The piece concluded with the reception she was supposed to meet with from her friends at her return; which was not a very favourable one. These people can add little extempore pieces to their entertainments, when they see occasion. Is it not then reasonable to suppose that it was intended as a satire against this girl, and to discourage others from following her steps?

In the morning of the 18th, Oree came on board with a present of fruit, stayed dinner, and in the afternoon desired to see some great guns fired, shotted, which I complied with. The reason of his making this request was his hearing, from Oedidee, and our Otaheitean passengers, that we had so done at their island. The chief would have had us fire at the hills; but I did not approve of that, lest the shot should fall short and do some mischief. Besides, the effect was better seen in the water. Some of the petty officers, who had leave to go into the country for their amusement, took two of the natives with them to be their guides, and to carry their bags, containing nails, hatchets, &c. the current cash we traded with here; which the fellows made off with in the following artful manner: The gentlemen had with them two muskets for shooting birds. After a shower of rain, their guides pointed out some for them to shoot. One of the muskets having missed fire several times, and the other having gone off, the instant the fellows saw themselves secure from both, they ran away, leaving the gentlemen gazing after them with so much surprise, that no one had presence of mind to pursue them.

The 19th, showery morning; fair afternoon, nothing happened worthy of note.

Early in the morning of the 20th, three of the officers set out on a shooting party, rather contrary to my inclination; as I found the natives, at least some of them, were continually watching every opportunity to rob straggling parties, and were daily growing more daring. About three o'clock in the afternoon, I got intelligence that they were seized and stripped of every thing they had about them. Upon this I immediately went on shore with a boat's crew, accompanied by Mr Forster, and took possession of a large house with all its effects, and two chiefs whom I found in it; but this we did in such a manner, that they hardly knew what we were about, being unwilling to alarm the neighbourhood. In this situation I remained till I heard the officers had got back safe, and had all their things restored to them: Then I quitted the house; and presently after every thing in it was carried off. When I got on board I was informed of the whole affair by the officers themselves. Some little insult on their part, induced the natives to seize their guns, on which a scuffle ensued, some chiefs interfered, took the officers out of the crowd, and caused every thing which had been taken from them to be restored. This was at a place where we had before been told, that a set of fellows had formed themselves into a gang, with a resolution to rob every one who should go that way. It should seem from what followed, that the chief could not prevent this, or put a stop to these repeated outrages. I did not see him this evening, as he was not come into the neighbourhood when I went on board; but I learnt from Oedidee that he came soon after, and was so concerned at what had happened that he wept.

Day-light no sooner broke upon us on the 21st, than we saw upwards of sixty canoes under sail going out of the harbour, and steering over for Ulietea. On our enquiring the reason, we were told that the people in them were Eareeois, and were going to visit their brethren in the neighbouring isles. One may almost compare these men to free-masons; they tell us they assist each other when need requires; they seem to have customs among them which they either will not, or cannot explain. Oedidee told us he

was one; Tupia was one; and yet I have not been able to get any tolerable idea of this set of men, from either of them. Oedidee denies that the children they have by their mistresses are put to death, as we understood from Tupia and others. I have had some conversation with Omai on this subject, and find that he confirms every thing that is said upon it in the narrative of my former voyage.

Oedidee, who generally slept on shore, came off with a message from Oree, desiring I would land with twenty-two men, to go with him to chastise the robbers. The messenger brought with him, by way of assisting his memory, twenty-two pieces of leaves, a method customary amongst them. On my receiving this extraordinary message, I went to the chief for better information; and all I could learn of him was, that these fellows were a sort of banditti, who had formed themselves into a body, with a resolution of seizing and robbing our people wherever they found them, and were now armed for that purpose: For which reason he wanted me to go along with him, to chastise them. I told him, if I went they would fly to the mountains; but he said, they were resolved to fight us, and therefore desired I would destroy both them and their house; but begged I would spare those in the neighbourhood, as also the canoes and the Whenooa. By way of securing these, he presented me with a pig as a peace-offering for the Whenooa. It was too small to be meant for any thing but a ceremony of this kind. This sensible old chief could see (what perhaps none of the others ever thought of) that every thing in the neighbourhood was at our mercy, and therefore took care to secure them by this method, which I suppose to be of weight with them. When I returned on board, I considered of the chiefs request, which upon the whole appeared an extraordinary one. I however resolved to go, lest these fellows should be (by our refusal) encouraged to commit greater acts of violence; and, as their proceeding would soon reach Ulietea, where I intended to go next, the people there might be induced to treat us in the same manner, or worse, they being more numerous. Accordingly I landed with forty-eight men, including officers, Mr Forster, and some other of the gentlemen. The chief joined us with a few people, and we began to march, in search of the banditti, in good order. As we proceeded, the chief's party increased like a snow-ball. Oedidee, who was with us, began to be alarmed, observing that many of the people in our company were of the very party we were going against, and at last telling us, that they were only leading us to some place where they could attack us to advantage. Whether there was any truth in this, or it was only Oedidee's fears, I will not pretend to say. He, however, was the only person we could confide in. And we regulated our motions according to the information he had given us. After marching some miles, we got intelligence that the men we were going after had fled to the mountains; but I think this was not till I had declared to the chief I would proceed no farther. For we were then about crossing a deep valley, bounded on each side by steep rocks, where a few men with stones only might have made our retreat difficult, if their intentions were what Oedidee had suggested, and which he still persisted in. Having come to a resolution to return, we marched back in the same order as we went, and saw, in several places, people, who had been following us, coming down from the sides of the hills with their arms in their hands, which they

instantly quitted, and hid in the bushes, when they saw they were discovered by us. This seemed to prove that there must have been some foundation for what Oedidee had said; but I cannot believe that the chief had any such design, whatever the people might have. In our return we halted at a convenient place to refresh ourselves. I ordered the people to bring us some cocoa-nuts, which they did immediately. Indeed, by this time, I believe many of them wished us on board out of the way; for although no one step was taken that could give them the least alarm, they certainly were in terror. Two chiefs brought each of them a pig, a dog, and some young plantain trees, the usual peace-offerings, and with due ceremony presented them singly to me. Another brought a very large hog, with which he followed us to the ship. After this we continued our course to the landing-place, where I caused several vollies to be fired, to convince the natives that we could support a continual fire. This being done, we all embarked and went on board; and soon after the chief following, brought with him a quantity of fruit, and sat down with us to dinner. We had scarce dined before more fruit was brought us by others, and two hogs; so that we were likely to make more by this little excursion than by all the presents we had made them. It certainly gave them some alarm to see so strong a party of men march into their country; and probably gave them a better opinion of fire-arms than they had before. For I believe they had but an indifferent, or rather contemptible, idea of muskets in general, having never seen any fired but at birds, &c. by such of our people as used to straggle about the country, the most of them but indifferent marksmen, losing generally two shots out of three, their pieces often, missing fire, and being slow in charging. Of all this they had taken great notice, and concluded, as well they might, that fire-arms were not so terrible things as they had been taught to believe.

When the chiefs took leave in the evening, they promised to bring us next day a very large supply of provisions. In the article of fruit they were as good as their word, but of hogs, which we most wanted, they brought far less than we expected. Going ashore in the afternoon, I found the chief just sitting down to dinner. I cannot say what was the occasion of his dining so late. As soon as he was seated, several people began chewing the pepper-root; about a pint of the juice of which, without any mixture, was the first dish, and was dispatched in a moment. A cup of it was presented to me; but the manner of brewing it was at this time sufficient. Oedidee was not so nice, but took what I refused. After this the chief washed his mouth with cocoa-nut water; then he eat of repe, plantain, and mahee, of each not a little; and, lastly, finished his repast by eating, or rather drinking, about three pints of popoie, which is made of bread-fruit, plantains, mahee, &c. beat together and diluted with water till it is of the consistence of a custard. This was at the outside of his house, in the open air; for at this time a play was acting within, as was done almost every day in the neighbourhood; but they were such poor performances that I never attended. I observed that, after the juice had been squeezed out of the chewed pepper-root for the chief, the fibres were carefully picked up and taken away by one of his servants. On my asking what he intended to



do with it, I was told he would put water to it, and strain it again. Thus he would make what I will call small beer.

The 23d, wind easterly, as it had been ever since we left Otaheite. Early in the morning, we unmoored, and at eight weighed and put to sea. The good old chief was the last man who went out of the ship. At parting I told him we should see each other no more; at which he wept, and said, "Let your sons come, we will treat them well." Oree is a good man, in the utmost sense of the word; but many of the people are far from being of that disposition, and seem to take advantage of his old age; Teraderre, his grandson and heir, being yet but a youth. The gentle treatment the people of this isle ever met with from me, and the careless and imprudent manner in which many of our people had rambled about in the country, from a vain opinion that firearms rendered them invincible, encouraged many at Huaheine to commit acts of violence, which no man at Otaheite ever durst attempt.

During our stay here we got bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, &c. more than we could well-consume, but not hogs enough by far to supply our daily expence; and yet it did not appear that they were scarce in the isle. It must be allowed, however, that the number we took away, when last here, must have thinned them greatly, and at the same time stocked the isle with our articles. Besides, we now wanted a proper assortment of trade; what we had being nearly exhausted, and the few remaining red feathers being here but of little value, when compared to the estimation they stand in at Otaheite. This obliged me to set the smiths to work to make different sorts of iron tools, nails, &c. in order to enable me to procure refreshments at the other isles, and to support my credit and influence among the natives.

## **Chapter XV. Arrival at Ulietea; with an Account of the Reception we met with there, and the several Incidents which happened during our Stay. A Report of two ships being at Huaheine. Preparations to leave the Island; and the Regret the Inhabitants shewed on the Occasion. The Character of Oedidee; with some general Observations on the Islands.**

**1774 May**

As soon as we were clear of the harbour, we made sail, and stood over for the South end of Ulietea. Oree took the opportunity to send a man with a message to Opoony. Being little wind all the latter part of the day, it was dark before we reached the west

side of the isle, where we spent the night. The same light variable wind continued till ten o'clock next morning, when the trade-wind at east prevailed, and we ventured to ply up to the harbour, first sending a boat to lie in anchorage in the entrance. After making a few trips, we got before the channel, and with all our sails set, and the headway the ship had acquired, shut her in as far as she would go; then dropped the anchor, and took in the sails. This is the method of getting into most of the harbours which are on the lee-side of these isles; for the channels, in general, are too narrow to ply in: We were now anchored between the two points of the reef which form the entrance; each not more than two-thirds the length of a cable from us, and on which the sea broke with such height and violence, as to people less acquainted with the place, would have been terrible. Having all our boats out with anchors and warps in them, which were presently run out, the ship warped into safety, where we dropt anchor for the night. While this work was going forward, my old friend Oree the chief, and several more, came to see us. The chief came not empty.

Next day we warped the ship into a proper birth, and moored her, so as to command all the shores around us. In the mean time a party of us went ashore to pay the chief a visit, and to make the customary present. At our first entering his house, we were met by four or five old women, weeping and lamenting, as it were, most bitterly, and at the same time cutting their heads, with instruments made of shark's teeth, till the blood ran plentifully down their faces and on their shoulders. What was still worse, we were obliged to submit to the embraces of these old hags, and by that means were all besmeared with blood. This ceremony (for it was merely such) being over, they went out, washed themselves, and immediately after appeared as cheerful as any of the company. Having made some little stay, and given my present to the chief and his friends, he put a hog and some fruit into my boat, and came on board with us to dinner. In the afternoon, we had a vast number of people and canoes about us, from different parts of the island. They all took up their quarters in our neighbourhood, where they remained feasting for some days. We understood the most of them were Eareeoies.

The 26th afforded nothing remarkable, excepting that Mr Forster, in his botanical excursions, saw a burying-place for dogs, which they called Marai no te Oore. But I think we ought not to look upon this as one of their customs; because few dogs die a natural death, being generally, if not always, killed and eaten, or else given as an offering to the gods. Probably this might be a Marai or altar, where this sort of offering was made; or it might have been the whim of some person to have buried his favourite dog in this manner. But be it as it will, I cannot think it is a general custom in the nation; and, for my own part, I neither saw nor heard of any such thing before.

Early in the morning of the 27th, Oree, his wife, son, daughter, and several more of his friends, made us a visit, and brought with them a good quantity of all manner of refreshments; little having as yet been got from any body else. They staid dinner; after which a party of us accompanied them on shore, where we were entertained with a play, called Mididij Harramy, which signifies the Child is coming. It concluded with

the representation of a woman in labour, acted by a set of great brawny fellows, one of whom at last brought forth a strapping boy, about six feet high, who ran about the stage, dragging after him a large wisp of straw which hung by a string from his middle. I had an opportunity of seeing this acted another time, when I observed, that the moment they had got hold of the fellow who represented the child, they flattened or pressed his nose. From this I judged, that they do so by their children when born, which may be the reason why all in general have flat noses. This part of the play, from its newness, and the ludicrous manner in which it was performed, gave us, the first time we saw it, some entertainment, and caused a loud laugh, which might be the reason why they acted it so often afterwards. But this, like all their other pieces, could entertain us no more than once; especially as we could gather little from them, for want of knowing more of their language.

The 28th was spent by me in much the same manner as the preceding day, viz. in entertaining my friends, and being entertained by them. Mr Forster and his party in the country botanizing.

Next morning, we found several articles had been stolen, out of our boats lying at the buoy, about sixty or seventy yards from the ship. As soon as I was informed of it, I went to the chief to acquaint him therewith. I found that he not only knew they were stolen, but by whom, and where they were; and he went immediately with me in my boat in pursuit of them. After proceeding a good way along shore, towards the south end of the island, the chief ordered us to land near some houses, where we did not wait long before all the articles were brought to us, except the pinnacle's iron tiller, which I was told was still farther off. But when I wanted to go after it, I found the chief unwilling to proceed; and he actually gave me the slip; and retired into the country. Without him I knew I could do nothing. The people began to be alarmed when they saw I was for going farther; by which I concluded that the tiller was out of their reach also. I therefore sent one of them to the chief to desire him to return. He returned accordingly; when we sat down, and had some victuals set before us, thinking perhaps that, as I had not breakfasted, I must be hungry, and not in a good humour. Thus I was amused, till two hogs were produced, which they entreated me to accept. This I did, and then their fears vanished; and I thought myself not ill off, in having gotten two good hogs for a thing which seemed to be quite out of my reach. Matters being thus settled, we returned on board, and had the company of the chief and his son to dinner. After that we all went ashore, where a play was acted for the entertainment of such as would spend their time in looking at it. Besides these plays, which the chief caused frequently to be acted, there was a set of strolling players in the neighbourhood, who performed everyday. But their pieces seemed to be so much alike, that we soon grew tired of them; especially as we could not collect any interesting circumstances from them. We, our ship, and our country, were frequently brought on the stage; but on what account I know not. It can hardly be doubted, that this was designed as a compliment to us, and probably not acted but when some of us were present. I generally appeared at Oree's theatre towards the close of the play, and twice at the

other, in order to give my mite to the actors. The only actress at Oree's theatre was his daughter, a pretty brown girl, at whose shrine, on these occasions, many offerings were made by her numerous votaries. This, I believe, was one great inducement to her father's giving us these entertainments so often.

Early in the morning of the 30th, I set out with the two boats, accompanied by the two Mr Forsters; Oedidee, the chief, his wife, son, and daughter, for an estate which Oedidee called his, situated at the north end of the island. There I was promised to have hogs and fruit in abundance; but when we came there, we found that poor Oedidee could not command one single thing, whatever right he might have to the Whenooa, which was now in possession of his brother, who, soon after we landed, presented to me, with the usual ceremony, two pigs. I made him a very handsome present in return, and Oedidee gave him every thing he had left of what he had collected during the time he was with us.

After this ceremony was over, I ordered one of the pigs to be killed and dressed for dinner, and attended myself to the whole operation, which was as follows:—They first strangled the hog, which was done by three men; the hog being placed on his back, two of them laid a pretty strong stick across his throat, and pressed with all their might on each end; the third man held his hind legs, kept him on his back, and plugged up his fundament with grass, I suppose to prevent any air from passing or repassing that way. In this manner they held him for about ten minutes before he was quite dead. In the mean time, some hands were employed in making a fire, to heat the oven, which was close by. As soon as the hog was quite dead, they laid him on the fire, and burnt or singed the hair, so that it came off with almost the same ease as if it had been scalded. As the hair was got off one part, another was applied to the fire till they had got off the whole, yet not so clean but that another operation was necessary; which was to carry it to the sea side, and there give it a good scrubbing with sandy stones, and sand. This brought off all the scurf, &c. which the fire had left on. After well washing off the sand and dirt, the carcase was brought again to the former place, and laid on clean green leaves, in order to be opened. They first ripped up the skin of the belly, and took out the fat or lard from between the skin and the flesh, which they laid on a large green leaf. The belly was then ripped open, and the entrails taken out, and carried away in a basket, so that I know not what became of them; but am certain they were not thrown away. The blood was next taken out, and put into a large leaf, and then the lard, which was put to the other fat. The hog was now washed clean, both inside and out, with fresh water, and several hot stones put into his belly, which were shaken in under the breast, and green leaves crammed in upon them. By this time the oven was sufficiently heated; what fire remained was taken away, together with some of the hot stones; the rest made a kind of pavement in the bottom of the hole or oven, and were covered with leaves, on which the hog was placed on his belly. The lard and fat, after being washed with water, were put into a vessel, made just then of the green bark of the plantain tree, together with two or three hot stones, and placed on one side the hog. A hot stone was put to the blood, which was tied up in the leaf, and put into the

oven; as also bread-fruit and plantains. Then the whole was covered with green leaves, on which were laid the remainder of the hot stones; over them were leaves; then any sort of rubbish they could lay their hands on; finishing the operation by well covering the whole with earth. While the victuals were baking, a table was spread with green leaves on the floor, at one end of a large boat-house. At the close of two hours and ten minutes, the oven was opened, and all the victuals taken out. Those of the natives who dined with us, sat down by themselves, at one end of the table, and we at the other. The hog was placed before us, and the fat and blood before them, on which they chiefly dined, and said it was Mamity, very good victuals; and we not only said, but thought, the same of the pork. The hog weighed about fifty pounds. Some parts about the ribs I thought rather overdone, but the more fleshy parts were excellent; and the skin, which by the way of our dressing can hardly be eaten, had, by this method, a taste and flavour superior to any thing I ever met with of the kind. I have now only to add, that during the whole of the various operations, they exhibited a cleanliness well worthy of imitation. I have been the more particular in this account, because I do not remember that any of us had seen the whole process before; nor is it well described in the narrative of my former voyage.

While dinner was preparing, I took a view of this Whenuoa of Oedidee. It was a small, but a pleasant spot; and the houses were so disposed as to form a very pretty village, which is very rarely the case at these isles. Soon after we had dined, we set out for the ship, with the other pig, and a few races of plantains, which proved to be the sum total of our great expectations.

In our return to the ship, we put ashore at a place where, in the corner of a house, we saw four wooden images, each two feet long, standing on a shelf, having a piece of cloth round their middle, and a kind of turban on their heads, in which were stuck long feathers of cocks. A person in the house told us they were Eatua no te Toutou, gods of the servants or slaves. I doubt if this be sufficient to conclude that they pay them divine worship, and that the servants or slaves are not allowed the same gods as men of more elevated rank; I never heard that Tupia made any such distinction, or that they worshipped any visible thing whatever. Besides, these were the first wooden gods we had seen in any of the isles; and all the authority we had for their being such, was the bare word of perhaps a superstitious person, and whom, too, we were liable to misunderstand. It must be allowed that the people of this isle are in general more superstitious than at Otaheite. At the first visit I made the chief after our arrival, he desired I would not suffer any of my people to shoot herons and wood-peckers; birds as sacred with them as robin-red-breasts, swallows, &c. are with many old women in England. Tupia, who was a priest, and well acquainted with their religion, customs, traditions, &c. paid little or no regard to these birds. I mention this, because some amongst us were of opinion that these birds are their Eatuas, or gods. We indeed fell into this opinion when I was here in 1769, and into some others still more absurd, which we had undoubtedly adopted, if Tupia had not undeceived us. A man of his knowledge

and understanding we have not since met with, and consequently have added nothing to his account of their religion but superstitious notions.

On the 31st, the people knowing that we should sail soon, began to bring more fruit on board than usual. Among those who came was a young man who measured six feet four inches and six-tenths; and his sister, younger, than him, measured five feet ten inches and a half.

## 1774 June

A brisk trade for hogs and fruit continued on the 1st of June. On the 2d, in the afternoon, we got intelligence that, three days before, two ships had arrived at Huaheine. The same report said, the one was commanded by Mr Banks, and the other by Captain Furneaux. The man who brought the account said, he was made drunk on board one of them, and described the persons of Mr Banks and Captain Furneaux so well, that I had not the least doubt of the truth, and began to consider about sending a boat over that very evening with orders to Captain Furneaux, when a man, a friend of Mr Forster, happened to come on board and denied the whole, saying it was *wa warre*, a lie. The man from whom we had the intelligence was now gone, so that we could not confront them, and there were none else present who knew any thing about it but by report; so that I laid aside sending over a boat till I should be better informed. This evening we entertained the people with fire-works, on one of the little isles near the entrance of the harbour.

I had fixed on the next day for sailing, but the intelligence from Huaheine put a stop to it. The chief had promised to bring the man on board who first brought the account; but he was either not to be found, or would not appear. In the morning, the people were divided in their opinions; but in the afternoon, all said it was a false report. I had sent Mr Clerke, in the morning, to the farthest part of the island, to make enquiries there; he returned without learning any thing satisfactory. In short, the report appeared now too ill founded to authorize me to send a boat over, or to wait any longer here; and therefore, early in the morning of the 4th, I got every thing in readiness to sail. Oree the chief, and his whole family, came on board, to take their last farewell, accompanied by Oo-oo-rou, the Earee di hi, and Boba, the Earee of Otaha, and several of their friends. None of them came empty; but Oo-oo-rou brought a pretty large present, this being his first and only visit. I distributed amongst them almost every thing I had left. The very hospitable manner in which I had ever been received by these people, had endeared them to me, and given them a just title to everything in my power to grant. I questioned them again about the ships at Huaheine; and they all, to a man, denied that any were there. During the time these people remained on board, they were continually importuning me to return. The chief, his wife and daughter, but especially the two latter, scarcely ever ceased weeping. I will not pretend to say whether it was real or feigned grief they shewed on this occasion. Perhaps there was a mixture of both; but were I to abide by my own opinion only, I should believe it was real. At

last, when we were about to weigh, they took a most affectionate leave. Oree's last request was for me to return; when he saw he could not obtain that promise, he asked the name of my Marai (burying-place). As strange a question as this was, I hesitated not a moment to tell him Stepney; the parish in which I live when in London. I was made to repeat it several times over till they could pronounce it; then, Stepney Marai no Toote was echoed through an hundred mouths at once. I afterwards found the same question had been put to Mr Forster by a man on shore; but he gave a different, and indeed more proper answer, by saying, no man, who used the sea, could say where he should be buried. It is the custom, at these isles, for all the great families to have burial-places of their own, where their remains are interred. These go with the estate to the next heir. The Marai at Oparee in Otaheite, when Tootaha swayed the sceptre, was called Marai no Tootaha; but now it is called Marai no Otoo. What greater proof could we have of these people esteeming us as friends, than their wishing to remember us, even beyond the period of our lives? They had been repeatedly told that we should see them no more; they then wanted to know where we were to mingle with our parent dust. As I could not promise, or even suppose, that more English ships would be sent to those isles, our faithful companion Oedidee chose to remain in his native country. But he left us with a regret fully demonstrative of the esteem he bore to us; nor could any thing but the fear of never returning, have torn him from us. When the chief teased me so much about returning, I sometimes gave such answers as left them hopes. Oedidee would instantly catch at this, take me on one side, and ask me over again. In short, I have not words to describe the anguish which appeared in this young man's breast when he went away. He looked up at the ship, burst into tears, and then sunk down into the canoe. The maxim, that a prophet has no honour in his own country, was never more fully verified than in this youth. At Otaheite he might have had any thing that was in their power to bestow; whereas here he was not in the least noticed. He was a youth of good parts, and, like most of his countrymen, of a docile, gentle, and humane disposition, but in a manner wholly ignorant of their religion, government, manners, customs, and traditions; consequently no material knowledge could have been gathered from him, had I brought him away. Indeed, he would have been a better specimen of the nation, in every respect, than Omai. Just as Oedidee was going out of the ship, he asked me to Tatou some Parou for him, in order to shew the commanders of any other ships which might stop here. I complied with his request, gave him a certificate of the time he had been with us, and recommended him to the notice of those who might afterwards touch at the island.

We did not get clear of our friends till eleven o'clock, when we weighed, and put to sea; but Oedidee did not leave us till we were almost out of the harbour. He staid, in order to fire some guns; for it being his majesty's birthday, we fired the salute at going away.

When I first came to these islands, I had some thought of visiting Tupia's famous Bolabola. But as I had now got on board a plentiful supply of all manner of refreshments, and the route I had in view allowing me no time to spare, I laid this design

aside, and directed my course to the west; taking our final leave of these happy isles, on which benevolent Nature has spread her luxuriant sweets with a lavish hand. The natives, copying the bounty of Nature, are equally liberal; contributing plentifully and cheerfully to the wants of navigators. During the six weeks we had remained at them, we had fresh pork, and all the fruits which were in season, in the utmost profusion; besides fish at Otaheite, and fowls at the other isles. All these articles we got in exchange for axes, hatchets, nails, chissels, cloth, red feathers, beads, knives, scissars, looking-glasses, &c. articles which will ever be valuable here. I ought not to omit shirts as a very capital article in making presents; especially with those who have any connexion with the fair sex. A shirt here is full as necessary as a piece of gold in England. The ladies at Otaheite, after they had pretty well stripped their lovers of shirts, found a method of clothing themselves with their own cloth. It was their custom to go on shore every morning, and to return on board in the evening, generally clad in rags. This furnished a pretence to importune the lover for better clothes; and when he had no more of his own, he was to dress them in new cloth of the country, which they always left ashore; and appearing again in rags, they must again be clothed. So that the same suit might pass through twenty different hands, and be as often sold, bought, and given away.

Before I finish this account of these islands, it is necessary to mention all I know concerning the government of Ulietea and Otaha. Oree, so often mentioned, is a native of Bolabola; but is possessed of Whenooas or lands at Ulietea; which I suppose he, as well as many of his countrymen, got at the conquest. He resides here as Opoony's lieutenant; seeming to be vested with regal authority, and to be the supreme magistrate in the island. Oo-oo-rou, who is the Earee by hereditary right, seems to have little more left him than the bare title, and his own Whenooa or district, in which I think he is sovereign. I have always seen Oree pay him the respect due to his rank; and he was pleased when he saw me distinguish him from others.

Otaha, so far as I can find, is upon the very same footing. Boba and Ota are the two chiefs; the latter I have not seen; Boba is a stout, well-made young man; and we were told is, after Opoony's death, to marry his daughter, by which marriage he will be vested with the same regal authority as Opoony has now; so that it should seem, though a woman may be vested with regal dignity, she cannot have regal power. I cannot find that Opoony has got any thing to himself by the conquest of these isles, any farther than providing for his nobles, who have seized on best part of the lands. He seems to have no demand on them for any of the many articles they have had from us. Oedidee has several times enumerated to me all the axes, nails, &c. which Opoony is possessed of, which hardly amount to as many as he had from me when I saw him in 1769. Old as this famous man is, he seems not to spend his last days in indolence. When we first arrived here, he was at Maurana; soon after he returned to Bolabola; and we were now told, he was gone to Tubi.

I shall conclude this account of these islands, with some observations on the watch which Mr Wales hath communicated to me. At our arrival in Matavai Bay in Otaheite,



the longitude pointed out by the watch was 2 deg. 8' 38" 1/2 too far to the west; that is, it had gained, since our leaving Queen Charlotte's Sound, of its then rate of going, 8' 34" 1/2. This was in about five months, or rather more, during which time it had passed through the extremes of cold and heat. It was judged that half this error arose after we left Easter Island; by which it appeared that it went better in the cold than in the hot climates.

END VOLUME I.

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