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OF VOYAGES AND TRAVELS — VOLUME 14 \*\*\*

**A  
GENERAL  
HISTORY AND COLLECTION  
OF  
VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,  
ARRANGED IN SYSTEMATIC ORDER:  
FORMING A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN AND  
PROGRESS  
OF NAVIGATION, DISCOVERY, AND COMMERCE,  
BY SEA AND LAND,  
FROM THE EARLIEST AGES TO THE PRESENT TIME.**

**BY**

**ROBERT KERR, F.R.S. & F.A.S. EDIN.**

**ILLUSTRATED BY MAPS AND CHARTS.**

**VOL. XIV.**

**WILLIAM BLACKWOOD, EDINBURGH:**

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## **A GENERAL HISTORY AND COLLECTION OF VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.**

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### **PART III.**

#### **BOOK II.**

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AN ACCOUNT OF 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.

### **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.[1]

[1] It is scarcely conceivable, that any men of science in the end of the 18th century, should have insisted on mathematical reasons for the supposition of a southern counterpoise; and therefore, as is mentioned by Mr Wales, in his introduction to the account of the astronomical observations made during this voyage, it must be held, that the opinion which induced his majesty to order the voyage, for the purpose of discovering a continent or large islands towards the South Pole, was founded on mere probability. That there is no necessity for such an existence, is very certain, for the preservation of the earth's motion on its axis can be readily accounted for without it; yet, reasoning from analogy, and considering the successful experiment of Columbus, there seemed sufficient grounds, independent of the alleged discoveries of Bouvet and others, to expect that some lands might be found there. After this, it required little additional excitement of fancy to believe, that if there, and if found, they might be no less important to the discoverers, than America was judged to be to the Spaniards. Men are not easily cured of their prejudices, when the foundations on which they are built, derive validity from the hope of interest. It is impossible to tell what kind and degree of advantages, certain sanguine specialists anticipated from the Terra Australis. Excepting the article of the prolongation of life *ad infinitum*, it is questionable, if the philosopher's stone, when discovered, could have accomplished more; and even with respect to that, it might have been imagined, that the soil and climate would so materially differ from any other before known, as to yield some sovereign elixir or plant of life-giving efficacy. That it was charitably hoped, they would be no less serviceable in another particular, of perhaps fully greater consequence, may be inferred from a passage in Dr Hawkesworth's reply to Mr Dalrymple, appended to his Account of Cook's First Voyage, &c., second edition. "I am very sorry," says he, "for the discontented state of this good gentleman's mind, and most sincerely wish that a southern continent may be found, as I am confident *nothing else can make him happy and good-humoured!*" Mr Dalrymple seems to have set no bounds to his expectations from the discovery, and accordingly thought that no bounds ought to be set to the endeavours to accomplish it. Witness the very whimsical *negative* and *affirmative* dedication of his Historical Collection of Voyages, &c. "Not to, &c. &c., but to the man, who,

emulous of Magalhaens and the heroes of former times, *undeterred* by difficulties, and *unseduced* by pleasure, shall persist through every obstacle, and not by chance, but by virtue and good conduct, *succeed in establishing an intercourse* with a southern continent, &c.!". A zeal so red-hot as this, could scarcely be cooled down to any thing like common sense, on one of the fields of ice encountered by Cook in his second voyage; but what a pity it is, that it should not be accompanied by as much of the inventive faculty, as might serve to point out how impossibilities can be performed, and insuperable obstructions removed! It is but justice to this gentleman to say, that his willingness to undertake such a task, was as enthusiastic as his idea of its magnitude and importance. His industry, besides, in acquiring information in this department of science, and his liberality in imparting it, were most exemplary. On the whole, therefore, saving the circumstances of fortune and success, he may be ranked with any of the heroes of former times!

It would be well to remember, that the Deity is not bound to act according to our notions of fitness; and that though it may not always be easiest, yet it is certainly most modest to form our theories from a survey of his works, rather than the nursery of our own prejudices. The following observations may be of utility to some readers. The motion of the earth about its axis is uniform, and quite unaffected by the irregularities on its surface or of its density. This is a fact to be admitted, not an opinion to be proved. But in point of reasoning, it is quite demonstrable, that the highest mountain on the surface of the earth, bears no larger a proportion to the magnitude of the earth, than a grain of sand does to that of one of our largest globes, and can have no more effect on its motion: Besides, as is noticed by Mr Wales, every body will be *in equilibrio*, however irregular, when it is suspended or revolves on a line passing through its centre of gravity, and will not have either its rest or motion disturbed by any irregularities lying in the direction of that line, which may be safely supposed the case with our earth. The simple addition of any fluid matter to a body so circumstanced, will not cause any aberration, as it will distribute itself in the parts nearest to the centre of gravity, without regard to the centre of the body, which may or may not be the same. The principal tracts of both land and sea may be held to extend from the North towards the South Pole, and are accordingly in the direction of the earth's axis. Obviously, therefore, there is no necessity for a southern continent to answer as a counterpoise; and it is even conceivable that the matter in the regions of the South Pole, is specifically lighter than that of any other part, in perfect consistency with what is known of the earth's motion. The reasons of a different kind from what have now been mentioned, for the existence of southern lands, fall to be elsewhere considered.--E.

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.

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.[2]

[2] An account of the voyage performed by Magalhaens, is given in vol. x. of this collection. The discoveries made by that enterprising man in the South Pacific Ocean, were far from being very important; but the expedition in which he unfortunately lost his life, will ever be memorable in the pages of history, as the first circumnavigation of the world.--E.

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.[3]

[3] Mr Dalrymple has collected together the few existing notices of Spanish voyages of discovery, betwixt the times of those performed by Magalhaens and Mendana. Though by no means considerable in bulk, they are too numerous to be detailed in this place. It is very probable, that the Spanish government continued from mere habit to reserve the more perfect memorials, after all the views of policy which first occasioned their being withheld from the public, had been abandoned. The affairs of that ill-fated kingdom have been long very unfavourable to the investigations, which certainly unimportant curiosity might prompt on the subject--E.

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° 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° 40' S., longitude 178° 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.

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° 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° or 11° S. latitude, and then westward, till he arrived at the Bay of St Philip and Jago, in the Island of Tierra del Espiritu Santo. In this route he 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.[4]

[4] Two relations have been given of Mendana's voyage; one by Quiros above-mentioned, in a letter to Don Antonio Morga, lieutenant-general of the Phillipines, when Quiros landed at Manila, which was inserted in a work published at Mexico in 1609; and the other contained in Thevenot's French collection, being, as Mr Dalrymple has remarked, a transcript from Figueroa's history of Garcia Hurtado de Mendoça, and of less authority. The discoveries of Quiros, real and supposed, have attracted very peculiar notice, and deservedly so. Almost every collection specifies them. That which the president de Brosses has given on the authority of several Spanish works, has been generally followed. Mr Dalrymple is earnest in securing to this *immortal* name, the honour of discovering the southern continent. It is most certain that he did discover something in the Pacific Ocean, but it never yet has been shewn, that this something any way corresponds with the wonderful description he thought proper to give of it, in his memorial to the Spanish king. "Its longitude," says he, (we copy from Mr Dalrymple's translation) "is as much as that of all Europe, Asia- Minor, and to the Caspian Sea, and Persia, with all the islands of the Mediterranean and Ocean, which are in its limits embraced, including England and Ireland. That *unknown* part is a quarter of the whole globe, and so capacious, that it may contain in it double the kingdoms and provinces of all those your majesty is at present Lord of: And that without adjoining to Turks or Moors, or others of the nations which are accustomed to disquiet and disturb their neighbours!" This was a discoverer after our own heart, worth a dozen or two of Ansons, Byrons, and Cooks! Amongst his real discoveries must be particularly regarded the Tierra del Espiritu Santo above- mentioned, which was visited by Bougainville in 1768, and called by him the New Cyclades, a name since supplanted by that which Cook gave, the New Hebrides.--E.

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

They next coasted the north side of New Britain and New Guinea, and arrived at Batavia in October, 1616.[5]

[5] See our account of this voyage in vol. x. It was perhaps more fruitful in discoveries of islands, than any preceding expedition, and was remarkable, besides, for the small loss of lives during its continuance, viz. only three men. The interesting enough discovery of the Strait which bears the name of Le Maire, would have been sufficient to signalize the spirited undertaking of that merchant. Nor can it be any thing to *his* discredit, considering his circumstances and profession, that he had his golden dreams about a southern counterpoise. Technical habits might readily suggest to him the propriety of an exact balance.--E.

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.[6]

[6] A note has been given in vol. xiii. respecting Tasman's voyage. His discoveries were undoubtedly of some importance, and deserve particular notice in a collection; as such, an opportunity, it is expected, will occur for effecting it, either entire from Valentyn's relation, or in abstract from various authorities.--E.

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.

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° S.; it being now certain, that Pepy's Island is no other than these islands of Falkland.[7]

[7] See what has been said on this subject in our account of Byron's voyage, vol. xii. p. 47---E.

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° S., discovered a large island, with a good port towards the eastern part, where he found wood, water, and fish.

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.[8]

[8] The results of Dr Halley's voyage were communicated to the Royal Society of London, and constitute part, certainly an interesting part, of their published papers. If it is rather to be wondered at, that Cook has not made mention of some other voyages of discovery about this period, especially Dampier's, of which, as well as of some more, the reader will find an account in our 10th volume.--E.

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 Davies;[9] then between 14° 41' and 15° 47' S. latitude, and between the longitude of 142° and 150° 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° S., longitude 170° W., which he called Baumen's Islands; and, lastly, Single Island, in latitude 13° 41' S., longitude 171° 30' W. These three islands are, undoubtedly, the same that Bougainville calls the Isles of Navigators.[10]

[9] See Waifer's description of the Isthmus of Darien.

[10] See our relation of Commodore Roggewein's voyage in the 11th vol. of this Collection.--E.

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° S., longitude 11° 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° of latitude to 35° of E. longitude: After which the two ships separated, one going to the island of Mauritius, and the other returning to France.[11]

[11] It seems impossible to doubt for a moment, the validity of Cook's evidence against Bouvet's alleged discovery of land, above alluded to. In the present day, there is nothing like a whisper insinuated to its disparagement; and accordingly the name of Bouvet is never mentioned as a discoverer. The reader need scarcely be reminded of the position which our accounts of the following voyage occupy in this Collection, viz. the 12th and 13th volumes.--E.

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.

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.

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.

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, Boscowen, Keppel, and Wallis; and returned to England in May, 1768.

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.

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°; then, if I found no land, to proceed to the west between 40° and 35°, 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.

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° 22', longitude 147° 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,[12] and arrived in England on the 12th of July, 1771.

[12] Footnote in the 1st ed. 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.

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 Linnæus, and one of the librarians of the British Museum; both of them distinguished in the learned world, for 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.[13]

[13] A satisfactory account of Surville's Voyage is given in Berenger's Collection, vol. vi. published at Paris, 1790, of which, if our limits allow it, we may furnish the reader with an abstract. It is remarkable, as being partly planned by the celebrated Law of Lauriston. A relation of Kerguelen's voyage, which was made in 1771, 2, and 3, was published at Paris in 1781, and, according to the Bib. Univ. des Voy. is become scarce. The writer is quite ignorant of its value. Marion was killed by the savages of New Zealand; after his death, the voyage was carried on by M. Ducleneur, under whom the principal observations were made in the South Sea. The account of this voyage was published at Paris in 1783. The reader will easily believe, therefore, that Captain Cook could not have profited by any of these three expeditions.--E.

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 aground 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. Accordingly 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 burthen. She was named Resolution, and sent to Deptford to be equipped. The other was three hundred and thirty-six tons burthen. 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.[14]

[14] Till the discovery of what has been denominated Galvanism, it was difficult, if not impossible, to explain the circumstance alluded to in the text, that copper corrodes the iron work of vessels. Now, it is thought there is no mystery in the matter. But, in truth, we have only been enabled by more certain observation to classify the fact with several others of a like nature, and all perhaps equally inexplicable. The application of new names to old things, will scarcely pass with any philosopher, for a discovery. On the other hand, it is certain, that the invention of means by which new powers are produced, is justly entitled to that distinction. It is impossible to withhold this praise from Galvani and some of his followers.--E.

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.[15]

[15] Both of these gentlemen published works respecting this second voyage of Cook, to which we shall have occasion to refer in the notes. That of the former is entitled, "Observations made during a Voyage round the World, on Physical Geography, Natural History, and Ethic Philosophy, &c.," and was published at London in 1778, 4to.; that of the latter is, properly speaking, a full relation of the

voyage, and appeared in two volumes 4to., at London, the year before. There is good reason for saying, that no account of this voyage can be held complete, that is not materially aided by these two productions, which, with sundry imperfections, and perhaps *vices*, have very great merit, and are highly interesting. They are accordingly, as well as the work of Mr Wales, freely used for the purpose of this collection.--E.

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.[16]

[16] Many readers may desire to know what kind of instruments Captain Cook alludes to above. The following list is taken from Mr Wales's work, which, from the nature of it, has been rarely looked into by any but scientific men.

1. A portable observatory.
2. An astronomical clock, made by Mr Shelton.
3. An assistant clock, made by Mr Monk.
4. A transit instrument, made by Mr Bird.
5. An astronomical quadrant, by the same excellent artist.
6. A reflecting telescope, of two feet focal length, by ditto.
7. An achromatic refracting telescope, of three and a half feet, and triple object glass, made by Mr Dollond.
8. A Hadley's sextant, by ditto.
9. Another, by Mr Ramsden.
10. An azimuth compass, by Mr Adams.
11. A pair of globes, by ditto.
12. A dipping needle, by Mr Nairne.
13. A marine barometer, by ditto.
14. A wind gage, invented by Dr Lind of Edinburgh, and made by Mr Nairne.
15. Two portable barometers, made by Mr Burton.
16. Six thermometers, by ditto.
17. A theodolite, with a level, and a Gunter's chain, by ditto.
18. An apparatus for trying the heat of the sea-water at different depths.
19. Two time-keepers, one made by Mr Larcum Kendal, on Mr Harrison's principles, and the other by Mr John Arnold.

Mr Wales has particularly described some of these instruments, and the mode of using them. He has, besides, given a very interesting, though short history of the application of astronomical instruments to navigation, a summary of which, with some additional remarks, could scarcely fail to be valued by any reader concerned for the promotion of useful science. This, accordingly, it is purposed to insert whenever a proper opportunity occurs. It might seem rather a hindrance in this place.--E.

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.[17]

[17] The opinion stated in the memoir of Cook, in the Biographia Britannica, as to his appearance in the character of an author, perfectly concurs with what the writer has elsewhere said on the subject; and it may deserve a place here, as a commendatory testimony, which the modesty of Cook, it is probable, would scarcely have allowed himself to expect. It is inserted, besides, with greater propriety, as specifying one of the friends alluded to, of whom, in the capacity of editor of Cook's third voyage, we shall have another opportunity of speaking with the esteem due to his literary character, and his most praise-worthy exertions in the service of both Cook and his family. "Captain Cook was justly regarded as sufficiently qualified to relate his own story. His journal only required to be divided into chapters, and perhaps to be amended by a few verbal corrections. It is not speaking extravagantly to say, that, in point of composition, his history of his voyage reflects upon him no small degree of credit. His style is natural, clear, and manly; being well adapted to the subject and to his own character: and it is possible, that a pen of more studied elegance would not have given any additional advantage to the narration. It was not till some time after Captain Cook's leaving England, that the work was published; but, in the meanwhile, the superintendance of it was undertaken by his learned and valuable friend, Dr Douglas, whose late promotion to the mitre hath afforded pleasure to every literary man of every denomination." One cannot help regretting, that Cook never returned to meet with the congratulations of a highly-satisfied public, not invidiously disposed, it may readily be imagined, and certainly having no occasion, to see any necessity for the requested indulgences with which he concludes this introduction.--E.

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.[18] JAMES COOK.

Plymouth Sound, July 7, 1776.

[18] Is it not both likely and somewhat allowable, that Cook should speak of the *fine writer* and *professed book-maker*, with a feeling of disgust or irritation; more especially when he could not but well remember, that his own simple personality had been made the substratum for the flippant flourish of the one character, and the unseemly protuberances of the other?--E.

## CHAPTER I.[1]

FROM OUR DEPARTURE FROM ENGLAND TO LEAVING THE SOCIETY ISLES THE FIRST TIME.

[1] The reader is desired to remember, that F. placed at a note refers to Forster's Observations; G.F. to the younger Forster's Account of the Voyage; and W. to Mr Wales' works. For notes signed E. the editor, as formerly, must hold himself responsible. Thus much was thought advisable to save unnecessary repetition. This opportunity is taken of stating some circumstances respecting the two former works, of consequence to the parties concerned, and not uninteresting to the general reader. We are informed in the preface to G.F.'s work, that when his father was sent out to accompany Captain Cook as a naturalist, no particular rules were prescribed for his conduct, as they who appointed him conceived he would certainly endeavour to derive the greatest possible advantages to learning from his voyage; that he was only directed therefore, to exercise all his talents, and to extend his observations to every remarkable object; and that from him was expected a philosophical history of the voyage, on a plan which the learned world had not hitherto seen executed. His father, accordingly, he says, having performed the voyage, and collected his observations, in conformity to such opinion and expectations, proceeded, on his return home, to accomplish the remaining task allotted to him--writing the history of the voyage. It was first proposed, we are told, that a single narrative should be composed from his and Cook's papers, the important observations of each being inserted, and ascertained by appropriate marks. Forster, in consequence, received a part of Cook's journal, and drew up several sheets as a specimen; but this plan was soon desisted from, as it was thought more expedient that the two journals should be kept separate. In fartherance, then, of this design, it is said, an agreement was drawn up on the 13th of April, 1776, between Captain Cook and Mr Forster, in the presence, and with the signature, of the Earl of Sandwich, which specified the particular parts of the relations to be prepared by each, and confirmed to both, jointly, the gift of the valuable plates engraved at the expence of the Admiralty, and generously bestowed on these two gentlemen in equal shares. Mr F. soon afterwards presented a second specimen of his narrative to the Earl of Sandwich, but was surprised to find that it was quite disapproved of, though at last he was convinced that, as the word "narrative" had been omitted in the above-mentioned agreement, he was not entitled to compose a connected account of the voyage. He was, moreover, informed, that if he chose to preserve his claim to half of the profits arising from the plates, he must conform to the letter of that agreement. In this he acquiesced for the benefit of his family; and accordingly, though he had understood it was intended he should write the history of the voyage, he found himself confined to the publication of his unconnected philosophical observations. G. Forster adds, it hurt him much to see the chief intent of his father's mission defeated, and the public disappointed in their expectations of a philosophical recital of facts; however, as he himself had been appointed his father's assistant, and was bound by no such agreement as that which restrained him, he thought it incumbent to attempt such a narrative as a duty to the public, and in justice to the ample materials he had collected during the voyage. "I was bound," he concludes, "by no agreement whatever; and that to which my father had signed, did not make him answerable for my actions, nor, in the most distant manner, preclude his giving me assistance. Therefore, in every important circumstance I had leave to consult his journals, and have been enabled to draw up my narrative with the most scrupulous attention to historical truth." Such is the defence which Mr G. Forster sets up in behalf of a conduct, which it is certain was very differently construed by the patrons of the expedition, whose indignant opinions were so far regarded by the public, as to render the residence of both father and son in England no longer pleasant or respectable. They left it and went to the continent; though it is likely they were the more induced to do so by certain family difficulties, and the ill effects of the father's turbulent temper, which speedily lost him the friends his uncommon abilities and erudition had procured. The reader who desires information respecting these two singular men, and the sentiments entertained in general as to their improper conduct in the matter of the publication, may turn to the Supplement to the Encyclopaedia Britannica. It is, however, but justice to inform him, that the account there given, bears decisive indications of party bias in more senses than one; and that the strongest assertions it contains as to the share which Forster the father had in the publication, are not supported on evidence sufficient for the conviction of any unprejudiced mind. The writer of that article, as of several others in that very valuable publication, appears to have given up his imagination to the prevailing terrors of the times, and to have become, at last, almost incapable of discriminating betwixt personal delinquency and epidemic immorality--the misfortunes incident to individuals in every age or country, and the evils arising out of the erroneous creeds and systems of a particular time and place. A single quotation from the article now alluded to, may be conducive to the reader's favourable acceptance of that portion of the Forsters' labours from which it is proposed to supply many of the succeeding notes. "An account of the voyage was published in English and German, by George Forster; and the language, which is

correct and elegant, was undoubtedly his; but those who knew both him and his father, are satisfied that the matter proceeded from the joint stock of their observations and reflections. Several parts of the work, and particularly the elaborate investigations relative to the languages spoken by the natives of the South Sea Islands, and the speculations concerning their successive migrations, are thought to be strongly impressed with the genius of the elder Forster." Before concluding this note, it may be proper to say, that Mr Wales conceiving Mr G. Forster had made some misrepresentations of certain facts, wrote some remarks upon his book, to which Mr F. replied. This is said on the authority of the Biog. Brit. for the writer himself has never seen either of the productions alluded to. That work very candidly admits, that the Forsters' books contain much curious and useful information. It is probable, then, that the readers in general will concur with the writer in discarding entirely all consideration of moral conduct as to the agreement, and availing themselves of whatever of utility or amusement the publication in question can afford.--E.

## SECTION I.

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

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.

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.

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° S. and in about 11° 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  $50^{\circ} 21' 30''$  N., and the longitude  $4^{\circ} 20'$  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  $180^{\circ}$  each way. 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 Funchale 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 Funchale, 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  $32^{\circ} 33' 34''$  N., longitude  $17^{\circ} 12\frac{7}{8}'$  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  $17^{\circ} 10' 14''$  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.

Having got on board a supply of water, wine, and other necessaries, 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  $28^{\circ} 38'$  N., longitude  $17^{\circ} 58'$  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  $27^{\circ} 42'$  N. and longitude  $18^{\circ} 9'$  W. [2]

[2] The same day we observed several flying fishes, pursued by bonitos and dolphins, rising out of the water in order to escape from them. They were flying in all directions, and not against the wind only, as Mr Kalm seems to think. Neither did they confine themselves to a strait-lined course, but frequently were seen to describe a curve. When they met the top of a wave as they skimmed along the surface of the ocean, they passed through, and continued their flight beyond it. From this time, till we left the torrid zone, we were almost daily amused with the view of immense shoals of these fishes, and now and then caught one upon our decks, when it had unfortunately taken its flight too far, and was spent by its too great elevation above the surface of the sea."--G.F.

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.[3]

[3] "About this time, the captain ordered the ship to be fumigated with gunpowder and vinegar, having taken notice that all our books and utensils became covered with mould, and all our iron and steel, though ever so little exposed, began to rust. Nothing is more probable than that the vapours, which now filled the air, contained some saline particles, since moisture alone does not appear to produce such an effect."--G.F.

There can be no doubt that the atmospherical air is capable of sustaining marine salt in a state of solution, and of bearing it off to great distances on land, where it serves important purposes in animal and vegetable economy. The reader will be pleased with some remarks on the subject in Robison's Account of Black's Lectures. The air in the vessel, then, it will be readily imagined will

contain it, and hence, as it is known that it is gradually decomposed by iron, the rust that was observed. The process of corroding the iron, &c. as it is commonly called, would be much accelerated by moisture, as the muriatic acid acts most powerfully on bodies capable of decomposing water; and it is no less certain, that the heat of a tropical climate would aid the operation. But it is difficult to explain how any benefit could be derived from the fumigation said to be practised by Cook on this occasion, otherwise than by producing dry warm air. Indeed, many persons will imagine that the circumstances required nothing more than free ventilation, and the occasional use of fires to destroy moisture. Mr Forster takes particular notice of what is mentioned in the text about the fermentation of the inspissated juice of malt, or, as he calls it, essence of beer; and he says, that, by the advice of his father, a vessel strongly fumigated with sulphur was filled with it, and prevented the fermentation for a few days. He does not explain on what principle, and perhaps was not acquainted with it. The fact is, that sulphuric acid, which is produced by the burning of sulphur, has the power of checking, or altogether destroying, the fermentation of substances. In the present case, it seems, enough of it had not been produced to answer the purpose effectually. Some other acids have the same power. Hence the desideratum mentioned in the text is easily supplied. The juice, it may be thought, will be changed by the addition of a strong acid, and rendered unserviceable. There can be no doubt, however, that when it is required for the purpose of making beer, &c. means could be used to neutralize the acid that had been added to it, without materially, or at all, affecting the juice itself.--E.

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. 1/2 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  $14^{\circ} 53' 30''$  N. longitude  $23^{\circ} 30'$  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.<sup>[4]</sup> 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.

[4] "When we made application to this indolent Don, by the governor's direction, to be supplied with cattle, he indeed promised to furnish us with as many as we wanted, but we never got more than a single lean bullock. The company perfectly tyrannizes over the inhabitants, and sells them wretched merchandize at exorbitant prices."--G.F.

This gentleman says there are very few white people in the Cape Verd Islands; that he did not see more than five or six at St Jago, including the governor, commandant, and company's agent; and that in some of the islands even the governors and priests are taken from among the blacks. He draws a moving picture of the wretched condition of these forlorn islanders, under the indolent and yet oppressive government of the court of Lisbon. Mr G.F. be it known, was peculiarly sharp-sighted in discovering, and vehement in inveighing against, every impolitic violation of human liberty. In the judgments of some persons, he had imbibed too readily the intoxicating beverage of revolutionary France. Many strong heads, it is certain, were not proof against its effects.--E.

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.<sup>[5]</sup>

[5] "Before leaving Port Praya, Captain Cook invited the governor- general and the commandant to dinner, and we staid on board in order to act as interpreters on this occasion. The captain sent them his own boat; but when it came on shore the governor begged to be excused, because he was always affected with sickness on board any vessel, whether at sea or in harbour. The commandant promised to come, but having at first neglected to ask the governor's leave, the latter retired to take

his *siesta*, (or afternoon's repose,) and no one ventured to disturb him."--G.F.

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.[6]

[6] "The heavy rains entirely soaked the plumage of a poor swallow, which had accompanied us for several days past; it was obliged, therefore, to settle on the railing of the quarter-deck, and suffered itself to be caught. From the history of this bird, which was of the common species, we may deduce the circumstances that bring solitary land-birds a great way out to sea. It seems to be probable, that they begin with following a ship, from the time she leaves the land; that they are soon lost in the great ocean, and are thus obliged to continue close to the ship, as the only solid mass in this immense fluid expanse. If two or more ships are in company, it is also easy to account for the expression of *meeting with* land-birds at a great distance from land, because they may happen to follow some other ship from the shore, than that which carries the observer; thus they may escape observation for a day or two, or perhaps longer, and when noticed, are supposed to be *met with* at sea. However, great storms are sometimes known to have driven single birds, nay, vast flocks, out to sea, which are obliged to seek for rest on board of ships at considerable distances from any land. Captain Cook very obligingly communicated to me a fact which confirms the above assertion. "Being on board of a ship between Norway and England, he met with a violent storm, during which a flight of several hundred birds covered the whole rigging of the ship. Among numbers of small birds he observed several hawks, which lived very luxuriously by preying on those poor defenceless creatures."--G.F.

To record incidents such as these, will not seem unimportant or injudicious to any one who knows the philosophical value of facts in the formation of just theories.--E.

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  $2^{\circ} 35'$  N., longitude  $7^{\circ} 30'$  W., and the wind having veered to the east of south, we tacked and stretched to the S.W. In the latitude of  $0^{\circ} 52'$  N., longitude  $9^{\circ} 25'$  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  $3^{\circ} 0'$  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 immerged in the surface of the sea, at 74; but when immerged eighty fathoms deep (where it remained fifteen minutes) when it came up, the mercury stood at 66.[7] At the same time we sounded, without out finding the bottom, with a line of two hundred and fifty fathoms.

[7] "This morning, 5th September, I let down a thermometer, suspended in the middle of a strong wooden case, of such a construction as to let the water pass freely through it in its descent, but which shut close the instant it began to be drawn up. By this means the thermometer was brought up in a body of water of the same heat with that it had been let down to. The results were as above."--W.

This opportunity may be used for introducing the following table and remarks, which are certainly deserving attention. "To ascertain the degree of *warmth* of the sea-water, at a certain depth, several experiments were made by us. The thermometer made use of, was of Fahrenheit's construction, made by Mr Ramsden, and furnished with an ivory scale; it was, on these occasions, always put into a cylindrical tin case, which had at each end a valve, admitting the water as long as the instrument was going down, and shutting while it was hauling up again. The annexed table will at once shew the result of the experiments.

Degrees of Fahrenheit's Thermometer.	On the Surface	Depth	Stay of the Thermo-meter in the water	Time in the hauling
In the	At a	in	in the	Thermo-meter

Date	Latitude	Air.	of the Sea.	certain Depth.	Fathoms.	Deep.	up.	
1772								
Sept. 5	00°52'N.	75°	74°	66°	85 F.	30'	27-1/2'	
Sept. 27.	24°44'S.	72-1/2	70°	68°	80 F.	15'	7'	
Oct. 12.	34°48'S.	60°	59°	58°	100 F.	20'	6'	
Dec. 15.	55°00'S.	30-1/2°	30°	34°	100 F.	17'	5-1/2'	
Dec. 23.	55°26'S	33°	32°	34-1/2°	100 F.	16'	6-1/2'	
1773								
Jan. 13.	61°00'S.	37°	33-1/2°	32°	100 F.	20'	7'	

From this table it appears, that under the Line and near the tropics, the water is cooler at a great depth than at its surface. In high latitudes, the air is cooler sometimes, sometimes very near upon a par, and sometimes warmer than the sea-water at the depth of about 100 fathoms, according as the preceding changes of the temperature of the air, or the direction and violence of the wind happen to fall out. For it is to be observed, that these experiments were always made when we had a calm, or at least very little wind; because in a gale of wind, we could not have been able to make them in a boat. Another probable cause of the difference in the temperature of the sea-water in the same high latitude, undoubtedly must be sought in the ice; in a sea covered with high and extensive ice islands, the water should be colder than in a sea which is at a great distance from any ice."--F.

This table is evidently too confined, and made up of too few elements, to justify almost any general inferences. The subject is certainly a curious one, and merits full investigation, but presents very considerable difficulties, as many circumstances, which are likely to modify the result, may escape notice during the experiments. It has been said, that as water is most dense at from 37 to 39 Fahrenheit, this may be presumed to be the mean temperature at the bottom of the sea; but such hypothetical deductions are, perhaps, entitled to little confidence. It may however be safely enough presumed, that the temperature of the sea is kept tolerably uniform on the well-known principle of statics, that the heavier columns of any fluid displace those that are lighter. The waters of the ocean, perhaps, are the great agent by which the average temperature of our globe is preserved almost entirely invariable. We shall have an opportunity, in the account of another voyage, to make some remarks on this subject, and to notice more exact experiments than those just now mentioned.--E.

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. At length, on the 8th of September, we crossed the Line in the longitude of 8° 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° 30' S., longitude 18° 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° 29', longitude 24° 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.

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.
<hr/>				
Mean	6	54	46-1/2	by the watch.
Watch slow of apparent time	0	3	59	<hr/>
Apparent time	6	58	45-1/2	end of the eclipse.
Ditto	7	25	0	at Greenwich.
<hr/>				
Dif. of longitude	0	26	14-1/2 ==	6° 33' 30"

The longitude observed by Mr Wales, was

By the [Symbol: Moon] and Aquilae	5° 51'	
By the [Symbol: Moon] and Adebaran	6° 35	Mean
By Mr Kendal's watch		6° 13' 0"
		6° 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, shearwaters, &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.[8]

[8] "On this day, we had an alarm that one of our crew was overboard, upon which we immediately put about, but seeing nothing, the names of all persons on board the vessel were called over, and none found missing, to our great satisfaction. Our friends on board the Adventure, whom we visited a few days after, told us they had indeed suspected by our manoeuvre, the accident which we had apprehended, but that looking out on the sea, Captain Furneaux had plainly observed a sea-lion, that had been the cause of this false alarm."--G.F.

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° 4' 30" E., Mr Kendal's watch at the same time gave 7° 22'. Our latitude was 35° 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 Cunhah, being now nearly in their latitude, and about 5° 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 1-1/2° N., which was eleven days, we were carried by the current 3° 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.[9]

[9] Mr G.F. concludes his description of this well-known appearance in the following very just remark: "There was a singularity, and a grandeur in the display of this phenomenon, which could not fail of giving occupation to the mind, and striking it with a reverential awe, due to Omnipotence. The ocean covered to a great extent, with myriads of animalcules; these little beings, organized, alive, endowed with locomotive power, a quality of shining whenever they please, and illuminating every body with which they come in contact, and of laying aside their luminous appearance at pleasure; all these ideas crowded upon us, and bade us admire the Creator, even in his minutest works." However florid the language of this gentleman on the subject, his account and opinions are strongly enforced by the recent discoveries of the French naturalists related by Mr Peron, to which we shall probably call the reader's attention hereafter.--E.

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° 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 necessaries 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.

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 Linnæus. 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.[10]

[10] Mr G.F. speaks with much more enthusiasm, as one might have expected, of Dr Sparrman, extolling his talents and activity in the course of science, but lamenting, at the same time, that this voyage, on which he now set out, yielded much less matter for observation than his ardent mind had anticipated. That gentleman's labours at the Cape, it seems, however, especially in botany, were very successful; he and Dr Thunberg having, it is said, gathered above a thousand species entirely unknown before.--E.

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.

## SECTION II.

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

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  $35^{\circ} 25'$  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 farnought jacket and trowsers allowed them by the Admiralty.

The wind continued easterly for two days, and blew a moderate gale, which brought us into the latitude of  $39^{\circ} 4'$ , and  $2^{\circ}$  of longitude west of the Cape, thermometer 52-1/2[1] 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  $48^{\circ} 41'$  S., and longitude  $18^{\circ} 24'$  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.

[1] "In the midst of this heavy gale, I tried Dr Lind's wind-gage, and the water in it was depressed by the force of the wind 45/100 of an inch." W. According to the same authority, it was equally depressed on the 30th, and on the 1st December, it sunk 4/10 of an inch in the squalls. Mr G.F. relates an interesting enough alarm that occurred during this stormy weather. "A petty officer in the forepart of the vessel, awaking suddenly, heard a noise of water streaming through his birth, and breaking itself against his own and his mess-mates' chests; he leaped out of his bed, and found himself to the middle of his leg in water. He instantly acquainted the officer of the quarter-deck with the dreadful circumstances, and in a few moments almost every person was in motion; the pumps were employed, and the officers encouraged the seamen with an alarming gentleness, to persevere in their work; notwithstanding which the water seemed to gain upon us; every soul was filled with

terror, increased by the darkness of the night. The chain-pumps were now cleared, and our sailors laboured at them with great alacrity; at last one of them luckily discovered that the water came in through a scuttle (or window) in the boatswain's store-room, which not having been secured against the tempestuous southern ocean, had been staved in by the force of the waves. It was immediately repaired," &c. Incidents of this kind are not often related by a commander, but they are useful to a reader by diversifying the records of bearings, courses, &c. &c.--E.

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° 40' S., and 1-1/2° 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°. 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.[2]

[2] "At half past ten in the evening, some water which had been spilled on the deck was frozen, and in the morning we passed the first island of ice. It was not very high, was smooth on the top and sides, and not rugged like those I have seen in the north seas." W.--Mr Forster in his observations has entered into a very important discussion respecting the formation of the ice islands, but it is vastly too long for insertion in this place. Few readers, however, it is likely, will object to see it elsewhere.--E.

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° 40' S. and longitude 2° 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° 50' S., and longitude 21° 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 petrel tribe, and natives of these icy seas.[3] At this time we passed between two ice islands, which lay at a little distance from each other.

[3] "They constantly appeared about the icy masses, and may be looked upon as sure forerunners of ice. Their colour induced us to call them the snowy petrels."--G.F.

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° 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.<sup>[4]</sup> Being now in the latitude of 54° 50' S. and longitude 21° 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.

[4] "We had already had several false alarms from the fallacious conformation of fog-banks, or that of islands of ice half hid in snow storms, and our consort the Adventure had repeatedly made the signals for seeing land, deceived by such appearances: but now, the imagination warmed with the idea of M. Bouvet's discovery, one of our lieutenants, after having repeatedly been up to the mast-head, (about six o'clock in the morning on the 14th,) acquainted the captain that he plainly saw the land. This news brought us all upon deck: We saw an immense field of flat ice before us, broken into many small pieces on the edges, a vast number of islands of ice of all shapes and sizes rose beyond it as far as the eye could reach, and some of the most distant considerably raised by the hazy vapours which lay on the horizon, had indeed some appearance of mountains. Several of our officers persisted in the opinion that they had seen land here, till Captain Cook, about two years and two months afterwards, (in February 1775,) on his course from Cape Horn towards the Cape of Good Hope, sailed over the same spot, where they had supposed it to lie, and found neither land nor even ice there at that time."--G.F.

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 rendezvous 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° 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 3/4 of a mile an hour. At the same time, a thermometer, which in the open air was at 32°, in the surface of the sea was at 30°; and, after being immersed 100 fathoms deep for about fifteen or twenty minutes, came up at 34°, which is only 2° above freezing.<sup>[5]</sup> Our latitude at this time was 55° 8'.

[5] "While we were doing this, so thick a fog came on, that it was with the utmost difficulty, and after some considerable time, that we found the ships again."--W.

"Their situation in a small four-oared boat, on an immense ocean, far from any habitable shore, surrounded with ice, and utterly destitute of provisions, was truly terrifying and horrible in its consequences. They rowed about for some time, making vain efforts to be heard, but all was silent about them, and they could not see the length of their boat. They were the more unfortunate, as they had neither mast nor sail, and only two oars. In this dreadful suspense they determined to lie still, hoping that, provided they preserved their place, the sloops would not drive out of sight, as it was calm. At last they heard the jingling of a bell at a distance; this sound was heavenly music to their ears; they immediately rowed towards it, and by continual hailing, were at last answered from the Adventure, and hurried on board, overjoyed to have escaped the danger of perishing by slow degrees, through the inclemencies of weather and through famine. Having been on board some time, they fired a gun, and being within hail of the Resolution, returned on board of that sloop to their own damp beds and mouldering cabins, upon which they now set a double value: after so perilous an expedition."--G.F.

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° 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 petrel, 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  $55^{\circ} 8'$ , longitude  $24^{\circ} 3'$ . 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.[6]

[6] "The encomiums on the efficacy of malt cannot be exaggerated, and this useful remedy ought never to be forgotten on board of ships bound on long voyages; nor can we bestow too much care to prevent its becoming damp and mouldy, by which means its salutary qualities are impaired, as we experienced during the latter part of our voyage."-- G.F.

We continued standing to the eastward till eight o'clock in the morning of the 21st; when, being in the latitude of  $53^{\circ} 50'$ , and longitude  $29^{\circ} 24'$  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  $54^{\circ} 43'$  S. longitude  $29^{\circ} 30'$  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  $55^{\circ} 20'$  S., and longitude  $31^{\circ} 30'$  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  $28^{\circ}$ , and upwards. Thermometer at  $33^{\circ}$  in the open air, and  $32^{\circ}$  in the sea at the surface, and at  $34\frac{1}{2}$  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° 31' S., and longitude 31° 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° 50' S., and longitude 29° 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° 31' S., longitude 26° 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 petrels. 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 petrels 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° 19' S., longitude 24° 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° 12', longitude 19° 1' E., which is 3° 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 petrel 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  $60^{\circ} 21' S.$ , longitude  $13^{\circ} 32' E.$  we stood again to the west.

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  $59^{\circ} 12' S.$ ; longitude  $9^{\circ} 45' E.$ ; 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  $9^{\circ} 34' 30'' E.$  Mr Kendal's watch, at the same time, giving  $10^{\circ} 6' E.$ , and the latitude was  $58^{\circ} 53' 30'' S.$ .

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, nowhere 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.  $1/4 N.$ , till noon the next day, when we were in the latitude of  $59^{\circ} 2' S.$ , 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  $55^{\circ}$  and  $59^{\circ}$ , 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  $61^{\circ} 12' S.$ , longitude  $31^{\circ} 47' E.$  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.[7]

[7] "That water melted from the ice usually found floating in the sea is fresh and good, is no new discovery. The Hudson's Bay ships have long made use of it; and I have mentioned it, from my own experience, in the account of a voyage to Hudson's Bay." See *Phil. Trans.* vol. 60.--W. This is a solitary but most unexceptionable evidence. Mr Forster, in the article before alluded to, has not failed to point out much more.--E.

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  $62^{\circ} 44' S.$ , longitude  $37^{\circ} E.$ , the variation of the compass was  $24^{\circ} 10' W.$ , and the

following morning in the latitude of  $64^{\circ} 12' S.$ , longitude  $38^{\circ} 14' E.$ , by the mean of three compasses, it was no more than  $23^{\circ} 52' W.$  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 immerged 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  $39^{\circ} 30' 30''$  E. longitude. Mr Kendal's watch at the same time gave  $38^{\circ} 27' 45''$  which is  $1^{\circ} 2' 45''$  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  $28^{\circ} 14' 0''$

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  $63^{\circ} 57'$ , longitude  $39^{\circ} 38\text{-}1/2'$

The succeeding morning, the 15th, being then in latitude  $63^{\circ} 33' S.$ , the longitude was observed by the following persons, viz.

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 Kendall'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,  $38^{\circ} 35' 30''$ , and by me,  $38^{\circ} 36' 45''$ .

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° 56' S., longitude 39° 35' E. I found the variation by Gregory's compass to be 26° 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° 35' E., for at noon we were by observation in the latitude of 66° 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° 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.

### SECTION 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.*

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° 12' S., longitude 40° 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° 24' S., longitude 42° 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.<sup>[1]</sup> In the morning of the 23d, we were in latitude of 60° 27' S., longitude 45° 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.

[1] "The two time-keepers being put on each side of the great cabin, I put a thermometer by each, and before a fire was kept in the cabin, I never saw them differ more than half a degree; but since there has been a fire, I have constantly found that thermometer highest, which happened to be on the weather-side, sometimes by three degrees, whereas one would naturally have expected it to have been just the contrary."--W.

The rapidity of the current of moist air would be no doubt greater on the other side, and therefore, as moisture occasions cold, would lower the thermometer on that side. On the weather-side, on the contrary, the air would be less quickly changed, and of course preserve greater uniformity of temperature. This explanation, however, depends on a certain supposition as to the form of the cabin, and its kind of communication with the external air.--E.

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° 10', longitude 50° 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 day-light 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° 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° 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° 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° 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° 56' S., longitude 56° 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.

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° 30', and longitude 58° 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° 36' S., longitude 59° 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° 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  $48^{\circ} 56' S.$ , longitude  $60^{\circ} 47' E.$ , and upwards of  $8^{\circ}$  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  $48^{\circ} 6' S.$ , longitude  $58^{\circ} 22' E.$ , 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  $27^{\circ} 50'$  to  $30^{\circ} 26' W.$  Probably the mean of the two extremes, viz.  $29^{\circ} 4'$ , 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  $45^{\circ} 49' S.$ , longitude  $61^{\circ} 48' E.$  At six o'clock in the evening, I called in the Adventure; and at the same time took several azimuths, which gave the variation  $31^{\circ} 28' W.$  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  $49^{\circ} 53' S.$ , and longitude  $63^{\circ} 39' E.$  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  $51^{\circ} 15' S.$ , longitude  $67^{\circ} 20' E.$ , 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  $52^{\circ} 32' S.$ , longitude  $69^{\circ} 47' E.$ , the variation was  $31^{\circ} 38' W.$  In the evening, in the latitude of  $53^{\circ} 7' S.$ , longitude  $70^{\circ} 50' E.$ , it was  $32^{\circ} 33'$ ; and, the next morning, in the latitude of  $53^{\circ} 37' S.$ , longitude  $72^{\circ} 10'$ , it was  $33^{\circ} 8' W.$  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  $55^{\circ} 49' S.$ , longitude  $75^{\circ} 52' E.$ , the variation was  $34^{\circ} 48' W.$ , and, in the evening of the 15th, in latitude  $57^{\circ} 2' S.$ , longitude  $79^{\circ} 56' E.$ , it was  $38^{\circ} W.$  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  $57^{\circ} 8' S.$ , longitude  $80^{\circ} 59' E.$ , 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 Australis 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.[2]

[2] "The natural state of the heavens, except in the south-east quarter, and for about ten degrees of altitude all round the horizon, was a whitish haze, through which stars of the third magnitude were just discernible. All round, the horizon was covered with thick clouds, out of which arose many streams of a pale reddish light, that ascended towards the zenith. These streams had not that motion which they are sometimes seen to have in England; but were perfectly steady, except a small tremulous motion which some of them had near their edges.

"19th.--In the night the southern lights were very bright at times, and the colours much more various and vivid than they were on Wednesday night, their motion also was greater, so that on the whole they were extremely beautiful.

"20th.--At nine o'clock in the evening, the southern light sprung up very bright about the east point of the horizon, in a single steady pillar, of a pale reddish light. Its direction was not directly towards the zenith, but gradually deflected towards the south, and grew fainter as it ascended, so as to vanish about south-east, and at forty-five degrees of altitude.

"15th March.--The southern lights very bright at times, and exceeding beautiful; their colours being vivid, and their motion quick and curious.

"18th.--A little after nine o'clock in the evening it was very clear, and the southern lights were exceeding bright and beautiful, and appeared of a semi-circular or rainbow-like form, whose two extremities were nearly in the east and west points of the horizon. This bow, when it first made its appearance, passed a considerable way to the north of the zenith; but rose by degrees, turning, as it were, on its diameter, and passing through the zenith, settled at length towards the southern horizon. These lights were at one time so bright, that we could discern our shadows on the deck."--W.

It was thought proper to bring together all these similar remarks of so accurate and faithful an observer. There is reason to believe that the southern lights had never been seen by any navigator before this voyage of Cook's.--E.

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° 54' S., longitude 83° 14' E., the variation was 39° 33' W. In the evening, in latitude 58° 2' S., longitude 84° 35' E., it was only 37° 8' W., which induced me to believe it was decreasing. But in the evening of the 20th, in the latitude of 58° 47' S., longitude 90° 56' E., I took nine azimuths, with Dr Knight's compass, which gave the variation 40° 7', and nine others, with Gregory's, which gave 40° 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° S., longitude 92° 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  $61^{\circ} 52' S.$ , longitude  $95^{\circ} 2' E.$  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.[3]

[3] "The shapes of these large frozen masses, were frequently singularly ruinous, and so far picturesque enough; among them we passed one of a great size, with a hollow in the middle, resembling a grotto or cavern, which was pierced through, and admitted the light from the other side. Some had the appearance of a spire or steeple; and many others gave full scope to our imagination, which compared them to several known objects, by that means attempting to overcome the tediousness of our cruise, which the sight of birds, porpoises, seals, and whales, now too familiar to our eyes, could not prevent from falling heavily upon us."--G.F.

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  $60^{\circ} 51'$ , longitude  $95^{\circ} 41' E.$ , the variation was  $43^{\circ} 6' W.$ , and the next morning, being the 26th, having advanced about a degree and a half more to the east, it was  $41^{\circ} 30'$ , 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  $61^{\circ} 21' S.$ , longitude  $97^{\circ} 7'$ , 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!

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  $60^{\circ} 36' S.$ , longitude  $107^{\circ} 54'$ , 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  $60^{\circ} 13'$ , longitude  $110^{\circ} 18'$ , the variation was  $39^{\circ} 4' W$ . 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  $60^{\circ} 37'$ , longitude  $113^{\circ} 24'$ ) the wind shifting at once to S.W. and S.W. by S., I gave orders to steer E. by N.  $1/2 N$ . But in the night we steered E.  $1/2 S$ . 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  $60^{\circ} 44' S.$ , and longitude  $116^{\circ} 50' E$ . 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  $60^{\circ}$  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.<sup>[4]</sup> 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  $59^{\circ} 58' S.$ , longitude  $118^{\circ} 39' E$ . 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  $59^{\circ} 44'$ , our longitude was  $121^{\circ} 9'$ . 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.

[4] "One island of ice, which we passed in the afternoon, was near a mile and a half long, and very high. It was calm most part of the night, so that we found ourselves very near it in the morning, but observed that several very large pieces had broke off from it. Many great reports, like thunder, were heard in the night, which I conceive were occasioned by these pieces breaking off."--W.

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  $57^{\circ} 56'$ , longitude  $130^{\circ}$ , 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  $58^{\circ} 56' S.$ , longitude  $131^{\circ} 26' E$ . 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  $39\frac{1}{2}$ . 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  $58^{\circ} 59'$ , longitude  $134^{\circ}$ , 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  $58^{\circ} 22' S.$ , gave us  $136^{\circ} 22' E.$  longitude. Mr Kendal's watch at the same time gave  $134^{\circ} 42'$ ; 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  $59^{\circ} 17' S.$ , longitude  $140^{\circ} 12' E.$ , 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  $60^{\circ}$  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  $58^{\circ} 51' S.$ , our longitude was  $144^{\circ} 10' E.$  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  $58^{\circ} 58' S.$ , longitude  $144^{\circ} 37' E.$ , 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  $59^{\circ} 7' S.$ , longitude  $146^{\circ} 53' E.$ , 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  $56^{\circ} 15' S.$ , longitude  $150^{\circ}$ , the sky cleared up, and we found the variation by several azimuths to be  $13^{\circ} 30' E.$  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  $55^{\circ} 1'$ , longitude  $152^{\circ} 1' E.$  In the latitude of  $54^{\circ} 4'$ , 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  $49^{\circ} 55'$ , longitude  $159^{\circ} 28'$ , 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 Poenammo*, 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.  $1/2 N.$ , 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 kraut, 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.

#### SECTION IV.

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

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.

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 spacious 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 necessaries. 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 pinnace 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 lodgings 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 herns 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.

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  $45^{\circ} 34' 30''$  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  $42^{\circ}$  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.

## SECTION 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.*

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  $45^{\circ} 48'$  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° 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 girt, 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 fricassée. 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 dunhill-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  $45^{\circ} 47' 26''$  half south; and, by the mean of several distances of the moon from the sun, that its longitude was  $106^{\circ} 18' E.$ , 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  $13^{\circ} 49' E$ , and the dip of the south end  $70^{\circ} 5'$  three quarters. The times of high water, on the full and change days, he found to be at  $10^{\circ} 57'$ , 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  $1^{\circ} 48'$  minus, and that of Mr Arnold's  $39^{\circ} 25'$ . 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.

## SECTION VI.

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

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.[1]

[1] "This afternoon we had an opportunity of observing, in as complete a manner as could be wished, one of the most curious, and perhaps the most extraordinary and powerful, of Nature's productions. The forenoon had been in general pretty clear, but subject to heavy squalls of wind, and some flying clouds, which were very black and heavy, and moved with great velocity from the S.W. towards the N.E., (the direction of the wind.) About four o'clock in the afternoon it became calm, and the heavens were almost covered with very black clouds, particularly towards the W. and N.W., and presently after we saw several tail-like appearances, descending from the clouds in that quarter: These appearances were whiter than the clouds they hung from, which made them very conspicuous, and they increased gradually in length, until they extended, as near as I could judge, about one-sixth part of the distance between the clouds and the surface of the sea. About this time, the water under them began to be violently agitated, and lifted up with a whirling motion towards the impending part of the cloud, which, on account of a motion they all had the contrary way to that the wind had blown, was not directly over it, but a little towards the south-west. As the water rose, the end of the cloud descended, and in a little time they joined; after which the water appeared to me to ascend out of the sea into the cloud, with great velocity. I think that none of these spouts, as they are usually called, continued entire more than ten minutes; perhaps not quite so long. I saw four complete at one time; but there were great numbers which began to form, and were dispersed by what cause I know not, before the cloud and water joined. One of them came, I was told, within thirty or forty yards of the ship, which lay becalmed; but I was then below looking at the barometer; when I got upon deck, it was about 100 fathoms from her. It is impossible to say what would have been the consequences if it had gone over her; but I believe they would have been very dreadful. At the

time when this happened, the barometer stood at 29,75 inches, and the thermometer at 56°. The whole of this passed within the space of an hour, or thereabouts; for at five o'clock a small breeze of wind sprung up in the south-east quarter, and dispersed every appearance of this kind, although the black clouds remained until about ten, when the wind veered round to the W.S.W., and settled there in a moderate steady gale, and the weather cleared up."--W.

"The nature of water-sprouts and their causes, being hitherto very little known, we were extremely attentive to mark every little circumstance attendant on this appearance. Their base, where the water of the sea was violently agitated, and rose in a spiral form in vapours, was a broad spot, which looked bright and yellowish when illuminated by the sun. The column was of a cylindrical form, rather increasing in width towards the upper extremity. These columns moved forward on the surface of the sea, and the clouds not following them with equal rapidity, they assumed a bent or incurvated shape, and frequently appeared crossing each other, evidently proceeding in different directions; from whence we concluded, that it being calm, each of these water-sprouts caused a wind of its own. At last they broke one after another, being probably too much distended by the difference between their motion and that of the clouds. In proportion as the clouds came nearer to us, the sea appeared more and more covered with short broken waves, and the wind continually veered all round the compass without fixing in any point. We soon saw a spot on the sea, within two hundred fathoms of us, in a violent agitation. The water, in a space of fifty or sixty fathoms, moved towards the centre, and there rising into vapour, by the force of the whirling motion, ascended in a spiral form towards the clouds. Some hailstones fell on board about this time, and the clouds looked exceedingly black and louring above us. Directly over the whirl-pool, if I may so call the agitated spot on the sea, a cloud gradually tapered into a long slender tube, which seemed to descend to meet the rising spiral, and soon united with it into a short column of a cylindrical form. We could distinctly observe the water hurled upwards with the greatest violence in a spiral, and it appeared that it left a hollow space in the centre; so that we concluded the water only formed a hollow tube, instead of a solid column. We were strongly confirmed in this belief by the colour, which was exactly like any hollow glass-tube. After some time the last water-sprout was incurvated and broke like the others, with this difference, that its disjunction was attended with a flash of lightning, but no explosion was heard. Our situation during all this time was very dangerous and alarming; a phenomenon which carried so much terrific majesty in it, and connected, as it were, the sea with the clouds, made our oldest mariners uneasy, and at a loss how to behave; for most of them, though they had viewed water-sprouts at a distance, yet had never been so beset with them as we were; and all without exception had heard dreadful accounts of their pernicious effects, when they happened to break over a ship. We prepared, indeed, for the worst, by clewing up our top-sails; but it was the general opinion that our masts and yards must have gone to wreck if we had been drawn into the vortex. It was hinted that firing a gun had commonly succeeded in breaking water-sprouts, by the strong vibration it causes in the air; and accordingly a four-pounder was ordered to be got ready, but our people, being, as usual, very dilatory about it, the danger was past before we could try the experiment. How far electricity may be considered as the cause of this phenomenon, we could not determine with any precision; so much however seems certain, that it has some connection with it, from the flash of lightning, which was plainly observed at the bursting of the last column. The whole time, from their first appearance to the dissolution of the last, was about three quarters of an hour. It was five o'clock when the latter happened, and the thermometer then stood at fifty-four degrees, or two and a half degrees lower, than when they began to make their appearance. The depth of water we had under us was thirty-six fathom."--G.F.

The description which Mr F. has given, is very similar to the preceding. Both these gentlemen seem to concur in opinion with Cook, in maintaining Dr Franklin's theory. Mr Jones, in his Philosophical Disquisitions, mentions a circumstance which is no less curious in itself, than strongly demonstrative that the tube, as it has been called, is formed from below, and ascends towards the clouds, and not the contrary, as the appearances would indicate. "In the torrid zone, (says he,) the water-sprout is sometimes attended with an effect which appears supernatural, and will scarcely find credit in this part of the world; for who will believe that fish should fall from the sky in a shower of rain? A gentleman of veracity, who spent many years in the East Indies, declares to his friends that he has been witness to this several times; but speaks of it with caution, knowing that it will be thought incredible by those who are not acquainted with the cause. I have a servant, a native of the West Indies, who assures me he was once a witness to this fact himself, when small fish, about two or three inches long, fell in great numbers during a storm of rain. The spot where this happened was in the island of Jamaica, within about a mile of the sea. When water is carried with violence from the sea up the column of a sprout, small fish, which are too weak to escape when the column is forming, are conveyed up to the clouds, and fall from them afterwards on land, not far distant from the sea." He had before related an instance of one that passed over the town of Hatfield, in Yorkshire, filling the air with the thatch it plucked off from the houses, and rolling strangely together several sheets of lead on the corner of the church.--E.

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. 1/2 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.

## SECTION 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.*

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° and 53° 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° 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.

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° S., and longitude 140° 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° 37' S. longitude, by lunar observation, 145° 36' E., and by account 143° 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 1/2 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° 39' S., and longitude 145° 50' E. to the S.E. cape, in the latitude 43° 36' S., longitude 147° 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 scallop 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  $147^{\circ} 34' E.$ , being in the latitude of  $43^{\circ} 20' S.$  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 necessaries. 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  $40^{\circ} 50' S.$ , 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  $40^{\circ} 50' S.$ , to the latitude of  $39^{\circ} 50' S.$ , is nothing but islands and shoals; the land high, rocky, and barren. On the 19th, in the latitude of  $40^{\circ} 30' S.$ , 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  $39^{\circ} 50'$  to  $39^{\circ} S.$ , 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  $39^{\circ}$ ; 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. 1/2 W., and N. 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° 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.

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. 1/2 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. 1/2 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. 1/2 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. 1/2 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. 1/2 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° 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. 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.[1]

[1] It is, perhaps, unnecessary to state, that the opinion expressed in this section, as to there being no straits between New Holland and Diemen's Land, is erroneous. The reader must have previously known this.--E.

## SECTION VIII.

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

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° and 46°. 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.[1]

[1] Mr G.F. represents these people as very like those which had been seen at Dusky Bay, only much more familiar. At dinner, it is said, they would not drink either wine or brandy, but took large quantities of water sweetened with sugar, of which they were very fond. They shewed extreme covetousness, but were readily induced to lay down what they had seized on. They seemed to have acquaintance with the value of iron, and highly prized any thing made of it.--E.

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.[2] Late in the evening Mr Gilbert returned, having sounded all round the rock, which he found to be very small and steep.

[2] "When they were told that he was dead, they seemed much concerned, and pronounced some words in a plaintive voice. So much had this man's superior knowledge, and his ability to converse in their language, rendered him valuable and beloved, even among a nation in a state of barbarism. Perhaps with the capacity which Providence had allotted to him, and which had been cultivated no farther than the simplicity of his education would permit, he was more adapted to raise the New Zealanders to a state of civilization similar to that of his own islands than ourselves, to whom the want of the intermediate links, which connect their narrow views to our extended sphere of knowledge, must prove an obstacle in such an undertaking."--G.F.

This is a liberal observation in respect of Tupia, but it is liable to much objection as a general maxim. Besides the greater number of impracticable prejudices which attach themselves to imperfectly cultivated minds when placed in new situations, and which often render well-meant

exertions unavailing, it is certain, that superior knowledge both affords greater aptitude of accommodation to unusual circumstances by the speedy discovery it enables the person to make of the principles on which they depend, and, at the same time, facilitates the management and direction of them when known, by the accustomed exercise of the faculties which it implies. Mr F. seems to have imposed on himself by the gratuitous use of figurative language. Where there is a want of intermediate links, there is certainly no connection; but admitting that all mankind is made up of the same materials, it may be very safely inferred, that the most civilized and best educated European carries about with him the whole chain, betwixt the "narrow views" of the New Zealanders and his own "extended sphere of knowledge." The physical wants of our species are the same in all regions of the globe, and so are our passions. These are grand levellers of the proud distinctions, by which some of us exalt ourselves so much above others; and they have never yet been set aside or eradicated by any process which human ingenuity has contrived. Often, indeed, savages excel in the knowledge and dexterous attainment of the means necessary to supply and gratify them. Our judicious Shakespeare seems to have been aware of this, when he causes the brutish Caliban to address Triaculo thus,--

"I'll shew thee the best springs; I'll pluck thee berries; I'll fish for thee, and get thee wood enough," &c.

Mr F. himself, as we shall soon see, has specified one link large and strong enough to answer for a chain in holding together British sailors at least, and New Zealanders, or, indeed, any other savages, however degenerate and abominable, to the end of the chapter!--E.

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.

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-poenaamboo, 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° and 46° S., until I arrived in the longitude of 140° or 135° 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° 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.[3]

[3] "Our crews, who had not conversed with women since our departure from the Cape, found these ladies very agreeable, and from the manner in which their advances were received, it appeared very plainly that chastity was not rigorously observed here, and that the sex were far from being impregnable. However, their favours did not depend upon their own inclination, but the men, as absolute masters, were always to be consulted upon the occasion; if a spike-nail, or a shirt, or a similar present, had been given for their connivance, the lady was at liberty to make her lover happy, and to exact, if possible, the tribute of another present for herself. Some among them, however, submitted with reluctance to this vile prostitution: and but for the authority and menaces of the men, would not have complied with the desires of a set of people, who could, with unconcern, behold their tears and hear their complaints. Whether the members of a civilized society, who could act such a brutal part, or the barbarians who could force their own women to submit to such indignity, deserve the greatest abhorrence, is a question not easily to be decided. Encouraged by the lucrative nature of this infamous commerce, the New Zealanders went through the whole vessel, offering their daughters and sisters promiscuously to every person's embraces, in exchange for our iron tools, which they knew could not be purchased at an easier rate. It does not appear, that their married women were ever suffered to have this kind of intercourse with our people. Their ideas of female chastity are, in this respect, so different from ours, that a girl may favour a number of lovers without any detriment to her character; but if she marries, conjugal fidelity is exacted from her with the greatest rigour. It may therefore be alleged, that as the New Zealanders place no value on the continence of their unmarried women, the arrival of Europeans among them does not injure their moral characters in this respect; but we doubt whether they ever debased themselves so much as to make a trade of their women, before we created new wants by shewing these iron tools, for the possession of which they do not hesitate to commit an action, that, in our eyes, deprives them of the very shadow of sensibility. It is unhappy enough, that the unavoidable consequence of all our voyages of discovery has always been the loss of a number of innocent lives; but this heavy injury done to the little uncivilized communities which Europeans have visited, is trifling when compared to the irretrievable harm entailed upon them by corrupting their morals. If these evils were compensated in some measure by the introduction of some real benefit in these countries, or by the abolition of some other immoral custom among their inhabitants, we might at least comfort ourselves, that what they lost on one hand, they gained on the other; but I fear that hitherto our intercourse has been wholly disadvantageous to the natives of the South Seas; and that those communities have been the least injured, who have always kept aloof from us, and whose jealous disposition did not suffer our sailors to become too familiar among them, as if they had perceived in their countenances that levity of disposition, and that spirit of debauchery, with which they are generally reproached."

A little afterwards, relating a trip over to Long Island, it is said, "In the afternoon, many of our sailors were allowed to go on shore, among the natives, where they traded for curiosities, and purchased the embraces of the ladies, notwithstanding the disgust which their uncleanness inspired. Their custom of painting their cheeks with ochre and oil, was alone sufficient to deter the more sensible from such intimate connections with them; and if we add to this a certain stench which announced them even at a distance, and the abundance of vermin which not only infested their hair, but also crawled on their clothes, and which they occasionally cracked between their teeth, it is astonishing that persons should be found, who could gratify an animal appetite with such loathsome objects, whom a civilized education and national customs should have taught them to hold in abhorrence."--G.F.

May this sad picture have the same effect, which the fathers of Sparta expected from the exhibition of their drunken slaves!--E.

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.[4]

[4] A few miscellaneous observations respecting New Zealand, collected from Mr G.F.'s work, may be given here with interest to some readers:--The arrival at New Zealand, was most delightful to men who had so long suffered the inclemencies and hardships of a navigation in the southern sea. Every object seen on the land afforded some agreeable sensation, heightened in no ordinary degree by the contrast which memory presented. No wonder then, that the description given of the scenery should be somewhat enthusiastic; besides, for every obvious reason, one might be inclined to expect, that Mr G. Forster should exceed even Cook in the warmth of colouring. It is so. He speaks in evidently poetical feeling of the delightfully fair weather, the lightly wafting airs, the numerous evergreens mingling with the various shades of autumnal yellow, the wild notes of the feathered tribe, &c. This was on getting sight of Dusky Bay. The effects of such charming panorama were visible on all the crew; "emotions of joy and satisfaction," he tells us, "were strongly marked in the countenance of every individual." He is quite aware of the magic at work in his own mind, when contemplating the picture, and accordingly very candidly and very justly says, "So apt is mankind, after a long absence from land, to be prejudiced in favour of the wildest shore, that we looked upon the country at that time, as one of the most beautiful which nature, unassisted by art, could produce. Such are the general ideas of travellers and voyagers long exhausted by distresses; and with *such* warmth of imagination they have viewed the rude cliffs of Juan Fernandez, and the impenetrable forests of Tinian!" So much, by the bye, as a hint for understanding the works of some other painters! But all was not mere semblance of good. Several substantial advantages were enjoyed, abundance of excellent fish and water-fowl, plenty of wood and water, &c. To a naturalist besides, there was much to occupy attention and excite curiosity, as a store of animal and vegetable bodies

was perceived, bearing little or no resemblance to known species. But the dream of pleasure, and the hopes of much additional science, were not of very long duration. The necessary occupations of the different artificers, soon involved the people in very embarrassing intricacies and much bodily labour, occasioned by the prodigious variety and numbers of climbers, briars, shrubs, and ferns, interwoven through the forests, and almost totally precluding access to the interior of the country. From the appearance of these impediments, and the quantity of rotten trees which had been either felled by the winds, or brought low from age, it is conjectured, and plausibly enough, that the forests in the southern parts of New Zealand had escaped the hand of human industry since the origin of their existence. But nature, we may often see, is prodigal of life, and in the very act of dissolving one generation, seems to rejoice in providing for another that is to succeed it. Thus, we are told, there sprouted out young trees from the rich mould, to which the old ones were at last reduced. A deceitful bark, it is added, sometimes still covered the interior rotten substance, in which a person attempting to step on it, might sink to the waist. Such were the common disappointments in this Utopia. The naturalists had to add to them, the appropriate mortification of seeing numerous trees and shrubs, of which, as the time of flowering was past, it was impossible to make any scientific examination, and which, accordingly, only tantalized them with the idea of the profusion of new vegetables in this interesting country. A short residence here, especially during wet gloomy weather, proved that all was not so perfect in this climate as had been fondly imagined. The land about Dusky Bay, and indeed throughout most of the southern extremity of this island, was found to consist of steep rocky mountains, with craggy precipices, either clad with impenetrable forests, or quite barren, and covered with snow on the tops. No meadows or lawns were to be seen, and the only spot of flat land that was found, presented so much wood and briars as to be useless for either garden ground or pasture, without very considerable toil. This heartless description is somewhat relieved by a glowing picture of the scenery about what was called Cascade Cove, which seems to have arrested the attention of Mr F., and which, he says, could only have justice done it by the very successful pencil of Mr Hodges. The soil here was found to be quite like to what had elsewhere been found, and the rocks and stones consisted of granite, moor-stone, and brown talcous clay-stone. In one of the excursions to the country, it was observed, that as they receded from the sea, the mountains became much higher, and were more steep and barren, and that the trees dwindled in size, so as to resemble shrubs, circumstances rather the reverse of what is usually noticed in other countries. The climate of Dusky Bay is spoken unfavourably of, as its greatest inconvenience, and to this must be added its being deficient in celery, scurvy-grass, and other antiscorbutics. But with all its defects, Mr G.F. admits, that Dusky Bay is one of the finest places in New Zealand, for a crew to touch at in such a situation as that of his companions. The land about Cape Traveller appeared low and sandy near the shore, but rising into high snow-capt mountains interiorly. In one respect, according to this gentleman, Queen Charlotte's Sound has greatly the advantage of Dusky Bay, viz. its abounding in salutary vegetables. This it no doubt owes to the superior mildness of the climate, which is represented as highly favourable to botanical pursuits. The tea-tree and spruce, as they were called, were found here in great plenty, as well as at Dusky Bay; besides several species of plants in flower, which had not been seen before. The hills consisted chiefly of argillaceous stone, running in oblique strata, commonly dipping a little towards the south, of a greenish-grey, or bluish, or yellowish-brown colour, sometimes containing veins of white quartz, and sometimes a green talcous or nephritic stone, which, as it was capable of a good polish from its hardness, the natives used for chisels, &c. Mr F. specifies several other mineral substances found in this neighbourhood, particularly argillaceous strata of a rusty colour, which is inferred to contain iron, and a black compact and ponderous basalt, of which the natives form their pattoo-pattoos. It is unnecessary to make remarks on the subjects now mentioned, as they must be resumed in our account of Cook's third voyage, where we shall have to consider Mr Anderson's report respecting them and other topics, with greater attention, than was required for the present imperfect though valuable notices.--E.

## SECTION 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.*

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. 1/2 S., and Cape Koamaroo, or the S.E. point of the sound, N by W. 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.[1]

[1] Great shoals of cetaceous fish, of a perfectly black colour, with a white spot before the back-fin, passed by us. They were fired at from our vessel, and one of them being shot through the head, could no longer plunge under water, but began to beat about furiously on the surface, and tinged the sea with its blood. It seemed to be about three yards long, and was slender and blunt-headed, from whence our sailors called it the Bottle-nose, a name which Dale applies to a very different fish, the beaked whale, of which the beak or nose resembles the neck of a bottle."--G.F.

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°, 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  $47^{\circ} 7'$ , longitude  $173^{\circ}$  W. In this situation we had a great swell from N.E.[2]

[2] "Beds of sea-weeds frequently were seen floating on the sea, but we were now too much accustomed to their appearance, to attempt to draw any conclusions from it. The thermometer, which at our departure from New Zealand, stood at  $51^{\circ}$  at eight o'clock in the morning, sunk in proportion as we came to the southward to  $48^{\circ}$ , and sometimes to  $47^{\circ}$ , at the same time of day; but the temperature of the air upon the whole was extremely variable, and the weather equally unsettled. From thence it arose, that we daily observed rainbows, or parts of them about the horizon, especially in the morning. The wind during this time was likewise very changeable, and veered round the compass in a direction contrary to the course of the sun, that is, from west round by the north towards east, and so further on; but it chiefly prevailed from the easterly quarter, where we least expected it, so that our situation became tedious, and was made more irksome by frequent fogs, rains, and heavy swells."--G.F.

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  $44^{\circ} 30'$ , longitude  $165^{\circ} 45'$  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  $44^{\circ} 38'$  S., longitude  $161^{\circ} 27'$  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.[3]

[3] According to Sir G.F., it seems that the venereal disease made its appearance on some of the Adventure's crew, as was intimated by Captain Furneaux to Captain Cook, during a visit paid to the latter. In the opinion of Mr F., who is at some pains to investigate the subject, this disease was indigenous in New Zealand where the sailors contracted it, and not imported there by Europeans. This opinion is, no doubt, in confirmation of what the writer has elsewhere stated to be his own as to the general question respecting the origin of the disease; but he is bound in candour to admit, that it seems to rest on rather slender evidence and insufficient reasoning, in the present instance--so that he is less disposed to avail himself of it. Mr F. himself is not positive as to the facts on which he founds his opinion, and consequently is not so as to the opinion. This is to be inferred from his concluding remarks, which, besides, exhibit so fair a specimen of just indignation and regret, as may deserve to be offered to the reader's notice. "If," says he, "in spite of appearances, our conclusions should prove erroneous, it is another crime added to the score of civilized nations, which must make their memory execrated by the unhappy people, whom they have poisoned. Nothing can in the least atone for the injury they have done to society, since the price at which their libidinous enjoyments were purchased, instils another poison into the mind, and destroys the moral principles, while the disease corrupts and enervates the body. A race of men, who, amidst all their savage roughness, their fiery temper, and cruel customs, are brave, generous, hospitable, and incapable of deceiving, are justly to be pitied, that love, the source of their sweetest and happiest feelings, is converted into the origin of the most dreadful scourge of life." In this last paragraph, there is reason to imagine Mr F. has somewhat overstepped the modesty of both history and nature--the former, by too high commendation of the New Zealanders, who, whatever merit they may claim on other grounds, can scarcely be said, at least if facts are to be trusted, to be incapable of deceiving; and the latter, in ascribing greater influence to *love* among these savages, than perhaps will ever be found realised in such a condition of our nature. One cannot believe, that so philosophical an enquirer should impute much efficacy as a source of happiness to the mere brute passion; and it is equally unlikely that so acute an observer should discover any thing more refined than such an appetite in the sexual intercourse among so rude a tribe. Probably then his language is fully more poetic than becomes the sober narrator. This, indeed, is nowise uncommon with him, as the reader perhaps is already convinced. But this very circumstance, it is obvious, is to his advantage as a writer.--E.

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  $42^{\circ} 53'$  S., longitude  $163^{\circ} 20'$  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  $42^{\circ} 32'$ , longitude  $161^{\circ} 15'$  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.

On July 2d, being in the latitude of  $53^{\circ} 3'$ , longitude  $156^{\circ} 17'$  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  $41^{\circ} 22'$ , longitude  $156^{\circ} 12'$  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  $43^{\circ} 39'$ , longitude  $144^{\circ} 43'$  W., the variation was found, by several azimuths, to be more than  $3^{\circ}$  E., but the next morning it

was found to be  $4^{\circ} 5' 30''$ , and in the afternoon,  $5^{\circ} 56' E.$  The same day, at noon, we were in the latitude of  $43^{\circ} 44'$ , longitude  $141^{\circ} 56' W.$

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

Self 1st set	139° 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
-----	
Mean	140 24 17-1/2 West.

This differed from my reckoning only  $2^{\circ} 1/2$ . The next morning, in the latitude of  $43^{\circ} 3'$ , longitude  $139^{\circ} 20' W.$ , 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  $43^{\circ} 15'$ , longitude  $137^{\circ} 39' W.$ , 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  $42^{\circ} 39'$ , longitude  $137^{\circ} 58' W.$  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.  $1/2 E.$  in the latitude of  $41^{\circ} 25'$ , longitude  $135^{\circ} 58' W.$ , 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.  $1/2 E.$ , 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  $39^{\circ} 44'$ , longitude  $133^{\circ} 32' W.$ , 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  $27^{\circ}$ , a space that had not been visited by any preceding navigator that I knew of.[4]

[4] "The uncomfortable season of the year, the many contrary winds, and the total want of interesting incidents, united to make this run extremely tedious to us all, and the only point we gained by it, was the certainty that no great land was situated in the South Sea about the middle latitudes."--G.F.

On the 19th, being in the latitude of  $36^{\circ} 34'$ , longitude  $133^{\circ} 7' W.$ , we steered N.  $1/2 W.$ , 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  $32^{\circ} 30'$ , longitude  $133^{\circ} 40' W.$ , 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  $31^{\circ} 6'$ , longitude  $134^{\circ} 12' W.$  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.[5]

[5] "The spirits of all our people were much exhilarated in proportion as we approached to the tropics, and our sailors diverted themselves with a variety of plays every evening. The genial mildness of the air was so welcome to us, after a long absence from it, that we could not help preferring the warm climates as the best adapted for the abode of mankind."--G.F.

An observation of this sort, the evident result of experience, is worth a thousand treatises, in shewing how much man is the creature of circumstances and situation, and how justly his feelings, and of consequence his thoughts, are modified by climate and weather. Some philosophers, and, perhaps, more religionists, have endeavoured to devise means to render the human mind and character independent of physical elements. The attempt is just about as rational, and not a bit less presumptuous, than that of making them free of the Divine cognizance and authority, to which these elements are subjected. Such attempts, it seems pretty evident, have been the source of delusive self-congratulation in all ages of the world, and may be ascribed, with no very mighty stretch of fancy, to the same busy agent, by whom, in the earliest stage of our nature, man was tempted with the alluring hope of becoming "as God." A wiser and more benevolent instructor would teach him, on the contrary, to acknowledge his dependences and avoiding forbidden things, to partake with cheerfulness of the material blessings which surround him. This is genuine confidence in the Supreme Ruler, though, to be sure, it has little or no charms for the obstinate stoic, or the conceited pharisee. But "wisdom, it is certain, will be justified of all who are under its influence."--E.

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, shearwaters, 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  $29^{\circ} 22'$ , 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  $29^{\circ} 51'$ , longitude  $130^{\circ} 28' W.$  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  $28^{\circ} 44'$ , we had several observations of the sun and moon, which gave the longitude  $135^{\circ} 30' W$ . My reckoning at the same time was  $135^{\circ} 27'$ , 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  $27^{\circ} 53'$ , longitude  $135^{\circ} 17' W$ . 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.<sup>[6]</sup>

[6] "The difference between the salubrity of the two vessels probably arose from the want of fresh air in the Adventure, our sloop being higher out of the water, so that we could open more scuttles in bad weather than our consort. Our people likewise made a greater consumption of sour-kraut and wort, and particularly applied the grains of the latter to all blotches and swelled parts, a regimen which had been omitted by those in the Adventure."--G.F.

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  $25^{\circ} 1'$ , longitude  $134^{\circ} 6' W$ , 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  $40^{\circ}$  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  $18^{\circ}$  of longitude. In my passage to New Zealand in 1769, we also saw this weed, for the space of 12 or  $14^{\circ}$  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  $177^{\circ} W$ , and latitude  $46^{\circ}$ . There we had large billows from the N. and N.E., for five days successively, and until we got  $5^{\circ}$  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  $21^{\circ}$  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° 36' S., longitude 131° 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.[7] 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.

[7] "After many wishes, and long expectation, we this day, (6th August,) got the S.E. trade-wind. Its manner of coming on was rather remarkable. About ten o'clock in the morning, a thick haze began to rise in the eastern quarter, which by noon was become so thick, and had spread so far, that it was with difficulty we got the sun's meridian altitude; but the N.W. wind, which we had had for about a fortnight, during which time the weather was generally fine and pleasant, still continued to blow. In the afternoon we had some pretty brisk showers, with which the N.W. wind died away, and it was calm till eight o'clock in the evening, when a brisk steady gale sprung up at S.E., and proved permanent."--W.

Mr F. has given some very valuable remarks respecting the trade-winds but they are too long for this place.--E.

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° 24', longitude 141° 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° 20', longitude 141° 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.[8]

[8] "Our thermometer was now constantly between 70 and 80 degrees in the morning; but the heat was far from being troublesome, as the fair weather was accompanied by a strong pleasant trade-wind,"--G.F.

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 daylight 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° 5', longitude 143° 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° 4', longitude 144° 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.[9]

[9] This is a very fit place for the following curious observations on the formation of the low islands spoken of in the text. "All the low isles seem to me to be a production of the sea, or rather its inhabitants, the polype-like animals forming the lithophytes. These animalcules raise their habitation gradually from a small base, always spreading more and more, in proportion as the structure grows higher. The materials are a kind of lime mixed with some animal substance. I have seen these large structures in all stages, and of various extent. Near Turtle-Island, we found, at a few miles distance, and to leeward of it, a considerable large circular reef, over which the sea broke every where, and no part of it was above water; it included a large deep lagoon. To the east and north-east of the Society-Isles, are a great many isles, which, in some parts, are above water; in others, the elevated parts are connected by reefs, some of which, are

dry at low-water, and others are constantly under water. The elevated parts consist of a soil formed by a sand of shells and coral rocks, mixed with a light black mould, produced from putrified vegetables, and the dung of sea-fowls; and are commonly covered by cocoa-nut trees and other shrubs, and a few antiscorbutic plants. The lower parts have only a few shrubs, and the above plants; others still lower, are washed by the sea at high-water. All these isles are connected, and include a lagoon in the middle, which is full of the finest fish; and sometimes there is an opening, admitting a boat, or canoe, in the reef, but I never saw or heard of an opening that would admit a ship. The reef, or the first origin of these cells, is formed by the animalcules inhabiting the lithophytes. They raise their habitation within a little of the surface of the sea, which gradually throws shells, weeds, sand, small bits of corals, and other things, on the tops of these coral rocks, and at last fairly raises them above water; where the above things continue to be accumulated by the sea, till by a bird, or by the sea, a few seeds of plants, that commonly grow on the sea-shore, are thrown up, and begin to vegetate; and by their annual decay and reproduction from seeds, create a little mould, yearly accumulated by the mixture from sand, increasing the dry spot on every side; till another sea happens to carry a cocoa-nut hither, which preserves its vegetative power a long time in the sea, and therefore will soon begin to grow on this soil, especially as it thrives equally in all kinds of soil; and thus may all these low isles have become covered with the finest cocoa-nut trees. The animalcules forming these reefs, want to shelter their habitation from the impetuosity of the winds, and the power and rage of the ocean; but as within the tropics, the winds blow commonly from one quarter, they, by instinct, endeavour to stretch only a ledge, within which is a lagoon, which is certainly entirely screened against the power of both; this, therefore, might account for the method employed by the animalcules in building only narrow ledges of coral rocks, to secure in this middle a calm and sheltered place, and this seems to me to be the most probable cause of the origin of all the tropical low isles, over the whole South Sea."--F.

This theory has been pretty generally adopted by scientific men, and does not seem liable to any valid objection. The astonishment it may excite, is quite analogous to what is experienced on any discovery of the important ends to which the instinctive labours of other creatures are subservient, and is great, merely because of the conceived magnitude of the object to which it relates. But this affords no presumption against the truth of the theory; rather indeed, if the doctrine of final causes be allowed any credit, may be held, as in some degree, circumstantial evidence in its favour. We shall elsewhere, it is expected, have occasion to consider the subject with the attention it deserves.--E.

## SECTION 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.*

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.[1]

[1] Perhaps few descriptions of natural scenery excel the following, in real poetic effect:—"It was one of those beautiful mornings which the poets of all nations have attempted to describe, when we saw the isle of Otaheite, within two miles before us. The east-wind which had carried us so far, was entirely vanished, and a faint breeze only wafted a delicious perfume from the land, and curled the surface of the sea. The mountains, clothed with forests, rose majestic in various spiry forms, on which we already perceived the light of the rising sun: Nearer to the eye a lower range of hills, easier of ascent, appeared, wooded like the former, and coloured with several pleasing hues of green, soberly mixed with autumnal browns. At their foot lay the plain, crowned with its fertile bread-fruit trees, over which rose innumerable palms, the princes of the grove. Here everything seemed as yet asleep, the morning scarce dawned, and a peaceful shade still rested on the landscape. We discovered, however, a number of houses among the trees, and many canoes hauled up along the sandy beaches. About half a mile from the shore a ledge of rocks level with the water, extended parallel to the land, on which the surf broke, leaving a smooth and secure harbour within. The sun beginning to illuminate the plain, its inhabitants arose, and enlivened the scene. Having perceived the large vessels on their coast, several of them hastened to the beach, launched their canoes, and paddled towards us, who were highly delighted in watching all their occupations."--G.F.

This remark is of an earlier date than what is mentioned in the text, but, in the whole, is more suitably introduced here. It is to the praise of Cook, that his decision of character was founded on very liberal views of morality; and that he possessed independence of soul to manifest abhorrence of sinister suggestions, at the risk of losing both the advantage aimed at, and the partiality of those who made them. An apprehension of giving offence to men who are either esteemed or felt to be useful, has perhaps occasioned as much iniquitous conduct where the law of the strongest might be adopted, as ever resulted from the influence of directly vicious principles. But from this most mischievous weakness, it was one of the excellencies of that truly great man to be exempt.--E.

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.[2]

[2] "The natives on board, seeing us work so hard, assisted us in manning the capstern, hauling in ropes, and performing all sorts of labour. If they had had the least spark of a treacherous disposition, they could not have found a better opportunity of distressing us; but they approved themselves good-natured, and friendly in this, as on all other occasions."--G.F.

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.<sup>[3]</sup>

[3] We tried all possible means to engage the people to sell some of their hogs to us, and offered hatchets, shirts, and other goods of value to the Taheitans; but still without success, their constant answer being, that these animals were the king's (aree's) property. Instead of acquiescing in this refusal, and acknowledging the kind disposition of the natives, who furnished us at least with the

means of recovering our strength, and restoring our stock, a proposal was made to the captains, by some persons in the ships, to sweep away, by force, a sufficient number of hogs for our use, and afterwards to return such a quantity of our goods in exchange to the natives, as we should think adequate to the spoil we had taken. This proposal, which nothing but the most tyrannical principles, and the meanest selfishness could have dictated, was received with the contempt and indignation which it justly deserved."--G.F.

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 Aotourou 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.

## SECTION 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.*

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 Edgecumbe 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.

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.[1]

[1] Mr G.F. has been so successful in his Otaheitan delineations, that though the subject occupied no small space of our preceding volume, and must again engage our attention, when we treat of Cook's third voyage, nevertheless we cannot help running the risk of the reader's impatience by a transcript of some of his sketches. Speaking of the natives first met with, he says, "The people around us had mild features, and a pleasing countenance; they were about our size, of a pale mahogany brown, had fine black hair and eyes, and wore a piece of cloth round their middle of their own manufacture, and another wrapped about the head in curious picturesque shapes like a turban. Among them were several females, pretty enough to attract the attention of Europeans, who had not seen their own countrywomen for twelve long months past. These wore a piece of cloth with a hole in the middle, through which they had passed the head, so that one part of the garment hung down behind, and the other before, to the knees; a fine white cloth like a muslin, was passed over this in various elegant turns round the body, a little below the breast, forming a kind of tunic, of which one turn sometimes fell gracefully across the shoulder. If this dress had not entirely that perfect form, so justly admired in the draperies of the ancient Greek statues, it was however infinitely superior to our expectations, and much more advantageous to the human figure, than any modern fashion we had hitherto seen."

"It was not long before some of these good people came aboard. That peculiar gentleness of disposition, which is their general characteristic, immediately manifested itself in all their looks and actions, and gave full employment to those who made the human heart their study. They expressed several marks of affection in their countenance, took hold of our hands, leaned on our shoulders, or embraced us. They admired the whiteness of our bodies, and frequently pushed aside our clothes from the breast, as if to convince themselves that we were made like them." According to this gentleman, it was the women of the "baser sort," who yielded without difficulty to the solicitations of the sailors. "Some of them," says he, "who came on board for this purpose, seemed not to be above nine or ten years old, and had not the least marks of puberty. So early an acquaintance with the world seems to argue an uncommon degree of voluptuousness, and cannot fail of affecting the nation in general. The effect, which was immediately obvious to me, was the low stature of the common class of people, to which all these prostitutes belonged. Among this whole order, we saw few persons above the middle size, and many below it; an observation which confirms what M. de Buffon has very judiciously said on the subject of early connections of the sexes. Their features were very irregular, and, in general, very ordinary, except the eyes, which were always large and full of vivacity; but a natural smile, and a constant endeavour to please, had so well supplied the want of beauty, that our sailors were perfectly captivated, and carelessly disposed of their shirts and clothes, to gratify their mistresses. The simplicity of their dress, &c. might contribute to this attraction; and the view of several of these nymphs swimming all nimbly round the sloop, such as nature had formed them, was perhaps more than sufficient entirety to subvert the little reason which a mariner might have left to govern his passions. As trifling circumstances had given occasion to their taking the water. One of the officers on the quarter-deck intended to drop a bead into a canoe for a little boy about six years old; by accident it missed the boat and fell into the sea, but the child immediately leaped overboard, and diving after it, brought it up again. To reward his performance, we dropped some more beads to him, which so tempted a number of men and women, that they amused us with amazing feats of agility in the water, and not only fetched up several

beads scattered at once, but likewise large nails, which, on account of their weight, descended quickly to a considerable depth. Some of them continued a long while under water, and the velocity with which we saw them go down, the water being perfectly clear, was very surprising. The frequent ablutions of these people seem to make swimming familiar to them from their earliest childhood; and, indeed, their easy position in the water, and the pliancy of their limbs, gave us reason to look on them almost as amphibious creatures." These trifling ornaments were most eagerly coveted by all ages and sexes, and often prized much above any other European goods however useful, so prevalent and powerful is the love of ornament in our species. "The methods to obtain them from us were very different, and consequently not always equally successful. When we distributed a few beads to one set of people, some young fellows would impudently thrust their hands in between them, and demand their share, as though it had been their due; these attempts we always made it our business to discourage by a flat refusal. It was already become difficult to deny a venerable old man, who, with a hand not yet palsied by age, vigorously pressed ours, and with a perfect reliance upon our good-nature, whispered the petition in our ears. The elderly ladies, in general, made sure of a prize by a little artful flattery. They commonly enquired for our names, and then adopted us as their sons, at the same time introducing to us the several relations, whom we acquired by this means. After a series of little caresses, the old lady began, *Aima poe-éetee no te tayo mettua?* "Have you not a little bead for your kind mother?" Such a trial of our filial attachment always had its desired effect, as we could not fail to draw the most favourable conclusions from thence in regard to the general kind disposition of the whole people: for to expect a good quality in others, of which we ourselves are not possessed, is a refinement in manners peculiar to polished nations. Our other female relations in the bloom of youth, with some share of beauty, and constant endeavours to please, laid a claim to our affections by giving themselves the tender name of sisters; and all the world will agree that this attack was perfectly irresistible." But it must not be imagined that the fair sisters in this happy island, any more than elsewhere, were exempt from certain ruder passions, by which, at times, they seem to vie with the lords of the creation. Mr F. has preserved a very characteristic trait of such a spirit of domination in his account of one of the Potatow's wives, which may be read, but it is to be hoped will not be imitated, by any of our female friends. "Polatehera," says Mr F. "was so like him in stature and bulk, (one of the tallest and stoutest men in the island,) that we unanimously looked upon her as the most extraordinary woman we had ever seen. Her appearance and her conduct were masculine in the highest degree, and strongly conveyed the idea of superiority and command. When the Endeavour bark lay here, she had distinguished herself by the name of Captain Cook's sister, and one day, being denied admittance into the fort on Point Venus, had knocked down the sentry who opposed her, and complained to her adopted brother of the indignity which had been offered to her." Altogether, however, this gentleman is the eulogist of the natives and country of Otaheite, and admits, that he left them with great regret. We shall conclude our extracts from his description, by the following remarks as to the language:-- "Many of them seeing us desirous of learning their language, by asking the names of various familiar objects, or repeating such as we found in the vocabularies of former voyages, took great pains to teach us, and were much delighted when we could catch the just pronunciation of a word. For my own part, no language seemed easier to acquire than this; every harsh and sibilant consonant being banished from it, and almost every word ending in a vowel. The only requisite, was a nice ear to distinguish the numerous modifications of the vowels which must naturally occur in a language confined to few consonants, and which, once rightly understood, give a great degree of delicacy to conversation. Amongst several observations, we immediately found that the O or E with which the greatest part of the names and words in (the account of) Lieutenant Cook's first voyage, is nothing else than the article, which many eastern languages affix to the greater part of their substantives." He applies this observation to the name of the island which he thinks has been fortunately expressed by M. Bougainville in French, by Taiti, without the initial vowel usually given to it in English books.--E.

## SECTION 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.*

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.[1]

[1] "On the walk to Oree's house, Dr Sparrman and I saw great numbers of hogs, dogs, and fowls. The last roamed about at pleasure through the woods, and roosted on fruit-trees; the hogs were likewise allowed to run about, but received regular portions of food, which were commonly distributed by old women. We observed one of them, in particular, feeding a little pig with the same fermented bread-fruit paste, called *mahei*; she held the pig with one hand, and offered it a tough pork's skin, but as soon as it opened the mouth to snap at it, she contrived to throw in a handful of the same paste, which the little animal would not take without this stratagem. The dogs, in spite of their stupidity, were in high favour with all the women, who could not have nursed them with a more ridiculous affection, if they had really been ladies of fashion in Europe. We were witnesses of a remarkable instance of kindness, when we saw a middle-aged woman, whose breasts were full of milk, offering them to a little puppy, which had been trained up to suck them. We were so much surprised at this sight, that we could not help expressing our dislike of it; but she smiled at our observation, and added, that she suffered little pigs to do the same service. Upon enquiry, however, we found that she had lost her child, and did her the justice amongst ourselves to acknowledge, that this expedient was very innocent, and formerly practised in Europe."--G.F.

He might have added, and still is. It is quite usual in this country to use puppies in order to draw the breasts, when distended with milk, from the want or inability of a child to suck them. But it is, perhaps, quite erroneous to ascribe the practice to affection or kindness, in either Europe or Otaheite.--E.

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.[2]

[2] "The people of this island appeared to be so exactly like the Taheitians, that we could perceive no difference, nor could we by any means verify that assertion of former navigators, that the women of this island were in general fairer, and more handsome; but this may vary according to circumstances. They were, however, not so troublesome in begging for beads and other presents, nor so forward to bestow their favours on the new comers, though at our landing and putting off, some of the common sort frequently performed an indecent ceremony, which is described in the accounts of former voyages, but without any of the preparatory circumstances which Ooratooa practised. We had likewise much less reason to extol the hospitality of the inhabitants, their general behaviour being rather more indifferent, and the Taessian custom of reciprocal presents almost entirely unknown. On our walks, we were unmolested, (Mr F. relates also the assault of Dr Sparrman) but their conduct was bolder and more unconcerned than that of the Taheitians, and the explosion, as well as the effects of our fowling-pieces, did not strike them with fear and astonishment. These differences were certainly owing to the various treatment which the people of both islands had met with on the part of Europeans. There were, however, not wanting instances of hospitality and good-will even here."--G.F.

Before we quitted this island, Captain Furneaux agreed to receive on board his ship a young man named Omai, a native of Ulietea; 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.

### SECTION 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.*

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 eavoa-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.[1]

[1] "The accounts of the situation and distances of these isles, were so various and so vague, that we could by no means depend upon them, for we never met with any man who had visited them; however, they served to convince us, that the natives of the Society Isles have sometimes extended their navigation farther than its present limits, by the knowledge they have of several adjacent countries. Tupaya (Tupia), the famous man who embarked at Taheitee in the Endeavour, had enumerated a much more considerable list of names, and had actually drawn a map of their respective situations and magnitudes, of which Lieutenant Pickersgill obligingly communicated a copy to me. In this map we found all the names now mentioned, except two; but if his drawing had been exact, our ships must have sailed over a number of the islands which he had laid down. It is therefore very probable, that the vanity of appearing more intelligent than he really was, had prompted him to produce this fancied chart of the South Sea, and perhaps to invent many of the names of islands in it, which amounted to more than fifty."--G.F.

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 Ulitea 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.*[2]

[2] Some of our readers might be profited, perhaps, by considering the moral of the following incident, which occurred at this play.--"Among the spectators we observed several of the prettiest women of this country; and one of them was remarkable for the whitest complexion we had ever seen on all these islands. Her colour resembled that of white wax a little sullied, without having the least appearance of sickness, which that hue commonly conveys; and her fine black eyes and hair contrasted so well with it, that she was admired by us all. She received at first a number of little presents, which were so many marks of homage paid at the shrine of beauty; but her success, instead of gratifying, only sharpened her love of trinkets, and she incessantly importuned every one of us, as long as she suspected we had a single bead left. One of the gentlemen fortunately happened to have a little padlock in his hand, which she begged for as soon as she had perceived it. After denying it for some time, he consented to give it her, and locked it in her ear, assuring her that was its proper place. She was pleased for some time; but finding it too heavy, desired him to unlock it. He flung away the key, giving her to understand, at the same time, that he had made her the present at her own desire, and that if she found it encumbered her, she should bear it as a punishment for importuning us with her petitions. She was disconsolate upon this refusal, and weeping bitterly, applied to us all to open the padlock; but if we had been willing, we were not able to comply with her request, for want of the key. She applied to the chief, and he as well as his wife, son, and daughter, joined in praying for the release of her ear: They offered cloth, perfume-wood, and hogs, but all in vain. At last a small key was found to open the padlock, which put an end to the poor girl's lamentation, and restored peace and tranquillity among all her friends. Her adventure had, however, this good effect, that it cured her, and some of her forward country-women, of this idle habit of begging."--G.F.

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.

#### SECTION 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.*

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.<sup>[1]</sup> 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.

[1] "We heard that about the time mentioned by the natives, Don Juan de Langara y Huarte, sent out from the port of Callao in Peru, had visited Otaheite, but what the particulars of that voyage are, has never transpired."--G.F.

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.[2]

[2] We anticipated such an opinion in a former volume, and cannot refrain quoting the following observations in support of it.--"The question, which has been agitated between the French and English navigators, concerning the first introduction of this evil to Otaheite, might be decided very favourably for them both, by supposing the disease to have existed there previous to their arrival. The argument, that some of Captain Wallis's people received the infection, does not seem to controvert this supposition, but only proves, that the women, who prostrated themselves to his men, were free from it; which was, perhaps, owing to a precaution of the natives, who might be apprehensive of exposing themselves to the anger of the strangers, by conferring such a desperate gift upon them. M. de Bougainville, with the politeness of a well-bred man, doubts whether the disease existed at Otaheite previous to his arrival or not; the English seaman asserts his opinion as facts in positive terms. We heard, however, of another disease of a different nature, whilst we stayed upon the island; and which they called *o-pay-no-Peppe*, (the sore of Peppe), adding that it was brought by the ship which they designed by that name, and which, according to different accounts, had either been two, three, or four months before us at Otaheite. By the account of the symptoms, it seemed to be a kind of leprosy. Nothing is more easy than to imagine, how the strangers (Spaniards) who visited Otaheite in that ship, might be erroneously charged with introducing that disease. In order to give rise to a general error of this sort, it is sufficient that it broke out nearly about the time of their arrival, and that some distant connections between them and the persons affected could be traced. This is the more probable, as it is certain, that there are several sorts of leprous complaints existing among the inhabitants, such as the elephantiasis, which resembles the yaws; also an eruption over the whole skin, and, lastly, a monstrous rotting ulcer, of a most loathsome appearance. However, all these very seldom occur, and especially the last; for the excellence of their climate, and the simplicity of their vegetable food, which cannot be too much extolled, prevent not only these, but almost all dangerous and deadly disorders."--G.F.

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 *Aheeava*. 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.[3]

[3] The reader will be abundantly supplied with information respecting the fact of human sacrifices being used at this island, when he comes to the account of the third voyage performed by Cook.--E.

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  $17^{\circ} 43' 26''$  south, and the longitude  $0^{\circ} 21' 25'' \frac{1}{2}$  east from Point Venus; or  $149^{\circ} 13' 24''$  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  $4\frac{3}{4}$  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  $17^{\circ} 29' 13''$  south. This differs but two seconds from that which Mr Green and I found; and its longitude, viz.  $149^{\circ} 34' 49'' \frac{1}{2}$  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.

## CHAPTER II.

FROM OUR DEPARTURE FROM THE SOCIETY ISLES, TO OUR RETURN TO AND LEAVING THEM THE SECOND TIME.

### SECTION I.

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

After leaving Ulietea, 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  $19^{\circ} 18' S.$ , longitude  $158^{\circ} 54' W.$ , 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  $21^{\circ} 26' S.$ , longitude  $170^{\circ} 40' W.$ , it was  $10^{\circ} 45' E.$ .

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.[1]

[1] "There appeared to be some low land at the bottom of the hills, which contained plantations of fine young bananas, whose vivid green leaves contrasted admirably with the different tints of various shrubberies, and with the brown colour of the cocoa-palms, which seemed to be the effect of winter. The light was still so faint, that we distinguished several fires glimmering in the bushes, but by degrees we likewise discerned people running along the shore. The hills which were low, and not so high above the level of the sea as the Isle of Wight, were agreeably adorned with small clumps of trees scattered at some distance, and the intermediate ground appeared covered with herbage, like many parts of England."--G.F.

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.[2] 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.[3]

[2] "We threw a rope into one of these canoes which ran up close to us, and one of the three people in her came on board, and presented a root of the intoxicating pepper-tree of the South Sea Islands, touched our noses with his like the New Zealanders, in sign of friendship, and then sat down on the deck without speaking a word. The captain presented him with a nail, upon which he immediately held it over his own head, and pronounced *fagafetei*, which was probably an expression of thanksgiving. He was naked to the waist, but from thence to the knees he had a piece of cloth wrapped about him, which seemed to be manufactured much like that of Otaheite, but was covered with a brown colour, and a strong glue, which made it stiff, and fit to resist the wet. His stature was middle-sized, and his lineaments were mild and tolerably regular. His colour was much like that of the common Otaheiteans, that is, of a clear mahogany or chesnut brown; his beard was cut short or shaven, and his hair was black, in short, frizzled curls, burnt as it were at the tops. He had three circular spots on each arm, about the size of a crown-piece, consisting of several concentric circles of elevated points, which answered to the punctures of the Otaheiteans, but were blacker; besides these, he had other black punctures on his body. A small cylinder was fixed through two holes in the loop of his ear, and his left hand wanted the little finger. He continued his silence for a considerable while, but some others, who ventured on board soon after him, were of a more communicative turn, and after having performed the ceremony of touching noses, spoke a language which was unintelligible to us at that time."--G.F.

[3] "They made a great deal of noise about us, every one shewing what he had to sell, and calling to some one of us, who happened to look towards them. Their language was not unpleasing, and whatever they said, was in a singing kind of tone. Many were bold enough to come on board, without expressing the least hesitation, and one of these seemed to be a chief, or a man of some quality, and was accordingly treated with a number of presents, which he severally laid on his head, when he received them, saying *fagafetei* every time. Our English cloth and linen he admired most, and iron wares in the next degree. His behaviour was very free and unconcerned; for he went down into the cabin, and wherever we thought fit to conduct him."--G.F.

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.[4] 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.[5] 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.

[4] "The cordial reception which we met with, was such as might have been expected from a people well acquainted with our good intentions, and accustomed to the transitory visits of European ships. But these kind islanders had never seen Europeans among them, and could only have heard of Tasman, who visited the adjacent island, by imperfect tradition. Nothing was therefore more conspicuous in their whole behaviour than an open, generous disposition, free from any mean distrust. This was confirmed by the appearance of a great number of women in the crowd, covered from the waist downwards, whose smiles and looks welcomed us to the shore."--G.F.

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.[6] 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.

[5] "They beat time to the music by snapping the second finger and thumb, and holding the three remaining fingers upright. Their voices were very sweet and mellow, and they sung in parts. When they had gone, they were relieved by others, who sung the same tune, and at last they joined together in chorus."--G.F.

[6] "The inhabitants seemed to be of a more active and industrious disposition than those of Otaheite and instead of following us in great crowds wherever we went, left us entirely by ourselves, unless we entreated them to accompany us. In that case we could venture to go with our pockets open, unless we had nails in them, upon which they set so great a value, that they could not always resist the temptation. We passed through more than ten adjacent plantations or gardens, separated by inclosures, communicating with each other by means of doors. In each of them we commonly met with a house, of which the inhabitants were absent. Their attention to separate their property seemed to argue a higher degree of civilization than we had expected. Their arts, manufactures, and music, were all more cultivated, complicated, and elegant, than at the Society Isles. But, in return, the opulence, or rather luxury, of the Otaheiteans seemed to be much greater. We saw but few hogs and fowls here; and that great support of life, the bread-tree, appeared to be very scarce. Yams, therefore, and other roots, together with bananoes, are their principal article of diet. Their clothing, too, compared to that of Otaheite, was less plentiful, or at least not converted into such an article of luxury as at that island. Lastly, their houses, though neatly constructed, and always placed in a fragrant shrubbery, were less roomy and convenient."--G.F.

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.[7] 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.

[7] "We were accosted with caresses by old and young, by men and women. They hugged us very heartily, and frequently kissed our hands, laying them on their breast, with the most expressive

looks of affection that can be imagined."--G.F.

## SECTION 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.*

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.[1]

[1] "A party of the marines were posted on the beach in case of danger, to protect the captain's clerk, who traded for provisions. The natives did not express either surprise or dislike at this proceeding, perhaps, because they were unacquainted with its meaning. They received us with acclamations of joy as at Ea-oonhe, and desired us to sit down with them on the rocks along shore, which consisted of coral, and were covered with shell sand. We purchased several beautiful parroquets, pigeons, and doves, which they brought to us perfectly tame; and our young Borabora man, Mahine (or Odeedee), traded with great eagerness for ornaments made of bright red feathers, which he assured us had an extraordinary value at Otaheite and the Society Islands. Here they were commonly pasted to aprons used in their dances, and made of the fibres of cocoa-nuts, or fixed upon bananoe leaves, forming rhomboidal frontlets or diadems; and with a degree of extacy, which gave the greatest weight to his assertion, he shewed us that a little piece of feather-work, as broad as two or three fingers, would purchase the largest hog in his island."--G.F.

As soon as we were landed; all the gentlemen set out into the country, accompanied by some of the natives.[2] 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.

[2] "We left the beach after the first acquaintance with the natives, and ascended a few feet into a wild forest consisting of tall trees, intermixed with shrubberies. This wood, though narrow, being in many places not above one hundred yards wide, was continued along the shore of Van Diemen's

road, being more or less open in various parts. Beyond it the whole island was perfectly level. We walked across a piece of uncultivated land, about five hundred yards wide, which adjoined to the wood. Part of it appeared to have been planted with yams, but the rest was full of grass, and had a little swamp in the middle, where the purple water-hen, or *poula sultane*, resided in great numbers. As soon as we left this, we entered into a lane about six feet wide, between two fences of reed, which inclosed extensive plantations on each side. Here we met many of the natives, who were travelling to the beach with loads of provisions, and courteously bowed their heads as they passed by us, in sign of friendship, generally pronouncing some monosyllable or other, which seemed to correspond to the Otaheitean *tays*. The inclosures, plantations, and houses, were exactly in the same style as at Ea-oonhe, and the people had never failed to plant odoriferous shrubs round their dwellings. The mulberry, of which the bark is manufactured into cloth, and the bread-tree, were more scarce than at the Society Isles, and the apple of those islands was entirely unknown; but the shaddock well supplied its place. The season of spring, which revived the face of all nature, adorning every plant with blossoms, and inspiring with joyful songs the feathered tribe, doubtless contributed in a great measure to make every object pleasing in our eyes. But the industry and elegance of the natives, which they displayed in planting every piece of ground to the greatest advantage, as well as in the neatness and regularity of all their works, demanded our admiration, whilst it gave us room to suppose, that they enjoyed a considerable degree of happiness. One of the lanes between the inclosures, led us to a little grove, which we admired for its irregularity. An immense casuarina tree far out-topped the rest, and its branches were loaded with a vast number of blackish creatures, which we took for crows at a distance, but which proved to be bats when we came nearer. They clung to the twigs by the hooked claws, which are at the extremity of their webbed fingers and toes; sometimes they hung with the head downwards, and sometimes the reverse. We shot at them, and brought down six or eight at once, besides wounding several others which held foot on the tree. They were of the kind which is commonly called the vampyre, and measured from three to four feet between the expanded wings. A great number of them were disturbed at our firing, and flew from the tree very heavily, uttering a shrill piping note; some likewise arrived from remote parts at intervals to the tree, but the greatest number remained in their position, and probably go out to feed only by night. As they live chiefly upon fruit, it is likely that they commit great depredations in the orchards of the natives, some of whom being present when we fired, seemed very well pleased with the death of their enemies." "We had already observed at Otaheite, at the Society Islands, and even at Ea-oonhe, that wherever we met with a casuarina, a burying-place was at hand. Therefore, at sight of this venerable tree, which was hung with ill-omened creatures, we immediately conjectured that it would lead us to a cemetery or place of worship, and the event shewed that we were not mistaken. We found a beautiful green lawn, inclosed on all sides by shady bushes and trees, amongst which casuarinas, pandangs, and wild sago-palms, appeared with their various tints of green. A row of Barringtonians, as big as the loftiest oaks, formed one side of it, and strewed it with their large blushing flowers. At the upper end of it, there was a rising two or three feet high, set out with coral-stones cut square. The area above was covered with a green sod, like the rest of the lawn. Two steps, likewise of coral rock, led up to this part, in the midst of which a house was situated, exactly like that which we saw at Ea-oonhe," &c.--G.F.

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混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 bananas, 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.[3]

[3] "We continued our walk through the plantations, and met with very few inhabitants, they being almost all gone towards the trading-place. Those we saw passed by us, or continued their occupations without stopping on our account. Neither curiosity nor distrust and jealousy excited them to prohibit our farther progress; on the contrary, they always spoke in a kind tone to us, which sufficiently characterized their disposition. We looked into many of the houses and found them empty, but always laid out with mats, and delightfully situated among odoriferous shrubs. Sometimes they were separated from the plantations by a little fence, through which a door, like those of Ea-oowhe, gave admittance, which could be shut on the inside. In that case only the area, which this fence inclosed around the hut, was planted with the odoriferous grove, which is so much in request with the natives. A walk of three miles, brought us to the eastern shore of the island, where it forms a deep angle, which Tasman called Maria Bay. Where we fell in with it, the ground sloped imperceptibly into a sandy beach; but as we walked along towards the north point, we found it rose perpendicularly, and in some places it was excavated and overhanging. It consisted, however, entirely of coral, which is a strong proof of some great change on our globe, as this rock can only be formed under water. Whether it was left bare by a gradual diminution of the sea, or perhaps by a more violent revolution which our earth may formerly have suffered, I shall not venture to determine. So much, however, may be assumed as a certainty, that if we suppose a gradual diminution of the sea, at the rate which they pretend to have observed in Sweden (see Mem. of the Swed. Acad. of Sciences at Stockholm), the emersion of this island must be of so modern a date, that it is matter of astonishment how it came to be covered with soil, herbage, and forests; so well stocked with inhabitants, and so regularly adorned as we really found it." "After a long walk, during which we missed our way, and engaged one of the natives to become our guide, we entered a long narrow lane between two fences, which led us directly to the Fayetooca, or burying-place, we had left before. Here we found Captains Cook and Furneaux and Mr Hodges, with a great number of natives, seated on the fine lawn. They were in conversation with an old blear-eyed man," &c. "From this place we returned to the sea shore, where a brisk trade for vegetables, fowls, and hogs was carried on," &c. "It was near sun-set when we returned on board with our collection, and found the vessels still surrounded by many canoes, and the natives swimming about extremely vociferous. Among them were a considerable number of women, who wanted in the water like amphibious creatures, and were easily persuaded to come on board, perfectly naked, without professing greater chastity than the common women at Otaheite and the Society Isles," &c.--G.F.

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.[4] 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 grapping 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.[5]

[4] "He was drest in mats, one of which, on account of the coolness of the morning, he had drawn over his shoulders. He resembled all other uncivilized people in the circumstance that his attention could not be fixed to one object for any space of time, and it was difficult to prevail on him to sit still whilst Mr Hodges drew his portrait. After breakfast, the captains and my father prepared to return to the shore with him; but just as he was going out of the cabin, he happened to see an Otaheitean dog running about the deck; at this sight he could not conceal his joy, but clapped his hands on his breast, and, turning to the captain, repeated the word *goorree* near twenty times. We were much surprised to hear that he knew the name of an animal which did not exist in his country, and made him a present of one of each sex, with which he went on shore in an extacy of joy."--G.F.

[5] "I remained on board all this day to arrange the collection of plants and birds which we had made on our first excursion, and which was far from despicable, considering the small size of the island. The natives continued to crowd about our vessels in a number of canoes, whilst many were swimming to and from the shore, who were probably not rich enough to possess a canoe. Among the great numbers who surrounded us, we observed several whose hair seemed to be burnt at the ends, and were strewed with a white powder. Upon examination we found that this powder was nothing else than lime, made of shells or coral, which had corroded or burnt the hair. The taste of powdering was at its height in this island. We observed a man who had employed a blue powder, and many persons of both sexes who wore an orange powder made of turmeric. St Jerom, who preached against the vanities of the age, very seriously reprehends a similar custom in the Roman ladies: '*Ne irruget crines, et anticipet sibi ignes Gehennæ!*' Thus, by an admirable similarity of follies, the modes of the former inhabitants of Europe are in full force among the modern antipodes; and our insipid beaux, whose only pride is the invention of a new fashion, are forced to share that slender honour with the uncivilized natives of an isle in the South Seas,"--G.F.

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 bananoe, 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 immovable 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.[6]

[6] "Upon enquiry, some of the sportsmen who had met with this man near Maria Bay, had been repeatedly told, that he was the chief of the whole island, in the same manner as Cookee (Captain Cook) was chief of our ships, and that they called him Ko-Haghee-too-Fallango. Whether this was his

name or his title I cannot determine, as we never heard it mentioned again by the natives; but they all agreed in telling us, that he was their Areghee, or king. They added, that his name was Latoo-Ni-pooroo, of which we concluded that the former part (Latoo) was a title, it being the same which Schooten and La Maire, the Dutch navigators, in the year 1616, found at the Cocos, Traytors, and Horne islands, which are situated in this neighbourhood, only a few degrees to the northward. We were confirmed in this opinion by the great correspondence of the vocabularies, which these intelligent seamen have left us, with the language which was spoken at Tonga-Tabboo, and still more so by the entire similarity in the behaviour and customs of these islanders."--G.F.

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.[7] 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.

[7] Mr G. Forster agrees with Cook as to the toper-like qualities of this priest, but speaks of his having great authority among the people. This merely apparent difference of statement is quite easily understood, by what one may witness in some other countries, where respect for the ecclesiastical office is not unfrequently accompanied with the most thoroughly merited contempt of the self-degraded hirelings that sustain it. The *three-bottle* vicar still continues in England, to obtain the accustomed reverence to his surplice, from the wondering parishioners, though the companions of his jovial hours have long ceased to feel the slightest compunctions arising from inward respect, when they laugh at his heinously red nose, or chorus in his ribaldry. The islanders of the South Sea are not singular then, in mentally disjoining official dignity from moral excellence.--E.

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.[8]

[8] "Here, however, as in all other societies of men, we found exceptions to the general character, and had reason to lament the behaviour of vicious individuals. Dr Sparrman and myself having left the beach where the Latoo attracted the attention of all our people, entered the wood in pursuit of farther discoveries in our branch of science. The first discharge of my fowling-piece at a bird brought three natives towards us, with whom we entered into conversation, as far as our superficial knowledge of their tongue would permit. Soon after, Dr Sparrman stepped aside into a thicket in search of a bayonet, which he had lost from the end of his musket. One of the natives, finding the temptation of the moment irresistible, grasped my fowling-piece, and struggled to wrest it from me. I called to my companion, and the two other natives ran away, unwilling to become the accomplices in this attack. In the struggle, our feet were entangled in a bush, and we both fell together; but the native, seeing he could not gain his point, and perhaps dreading the arrival of Dr Sparrman, got up before me, and took that opportunity of running off. My friend joined me immediately; and we concluded, that if there was something treacherous or vicious in the behaviour of this fellow, our separation was also imprudent, because it had furnished him with an opportunity to exercise his talents."--G.F.

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.[9] 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.

[9] "We had made such good use of the four months, after our departure from New Zealand, as to have crossed the South Sea in the middle latitudes, in the depth of winter, examined a space of more than forty degrees of longitude between the tropics, and refreshed our people at Otaheite, the Society Islands, and the Friendly Islands, during one and thirty days. The season for prosecuting our

discoveries in high southern latitudes advanced, and the savage rocks of New Zealand were only to give us shelter, whilst we changed our fair-weather rigging, for such as might resist the storms and vigours of more inhospitable climates."--G.F.

### SECTION 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. [1]*

[1] This subject is resumed in the account of Cook's third voyage, to which we refer for additional information. A few observations, however, are here given from the works already mentioned, as deserving the reader's immediate attention.--E.

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  $21^{\circ} 29'$  and  $21^{\circ} 3'$  south, and between the longitude of  $174^{\circ} 40'$  and  $175^{\circ} 15'$  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.[2]

[2] "Next to the Society Isles, for richness of productions, and beauty of appearance, we must place that group discovered by the Dutch navigator Tasman, and not unaptly to be distinguished by the name of Friendly Isles, from the peaceable kind disposition of their inhabitants. They are raised so high above the level of the sea, that they can no longer rank with the low islands; and being destitute of mountains, they are equally distinct from the high islands. They are extremely populous, and their uniform surface, therefore, gives the people an opportunity of carrying cultivation very far; and from one end to the other, they are intersected by paths and fences, which divide the plantations. At first, one might be apt to think that this high cultivation would give the botanist very scanty supplies of spontaneous plants; but it is the peculiar beauty of these elegant isles to join the useful to the agreeable in nature, by which means a variety of different wild species thrive among more that are cultivated in that pleasing disorder, which is so much admired in the gardens of this kingdom."--F.

The anchorage, which I named English Road, being the first who anchored there, is on the N.W. side, in latitude  $21^{\circ} 20' 30''$  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.[3]

[3] Much of the difference betwixt the Society and Friendly Isles, seems to depend on the greater abundance of water in the former. This is noticed very judiciously by Mr G.F., as will be seen in a following note. His father too was well aware of it. "The Friendly Isles," says he, "seem to be destitute of springs; for though on some of them, as Eaoowhe and Anamocka, there are small hills and rising grounds; they are, however, far from being so high as to attract the clouds, or to cause, from their perpetual moisture, a continual flood of spring water. The natives have ponds, some of which are large, wherein they collect the rain water, but it is sometimes brackish from the vicinity of the sea." He speaks, it may be added, of a large lagoon of salt water in Anamocka, about three miles long, full of small isles, ornamented with clusters of trees, and surrounded by bushes of man-groves and hills, so as altogether to form a romantic landscape. In his opinion, the soil is much the same in both clusters.--E.

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 fragrancy 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 couts 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.[4] 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 out-riggers, 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 immerged 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.

[4] The following remarks, collected from Mr F.'s work, may prove useful to the reader:—"In the tropical isles they have but four species of quadrupeds, two of which are domestic; and the remaining ones are the vampyre and the common rat. This last inhabits the Marquesas, Society Isles, Friendly Isles, and the New Hebrides. They are in incredible numbers at the Society Isles, much scarcer at the Marquesas and Friendly Isles, and seldom seen at the New Hebrides. The vampyre is only seen in the more western isles. At the Friendly Isles they live gregarious by several hundreds, and some of them are seen flying about the whole day. The Society Isles alone are fortunate enough to possess both the domestic quadrupeds, the dog and the hog. New Zealand and the low islands must be content with dogs alone; the Marquesas, Friendly Isles, and New Hebrides, have only hogs; and Easter Island and New Caledonia are destitute of both. There is only one tame species of birds, properly speaking, in the tropical isles of the South Sea, viz. the common cock and hen; They are numerous at Easter Island, where they are the only domestic animals; they are likewise in great plenty at the Society Isles, and Friendly Isles, at which last they are of a prodigious size: They are also not uncommon at the Marquesas, Hebrides, and New Caledonia; but the low isles, and those of the temperate zone, are quite destitute of them. The natives of the Friendly and Society Isles sometimes catch and tame certain sorts of parroquets and pigeons, but never have any breeds of them, so that they can scarcely be reckoned as domestic birds. The South Sea is rich in fish, and has a great variety of species, most of which are good eating, many very delicious, and but a few capable of noxious or fatal effects.—E.

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 *tattowed* 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 girt, 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 unsuspicious 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.[5] 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.

[5] This custom is not peculiar to the inhabitants of the Friendly Isles. See *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains*, tom. ii. p. 253, &c. Of this custom, and of many of the topics mentioned in this Section, besides others of equal interest, the reader will be supplied with very ample accounts when he comes to the relation of the 3d voyage.--E.

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 necessaries 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.[6]

[6] It appeared upon the whole, that the customs and language of these islanders have a great affinity with those of the Otaheitans, and it would not therefore be very singular to find a coincidence even in their amusements. The greatest differences between these two tribes, who must have originated from the same stock, seem to be owing to the different nature of these islands. The Society Isles are well furnished with wood, and the tops of these mountains are still covered with inexhaustible forests. At the Friendly Isles this article is much scarcer, the surface (at least of those which we have seen) being almost entirely laid out in plantations. The natural consequence is, that the houses are lofty and of immense extent in the first group of islands, but much smaller and less convenient in the last. In one the canoes are numerous, I may almost say innumerable, and many of a vast size; and, in the other, very few in number, and much smaller. The mountains of the Society Isles continually attract the vapours from the atmosphere, and many rivulets descend from the broken rocks into the plain, where they wind their serpentine course, and glide smoothly to the sea. The inhabitants of those islands take advantage of this gift of bountiful nature, and not only drink of the salutary element, but likewise bathe so frequently in it, that no impurity can long adhere to their skin. It is very different with a people who are absolutely denied this blessing, and who must either content themselves with putrid stagnant rain water in a few dirty pools, or go entirely without it. They are obliged to have recourse to expedients in order to preserve a certain degree of cleanliness, which may preclude various distempers. They, therefore, cut off their hair, and shave or clip their beards, which doubtless makes them look more unlike the Otaheitans than they would otherwise do. Still these precautions are not sufficient, especially as they have no fluid for drinking in any quantity. The body is therefore very subject to leprous complaints, which are perhaps irritated by the use of the pepper-root water or *awa*. Hence also that burning or blistering on the cheekbones, which we observed to be so general among this tribe, that hardly an individual was free from it, and which can only be used as a remedy against some disorders. The soil of the Society Isles in the plains and vallies is rich, and the rivulets which intersect it supply abundance of moisture. All sorts of vegetables, therefore, thrive with great luxuriance upon it, and require little attendance or cultivation. This profusion is become the source of that great luxury among the chiefs, which we do not meet with at Tonga-taboo. There the coral rock is covered only with a thin bed of mould, which sparingly affords nourishment to all sorts of trees; and the most useful of all, the bread-fruit tree, thrives imperfectly on the island, as it is destitute of water, except when a genial shower happens to impregnate and fertilize the ground. The labour of the natives is therefore greater than that of the Otaheitans, and accounts for the regularity of the plantations, and the accurate division of property. It is likewise to this source we must ascribe it, that they have always set a higher value on their

provisions than on their tools, dresses, ornaments, and weapons, though many of these must have cost them infinite time and application. They very justly conceive the articles of food to be their principal riches, of which the loss is absolutely not to be remedied. If we observed their bodies more slender, and their muscles harder than those of the Otaheitans, this seems to be the consequence of a greater and more constant exertion of strength. Thus, perhaps, they become industrious by force of habit, and when agriculture does not occupy them, they are actuated to employ their vacant hours in the fabrication of that variety of tools and instruments on which they bestow so much time, patience, labour, and ingenuity. This industrious turn has also led them, in the cultivation of all their arts, to so much greater perfection than the Otaheitans. By degrees they have hit upon new inventions, and introduced an active spirit, and enlivening cheerfulness even into their amusements. Their happiness of temper they preserve under a political constitution, which does not appear to be very favourable to liberty; but we need not go so far from home to wonder at such a phenomenon, when one of the most enslaved people in all Europe (the French, no doubt, are intended; this was published in 1777,) are characterised as the merriest and most facetious of mankind. Still there may be more sincerity in the cheerfulness of the natives of Tonga-tabboo, for, exclusive of great and almost servile submission, their king does not seem to exact any thing from them, which, by depriving them of the means to satisfy the most indispensable wants of nature, could make them miserable. Be this as it may, so much seems to be certain, that their systems of politics and religion, from their similarity with the Otaheitan, as far as we could judge, must have had one common origin, perhaps in the mother country, from whence both these colonies issued. Single dissonant customs and opinions may have acceded to the primitive ideas, in proportion as various accidents, or human caprices, have given rise to them. The affinity of their languages is still more decisive. The greatest part of the necessities of life, common to both groups of islands, the parts of the body, in short, the most obvious and universal ideas, were expressed at the Society and Friendly Isles, nearly by the same words. We did not find that sonorousness in the Tonga-tabboo dialect, which is prevalent in that of Otaheite, because the inhabitants of the former have adopted the F, K, and S, so that their language is more replete with consonants. This harshness is compensated, however, by the frequent use of the liquid letters L, M, N, and of the softer vowels E and I, to which we must add that kind of singing tone, which they generally retain even in common conversation."--G.F.

No apology, it is presumed, need be given, for the insertion of so able a specimen of philosophical discernment, and judicious reasoning. Few men have exhibited happier talents for this department of literature, than the younger Forster; and it is perhaps the more generous to yield him this commendation now, as his merit has hitherto been almost totally immersed in the celebrity of greater names. His work is glaringly superior, in perhaps every particular, to the compilation of Dr Hawkesworth; and the writer for one, would feel ashamed of himself, if he had not courage to avow his opinion, that it manifests greater excellencies than Cook's own relation, for which, indeed, it would be easy to specify many reasons. This comparison, it may be said, is invidious, the two men being so differently constituted, as to habits and education, and having such different objects in view in their undertakings, as to imply legitimate and specific dissimilarity. Be it so, in the main. But how is justice to be done them unless by comparison? As navigator and naturalist, they have few or no common features, and cannot, therefore, be confronted; but as authors describing the manners and appearances of distant and singular people, and relating occurrences and transactions common to both, they have only one sort of character, which will and ought to be judged of by the public, according to the same standard.--E.

#### SECTION 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 .*

About the time we were in a condition to make sail, a canoe, conducted by four men, came alongside, 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° 26' south, longitude 175° 59' west, and lies in the direction of S. 52° 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° 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.<sup>[1]</sup> 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 Eaheimomauwe. 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.

[1] "The water in Dr Lind's wind-gage was depressed 8-10ths of an inch at times."--W.

"Though we were situated under the lee of a high and mountainous coast, yet the waves rose to a vast height, ran prodigiously long, and were dispersed into vapour as they broke by the violence of the storm. The whole surface of the sea was by this means rendered hazy, and as the sun shone out in a cloudless sky, the white foam was perfectly dazzling. The fury of the wind still increased so as to tear to pieces the only sail which we had hitherto dared to shew, and we rolled about at the mercy of the waves, frequently shipping great quantities of water, which fell with prodigious force on the decks, and broke all that stood in the way. The continual strain slackened all the rigging and ropes in the ship, and loosened every thing, insomuch that it gradually gave way, and presented to our eyes a general scene of confusion. In one of the deepest rolls the arm-chest on the quarter-deck was torn out of its place and overset, leaning against the rails to leeward. A young gentleman, Mr Hood, who happened to be just then to leeward of it, providentially escaped by bending down when he saw the chest falling, so as to remain unhurt in the angle which it formed with the rail. The

confusion of the elements did not scare every bird away from us: From time to time a black shearwater hovered over the ruffled surface of the sea, and artfully withstood the force of the tempest, by keeping under the lee of the high tops of the waves. The aspect of the ocean was at once magnificent and terrific: Now on the summit of a broad and heavy billow, we overlooked an immeasurable expanse of sea, furrowed into numberless deep channels: Now, on a sudden, the wave broke under us, and we plunged into a deep and dreary valley, whilst a fresh mountain rose to windward with a foaming crest, and threatened to overwhelm us. The night coming on was not without new horrors, especially for those who had not been bred up to a seafaring life. In the captain's cabin, the windows were taken out and replaced by the dead-lights, to guard against the intrusion of the waves in wearing the ship. This operation disturbed from its retreat a scorpion, which had lain concealed in a chink, and was probably brought on board with fruit from the islands. Our friend Maheine assured us that it was harmless, but its appearance alone was horrid enough to fill the mind with apprehensions. In the other cabins the beds were perfectly soaked in water, whilst the tremendous roar of the waves, the creaking of the timbers, and the rolling motion, deprived us of all hopes of repose. To complete this catalogue of horrors, we heard the voices of sailors from time to time louder than the blustering winds, or the raging ocean itself, uttering horrible volleys of curses and oaths."--G.F.

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. 1/2 W. for the Strait. At noon observed in  $42^{\circ} 27'$  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. 1/2 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.

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.[2]

[2] "In their unthinking situation, the first moment they have nothing ready at hand to satisfy the cravings of appetite, our fowls must fall the victims to their voracity. If there are any hopes of succeeding in the introduction of domestic animals in this country, it must be in the populous bays to the northward, where the inhabitants seem to be the more civilized, and are already accustomed to cultivate several roots for their subsistence."--G.F.

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.

## SECTION 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.*

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.[1] 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.

[1] "They expressed great satisfaction at our calling them by their names, doubtless because it served to persuade them that we were particularly concerned for their welfare, by retaining them in

memory. The weather was fair and warm, considering the season, but our New Zealanders were all covered with shaggy cloaks, which are their winter dresses."--G.F.

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.[2]

[2] "We found almost all the radishes and turnips shot into seed, the cabbages and carrots very fine, and abundance of onions and parsley in good order; the pease and beans were almost entirely lost, and seemed to have been destroyed by rats. The potatoes were likewise all extirpated; but, from appearances, we guessed this to have been the work of the natives. The thriving state of our European pot-herbs, gave us a strong and convincing proof of the mildness of the winter in this part of New Zealand, where it seems it had never frozen hard enough to kill these plants, which perish in our winters. The indigenous plants of this country were not yet so forward; the deciduous trees and shrubs, in particular, were but just beginning to look green, and the vivid colour of their fresh leaves well contrasted with the dark wintery hue of the evergreens. The flag, of which the natives prepare their hemp, was, however, in flower, together with some other early species."--G.F.

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.[3]

[3] "The weather, during this time, was as boisterous and inconstant, as that which had so long kept us out of this harbour. Scarce a day passed without heavy squalls of wind, which hurried down with redoubled velocity from the mountains, and strong showers of rain, which retarded all our occupations. The air was commonly cold and raw, vegetation made slow advances, and the birds were only found in vallies sheltered from the chilling southern blast. This kind of weather, in all likelihood, prevails throughout the winter, and likewise far into the midst of summer, without a much greater degree of cold in the former, or of warmth in the latter season. Islands far remote from any continent, or at least not situated near a cold one, seem in general to have an uniform temperature of air, owing, perhaps, to the nature of the ocean, which every where surrounds them. It appears from the meteorological journals, kept at Port Egmont, on the Falkland Islands, (inserted in Mr Dalrymple's collection) that the extremes of the greatest cold, and the greatest heat, observed there throughout the year, do not exceed thirty degrees on Fahrenheit's scale. The latitude of that port is 51° 25' S.; and that of Ship Cove, in Queen Charlotte's Sound, only 41° 5'. This considerable difference of site will naturally make the climate of New Zealand much milder than that of Falkland's Islands, but cannot affect the general hypothesis concerning the temperature of all

islands; and the immense height of the mountains in New Zealand, some of which are covered with snow throughout the year, doubtless contributes to refrigerate the air, so as to assimilate it to that of the Falkland's Islands, which are not so high."--G.F.

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.[4]

[4] "In the morning, the weather being clear again, Dr Sparrman, my father, and myself, went to the Indian Cove, which we found uninhabited. A path, made by the natives, led through the forest a considerable way up the steep mountain, which separates this cove from Shag Cove. The only motive which could induce the New Zealanders to make this path, appeared to be the abundance of ferns towards the summit of the mountain, the roots of that plant being an article of their diet. The steepest part of the path was cut in steps, paved with shingle or slate, but beyond that the climbers impeded our progress considerably. About half way up, the forest ended, and the rest was covered with various shrubs and ferns, though it appeared to be naked and barren from the ship. At the summit we met with many plants which grow in the vallies, and by the sea-side, at Dusky Bay, owing to the difference of the climate, which is so much more vigorous in that southern extremity of New Zealand. The whole to the very top consists of the same talcous clay, which is universal all over the island, and of a talcous stone, which, when exposed to the sun and air, crumbles in pieces, and dissolves into lamellae. Its colour is whitish, greyish, and sometimes tinged with a dirty yellowish-red, perhaps owing to iron pyrites. The south side of the mountain is clad in forests, almost to the summit. The view from hence was very extensive and pleasing: We looked into East Bay as into a fish-pond, and saw Cape Tera-wittee beyond the Strait. The mountains in the south arose to a vast height, and were capped with snow; and the whole prospect on that side was wild and chaotic."--G.F.

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 Poenammo, 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.[5]

[5] "Our sailors carried on their former amours with the women, amongst whom there was but one who had tolerable features, and something soft and humane in her looks. She was regularly given in marriage by her parents to one of our ship-mates, who was particularly beloved by this nation, for devoting much of his time to them, and treating them with those marks of affection, which, even among a savage race, endear mankind to one another. Togheeree, for so the girl was called, proved as faithful to her husband as if he had been a New Zealander, and constantly rejected the addresses of other seamen, professing herself a married woman, (*tirratane*.) Whatever attachment the Englishman had to his New Zealand wife, he never attempted to take her on board, foreseeing that it would be highly inconvenient to lodge the numerous retinue which crowded in her garments, and weighed down the hair of her head. He, therefore, visited her on shore, and only day by day, treating her with plenty of the rotten part of our biscuit, which we rejected, But which she and all her countrymen eagerly devoured."--G.F.

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.[6]

[6] "They were more dressed than we had commonly seen any, during this second stay, at Queen

Charlotte's Sound; their hair was tied up, and their cheeks painted red. All these circumstances conspired to confirm the account which the women had given us the day before, that their husbands were gone to fight, as it is usual for them to put on their best apparel on those occasions. I am much afraid that their unhappy differences with other tribes, were revived on our account. Our people, not satisfied with purchasing all the hatchets of stone, &c. &c. of which the natives of our acquaintance were possessed, continually enquired for more, and shewed them such large and valuable pieces of Otaheite cloth, as would not fail to excite their desires. It is not improbable, that as soon as this appetite prevailed among the New Zealanders, they would reflect that the shortest way to gratify it, would be to rob their neighbours of such goods, as the Europeans coveted. The great store of arms, ornaments, and clothes, which they produced at this time, seemed to prove, that such a daring and villainous design had really been put in execution; nor was it to be supposed that this could have been accomplished without bloodshed."--G.F.

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 sentinel, 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. [7] 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.[8]

[7] An instance of the ferocity of manners of this savage nation, was presented this day. A boy, about six or seven years old, demanded a piece of broiled penguin, which his mother held in her hands. As she did not immediately comply with his demand, he took up a large stone and threw it at her. The woman, incensed at this action, ran to punish him, but she had scarcely given him a single blow, when her husband came forward, beat her unmercifully, and dashed her against the ground, for attempting to correct her unnatural child. Our people, who were employed in filling water, told my father they had frequently seen similar instances of cruelty among them, and particularly, that the boys had actually struck their unhappy mother, whilst the father looked on lest she should attempt to retaliate. Among all savage nations the weaker sex is ill-treated, and the law of the strongest is put in force. Their women are mere drudges, who prepare raiment and provide dwellings, who cook and frequently collect their food, and are requited by blows, and all kinds of severity. At New Zealand, it seems they carry this tyranny to excess, and the males are taught, from their earliest age, to hold their mothers in contempt, contrary to all our principles of morality."--G.F.

Mr Forster immediately goes on to relate the remainder of this day's occurrences, so painfully pregnant in discoveries relative to this savage people. The reader, it is believed, will think the account in the text abundantly minute, without any addition. What a fine specimen to prove the accuracy of Rousseau's delineation of our species, in its uncontaminated state!--E.

[8] Mr G. Forster informs us, that Mr Pickersgill purchased the head from the savages for a nail, and that it was afterwards deposited in the collection of Mr John Hunter. He adds, that some of these people expressed an ardent desire of repossessing it, signifying, by the most intelligible gestures, that it was delicious to the taste. This strongly corroborates what Captain Cook afterwards states, of their really relishing such kind of food.--E.

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.[9]

[9] This distressing subject has, perhaps, already too much engrossed the reader's attention and feelings; and, unfortunately, it must again be brought before him, when we treat of the third voyage of Cook. He might think then, that at present, he ought to be spared farther comment on what is so odious; but neither the apprehension, nor the experience of the unpleasant impressions it produces, is sufficient reason for declining the consideration of the atrocities of which human nature is capable. Self-conceit, indeed, may be mortified at the unavoidable thought of identity of species, which it may seek many imaginary devices to conceal; and feverish sensibility may be wrought up to indignant discontent, at the power which placed it amid such profligacy. But the humble philosopher, on the other hand, will investigate the causes, without ceasing to deplore the effects, and will rejoice in the belief, that there are any means by which mankind may be redeemed from the condemnation which his judgment cannot fail to award. To him, accordingly, the following observations of Mr G. Forster are addressed, as preparatory to the farther consideration of the subject, in which he will afterwards be engaged. "Philosophers, who have only contemplated mankind in their closets, have strenuously maintained, that all the assertions of authors, ancient and modern, of the existence of men-eaters, are not to be credited; and there have not been wanting persons amongst ourselves who were sceptical enough to refuse belief to the concurrent testimonies, in the history of almost all nations, in this particular. But Captain Cook had already, in his former voyage, received strong proof that the practice of eating human flesh existed in New Zealand; and as now we have with our own eyes seen the inhabitants devouring human flesh, all controversy on that point must be at an end. The opinions of authors on the origin of this custom, are infinitely various, and have lately been collected by the very learned canon, Pauw, at Xanten, in his *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains*, vol. i. p. 207. He seems to think that men were first tempted to devour each other from real want of food, and cruel necessity. His sentiments are copied by Dr Hawkesworth, who has disingenuously concealed their author. Many weighty objections, however, may be made against this hypothesis; amongst which the following is one of the greatest. There are very few countries in the world so miserably barren as not to afford their inhabitants sufficient nourishment, and those, in particular, where anthropophagi still exist, do not come under that description. The northern isle of New Zealand, on a coast of near four hundred leagues, contains scarcely one hundred thousand inhabitants, according to the most probable guess which can be made; a number inconsiderable for that vast space of country, even allowing the settlements to be confined only to the sea-shore. The great abundance of fish, and the beginnings of agriculture in the Bay of Plenty, and other parts of the Northern Isle, are more than sufficient to maintain this number, because they have always had enough to supply strangers with what was deemed superfluous. It is true, before the dawn of the arts among them, before the invention of nets, and before the cultivation of potatoes, the means of subsistence may have been more difficult, but then the number of inhabitants must likewise have been infinitely smaller. Single instances are not conclusive in this case, though they prove how far the wants of the body may stimulate mankind to extraordinary actions. In 1772, during a famine which happened throughout all Germany, a herdsman was taken on the manor of Baron Boineburg, in Hessia, who had been urged by hunger to kill and devour a boy, and afterwards to make a practice of it for several months. From his confession, it appeared, that he looked upon the flesh of young children as a very delicious food; and the gestures of the New Zealanders indicated exactly the same thing. An old woman, in the province of Matogrosso, in Brazil, declared to the Portuguese governor, M. de Pinto, afterwards ambassador at the British court, that she had eaten human flesh several times, liked it very much, and should be very glad to feast upon it again, especially if it was part of a little boy. But it would be absurd to suppose from such circumstances, that killing men for the sake of feasting upon them, has ever been the spirit of a whole nation; because it is utterly incompatible with the existence of society. Slight causes have ever produced the most remarkable events among mankind, and the most trifling quarrels have fired their minds with incredible inveteracy against each other. Revenge has always been a strong passion among barbarians, who are less subject to the sway of reason, than civilized people, and has stimulated them to a degree of madness, which is capable of all kinds of excesses. The people who first consumed the body of their enemies, seem to have been bent upon exterminating their very inanimate remains, from an excess of passion; but, by degrees, finding the meat wholesome and palatable, it is not to be wondered at that they should make a practice of eating their enemies as often as they killed any, since the action of eating human flesh, whatever our education may teach us to the contrary, is certainly neither unnatural nor criminal in itself. It can only become dangerous as far as it steels the mind against that compassionate fellow-feeling, which is the great basis of society; and for this reason, we find it naturally banished from every people as soon as civilization has made any progress among them. But though we are too much

polished to be cannibals, we do not find it unnaturally and savagely cruel to take the field, and to cut one another's throats by thousands, without a single motive, besides the ambition of a prince, or the caprice of his mistress! Is it not from prejudice that we are disgusted with the idea of eating a dead man, when we feel no remorse in depriving him of life? If the practice of eating human flesh makes men unfeeling and brutal, we have instances that civilized people, who would, perhaps, like some of our sailors, have turned sick at the thought of eating human flesh, have committed barbarities, without example, amongst cannibals. A New Zealander, who kills and eats his enemy, is a very different being from an European, who, for his amusement, tears an infant from the mother's breast, in cool blood, and throws it on the earth, to feed his hounds,--an atrocious crime, which Bishop Las Casas says, he saw committed in America by Spanish soldiers. The New Zealanders never eat their adversaries unless they are killed in battle; they never kill their relations for the purpose of eating them; they do not even eat them if they die of a natural death, and they take no prisoners with a view to fatten them for their repast; though these circumstances have been related, with more or less truth, of the American Indians. It is therefore not improbable, that in process of time, they will entirely lay aside this custom; and the introduction of new domestic animals into their country might hasten that period, since greater affluence would tend to make them more sociable. Their religion does not seem likely to be an obstacle, because from what we could judge, they are not remarkably superstitious, and it is only among very bigotted nations that the custom of offering human flesh to the gods, has prevailed after civilization."--These are evidently hasty speculations, and by no means conclusive, but they point with tolerable clearness to some principle of human nature adequate, independent of necessity, to account for the practice, and shew in what manner the investigation into its nature, causes, and remedy, ought to be carried on.--E.

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 carcase 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° W., and S. 69° 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.[10]

[10] "The officers and passengers entered upon this second cruise under several difficulties, which did not exist before. They had now no livestock to be compared to that which they took from the Cape of Good Hope; and the little store of provisions, which had supplied their table with variety in preference to that of the common sailor, was now so far consumed, that they were nearly upon a level, especially as the seamen were inured to that way of life, by constant habit, almost from their infancy; and the others had never experienced it before. The hope of meeting with new lands was vanished, the topics of common conversation were exhausted, the cruise to the south could not present any thing new, but appeared in all its chilling horrors before us, and the absence of our consort doubled every danger. We had enjoyed a few agreeable days between the tropics, we had feasted as well as the produce of various islands would permit, and we had been entertained with the novelty of many objects among different nations; but according to the common vicissitudes of fortune, this agreeable moment was to be replaced by a long period of fogs and frosty weather, of fasting, and of tedious uniformity. If any thing alleviated the dreariness of the prospect, with a great part of our shipmates, it was the hope of completing the circle round the South Pole, in a high latitude, during the next inhospitable summer, and of returning to England within the space of eight months. This hope contributed to animate the spirits of our people during the greatest part of our continuance in bad weather; but in the end it vanished like a dream, and the only thought which could make them amends, was the certainty of passing another season among the happy islands in the torrid zone."--G.F.

## SECTION 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.*

At eight o'clock in the evening of the 26th, we took our departure from Cape Palliser, 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; and on the 2d of December, being in the latitude of  $48^{\circ} 23'$  south, longitude  $179^{\circ} 16'$  west, we saw a number of red-billed penguins, which remained about us for several days. On the 5th, being in the latitude  $50^{\circ} 17'$  south, longitude  $179^{\circ} 40'$  east, the variation was  $18^{\circ} 25'$  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.[1]

[1] "The remembrance of domestic felicity, and of the sweets of society, called forth a sigh from every heart which felt the tender ties of filial or parental affection. We are the first Europeans, and, I believe, I may add, the first human beings who have reached this point, where it is probable none will come after us. A common report prevails, indeed, in England, concerning Sir Francis Drake, who is said to have visited the antipodes, which the legend expresses by "his having passed under the middle arch of London bridge:" but this is a mistake, as his track lay along the coast of America, and probably originates from his having passed the *periæci*, or the point in  $180^{\circ}$  longitude on the same circle of north latitude, on the coast of California."--G.F.

To the vanity of Englishmen, not always accompanied, it is to be feared, by political honesty, the expedition of Drake afforded the highest gratification. Swarms of wits, accordingly, who are never wanting in any reign, either to eulogize what the government has sanctioned, or to infuse something of literary immortality into popular enthusiasm, were in requisition on this extraordinary occasion, and, as usual, vied with each other in bombast and the fervour of exaggeration. If one might credit the legends, Sir Francis accomplished much more than a visit to the antipodes, much more indeed, than ever man did before or since. Witness an epigram on him preserved in the *Censura Literaria*. vol. iii, p. 217:--

Sir Drake, whom well the world's end knew,  
Which thou didst compasse round,  
And whom both poles of heaven once saw  
Which north and south do bound:  
The stars above would make thee known,  
If men were silent here;  
The Sun himselfe cannot forget  
His fellow-traveller.

This is evidently a quaint version of the quaint lines said, by Camden, to have been made by the scholars of Winchester College:--

*Drace, pererrati quem novit terminus orbis,  
Quemque simul mundi vidi uterque Polus;  
Si taceant homines, facient te sidera notum.  
Sol nescit comitis non memor esse sui.*

Abraham Cowley seems to have availed himself of the chief thought here embodied, in his pointed epigram on the chair formed from the planks of Drake's vessel, and presented to the university of Oxford. His metaphysical genius, however, has refined the *point* with no small dexterity--the four last lines, more especially, displaying no small elegance. The reader will not despise them:--

To this great ship, which round the world has run,  
And matcht in race the chariot of the sun;  
This Pythagorean ship (for it may claim  
Without presumption, so deserved a name),  
By knowledge once, and transformation now,  
In her new shape, this sacred port allow.  
Drake and his ship could not have wish'd from fate  
An happier station, or more blest estate;  
For lo! a seat of endless rest is given  
To her in Oxford, and to him in Heaven.

It would be unpardonable to omit, now we are on the subject of Drake's praises, the verses given in the Biog. Brit. and said to have been unpublished before:--

Thy glory, Drake, extensive as thy mind,  
No time shall tarnish, and no limits bind:  
What greater praise! than thus to match the Sun,  
Running that race which cannot be outrun.  
Wide as the world then compass'd spreads thy fame,  
And, with that world, an equal date shall claim.

The reader, it may be presumed, has enough of this subject.--E.

On the 8th, being in the latitude  $55^{\circ} 39'$ , longitude  $178^{\circ} 53'$  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  $61^{\circ} 15'$  south, longitude  $173^{\circ} 4'$  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.[2]

[2] "At noon, on the 10th December, we had reached the latitude of  $59^{\circ}$  S., without having met with any ice, though we fell in with it the preceding year on the 10th December, between the 50th and 51st degree of south latitude. It is difficult to account for this difference; perhaps a severe winter preceding our first course from the Cape of Good Hope, might accumulate more ice that year than the next, which is the more probable, as we learnt at the Cape that the winter had been sharper there than usual; perhaps a violent storm might break the polar ice, and drive it so far to the northward as we found it; and, perhaps, both these causes might concur with others, to produce this effect."--G.F.

"It is remarkable, that in different years, seasons, and places of the sea, we found the ice differently situated. In the year 1772, December 10th, we saw the ice between  $50^{\circ}$  and  $51^{\circ}$  of southern latitude. In 1773, on December 12th, we found the first ice in  $62^{\circ}$  S. In 1775, on January 27th, we saw the ice in about  $60^{\circ}$  S. On February 24th, we came to the same place, where, about twenty-six months before, we had met with such an impenetrable body of ice, as had obliged us to run to the east, but where, at this last time, no vestige of it appeared, no more than at the place where Bouvet had placed his Cape Circumcision, we having sailed over the whole tract which he suspected to be land; nor could we be mistaken in its situation, as we had been on the same parallel for a considerable time; so that it is impossible to have missed the land, if any had existed, as we had frequent opportunities to ascertain our latitude."--F.

It is well known, that considerable masses of ice have been met with as low down as  $46^{\circ}$  of south latitude; but hitherto no very satisfactory solution has been given of the phenomenon.--E.

At four o'clock the next morning, being in the latitude of  $62^{\circ} 10'$  south, longitude  $172^{\circ}$  west, we saw the first ice island,  $11^{\circ} 1/2$  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 petrel,

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° 55' south, longitude 163° 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.[3]

[3] "Our friend Mahine had already expressed his surprise at several little snow and hail showers on the preceding days, this phenomenon being utterly unknown in his country. The appearances of "white stones," which melted in his hand, was altogether miraculous in his eyes, and though we endeavoured to explain to him that cold was the cause of their formation, yet I believe his ideas on that subject were never very clear. A heavy fall of snow surprised him more than what he had seen before, and after a long consideration of its singular qualities, he told us he would call it the *white rain* when he came back to his country. He did not see the first ice, on account of the early hour in the morning; but two days after, in about 65° S., he was struck with astonishment upon seeing one of the largest pieces, and the day following presented him with an extensive field of ice, which blocked up our farther progress to the south, and gave him great pleasure, supposing it to be land. We told him that so far from being land, it was nothing but fresh water, which we found some difficulty to convince him of at first, till we shewed him the ice which was formed in the scuttled cask on the deck. He assured us, however, that he would, at all events, call this the *white land*, by way of distinguishing it from all the rest."--G.F.

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.[4] 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° 20' W., and in the latitude of 66° 0' S. Several penguins were seen on some of these islands, and a few antarctic peterels on the wing.

[4] "About one o'clock, whilst the people were at dinner, we were alarmed by the sudden appearance of a large island of ice just a-head of us. It was absolutely impossible either to wear or tack the ship, on account of its proximity, and our only resource was to keep as near the wind as possible, and to try to weather the danger. We were in the most dreadful suspension for a few minutes, and though we fortunately succeeded, yet the ship passed within her own length to windward of it,"--G.F.

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° 41' south, longitude 155° 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° 49' S., longitude 149° 19' W. Some time after, our longitude, by observed distance of the sun and moon, was 149° 19' W.; by Mr Kendal's watch 148° 36'; and, by my reckoning, 148° 43', latitude 64° 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° 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° 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.[5] Most or 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.

[5] On a moderate calculation, one may reckon the bulk of immersed ice to be ten times greater than that which appears above the surface. This will afford the reader some notion of the prodigious magnitude of these floating islands; and he will readily comprehend the hazard of sailing amongst them, when he considers the mischief occasioned by the collision of a large ship and a small boat.--E.

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° 31', the highest we had yet been in, longitude 142° 54' W.

We continued our course to the E. by N. till noon, the 23d, when being in the latitude of 67° 12', longitude 138° 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° 20', longitude 137° 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.[6]

[6] "About this time many persons were afflicted with violent rheumatic pains, headaches, swelled glands, and catarrhal fevers, which some attributed to the use of ice-water."--G.F.

Without any way calling in question, what is so often said of the injurious effects of sea-water, when long used, it is evidently more rational, in the present instance, to ascribe these complaints to the inclemency of the weather.--E.

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° 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 nowhere 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° 0' longitude 138° 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.[7]

[7] There is something very peculiarly affecting in the following observations of Mr. G.F.--"This being Christmas day, the captain, according to custom, invited the officers and mates to dinner, and one of the lieutenants entertained the petty officers. The sailors feasted on a double portion of pudding, regaling themselves with the brandy of their allowance, which they had saved for this occasion some months beforehand, being solicitous to get very drunk, though they are commonly solicitous about nothing else. The sight of an immense number of icy masses, amongst which we drifted at the mercy of the current, every moment in danger of being dashed in pieces against them, could not deter the sailors from indulging in their favourite amusement. As long as they had brandy left, they would persist to keep Christmas "like Christians," though the elements had combined together for their destruction. Their long acquaintance with a sea-faring life had inured them to all kinds of perils, and their heavy labour, with the inclemencies of weather, and other hardships, making their muscles rigid and their nerves obtuse, had communicated insensibility to the mind. It will easily be conceived, that as they do not feel for themselves sufficiently to provide for their own safety, they must be incapable of feeling for others. Subjected to a very strict command, they also exercise a tyrannical sway over those whom fortune places in their power. Accustomed to face an enemy, they breathe nothing but war. By force of habit, even killing is become so much their passion, that we have seen many instances during our voyage, where they have expressed a horrid eagerness to fire upon the natives on the slightest pretences. Their way of life in general, prevents their enjoying domestic comforts; and gross animal appetites fill the place of purer affections.

At last, extinct each social feeling, fell  
And joyless inhumanity pervades  
And petrifies the heart.--

THOMSON.

Though they are members of a civilized society, they may, in some measure, be looked on as a body of uncivilized men, rough, passionate, revengeful, but likewise brave, sincere, and true to each other."

In place of inveighing against the illiberality of this statement, or attempting to dispute its truth, as many persons, from an affectation of enthusiastic regard for the honour of our tars, or positive ignorance or contempt of the most incontrovertible obligations of morality and religion, would incline, it will be vastly more philosophical to investigate what are the principles of human nature and the circumstances in their situation, which give rise to such a character, that if possible some adequate remedy, or check at least, may be discovered. This is certainly not the place for such a discussion, as the importance of the subject demands; and the writer can by no means imagine himself called on to enter upon it. But he hazards a remark. He would consider British sailors as made up of precisely the same elements as the rest of men, and that the obvious peculiarities in which they differ from others, are the result of the circumstances of their professional situation. It follows, that his censure falls on the profession itself, rather than on those who are members of it. But in fact, he conceives that there has been a culpable neglect on the part of those who at different periods acquire authority, to the moral condition of this class of men. It is obvious indeed, that governments in general are little careful about the characters of their subordinate agents, unless in so far as is essential to the purposes for which they are employed; and accordingly, where the base and savage principles of mankind can be converted into so powerful an instrument, as we know they are in the present case, we shall find, that scarcely any pains have been taken to superinduce refinement, or even to favour the salutary operation of those causes, by which, in the ordinary course of things, society is gradually emancipated from barbarism. The rough virtues of the seaman are in their estimation of sufficient excellence, without the enhancement of moral attainments; and it is questionable, indeed, if a sort of prejudice may not lurk in the minds of many, that the latter would be the destruction of the former. Clearly, however, it seems to be conceived, that there is no adequate inducement to run the risk of the experiment; and, therefore, some gross immoralities are connived at, under the plausible title of necessary evils, provided they do not interfere with the technical duties of the profession. Though it be admitted, that the reformation of men's manners forms no part of the office of a politician, yet it may be fairly pleaded, on the other hand, as vice is in its own nature a debilitating power, independent altogether of reference to a Supreme Being, that to eradicate it, or to apply a restraint to its influence, may be no injudicious labour of his vocation. This, it is presumed, may be attempted in three ways, (in addition to certain indulgences, which there appears to be an imperious necessity to admit, with a view of preventing greater evils,) viz. the improvement of discipline, the increase of knowledge, and the application of a higher tone of public sentiment. There cannot be room for a moment's controversy, that to the efficacy of these three causes, is to be ascribed, the superiority in the appearance, at least, of the morals and conduct of the present day, above that of even the preceding half century. Who can deny, e.g, that the odious vice of drunkenness is much more disreputable now than formerly, throughout the whole of Europe? It may be said to be almost unknown in genteel circles; and there seems not the least reason to doubt, that as improvements in arts and sciences advance, and as education extends to the lower classes, so as to supply sources of mental enjoyment and exercise, it will be almost altogether extirped from society. Let this and other vices be held as positively dishonourable,

because unfitting for professional duty, and inconsistent with professional dignity--let them be visited by certain punishment--give free scope to the emulation of intellect and to the cultivation of proper self-interest--and vindicate to popular opinion, the claims of this most useful class, to the character of moral and rational beings, so that no flattering but injurious unction may be applied to film over the real turpitude of their offences--then, and then only, may it be safely asserted, that such descriptions as we have been considering, are the offspring of prudery or inflamed imagination, and have no prototype in nature.--E.

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  $66^{\circ} 15'$ , longitude  $134^{\circ} 22'$ . 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  $65^{\circ} 53' S.$ , longitude  $133^{\circ} 42' W.$ ; islands of ice not half so numerous as before.[8]

[8] "We had scarcely any night during our stay in the frigid zone, so that I find several articles in my father's journal, written by the light of the sun, within a few minutes before the hour of midnight. The sun's stay below the horizon was so short, that we had a very strong twilight all the time. Mahine was struck with great astonishment at this phenomenon, and would scarcely believe his senses. All our endeavours to explain it to him miscarried, and he assured us he despaired of finding belief among his countrymen, when he should come back to recount the wonders of petrified rain, and of perpetual day."--G.F.

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  $62^{\circ} 24'$ , longitude  $134^{\circ} 37'$ , 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  $59^{\circ} 40' S.$ , longitude  $135^{\circ} 11' W$ . 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.[9]

[9] "To-day, while we were observing the meridian altitude of the sun, a shower of snow came from the west, and passed a-head of the ship; during which, a large island of ice, considerably within the visible horizon, and directly under the sun, was entirely hid by it; yet the horizon appeared as distinct, and much the same as it usually does in dark hazy weather. When the shower was over, I found that it required the sun to be dipped something more than his whole diameter to bring his lower limb to the nearest edge of the ice island, which must have been farther off than the visible horizon, during the shower; and yet this would have been taken as the real horizon, without any suspicion, if it had been every where equally obscure. Hence may be inferred the uncertainty of altitudes taken in foggy, or what seamen, in general, call hazy weather.--W.

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  $58^{\circ} 39' S.$ , 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  $58^{\circ} 2'$ , longitude  $137^{\circ} 12'$ . 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  $56^{\circ} 46'$ , longitude  $139^{\circ} 45'$ , 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  $56^{\circ}$  S., longitude  $140^{\circ} 31'$  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  $40^{\circ}$  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  $50^{\circ}$ . 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.[10]

[10] A few days before, according to Mr G.F.'s relation, his father and twelve other persons were confined to bed with rheumatism; and though the scurvy had not appeared in any dangerous form, yet a general languor and sickly look were manifested in almost every face, and Captain Cook himself was pale and lean, and had lost all appetite.--E.

We proceeded N.E. by N. till the 6th, at noon. Being then in the latitude of  $52^{\circ} 0'$  S., longitude  $135^{\circ} 32'$  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  $50^{\circ} 49'$  S., we observed several distances of the sun and moon, which gave the longitude as follows, viz.

By Mr. Wales,  $133^{\circ} 24' 0''$  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  $49^{\circ} 7'$  S., longitude  $131^{\circ} 2'$  W.

On the 9th, in latitude  $48^{\circ} 17'$  S., longitude  $127^{\circ} 10'$  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  $47^{\circ} 51'$  S., longitude  $122^{\circ} 12'$  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  $48^{\circ} 22'$  S., longitude  $121^{\circ} 29'$  W., we found the variation to be  $2^{\circ} 34'$  E., which is the least variation we had found without the tropic. In the evening of the next day, we found it to be  $4^{\circ} 30'$  E., our latitude, at that time, was  $50^{\circ} 5'$  S., longitude  $119^{\circ} 1/2$  W.

Our course was now more southerly, till the evening of the 13th, when we were in the latitude of  $53^{\circ} 0'$  S., longitude  $118^{\circ} 3'$  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  $56^{\circ} 4'$  S., longitude  $122^{\circ} 1'$  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  $56^{\circ} 48'$  S., longitude  $119^{\circ} 8'$  W.[11] 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  $61^{\circ} 9'$  S., longitude  $116^{\circ} 7'$  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  $62^{\circ} 34'$  S., longitude  $116^{\circ} 24'$  W., we were again becalmed.

[11] "Our situation at present was indeed very dismal, even to those who preserved the blessing of health; to the sick, whose crippled limbs were tortured with excessive pain, it was insupportable. The ocean about us had a furious aspect, and seemed incensed at the presumption of a few intruding mortals. A gloomy melancholy air loured on the brows of our shipmates, and a dreadful silence reigned amongst us. Salt meat, our constant diet, was become loathsome to all, and even to

those who had been bred to a nautical life from their tender years: The hour of dinner was hateful to us, for the well known smell of the victuals had no sooner reached our nose, than we found it impossible to partake of them with a hearty appetite. In short, we rather vegetated than lived; we withered, and became indifferent to all that animates the soul at other times. We sacrificed our health, our feelings, our enjoyments, to the honour of pursuing a track unattempted before. The crew were as much distressed as the officers, from another cause. Their biscuit, which had been sorted at New Zealand, baked over again, and then packed up, was now in the same decayed state as before. This was owing partly to the revisal, which had been so rigorous, that many bad biscuit was preserved among those that were eatable; and partly to the neglect of the casks, which had not been sufficiently fumigated and dried. Of this rotten bread the people only received two-thirds of their usual allowance, from economical principles; but as that portion is hardly sufficient, supposing it to be all eatable, it was far from being so when nearly one half of it was rotten. However, they continued in that distressful situation till this day, when the first mate came to the capstern and complained most bitterly that he and the people had not wherewith to satisfy the cravings of the stomach, producing, at the same time, the rotten and stinking remains of his biscuit. Upon this, the crew were put to full allowance. The captain seemed to recover again as we advanced to the southward, but all those who were afflicted with rheumatisms, continued as much indisposed as ever."--G.F.

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  $133^{\circ} 1/2$ , 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  $62^{\circ} 5'$  S., longitude  $112^{\circ} 24'$  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  $62^{\circ} 22'$  S., longitude  $110^{\circ} 24'$ . 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  $63^{\circ} 20'$  S., longitude  $108^{\circ} 7'$  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  $65^{\circ} 24'$  S., longitude  $109^{\circ} 31'$  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  $65^{\circ} 44'$  S., the variation was  $19^{\circ} 27'$  E.; but the next morning, in the latitude of  $66^{\circ} 20'$  S., longitude the same as before, it was only  $18^{\circ} 20'$  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  $109^{\circ} 31'$  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  $69^{\circ} 38'$  S., longitude  $108^{\circ} 12'$  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  $22^{\circ} 41'$  E. This was in the latitude of  $69^{\circ} 45'$  S., longitude  $108^{\circ} 5'$  W.; and, in the afternoon, being in the same longitude, and in the latitude of  $70^{\circ} 23'$  S., it was  $24^{\circ} 31'$  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  $71^{\circ} 10' S.$ , longitude  $106^{\circ} 54' W.$ [12]

[12] "The thermometer here was  $32^{\circ}$ , and a great many penguins were heard croaking around us, but could not be seen, on account of the foggy weather which immediately succeeded. As often as we had hitherto penetrated to the southward, we had met with no land, but been stopped sooner or later by a solid ice-field, which extended before us as far as we could see: At the same time we had always found the winds moderate and frequently easterly in these high latitudes, in the same manner as they are said to be in the northern frozen zone. From these circumstances, my father had been led to suppose, that all the south pole, to the distance of 20 degrees, more or less, is covered with solid ice, of which only the extremities are annually broken off by storms, consumed by the action of the sun, and regenerated in winter. This opinion is the less exceptionable, since there seems to be no absolute necessity for the existence of land towards the formation of ice, and because we have little reason to suppose that there actually is any land of considerable extent in the frigid zone."--G.F.

"Mr F. has most amply and ably discussed the point in his observations, controverting unanswerably, as the writer thinks, the opinion of Buffon and others, as to the existence of southern lands being necessary for the production of such large masses of ice. The limits of the present note preclude the insertion, in any satisfactory shape, of the opposing arguments; but there is ground for anticipating an opportunity of considering the subject, and some others of an interesting nature, in a manner more suitable to their importance, than a mere notice implies. We go on then with the narrative.--E.

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  $32\frac{1}{2}$ , 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.

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  $65^{\circ} 42' S.$ , longitude  $99^{\circ} 44'$ . 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°; 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° and 60°; 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° 14' S., longitude 95° 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° 32' S., longitude 95° 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° 19' 30" W.; Mr Kendal's watch, at the same time, gave 94° 46' W.; our latitude was 43° 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° 58' S., longitude 94° 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° 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  $36^{\circ} 10'$  S., longitude  $94^{\circ} 56'$  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  $37^{\circ} 52'$ , longitude  $101^{\circ} 10'$  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  $90^{\circ}$ , 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  $94^{\circ}$  to  $101^{\circ}$ . It is not probable it can lie to the east of  $90^{\circ}$ ; 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 Pengré, 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  $38^{\circ}$ , and 550 leagues from the coast of Chili, which is in the longitude of  $110^{\circ}$  or  $111^{\circ}$  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  $106^{\circ}$  or  $108^{\circ}$  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.[13]

[13] Captain Cook, from an excess of delicacy, rarely specifies his personal sufferings; but one really requires to know something of them, in order to make a proper estimate of his magnanimous resolution in fulfilling his instructions, and to entertain a just conception of the self-denial which such an expedition demanded. We shall be aided by the following particulars, which, besides, imply the very extensive distress of the whole crew: "A great number of our people were afflicted with very severe rheumatic pains, which deprived them of the use of their limbs; but their spirits were so low, that they had no fever. Though the use of that excellent prophylactic, the sour kraut, prevented the appearance of the scurvy during all the cold weather, yet, being made of cabbage, it is not so nutritive that we could live upon it, without the assistance of biscuit and salt-beef. But the former of these being rotten, and the other almost consumed by the salt, it is obvious that no wholesome juices could be secreted from thence, which might have kept the body strong and vigorous. Under these difficulties all our patients recovered very slowly, having nothing to restore their strength; and my father, who had been in exquisite torments during the greatest part of our southern cruise, was afflicted with toothaches, swelled cheeks, sore throat, and universal pain, till the middle of February, when he went on deck perfectly emaciated. The warm weather, which was beneficial to him, proved fatal to Captain Cook's constitution. The disappearance of his bilious complaint during our last push to the south, had not been so sincere, as to make him recover his appetite. The return to the north, therefore, brought on a dangerous obstruction, which the captain very unfortunately slighted, and concealed from every person in the ship, at the same time endeavouring to get the better of it by taking hardly any subsistence. This proceeding, instead of removing, increased the evil, his stomach being already weak enough before. He was afflicted with violent pains, which in the space of a few days confined him to his bed, and forced him to have recourse to medicines. He took a purge, but instead of producing the desired effect, it caused a violent vomiting, which was assisted immediately by proper emetics. All attempts, however, to procure a passage through his bowels were ineffectual; his food and medicines were thrown up, and in a few days a most dreadful hiccough appeared, which lasted for upwards of twenty four hours, with such astonishing violence, that his life was entirely despaired of. Opiates and glysters had no effect, till repeated hot baths, and plasters of theriaca applied on his stomach, had relieved his body and intestines. This, however, was not effected till he had been above a week in the most imminent danger. Next to providence it was chiefly owing to the skill of our surgeon, Mr Patten, that he recovered to prosecute the remaining part of our voyage, with the same spirit with which it had hitherto been carried on. The care and assiduity with which that worthy man watched him during his whole illness, cannot be sufficiently extolled, as all our hopes of future discoveries, as well as union in the ship, depended solely on the preservation of the captain. The surgeon's extreme attention, however, had nearly cost him his own life. Having taken no rest for many nights together, and seldom venturing to sleep an hour by day, he was so much exhausted, that we trembled for his life, upon which that of almost every man in the ship, in a great measure, depended. He was taken ill with a bilious disorder, which was dangerous on account of the extreme weakness of his stomach, and it is more than probable, that if we had not speedily fallen in with land, from whence we collected some slight refreshments, he must have fallen a sacrifice to that rigorous perseverance and extreme punctuality with which he discharged the several duties of his profession."--G.F.

On the 28th, in the latitude of  $33^{\circ} 7'$  S., longitude  $102^{\circ} 33'$  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  $30^{\circ} 30'$  S., longitude  $101^{\circ} 45'$  W., we began to see men-of-war birds. In the latitude of  $29^{\circ} 44'$ , longitude  $100^{\circ} 45'$  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.

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  $27^{\circ} 4'$  S., longitude  $103^{\circ} 58'$  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.

## SECTION 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.*

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.  $3/4$  N. to W. by S., about twelve leagues distant.[1] 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  $62^{\circ}$  W., to north  $87^{\circ}$  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.[2] 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.

[1] "The joy which this fortunate event spread on every countenance, is scarcely to be described. We had been one hundred and three days out of sight of land; and the rigorous weather to the south, the fatigues of continual attendance during storms, or amidst dangerous masses of ice, the sudden changes of climate, and the long continuance of a noxious diet, all together had emaciated and worn out our crew. The expectation of a speedy end to their sufferings, and the hope of finding the land stocked with abundance of fowls and planted with fruits, according to the accounts of the Dutch navigator, now filled them with uncommon alacrity and cheerfulness."--G.F.

Captain Cook was much indebted for now falling in with this island, to the superior means he possessed of ascertaining his longitude. Byron, Carteret, and Bouganville, all missed it, although they took their departure from no greater a distance than the islands of Juan Fernandez. Most of the writers who mention Easter Island, agree pretty well together as to its latitude, but the Spanish accounts are not less than thirty leagues erroneous as to its longitude.--E.

[2] See this in vol. XI. p. 95 of this collection; but the description afterwards given is much more satisfactory.--E.

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 tafferel 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.[3]

[3] "He was of the middle size, about five feet eight inches high, and remarkably hairy on the breast, and all over the body. His colour was a chesnut brown, his beard strong, but clipped short, and of a black colour, as was also the hair of his head, which was likewise cut short. His ears were very long, almost hanging on his shoulders, and his legs punctured in compartments after a taste which we had observed no where else. He had only a belt round his middle, from whence a kind of net-work descended before, too thin to conceal any thing from the sight. A string was tied about his neck, and a flat bone, something shaped like a tongue, and about four inches long, was fastened to it, and hung down on the breast. This he told us, was a porpoise's bone (eavee toharra) expressing it exactly by the same words which an Otaheitean would have made use of. Mahine, who had already expressed his impatience to go ashore, was much pleased to find that the inhabitants spoke a language so similar to his own, and attempted to converse with our new visitor several times, but was interrupted by the questions which many other persons in the ship put to him."--G.F.

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.[4]

[4] "Almost all of them were naked, some having only a belt round the middle, from whence a small bit of cloth, six or eight inches long, or a little net, hang down before. A very few of them had a cloak which reached to the knees, made of cloth, resembling that of Otaheite in the texture, and stitched or quilted with thread to make it the more lasting. Most of these cloaks were painted yellow with the turmeric root."--G.F.

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-canies; 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° 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.[5]

[5] "After staying among the natives for some time on the beach, we began to walk into the country. The whole ground was covered with roots and stones of all sizes, which seemed to have been exposed to a great fire, where they had acquired a black colour and porous appearance. Two or three shrivelled species of grasses grew up among these stones, and in a slight degree softened the desolate appearance of the country. About fifteen yards from the landing place, we saw a perpendicular wall of square hewn stones, about a foot and a half or two feet long, and one foot broad. Its greatest height was about seven or eight feet, but it gradually sloped on both sides, and its length might be about twenty yards. A remarkable circumstance was the junction of these stones, which were laid after the most excellent rules of art, fitting in such a manner as to make a durable piece of architecture. The stone itself, of which they are cut, is not of great hardness, being a blackish brown cavernous and brittle stony lava. The ground rose from the water side upwards; so that another wall, parallel to the first, about twelve yards from it, and facing the country, was not above two or three feet high. The whole area between the two walls was filled up with soil and covered over with grass. About fifty yards farther to the south, there was another elevated area, of which the surface was paved with square stones exactly similar to those which formed the walls. In the midst of this area, there was a pillar consisting of a single stone, which represented a human figure to the waist, about twenty feet high, and upwards of five feet wide. The workmanship of this figure was rude, and spoke the arts in their infancy. The eyes, nose, and mouth, were scarcely marked on a lumpish ill-shaped head; and the ears, which were excessively long, quite in the fashion of the country, were better executed than any other part, though a European artist would have been ashamed of them. The neck was clumsy and short, and the shoulders and arms very slightly

represented. On the top of the head a huge round cylinder of stone was placed upright, being above five feet in diameter and in height. This cap, which resembled the head-dress of some Egyptian divinity, consisted of a different stone from the rest of the pillar, being of a more reddish colour; and had a hole on each side, as if it had been made round by turning. The cap, together with the head, made one half of the whole pillar which appeared above ground. We did not observe that the natives paid any worship to these pillars, yet they seemed to hold them in some kind of veneration, as they sometimes expressed a dislike when we walked over the paved area or pedestals, or examined the stones of which it consisted. A few of the natives accompanied us farther on into the country, where we had seen some bushes at a distance, which we hoped would afford us something new. Our road was intolerably rugged, over heaps of volcanic stones, which rolled away under our feet, and against which we continually hurt ourselves. The natives who were accustomed to this desolate ground, skipped nimbly from stone to stone without the least difficulty. In our way we saw several black rats running about, which it seems are common to every island in the South Sea. Being arrived at the shrubbery which we had in view, we found it was nothing but a small plantation of the paper mulberry, of which here, as well as at Otaheite, they make their cloth. Its stems were from two to four feet high, and planted in rows, among very large rocks, where the rains had washed a little soil together. In the neighbourhood of these we saw some bushes of the *Hibiscus populneus*, Linn, which is common also in the Society Isles, where it is one of the numerous plants made use of to dye yellow; and likewise a *mimosa*, which is the only shrub that affords the natives sticks for their clubs and patoo-patoos, and wood sufficient to patch up a canoe. We found the face of the country more barren and ruinous the farther we advanced. The small number of inhabitants, who met us at the landing-place, seemed to have been the bulk of the nation, since we met no other people on our walk; and yet for these few we did not see above ten or twelve huts, though the view commanded a great part of the island. One of the sightliest of these was situated on a little hillock, about half a mile from the sea, which we ascended. Its construction was such as evinced the poverty and wretched condition of its owners. The natives told us they passed the night in these huts; and we easily conceived their situation to be uncomfortable, especially as we saw so very few of them, that they must be crammed full, unless the generality of the people lie in the open air, and leave these wretched dwellings to their chiefs, or make use of them only in bad weather. Besides these huts, we observed some heaps of stones piled up into little hillocks, which had one steep perpendicular side, where a hole went under ground. The space within could be but very small, and yet it is very probable that these cavities served to give shelter to the people during night. They may, however, communicate with natural caverns, which are very common in the lava currents of volcanic countries. We should have been glad to have ascertained this circumstance, but the natives always denied us admittance into these places."--G.F.

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 alongside 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-canies, 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-canæs, 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.[6]

[6] "Captain Cook had not been very fortunate in trading with the people. They seemed indeed to be so destitute as to have no provisions to spare. A few matted baskets full of sweet potatoes, some sugar- canes, bunches of bananas, and two or three small fowls ready dressed, were the whole purchase which he had made for a few iron tools, and some Otaheite cloth. He had presented the people with beads, but they always threw them away with contempt, as far as ever they could. Whatever else they saw about us, they were desirous of possessing, though they had nothing to give in return.--G.F.

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.

## SECTION 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.*

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  $80^{\circ}$  to  $110^{\circ}$ . 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-canies, 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  $27^{\circ} 5' 30''$  S., longitude  $109^{\circ} 46' 20''$  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.[1]

[1] "It was impossible for us to guess at the cause of this disproportion in the number of the different sexes; but as all the women we saw were very liberal of their favours, I conjectured at that time, that the married and the modest, who might be supposed to form the greater part, did not care to come near us, or were forced by the men to stay at their dwellings in the remote parts of the island. These few who appeared were the most lascivious of their sex, that perhaps have ever been noticed in any country, and shame seemed to be entirely unknown to them."--G.F.

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.

*Tattowing*, 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.[2]

[2] "They were inferior in stature to the natives of the Society and Friendly Isles, and to those of New Zealand, there being not a single person amongst them, who might be reckoned tall. Their body was likewise lean, and their face much thinner than that of any people we had hitherto seen in the South Sea. Both sexes had thin, but not savage features, though the little shelter which their barren country offers against the sunbeams, had contracted their brows sometimes, and drawn the muscles of their face up towards the eye. Their noses were not very broad, but rather flat between the eyes; their lips strong, though not so thick as those of negroes; and their hair black and curling, but always cut short, so as not to exceed three inches. Their eyes were dark-brown, and rather small, the white being less clear than in other nations of the South Seas."--G.F.

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.<sup>[3]</sup> Their plantations are prettily laid out by line, but not inclosed by any fence; indeed they have nothing for this purpose but stones.

[3] "These were human figures made of narrow pieces of wood about eighteen inches or two feet long, and wrought in a much neater and more proportionate manner than we could have expected, after seeing the rude sculpture of the statues. They were made to represent persons of both sexes; the features were not very pleasing, and the whole figure was much too long to be natural; however, there was something characteristic in them, which shewed a taste for the arts. The wood of which they were made was finely polished, close grained, and of a dark-brown, like that of the casuarina. Mahine was most pleased with these carved human figures, the workmanship of which much excelled those of the *e tees* in his country, and he purchased several of them, assuring us they would be greatly valued at Otaheite. As he took great pains to collect these curiosities, he once met with a figure of a woman's hand, carved of a yellowish wood, nearly of the natural size. Upon examination, its fingers were all bent upwards, as they are in the action of dancing at Otaheite, and its nails were represented very long, extending at least three-fourths of an inch beyond the fingers end. The wood of which it was made was the rare perfume wood of Otaheite, with the chips of which they communicate fragrance to their oils. We had neither seen this wood growing, nor observed the custom of wearing long nails at this island, and therefore were at a loss to conceive how this piece of well-executed carving could be met with there. Mahine afterwards presented this piece to my father, who in his turn made a present of it to the British Museum."--G.F.

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.[4]

[4] "The most diligent enquiries on our part, have not been sufficient to throw clear light on the surprising objects which struck our eyes in this island. We may, however, attempt to account for these gigantic monuments, of which great numbers exist in every part; for as they are so disproportionate to the present strength of the nation, it is most reasonable to look upon them as the remains of better times. The nearest calculation we could make, never brought the number of inhabitants in this island beyond seven hundred, who, destitute of tools, of shelter and clothing, are obliged to spend all their time in providing food to support their precarious existence. It is obvious that they are too much occupied with their wants, to think of forming statues, which would cost them ages to finish, and require their united strength to erect. Accordingly, we did not see a single instrument among them in all our excursions, which could have been of the least use in masonry or sculpture. We neither met with any quarries, where they had recently dug the materials, nor with unfinished statues, which we might have considered as the work of the present race. It is therefore probable, that these people were formerly more numerous, more opulent and happy, when they could spare sufficient time, to flatter the vanity of their princes, by perpetuating their names by lasting monuments. The remains of plantations found on the summits of the hub, give strength and support to this conjecture. It is not in our power to determine by what various accidents a nation so flourishing, could be reduced in number, and degraded to its present indigence. But we are well convinced that many causes may produce this effect, and that the devastation which a volcano might make, is alone sufficient to heap a load of miseries on a people confined to so small a space. In fact, this island, which may perhaps, in remote ages, have been produced by a volcano, since all its minerals are merely volcanic, has at least in all likelihood been destroyed by its fire. All kinds of trees and plants, all-domestic animals, nay a great part of the nation itself, may have perished in the dreadful convulsion of nature: Hunger and misery must have been but too powerful enemies to those who escaped the fire. We cannot well account for these little carved images which we saw among the natives, and the representation of a dancing woman's hand, which are made of a kind of wood at present not to be met with upon the island. The only idea which offers itself is, that they were made long ago, and have been saved by accident or predilection, at the general catastrophe which seems to have happened. In numberless circumstances the people agree with the tribes who inhabit New Zealand, the Friendly and the Society Islands, and who seem to have had one common origin with them. Their features are very similar, so that the general character may easily be distinguished. Their colour a yellowish brown, most like the hue of the New Zealanders; their art of puncturing, the use of the mulberry-bark for clothing, the predilection for red paint and red dresses, the shape and workmanship of their clubs, the mode of dressing their victuals, all form a strong resemblance to the natives of these islands. We may add, the simplicity of their languages, that of Easter Island being a dialect, which, in many respects, resembles that of New Zealand, especially in the harshness of pronunciation and the use of gutturals, and yet, in other instances, partakes of that of Otaheite. The monarchical government likewise strengthens the affinity between the Easter Islanders and the tropical tribes, its prerogatives being only varied according to the different degrees of fertility of the islands, and the opulence or luxury of the people. The statues, which are erected in honour of their kings, have a great affinity to the wooden figures called Tea, on the chief's marais or burying- places, at Otaheite; but we could not possibly consider them as idols. The disposition of these people is far from being warlike; their numbers are too inconsiderable and their poverty too general, to create civil disturbances amongst them. It is equally improbable that they have foreign wars, since hitherto we know of no island near enough to admit of an interview between the inhabitants; neither could we obtain any intelligence from those of Easter Island upon the subject. This being premised, it is extraordinary that they should have different kinds of offensive weapons, and especially such as resemble those of the New Zealanders; and we must add this circumstance to several others which are inexplicable to us. Upon the whole, supposing Easter Island to have undergone a late misfortune from volcanic fires, its inhabitants are more to be pitied than any less civilized society, being acquainted with a number of conveniences, comforts, and luxuries of life, which they formerly possessed, and of which the remembrance must embitter the loss."--G.P.

Forster the father is decided in opinion, as to the revolution that has undoubtedly occurred in this island, being occasioned by a volcano and earthquake, and gives a very curious account of a notion prevalent amongst the Society Isles, and forming indeed part of their mythological creed, which, if to be credited, affords support to it. The subject altogether is of a most interesting and important nature, but cannot possibly be investigated or even specified in an adequate manner in this place. We hope to do it justice hereafter.--E.

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.

## SECTION 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.*

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  $19^{\circ} 20'$  S., longitude  $114^{\circ} 49'$  W., steered N.W. Since leaving Easter Island, the variation had not been more than  $3^{\circ} 4'$ , nor less than  $2^{\circ} 32'$  E.; but on the 26th, at six a.m., in latitude  $15^{\circ} 7'$  S., longitude  $119^{\circ} 45'$  W., it was no more than  $1^{\circ} 1'$  E.; after which it began to increase.

On the 29th, being in the latitude of  $10^{\circ} 20'$ , longitude  $123^{\circ} 58'$  W., altered the course to W.N.W., and the next day to west, being then in latitude  $9^{\circ} 24'$ , 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.

As we advanced to the west, we found the variation to increase but slowly; for, on the 3d of April, it was only  $4^{\circ} 40'$  E., being then in the latitude of  $9^{\circ} 32'$ , longitude  $132^{\circ} 45'$ , 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  $9^{\circ} 20'$ , longitude  $138^{\circ} 14'$  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 hysterical

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.[1]

[1] Mr G.F. represents this unhappy transaction in a somewhat different manner, affirming that an officer who happened to come on deck the moment after the second ineffectual shot, and who was totally ignorant of the nature of the offence committed, snatched up a musket and fired with such fatal precision. This might be the case unknown to Captain Cook, whose representation may be considered as perfectly according with his own immediate understanding of the circumstance, and not modified, for perhaps valid enough reasons, by subsequent information. The event, in any view of it that can be taken, is another melancholy proof of that unprincipled depreciation of human life, which so strongly characterizes men who are continually risking it at their own cost. The conduct of Mahine on this event, it seems, was very striking. He burst into tears, when he saw one man killing another on so trifling an occasion. "Let his feelings," says Mr G.F., "put those civilized Europeans to the blush, who have humanity so often on their lips, and so seldom in their hearts."--E.

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.[2]

[2] Mr G.F. strongly commends the friendly behaviour and conciliatory manners of the people. It is unnecessary to quote his words--E.

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.

## SECTION 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.*

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. 1/2 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. 1/2 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° 26' S., and N. 13° 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° 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  $10^{\circ} 25'$ , longitude  $138^{\circ} 50'$ . So that these isles occupy one degree in latitude, and near half a degree in longitude, viz. from  $138^{\circ} 47'$  to  $139^{\circ} 13'$  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  $9^{\circ} 55' 30''$ , longitude  $139^{\circ} 8' 40''$  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 *tattooed*, 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 slightly 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.[1]

[1] Mr G.F. concurs generally with Captain Cook in his account of the matters spoken of in this section, and is very particular in noticing the strong and distinct resemblance of the natives of the Marquesas to those of the Society Islands. What differences he remarked, he thinks may be specifically ascribed to the nature of the respective countries, whilst in his judgment the many points of identity imply a common origin. The reader, it is believed, will hereafter see the most reasonable grounds, for such an inference.--E.

## SECTION XI.

### *A Description of several Islands discovered, or seen in the Passage from the Marquesas to Otaheite; with an Account of a Naval Review.*

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. 1/2 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.[1]

[1] Mr G.F., who was one of the party that went ashore, gives a sketch of the people. They were a set of stout men, of a dark-brown colour, not disagreeable features, with dark curling hair and

beards, perfectly naked, and variously marked on different parts of the body. They had the New Zealand custom of touching noses as a salutation; and their language seemed a dialect of the Otaheitean.--E.

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  $14^{\circ} 27' 30''$  S., longitude  $144^{\circ} 56'$  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.[2]

[2] The following remarks ought not to be omitted.--"Besides fish and vegetable food, these people have dogs which live upon fish, and are reckoned excellent meat by the natives of the Society Islands, to whom they are known. Thus Providence, in its wise dispensations, made even those insignificant narrow ledges rich enough in the productions of nature, to supply a whole race of men with the necessaries of life. And here we cannot but express our admiration, that the minutest agents are subservient to the purposes of the Almighty Creator. The coral is known to be the fabric of a little worm, which enlarges its house, in proportion as its own bulk increases. This little creature, which has scarce sensation enough to distinguish it from a plant, builds up a rocky structure from the bottom of a sea too deep to be measured by human art, till it readies the surface, and offers a firm basis for the residence of man! The number of these low islands is very great, and we are far from being acquainted with them all. In the whole extent of the Pacific Ocean, between the tropics, they are to be met with; however, they are remarkably frequent for the space of ten or fifteen degrees to the eastward of the Society Islands. Quiros, Schouten, Roggewein, Byron, Wallis, Carteret, Bougainville, and Cook, have each met with new islands in their different courses; and what is most remarkable, they have found them inhabited at the distance of two hundred and forty leagues to the east of Otaheite. Nothing is more probable than, that on every new track other islands of this kind will still be met with, and particularly between the 16th and 17th degree of S. latitude, no navigator having hitherto run down on that parallel towards the Society Islands. It remains a subject worthy the investigation of philosophers, to consider from what probable principles these islands are so extremely numerous, and form so great an archipelago to windward of the Society Islands, whilst they are only scattered at considerable distances beyond that group of mountainous islands? It is true, there is another archipelago of coral ledges far to the westward, I mean the Friendly Islands; but these are of a different nature, and appear to be of a much older date; they occupy more space, and have a greater quantity of soil, on which all the vegetable productions of the higher lands may be raised."--G.F.

How far the opinions here stated are supported by subsequent investigation, will be afterwards considered.--E.

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  $14^{\circ} 37'$  S., longitude  $145^{\circ} 10'$  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  $3^{\circ} 54'$  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.  $1/2$  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-over-flowed 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.[3]

[3] "The lagoon within this island was very spacious, and several canoes sailed about upon it. It appears to me, that the most elevated and richest spots on the coral ledges, are generally to leeward, sheltered from the violence of the surf. In this sea, however, there are seldom such violent storms, as might make these isles uncomfortable places of abode; and when the weather is fair, it must be very pleasant sailing on the smooth water in the lagoon, whilst the ocean without is disagreeably agitated."--G.F.

This island is situated in the latitude of  $15^{\circ} 26'$ , longitude  $146^{\circ} 20'$ . 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° 47' S., longitude 146° 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. 1/2 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° down to 14° or 12°, and from the meridian of 138° to 148° or 150° 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.  
[4]

[4] The following passage both strikingly expresses the satisfaction experienced on again visiting Otaheite, and affords a lively idea of its peerless beauty. "Every person on board gazed continually at this species of tropical islands; and though I was extremely ill of my bilious disorder, I crawled on deck, and fixed my eyes with great eagerness upon it, as upon a place where I hoped my pains would cease. Early in the morning I awoke, and was as much surprised at the beauty of the prospect, as if I had never beheld it before. It was, indeed, infinitely more beautiful at present, than it had been eight months ago, owing to the difference of the season. The forests on the mountains were all clad in fresh foliage, and glowed in many variegated hues; and even the lower hills were not entirely destitute of pleasing spots, and covered with herbage. But the plains, above all, shone forth in the greatest luxuriance of colours, the brightest tints of verdure being profusely lavished upon their fertile groves; in short, the whole called to our mind the description of Calypso's enchanted island."--G.F.

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.[5]

[5] "The difference between the present opulence of these islanders, and their situation eight months before, was very astonishing to us. It was with the utmost difficulty that we had been able to purchase a few hogs during our first stay, having been obliged to look upon it as a great favour, when the king or chief parted with one of these animals. At present our decks were so crowded with them, that we were obliged to make a hog-stye on shore. We concluded, therefore, that they were now entirely recovered from the blow which they had received in their late unfortunate war with the lesser peninsula, and of which they still felt the bad effects at our visit in August 1773."--G.F.

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-canoe 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.[6]

[6] So much curious information is given in the following passage, that, long as it is, there are few readers, it is believed, who would willingly dispense with it. "All our former ideas of the power and affluence of this island were so greatly surpassed by this magnificent scene, that we were perfectly left in admiration. We counted no less than one hundred and fifty-nine war-canoes, from fifty to ninety feet long betwixt stem and stern. All these were double, that is, two joined together, side by side, by fifteen or eighteen strong transverse timbers, which sometimes projected a great way beyond both the hulls, being from twelve to four-and-twenty feet in length, and about three feet and a half asunder. When they are so long, they make a platform fifty, sixty, or seventy feet in length. On the outside of each canoe there are, in that case, two or three longitudinal spars, and between the two connected canoes, one spar is fixed to the transverse beams. The heads and sterns were raised several feet out of the water, particularly the latter, which stood up like long beaks, sometimes near twenty feet high, and were cut into various shapes; a white piece of cloth was commonly fixed between the two beaks of each double canoe, in lieu of an ensign, and the wind swelled it out like a sail. Some had likewise a striped cloth, with various red chequers, which were the marks of the divisions under different commanders. At the head there was a tall pillar of carved-work, on the top of which stood the figure of a man, or rather of an urchin, whose face was commonly shaded by a board like a bonnet, and sometimes painted red with ochre. These pillars were generally covered with branches of black feathers, and long streamers of feathers hung from them. The gunwale of the canoes was commonly two or three feet above the water, but not always formed in the same manner; for some had flat bottoms, and sides nearly perpendicular upon them, whilst others were bow- sided, with a sharp keel. A fighting stage was erected towards the head of the boat, and rested on pillars from four to six feet high, generally ornamented with carving. This stage extended beyond the whole breadth of the double canoe, and was from twenty to twenty-four feet long, and about eight or ten feet wide. The rowers sat in the canoe, or under the fighting-stage on the platform, which consisted of the transverse beams and longitudinal spars; so that wherever these crossed, there was room for one man in the compartment. The warriors were stationed on the fighting-stage to the number of fifteen or twenty. Their dress was the most singular, and at the same time the most shewy, in the whole fleet. They had three large and ample pieces of cloth with a hole in the middle, put one above another. The undermost and largest was white, the next red, and the uppermost and shortest brown. Their targets or breast-plates were made of wicker- work, covered with feathers and sharks' teeth, and hardly any of the warriors were without them. On the contrary, those who wore helmets were few in number. These helmets were of an enormous size, being near five feet high. They consisted of a long cylindrical basket of wicker- work, of which the foremost half was hid by a semi-cylinder of a closer texture, which became broader towards the top, and there separated from the basket, so as to come forwards in a curve. This frontlet, of the length of four feet, was closely covered with the glossy bluish green feathers of a sort of pigeon, and with an elegant border of white plumes. A prodigious number of the long tail feathers of tropic birds diverged from its edges, in a radiant line, resembling that glory of light with which our painters commonly ornament the heads of angels and saints. A large turban of cloth was required for this huge unwieldy machine to rest upon; but as it is intended merely to strike the beholder with admiration, and can be of no service, the warriors soon took it off, and placed it on the platform near them. The principal commanders were moreover distinguished by long round tails, made of green and yellow feathers, which hung down on the back, and put us in mind of the Turkish bashaws. Towha, their admiral, wore five of them, to the ends of which several strings of cocoa-nut tree were added, with a few red feathers affixed to them. He had no helmet on, but wore a fine turban, which sat very gracefully on his head. He was a man seemingly near sixty years of age, but extremely vigorous, tall, and of a very engaging noble countenance. In each canoe we took notice of vast bundles of spears, and long clubs or battle-axes placed upright against the platform; and every warrior had either a club or spear in his hand. Vast heaps of large stones were likewise piled up in every canoe, being their only missile weapons. Besides the vessels of war, there were many smaller canoes without the ranks, most of which were likewise double, with a roof on the stern, intended for the reception of the chiefs at night, and as victuallers to the fleet. A few of them were seen, on which banana-leaves were very conspicuous; and these the natives told us were to receive the killed, and they called them *e-vaa no t'Eatua*, "the canoes of the Divinity." "The immense number of people assembled together was, in fact, more surprising than the splendour of the whole shew; and we learnt to our greater surprise, that this fleet was only the naval force of the single district of Atapooroo, and that all the other districts could furnish their quota of vessels in proportion to their size. This account opened our eyes, in regard to the population of the island, and convinced us in a few moments, that it was much more considerable than we had hitherto supposed. The result of a most moderate computation gave us one hundred and twenty thousand persons in the two peninsulas of Otabeite, and this calculation was afterwards confirmed to be very low, when we saw the fleet of the smallest district, which amounted to forty-four war-canoes, besides twenty or thirty of a smaller size."--G.F.

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.

## SECTION 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.*

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 Tarevato, 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.<sup>[1]</sup> 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.

[1] "Towha paid more attention to the multitude of new objects on board, to the strength and size of the timbers, masts, and ropes, than any Otaheitean we had ever seen, and found our tackle so exceedingly superior to that which is usual in his country, that he expressed a wish to possess several articles, especially cables and anchors. He was now dressed like the rest of the people, and naked to the waist, being in the king's presence. His appearance was so much altered from what it had been the day before, that I had some difficulty to recollect him. He appeared now very lusty, and had a most portly paunch, which it was impossible to discern under the long spacious robes of war. His hair was of a fine silvery grey; and his countenance was the most engaging and truly good-natured which I ever beheld in these islands. The king and he staid and dined with us this day, eating with a very hearty appetite of all that was set before them. Otoo had entirely lost his uneasy, distrustful air; he seemed to be at home, and took a great pleasure in instructing Towha in our manners. He taught him to make use of the knife and fork, to eat salt to his meat, and to drink wine. He himself did not refuse to drink a glass of this generous liquor, and joked with Towha upon its red colour, telling him it was blood. The honest admiral having tasted our grog, which is a mixture of brandy and water, desired to taste of the brandy itself, which he called *e vai no Bretannee*, British water, and drank off a small glass full, without making a wry face. Both he and his Otaheitean majesty were extremely cheerful and happy, and appeared to like our way of living, and our cookery of their own excellent provisions."--G.F.

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.<sup>[2]</sup>

[2] Of this day's date we find an incident which very strikingly illustrates the consequences to the morals of the Otaheiteans, resulting from their acquaintance with strangers. "That our red feathers had infused a general and irresistible longing into the minds of all the people, will appear from the following circumstance. I have observed, in the former part of this narrative, that the women of the families of chiefs never admitted the visits of Europeans; and also that whatever liberties some unmarried girls might with impunity allow themselves, the married state had always been held sacred and unspotted at Otaheite. But such was the force of the temptation, that a chief actually offered his wife to Captain Cook, and the lady, by her husband's order, attempted to captivate him, by an artful display of her charms, seemingly in such a careless manner, as many a woman would be at a loss to imitate. I was sorry, for the sake of human nature, that this proposal came from a man, whose general character was in other respects very fair. It was Potatow who could descend to such meanness, from the high spirit of grandeur which he had formerly shewn. We expressed great indignation at his conduct, and rebuked him for his frailty."--G.F.

From this specimen of frailty, may be readily inferred the dissoluteness of those females, who had neither rank nor marriage to render chastity a virtue. But, alas! one need not visit the South Seas, to become acquainted with the possible extent of human infirmity. A cynic might, without such travel, be tempted to parody the words of Sir Robert Walpole, and say, that every woman had her price. The proposition is a harsh one, and the more so as obviously irrefutable. It does, however, read this most important lesson, that there is much greater safety in avoiding temptation, than in trusting to any power of resistance. They, it is to be feared, who are least sensible of this truth, and who feel most indignant at its being stated, stand most in need of its salutary influence.--E.

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 Huahine, which lies forty leagues to the westward; by which a judgment may be formed of the height of the mountains in Otaheite.[3]

[3] Forster the father met with a serious accident during this excursion. In descending from the hills, rendered exceedingly slippery from the recent rains, he had the misfortune to fall, which both bruised his leg in a very severe manner, and also occasioned a rupture.--E.

Next morning I had an opportunity to see the people of ten war-canoe 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. Tarevatoo, 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 Tarevatoo, 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.

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 Tarevato, who stayed dinner; after which I went down to Opparree, paid a visit to Otoo, and returned on board in the evening.[4]

[4] "The number of common women on board our ships considerably increased, since we had begun to deal in red feathers. Their mirth was often extravagant and noisy; and sometimes their ideas were so original as to give great amusement. We had a very weak scorbutic patient when we arrived at Otaheite; this man being somewhat recovered by means of fresh vegetable food, and animated by the example of the crew, wooed one of these girls; about dusk he led her to his birth, and lighted a candle. She looked her lover in the face, and finding he had lost an eye, she took him by the hand, and conducted him upon deck again to a girl that was one-eyed likewise, giving him to understand, that that person was a fit partner for him, but that for her part she did not choose to put up with a blind lover."--G.F.

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.[5] 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.

[5] When here before, Captain Cook could not obtain this very singular article; but, at this time, according to Mr G.F., not less than ten complete mourning-dresses were purchased by different persons, who brought them to England. Captain Cook gave one to the British Museum, and Mr Forster another to the University of Oxford. A sailor sold a third on his return home for twenty-five guineas, but to whom Mr G.F. does not mention.-E.

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 Tarevato, 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. Tarevato 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.[6] 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-canoe, 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.

[6] It is still more probable that both reasons concur. The higher orders, besides, it is certain, were far enough from being disinclined to exhibit their ingenuity in pilfering. We have seen instances of

this sort before. Mr G.F. relates one of some interest, as presented in the king's own sister, a woman about twenty-seven years old, and who possessed great authority over her sex. Her high rank did not elevate her above some very vulgar propensities, of which, covetousness, though abundantly conspicuous, was not the most considerable. The only apology Mr G.F. makes for her, has little specific excellence to commend it. "In a country," says he, "where the impulses of nature are followed without restraint, it would be extraordinary if an exception should be made, and still more so, if it should be confined to those who are accustomed to have their will in most other respects. The passions of mankind are similar every where; the same instincts are active in the slave and the prince; consequently the history of their effects must ever be the same in every country." It is both mortifying and consolatory to think, that the utmost height to which ambition may aspire, will not exempt one from the polluting agency of "mire and dirt." Death, we see, is not the only leveller in the world.--E.

### SECTION 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.*

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.[1]

[1] "The good old admiral was so ill that he could not stand on his legs; he was very desirous, however, to come upon deck; we therefore slung a chair on ropes, and hoisted him up in it, to his great delight, and to the astonishment of all his countrymen. Notwithstanding his illness, he told us he was determined to command the expedition against Eimea, saying it was of little consequence if they killed an old man, who could no longer be useful. He was very cheerful under his infirmities,

and his way of thinking was nobly disinterested, and seemed to be animated by true heroism. He took leave of us with a degree of cordiality and emotion, which touched the heart, and might have reconciled a misanthrope to the world."--G.F.

Who does not see in this noble veteran the radical principles which characterize a British tar? There needs indeed, but a little of the Roman or Grecian painting, to render him a fit *stage-companion* for almost any of the ancient heroes; and who can tell, but that in some distant æra, when the Otaheitan language shall be read and classical, the drivelling pedants of the south will blazon his fame, as we now do that of his elder fraternity? G.F. had his eye directed to such a kind of comparison betwixt Greeks and Otaheitans, in a passage which the reader will find in the next note, and which is a fair specimen of that gentleman's lively and entertaining style.--E.

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.[2]

[2] "The view of the Otaheitan fleet frequently brought to our minds an idea of the naval force which that nation employed in the first ages of its existence, and induced us to compare them together. The Greeks were doubtless better armed, having the use of metals; but it seemed plain, from the writings of Homer, in spite of poetical embellishment, that their mode of fighting was irregular, and their arms simple, like those of Otaheite. The united efforts of Greece against Troy, in remote antiquity, could not be much more considerable than the armament of Otoo against the isle of Eimea; and the boasted *mille carinæ* were probably not more formidable than a fleet of large canoes, which require from fifty to an hundred and twenty men, to paddle them. The navigation of the Greeks, in those days, was not more extensive than that which is practised by the Otaheitans at present, being confined to short passages from island to island; and as the stars at night directed the mariners through the Archipelago at that time, so they still continue to guide others in the Pacific Ocean. The Greeks were brave; but the numerous wounds of the Otaheitan chiefs, are all proofs of their spirit and prowess. It seems to be certain, that in their battles they rouse themselves into a kind of phrenzy, and that their bravery is a violent fit of passion. From Homer's battles, it is evident, that the heroism which produced the wonders he records, was exactly of the same nature. Let us for a moment be allowed to carry this comparison still farther. The heroes of Homer are represented to us as men of supernatural size and force. The Otaheitan chiefs, compared to the common people, are so much superior in stature and elegance of form, that they look like a different race. It requires a more than ordinary quantity of food to satisfy stomachs of unusual dimensions. Accordingly we find, that the mighty men at the siege of Troy, and the chiefs of Otaheite, are both famous for eating, and it appears that pork was a diet no less admired by the Greeks, than it is by the Otaheitans at this day. Simplicity of manners is observable in both nations; and their domestic character is hospitable, affectionate, and humane. There is even a similarity in their political constitution. The chiefs of districts at Otaheite are powerful princes, who have not more respect for Otoo than the Greek heroes had for the "king of men;" and the common people are so little noticed in the Iliad, that they appear to have had no greater consequence, than the towntowns in the South Seas. In short, I believe the similitude might be traced in many other instances; but it was my intention only to hint at it, and not to abuse the patience of my readers. What I have here said is

sufficient to prove, that men in a similar state of civilization resemble each other more than we are aware of, even in the most opposite extremes of the world."--G.F.

This gentleman guards against any more particular deductions from such resemblance as he has now noticed, by adverting to the havoc made in history by the modern itch for tracing pedigrees, alluding especially to the affinity imagined betwixt the Egyptians and Chinese. On such subjects, it is certain, human ingenuity has been fruitful of extravagancies, and there is much less risk of absurdity if we abide by merely general inferences; but, on the other hand, it must be admitted, that these are often specious pretexts for avoiding the labours of enquiry, and have very rarely contributed any thing to the stock of useful knowledge. Besides, they are often as fundamentally theoretic, as those more specific notions which they are used to supplant, though far less operative on the minds of those who maintain them, except indeed, in so far as a conceited indolence is concerned, of which, it is often difficult to say, whether they are the parent or the offspring. But at best, your transcendental philosophers are very like those general admirers of the fair sex, who are ready enough to pay compliments which cost them just as little as they signify, but who are too fond of themselves, to squander away on a single individual, any portion of that affection which they think can be much better bestowed elsewhere. Whereas, an attachment to some specific theory, like the ardour of a real lover, excites to active services and solicitous assiduity; and even when it does not obtain its object, is deserving of gratitude at least, and rarely fails to be rewarded by it.--E.

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.[3] 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.

[3] The poor fellow, Mr G.F. informs us, paid a fortnight's confinement in irons for his frolic, a greater price, perhaps, the reader will think, than the matter deserved. One shudders to imagine what would be his anguish at the simple disappointment of his purpose; but that it is possible might render him less sensible to the weight of his bonds. That a solitary hopeless wretch, who had not a friend or relative in any other region of the globe, should form an attachment to these affectionate islanders, and attempt to settle in the midst of their proffered enjoyments, was so imperatively natural, that one cannot help feeling indignation at the mercilessness of an artificial discipline, which exerted so rigorous a retribution. The advantages of this penal system must be great and obvious indeed, that can compensate for such enormous outrage on suffering humanity. G.F. has allowed himself to reason on this subject, in a way not much calculated to ease the mind of his reader: a short specimen may suffice. "The most favourable prospects of future success in England, which this man might form in idea, could never be so flattering to his senses, as the lowly hope of living like the meanest Otaheitan. It was highly probable that immediately on his return home, instead of indulging in repose those limbs which had been tossed from pole to pole, he would be

placed in another ship, where the same fatigues, nocturnal watches, and unwholesome food, would still fall to his share; or though he were allowed to solace himself for a few days, after a long series of hardships, he must expect to be seized in the midst of his enjoyments, and to be dragged an unwilling champion to the defence of his country: to be cut off in the flower of his age, or to remain miserably crippled with only half his limbs, might be the alternatives to which he would be reduced." But we forbear the distressing theme, and would willingly direct the reader's eye and hopes, to that most beneficent provision for the repose and comfort of our meritorious sailors, which the wisdom of the legislature, too tardily it must be confessed, has lately contemplated.--E.

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 controllable 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 negociation. 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-canoe, 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 *Eareeyo*. 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.

#### SECTION 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.*

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? [1]

[1] "Her parents, from whom she had eloped to Otaheite with a favoured lover some years ago, were

still alive, and the force of affection urged her irresistibly to visit them. She had concealed herself on board during Otoo's last visit, as he had expressly ordered that no woman should go with us; but being safe at present, she ventured to make her appearance. She was dressed in a suit of clothes belonging to one of the officers, and was so much pleased with her new garments, that she went ashore in them as soon as she arrived at Huaheine. She dined with the officers without the least scruple, and laughed at the prejudices of her country-women with all the good sense of a citizen of the world. With a proper education she might have shone as a woman of genius even in Europe; since, without the advantage of a cultivated understanding, her great vivacity, joined to very polite manners, already were sufficient to make her company supportable."--G.F.

From some of this gentleman's remarks, as well as what Captain Cook says, it appears that these islanders have pretty correct notions of the relative duty of children and parents.--E.

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.[2]

[2] Mr G.F. has entered upon a pretty minute account of this strange society, and does his best to palliate the enormities of which, there seems no reason to doubt, its really profligate members are almost habitually guilty. That gentleman is certainly liberal in his views of the natives in general, and on the whole appears disposed to give more credit to human nature than, perhaps, it will be found on the closest inspection to deserve. Though it may be conceded to him, that criminal individuals are not more numerous in the Society Islands, than among other people, yet it is obvious, that the discovery of the universal prevalency of vice does not warrant any person to extenuate its malignity in any particular instances where it occurs.--E.

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 volleys 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.

## SECTION 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.*

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 head-way 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.[1]

[1] "The man who acted the part of the woman in labour went through the gestures which the Greeks were wont to admire in the groves of Venus-Ariadne, near Amathus, where the same ceremony was acted on the second day of the month Gorpoeus, in memory of Ariadne, who died in child-bed. Thus it appears that there is scarcely a practice, though ever so ridiculous, existing in any corner of the world, that has not been hit upon by the extravagant fancy of men in some other region. A tall, stout fellow, dressed in cloth, personated the new-born infant in such a ludicrous style, that we could not refuse joining in the plaudits which his countrymen bestowed on him. Anatomists and midwives would have been surprised to observe, that this overgrown babe had every necessary character of a child newly born; but the natives were particularly delighted with his running about the stage, whilst the rest of the dancers endeavoured to catch him. The ladies were much pleased with this scene, which, according to the simplicity of their ideas, had not the least indecency; they looked on, therefore, unconcernedly, and were not obliged, like some European dames, to peep through their fans."--G.F.

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 pinnace'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 *Whenooa* 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.[2]

[2] The two Forsters, particularly the father, a man of great sagacity and of very acute discernment, paid much attention to this interesting subject. The information they procured is contained in their respective works, and is, as might be expected, very similar. From this it would have been easy to add to the contents of the text. But this has been avoided, principally because we may perhaps present the reader with the substance of Forster's observations, in a connected form, on another occasion. That publication indeed is a treasure of most curious and important matter, deserving to be more extensively known, than there is reason to believe it now is.--E.

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. 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 *wà 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 Tooto* 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 *Whenoosas* 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  $2^{\circ} 8' 38'' \frac{1}{2}$  too far to the west; that is, it had gained, since our leaving Queen Charlotte's Sound, of its then rate of going,  $8' 34'' \frac{1}{2}$ . 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.

## CHAPTER III.

FROM ULIETEA TO NEW ZEALAND.

SECTION I.

*Passage from Ulietea to the Friendly Isles, with a Description of several Islands that were discovered, and the Incidents which happened in that Track.*

On the 6th, being the day after leaving Ulietea, at eleven o'clock a.m., we saw land bearing N.W., which, upon a nearer approach, we found to be a low reef island about four leagues in compass, and of a circular form. It is composed of several small patches connected together by breakers, the largest lying on the N.E. part. This is Howe Island, discovered by Captain Wallis, who, I think, sent his boat to examine it; and, if I have not been misinformed, found a channel through, within the reef, near the N.W. part. The inhabitants of Ulietea speak of an uninhabited island about this situation, called by them Mopeha, to which they go at certain seasons for turtle. Perhaps, this may be the same; as we saw no signs of inhabitants upon it. Its latitude is  $16^{\circ} 46' S.$  longitude  $154^{\circ} 8' W.$ .

From this day to the 16th, we met nothing remarkable, and our course was west southerly; the winds variable from north round by the east to S.W., attended with cloudy, rainy, unsettled weather, and a southerly swell. We generally brought-to, or stood upon a wind during night; and in the day made all the sail we could. About half an hour after sun-rise this morning, land was seen from the top-mast head, bearing N.N.E. We immediately altered the course, and steering for it, found it to be another reef island, composed of five or six woody islets, connected together by sand-banks and breakers inclosing a lake, into which we could see no entrance. We ranged the west and N.W. coasts, from its southern to its northern-extremity, which is about two leagues, and so near the shore, that at one time we could see the rocks under us; yet we found no anchorage, nor saw we any signs of inhabitants. There were plenty of various kinds of birds, and the coast seemed to abound with fish. The situation of this isle is not very distant from that assigned by Mr Dalrymple for La Sagitaria, discovered by Quiros; but, by the description the discoverer has given of it, it cannot be the same. For this reason, I looked upon it as a new discovery, and named it Palmerston Island, in honour of Lord Palmerston, one of the lords of the Admiralty. It is situated in latitude  $18^{\circ} 4' S.$  longitude  $163^{\circ} 10' W.$ .

At four o'clock in the afternoon, we left this isle, and resumed our course to the W. by S. with a fine steady gale easterly, till noon on the 20th, at which time, being in latitude  $18^{\circ} 50'$ , longitude  $168^{\circ} 52'$ , we thought we saw land to S.S.W. and hauled up for it accordingly. But two hours after, we discovered our mistake, and resumed our course W. by S. Soon after, we saw land from the mast-head in the same direction; and, as we drew nearer, found it to be an island, which, at five o'clock, bore west, distant five leagues. Here we spent the night plying under the topsails; and at day-break next morning, bore away, steering to the northern point, and ranging the west coast at the distance of one mile, till near noon. Then perceiving some people on the shore, and landing seeming to be easy, we brought-to, and hoisted out two boats, with which I put off to the land, accompanied by some of the officers and gentlemen. As we drew near the shore, some of the inhabitants, who were on the rocks, retired to the woods, to meet us, as we supposed; and we afterwards found our conjectures right. We landed with ease in a small creek, and took post on a high rock to prevent a surprise. Here we displayed our colours, and Mr Forster and his party began to collect plants, &c. The coast was so over-run with woods, bushes, plants, stones, &c. that we could not see forty yards round us. I took two men, and with them entered a kind of chasm, which opened a way into the woods. We had not gone far before we heard the natives

approaching; upon which I called to Mr Forster to retire to the party, as I did likewise. We had no sooner joined than the islanders appeared at the entrance of a chasm not a stone's throw from us. We began to speak, and make all the friendly signs we could think of, to them, which they answered by menaces; and one of two men, who were advanced before the rest, threw a stone, which struck Mr Sparrman on the arm. Upon this two muskets were fired, without order, which made them all retire under cover of the woods; and we saw them no more.

After waiting for some little time, and till we were satisfied nothing was to be done here, the country being so overrun with bushes, that it was hardly possible to come to parley with them, we embarked and proceeded down along shore, in hopes of meeting with better success in another place. After ranging the coast for some miles, without seeing a living soul, or any convenient landing-place, we at length came before a small beach, on which lay four canoes. Here we landed by means of a little creek, formed by the flat rocks before it, with a view of just looking at the canoes, and to leave some medals, nails, &c. in them; for not a soul was to be seen. The situation of this place was to us worse than the former. A flat rock lay next the sea; behind it a narrow stone beach; this was bounded by a perpendicular rocky cliff of unequal height, whose top was covered with shrubs; two deep and narrow chasms in the cliff seemed to open a communication into the country. In or before one of these lay the four canoes which we were going to look at; but in the doing of this, I saw we should be exposed to an attack from the natives, if there were any, without being in a situation proper for defence. To prevent this, as much as could be, and to secure a retreat in case of an attack, I ordered the men to be drawn up upon the rock, from whence they had a view of the heights; and only myself, and four of the gentlemen, went up to the canoes. We had been there but a few minutes, before the natives, I cannot say how many, rushed down the chasm out of the wood upon us. The endeavours we used to bring them to a parley, were to no purpose; for they came with the ferocity of wild boars, and threw their darts. Two or three muskets, discharged in the air did not hinder one of them from advancing still farther, and throwing another dart, or rather a spear, which passed close over my shoulder. His courage would have cost him his life, had not my musket missed fire; for I was not five paces from him when he threw his spear, and had resolved to shoot him to save myself. I was glad afterwards that it happened as it did. At this instant, our men on the rock began to fire at others who appeared on the heights, which abated the ardour of the party we were engaged with, and gave us time to join our people, when I caused the firing to cease. The last discharge sent all the islanders to the woods, from whence they did not return so long as we remained. We did not know that any were hurt. It was remarkable, that when I joined our party, I tried my musket in the air, and it went off as well as a piece could do. Seeing no good was to be got with these people, or at the isle, as having no port, we returned on board, and having hoisted in the boats, made sail to the W.S.W. I had forgot to mention in its proper order, that having put ashore a little before we came to this last place, three or four of us went upon the cliffs, where we found the country, as before, nothing but coral rocks, all over-run with bushes, so that it was hardly possible to penetrate into it; and we embarked again with intent to return directly on board, till we saw the canoes; being directed to the place by the opinion of some of us, who thought they heard some people.

The conduct and aspect of these islanders occasioned my naming it Savage Island. It is situated in the latitude 19° 1' S. longitude 169° 37' W. It is about eleven leagues in circuit; of a round form, and good height; and hath deep waters close to its shores. All the sea-coast, and as far inland as we could see, is wholly covered with trees, shrubs, &c.; amongst which were some cocoa-nut trees; but what the interior parts may produce we know not. To judge of the whole garment by the skirts, it cannot produce much; for so much as we saw of it consisted wholly of coral rocks, all over-run with woods and bushes. Not a bit of soil was to be seen; the rocks alone supplying the trees with humidity. If these coral rocks were first formed in the sea by animals, how came they thrown up to such an height? Has this island been raised by an earthquake? Or has the sea receded from it? Some philosophers have attempted to account for the formation of low isles, such as are in the sea; but I do not know that any thing has been said of high islands, or such as I have been speaking of. In this island, not only the loose rocks which cover the surface, but the cliffs which bound the shores, are of coral stone, which the continual beating of the sea has formed into a variety of curious caverns, some of them very large: The roof or rock over them being supported by pillars, which the foaming waves have formed into a multitude of shapes, and made more curious than the caverns themselves. In one we saw light was admitted through a hole at the top; in another place, we observed that the whole roof of one of these caverns had sunk in, and formed a kind of valley above, which lay considerably below the circumjacent rocks.

I can say but little of the inhabitants, who, I believe, are not numerous. They seemed to be stout well-made men, were naked except round the waists, and some of them had their faces, breasts, and thighs painted black. The canoes were precisely like those of Amsterdam; with the addition of a little rising like a gunwale on each side of the open part; and had some carving about them, which shewed that these people are full as ingenious. Both these islanders and their canoes agree very well with the description M. de Bougainville has given of those he saw off the Isle of Navigators, which lies nearly under the same meridian.

After leaving Savage Island, we continued to steer W.S.W. with a fine easterly trade-wind, till the 24th in the evening, when, judging ourselves not far from Rotterdam, we brought-to, and spent the night plying under the top-sails. At daybreak next morning, we bore away west; and soon after, saw a string of islands extending from S.S.W. by the west to N.N.W. The wind being at N.E., we hauled to N.W., with a view of discovering more distinctly the isles in that quarter; but,

presently after, we discovered a reef of rocks a-head, extending on each bow farther than we could see. As we could not weather them, it became necessary to tack and bear up to the south, to look for a passage that way. At noon the southernmost island bore S.W., distant four miles. North of this isle were three others, all connected by breakers, which we were not sure did not join to those we had seen in the morning, as some were observed in the intermediate space. Some islands were also seen to the west of those four; but Rotterdam was not yet in sight. Latitude 20° 23' S. longitude 174° 6' W. During the whole afternoon, we had little wind; so that at sunset, the southernmost isle bore W.N.W., distant five miles; and some breakers, we had seen to the south, bore now S.S.W. 1/2 W. Soon after it fell calm, and we were left to the mercy of a great easterly swell; which, however, happened to have no great effect upon the ship. The calm continued till four o'clock the next morning, when it was succeeded by a breeze from the south. At day-light, perceiving a likelihood of a passage between the islands to the north and the breakers to the south, we stretched in west, and soon after saw more islands, both to the S.W. and N.W., but the passage seemed open and clear. Upon drawing near the islands, we sounded, and found forty-five and forty fathoms, a clear sandy bottom. I was now quite easy, since it was in our power to anchor, in case of a calm; or to spend the night, if we found no passage. Towards noon some canoes came off to us from one of the isles, having two or three people in each; who advanced boldly alongside, and exchanged some cocoa-nuts, and shaddocks, for small nails. They pointed out to us Anamocka, or Rotterdam; an advantage we derived from knowing the proper names. They likewise gave us the names of some of the other isles, and invited us much to go to theirs, which they called Cornango. The breeze freshening, we left them astern, and steered for Anamocka; meeting with a clear passage, in which we found unequal sounding, from forty to nine fathoms, depending, I believe, in a great measure, on our distance from the islands which form it.

As we drew near the south end of Rotterdam, or Anamocka, we were met by a number of canoes, laden with fruit and roots; but as I did not shorten sail, we had but little traffic with them. The people in one canoe enquired for me by name; a proof that these people have an intercourse with those of Amsterdam. They importuned us much to go towards their coast, letting us know, as we understood them, that we might anchor there. This was on the S.W. side of the island, where the coast seemed to be sheltered from the S. and S.E. winds; but as the day was far spent, I could not attempt to go in there, as it would have been necessary to have sent first a boat to examine it. I therefore stood for the north side of the island, where we anchored about three-fourths of a mile from shore; the extremes of it bearing south, 88° E. to S.W.; a cove with a sandy beach at the bottom of it S. 50° E.

## SECTION II.

*Reception at Anamocka; a Robbery and its Consequences, with a Variety of other Incidents. Departure from the Island. A sailing Canoe described. Some Observations on the Navigation of these Islanders. A Description of the Island, and of those in the Neighbourhood, with some Account of the Inhabitants, and nautical Remarks.*

Before we had well got to an anchor, the natives came off from all parts in canoes, bringing with them yams and shaddocks, which they exchanged for small nails and old rags. One man taking a vast liking to our lead and line, got hold of it, and, in spite of all the threats I could make use of, cut the line with a stone; but a discharge of small shot made him return it. Early in the morning, I went ashore with Mr Gilbert to look for fresh water. We landed in the cove above-mentioned, and were received with great courtesy by the natives. After I had distributed some presents amongst them, I asked for water, and was conducted to a pond of it that was brackish, about three-fourths of a mile from the landing-place, which I supposed to be the same that Tasman watered at. In the mean time, the people in the boat had laden her with fruit and roots, which the natives had brought down, and exchanged for nails and beads. On our return to the ship, I found the same sort of traffic carrying on there. After breakfast, I went ashore with two boats to trade with the people, accompanied by several of the gentlemen, and ordered the launch to follow with casks to be filled with water. The natives assisted us to roll them to and from the pond; and a nail or a bead was the expence of their labour. Fruits and roots, especially shaddocks and yams, were brought down in such plenty, that the two boats were laden, sent off, cleared, and laden a second time, before noon; by which time also the launch had got a full supply of water, and the botanical and shooting parties had all come in, except the surgeon, for whom we could not wait, as the tide was ebbing fast out of the cove; consequently he was left behind. As there is no getting into the cove with a boat, from between half-ebb to half-flood, we could get off no water in the afternoon. However, there is a very good landing-place, without it, near the southern point, where boats can get ashore at all times of the tide. Here some of the officers landed after dinner, where they found the surgeon, who had been robbed of his gun. Having come down to the shore some time after the boats had put off, he got a canoe to bring him on board; but, as he was getting into her, a fellow snatched hold of the gun, and ran off with it. After that no one would carry him to the ship, and they would have stripped him, as he imagined, had he not presented a tooth-pick case, which they, no doubt, thought was a little gun. As soon as I heard of this, I landed at the place above-mentioned, and the few natives who were there fled at my approach. After landing I went in search of the officers, whom I found in the cove, where we had been in the morning, with a good many of the natives about them. No step had been taken to recover the gun, nor did I think proper to take any; but in this I was wrong. The easy manner of obtaining this gun, which they now, no doubt, thought secure in their possession, encouraged them to proceed in these tricks, as will soon appear. The alarm the natives had caught being soon over, they carried fruit, &c. to the boats, which got pretty well laden before night, when we all returned on board.

Early in the morning of the 28th, Lieutenant Clerke, with the master and fourteen or fifteen men, went on shore in the launch for water. I did intend to have followed in another boat myself, but rather unluckily deferred it till after breakfast. The launch was no sooner landed than the natives gathered about her, behaving in so rude a manner, that the officers were in some doubt if they should land their casks; but, as they expected me on shore soon, they ventured, and with difficulty got them filled, and into the boat again. In the doing of this Mr Clerke's gun was snatched from him, and carried off; as were also some of the cooper's tools; and several of the people were stripped of one thing or another. All this was done, as it were, by stealth; for they laid hold of nothing by main force. I landed just as the launch was ready to put off; and the natives, who were pretty numerous on the beach, as soon as they saw me, fled; so that I suspected something had happened. However, I prevailed on many to stay, and Mr Clerke came, and informed me of all the preceding circumstances. I quickly came to a resolution to oblige them to make restitution; and, for this purpose, ordered all the marines to be armed and sent on shore. Mr Forster and his party being gone into the country, I ordered two or three guns to be fired from the ship, in order to alarm him; not knowing how the natives might act on this occasion. These orders being given, I sent all the boats off but one, with which I staid, having a good many of the natives about me, who behaved with their usual courtesy. I made them so sensible of my intention, that long before the marines came, Mr Clerke's musket was brought; but they used many excuses to divert me from insisting on the other. At length Mr Edgcumbe arriving with the marines, this alarmed them so much, that some fled. The first step I took was to seize on two large double sailing canoes, which were in the cove. One fellow making resistance, I fired some small shot at him, and sent him limping off. The natives being now convinced that I was in earnest, all fled; but on my calling to them, many returned; and, presently after, the other musket was brought, and laid down at my feet. That moment, I ordered the canoes to be restored, to shew them on what account they were detained. The other things we had lost being of less value, I was the more indifferent about them. By this time the launch was ashore for another turn of water, and we were permitted to fill the casks without any one daring to come near us; except one man, who had befriended us during the whole affair, and seemed to disapprove of the conduct of his countrymen.

On my returning from the pond to the cove, I found a good many people collected together, from whom we understood that the man I had fired at was dead. This story I treated as improbable, and addressed a man, who seemed of some consequence, for the restitution of a cooper's adze we had lost in the morning. He immediately sent away two men, as I thought, for it; but I soon found that we had greatly mistaken each other; for instead of the adze, they brought the wounded man, stretched out on a board, and laid him down by me, to all appearance dead. I was much moved at the sight; but soon saw my mistake, and that he was only wounded in the hand and thigh. I, therefore, desired he might be carried out of the sun, and sent for the surgeon to dress his wounds. In the mean time, I addressed several people for the adze; for as I had now nothing else to do, I determined to have it. The one I applied the most to, was an elderly woman, who had always a great deal to say to me, from my first landing; but, on this occasion, she gave her tongue full scope. I understood but little of her eloquence; and all I could gather from her arguments was, that it was mean in me to insist on the return of so trifling a thing. But when she found I was determined, she and three or four more women went away; and soon after the adze was brought me, but I saw her no more. This I was sorry for, as I wanted to make her a present, in return for the part she had taken in all our transactions, private as well as public. For I was no sooner returned from the pond, the first time I landed, than this old lady presented to me a girl, giving me to understand she was at my service. Miss, who probably had received her instructions, wanted, as a preliminary article, a spike-nail or a shirt, neither of which I had to give her, and soon made them sensible of my poverty. I thought, by that means, to have come off with flying colours; but I was mistaken; for they gave me to understand I might retire with her on credit. On my declining this proposal, the old lady began to argue with me; and then abuse me. Though I comprehended little of what she said, her actions were expressive enough, and shewed that her words were to this effect, sneering in my face, saying, What sort of a man are you, thus to refuse the embraces of so fine a young woman? For the girl certainly did not want beauty; which, however, I could better withstand, than the abuses of this worthy matron, and therefore hastened into the boat. They wanted me to take the young lady aboard; but this could not be done, as I had given strict orders, before I went ashore, to suffer no woman, on any pretence whatever, to come into the ship, for reasons which I shall mention in another place.

As soon as the surgeon got ashore, he dressed the man's wounds, and bled him; and was of opinion that he was in no sort of danger, as the shot had done little more than penetrate the skin. In the operation, some poultice being wanting, the surgeon asked for ripe plantains; but they brought sugar-cane, and having chewed it to a pulp, gave it him to apply to the wound. This being of a more balsamic nature than the other, proves that these people have some knowledge of simples. As soon as the man's wounds were dressed, I made him a present, which his master, or at least the man who owned the canoe, took, most probably to himself. Matters being thus settled apparently to the satisfaction of all parties, we repaired on board to dinner, where I found a good supply of fruit and roots, and, therefore, gave orders to get every thing in readiness to sail.

I now was informed of a circumstance which was observed on board; several canoes being at the ship, when the great guns were fired in the morning, they all retired, but one man, who was bailing the water out of his canoe, which lay alongside directly under the guns. When the first was fired, he just looked up, and then, quite unconcerned, continued his work. Nor had the second gun any other effect upon him. He did not stir till the water was all out of his canoe, when

he paddled leisurely off. This man had, several times, been observed to take fruit and roots out of other canoes, and sell them to us. If the owners did not willingly part with them, he took them by force; by which he obtained the appellation of custom-house officer. One time, after he had been collecting tribute, he happened to be lying alongside of a sailing canoe which was on board. One of her people seeing him look another way, and his attention otherwise engaged, took the opportunity of stealing somewhat out of his canoe; they then put off, and set their sail. But the man, perceiving the trick they had played him, darted after them, and having soon got on board their canoe, beat him who had taken his things, and not only brought back his own, but many other articles which he took from them. This man had likewise been observed making collections on shore at the trading-place. I remembered to have seen him there; and, on account of his gathering tribute, took him to be a man of consequence, and was going to make him a present; but some of their people would not let me, saying he was no *Areeke* (that is, chief). He had his hair always powdered with some kind of white dust.

As we had no wind to sail this afternoon, a party of us went ashore in the evening. We found the natives everywhere courteous and obliging; so that, had we made a longer stay, it is probable we should have had no more reason to complain of their conduct. While I was now on shore, I got the names of twenty islands, which lie between the N.W. and N.E., some of them in sight. Two of them, which lie most to the west, viz. Amattafoa and Oghao, are remarkable on account of their great height. In Amattafoa, which is the westernmost, we judged there was a volcano, by the continual column of smoke we saw daily ascending from the middle of it.

Both Mr Cooper and myself being on shore at noon, Mr Wales could not wind up the watch at the usual time; and, as we did not come on board till late in the afternoon, it was forgotten till it was down. This circumstance was of no consequence, as Mr Wales had had several altitudes of the sun at this place, before it went down; and also had opportunities of taking some after.

At day-break on the 29th, having got under sail with a light breeze at west, we stood to the north for the two high islands; but the wind, scanting upon us, carried us in amongst the low isles and shoals; so that, we had to ply, to clear them. This gave time for a great many canoes to get up with us. The people in them brought for traffic various articles; some roots, fruits, and fowls, but of the latter not many. They took in exchange small nails, and pieces of any kind of cloth. I believe, before they went away, they stripped the most of our people of the few clothes the ladies at Otaheite had left them; for the passion for curiosities was as great as ever. Having got clear of the low isles, we made a stretch to the south, and did but fetch a little to windward of the south end of Anamocka; so that we got little by this day's plying. Here we spent the night, making short boards over that space with which we had made ourselves acquainted the preceding day.

On the 30th at day-break, stretched out for Amattafoa, with a gentle breeze at W.S.W. Day no sooner dawned than we saw canoes coming from all parts. Their traffic was much the same as it had been the day before, or rather better; for out of one canoe I got two pigs, which were scarce articles here. At four in the afternoon, we drew near the island of Amattafoa, and passed between it and Oghao, the channel being two miles broad, safe, and without soundings. While we were in the passage, we had little wind and calms. This gave time for a large sailing double canoe, which had been following us all the day, as well as some others with paddles, to come up with us. I had now an opportunity to verify a thing I was before in doubt about, which was, whether or no some of these canoes did not, in changing tacks, only shift the sail, and so proceed with that end foremost, which before was the stern. The one we now saw wrought in this manner. The sail is latteen, extending to a latteen yard above, and to a boom at the foot; in one word, it is like a whole mizzen, supposing the whole foot to be extended to a boom. The yard is slung nearly in the middle, or upon an equipoise. When they change tacks they throw the vessel up in the wind, ease off the sheet, and bring the heel or tack-end of the yard to the other end of the boat, and the sheet in like manner; there are notches, or sockets, at each end of the vessel in which the end of the yard fixes. In short, they work just as those do at the Ladrone Islands, according to Mr Walter's description.<sup>[1]</sup> When they want to sail large, or before the wind, the yard is taken out of the socket and squared. It must be observed, that all their sailing vessels are not rigged to sail in the same manner. Some, and those of the largest size, are rigged, so as to tack about. These have a short but pretty stout mast, which steps on a kind of roller that is fixed to the deck near the fore-part. It is made to lean or incline very much forward; the head is forked; on the two points of which the yard rests, as on two pivots, by means of two strong cleats of wood secured to each side of the yard, at about one-third its length from the tack or heel, which, when under sail, is confined down between the two canoes, by means of two strong ropes, one to and passing through a hole at the head of each canoe; for it must be observed, that all the sailing vessels of this sort are double. The tack being thus fixed, it is plain that, in changing tacks, the vessels must be put about; the sail and boom on the one tack will be clear of the mast, and on the other it will lie against it, just as a whole mizzen. However, I am not sure if they do not sometimes unlace that part of the sail from the yard which is between the tack and mast-head, and so shift both sail and boom leeward of the mast. The drawings which Mr Hodges made of these vessels seem to favour this supposition. The outriggers and ropes used for shrowds, &c. are all stout and strong. Indeed, the sail, yard, and boom, are all together of such an enormous weight, that strength is required.

[1] See Lord Anson's Voyages.

The summit of Amattafoa was hid in the clouds the whole day, so that we were not able to determine with certainty whether there was a volcano or no; but every thing we could see concurred to make us believe there was. This island is about five leagues in circuit. Oghao is not

so much; but more round and peaked. They lie in the direction of N.N.W. 1/2 W. from Anamocka, eleven or twelve leagues distant; they are both inhabited, but neither of them seemed fertile.

We were hardly through the passage before we got a fresh breeze at south. That moment all the natives made haste to be gone, and we steered to the west; all sails set. I had some thoughts of touching at Amsterdam, as it lay not much out of the way; but as the wind was now, we could not fetch it; and this was the occasion of my laying my design aside altogether.

Let us now return to Anamocka, as it is called by the natives. It is situated in the latitude of 20° 15' S.; longitude 174° 31' W., and was first discovered by Tasman, and by him named Rotterdam. It is of a triangular form, each side whereof is about three and a half or four miles. A salt-water lake in the middle of it occupies not a little of its surface, and in a manner cuts off the S.E. angle. Round the island, that is, from the N.W. to the S., round by the N. and E., lie scattered a number of small isles, sand-banks, and breakers. We could see no end to their extent to the N.; and it is not impossible that they reach as far S. as Amsterdam or Tongatabu. These, together with Middleburg or Eaoowee, and Pylstart, make a group, containing about three degrees of latitude and two of longitude, which I have named the Friendly Isles or Archipelago, as a firm alliance and friendship seems to subsist among their inhabitants, and their courteous behaviour to strangers entitles them to that appellation; under which we might, perhaps, extend their group much farther, even down to Boscawen and Keppell's Isles discovered by Captain Wallis, and lying nearly under the same meridian, and in the latitude of 15° 53'; for, from the little account I have had of the people of these two isles they seem to have the same sort of friendly disposition we observed in our Archipelago.

The inhabitants, productions, &c. of Rotterdam, and the neighbouring isles, are the same as at Amsterdam. Hogs and fowls are, indeed, much scarcer; of the former having got but six, and not many of the latter. Yams and shaddock were what we got the most of; other fruits were not so plenty. Not half of the isle is laid out in inclosed plantations as at Amsterdam; but the parts which are not inclosed, are not less fertile or uncultivated. There is, however, far more waste land on this isle, in proportion to its size, than upon the other; and the people seem to be much poorer; that is, in cloth, matting, ornaments, &c. which constitute a great part of the riches of the South-Sea islanders.

The people of this isle seem to be more affected with the leprosy, or some scrophulous disorder, than any I have seen elsewhere. It breaks out in the face more than any other part of the body. I have seen several whose faces were ruined by it, and their noses quite gone. In one of my excursions, happening to peep into a house where one or more of them were, one man only appeared at the door, or hole, by which I must have entered, and which he began to stop up, by drawing several parts of a cord across it. But the intolerable stench which came from his putrid face was alone sufficient to keep me out, had the entrance been ever so wide. His nose was quite gone, and his whole face in one continued ulcer; so that the very sight of him was shocking. As our people had not all got clear of a certain disease they had contracted at the Society Isles, I took all possible care to prevent its being communicated to the natives here; and I have reason to believe my endeavours succeeded.

Having mentioned a house, it may not be amiss to observe, that some here differ from those I saw at the other isles: being inclosed or walled on every side, with reeds neatly put together, but not close. The entrance is by a square hole, about two feet and a half each way. The form of these houses is an oblong square; the floor or foundation every way shorter than the eave, which is about four feet from the ground. By this construction, the rain that falls on the roof, is carried off from the wall, which otherwise would decay and rot.

We did not distinguish any king or leading chief, or any person who took upon him the appearance of supreme authority. The man and woman before mentioned, whom I believed to be man and wife, interested themselves on several occasions in our affairs; but it was easy to see they had no great authority. Amongst other things which I gave them as a reward for their service, was a young dog and bitch, animals which they have not, but are very fond of, and know very well by name. They have some of the same sort of earthen pots we saw at Amsterdam; and I am of opinion they are of their own manufacture, or that of some neighbouring isle.

The road, as I have already mentioned, is on the north side of the isle, just to the southward of the southernmost cove; for there are two on this side. The bank is of some extent, and the bottom free from rocks, with twenty-five and twenty fathoms water, one or two miles from the shore.

Fire-wood is very convenient to be got at, and easy to be shipped off; but the water is so brackish that it is not worth the trouble of carrying it on board; unless one is in great distress for want of that article, and can get no better. There is, however, better, not only on this isle, but on others in the neighbourhood; for the people brought us some in cocoa-nut shells which was as good as need be; but probably the springs are too trifling to water a ship.

I have already observed, that the S.W. side of the island is covered by a reef or reefs of rocks, and small isles. If there be a sufficient depth of water between them and the island, as there appeared to be, and a good bottom, this would be a much securer place for a ship to anchor in, than that where we had our station.[2]

[2] Mr G.F. has given a few particulars respecting the subjects of this and the preceding sections, in

### SECTION III.

*The Passage from the Friendly Isles to the New Hebrides, with an Account of the Discovery of Turtle Island, and a Variety of Incidents which happened, both before and after the Ship arrived in Port Sandwich, in the Island of Mallicollo. A Description of the Port, the adjacent Country, its Inhabitants, and many other Particulars.*

On the first of July, at sun-rise, Amattafoa was still in sight, bearing N.E., distant twenty leagues. Continuing our course to the west, we, the next day at noon, discovered land bearing N.W. by W., for which we steered; and, upon a nearer approach, found it to be a small island. At four o'clock it bore from N.W. half W. to N.W. by N., and, at the same time, breakers were seen from the masthead, extending from W. to S.W. The day being too far spent to make farther discoveries, we soon after shortened sail, hauled the wind, and spent the night, making short boards, which, at day-break, we found had been so advantageous that we were farther from the island than we expected, and it was eleven o'clock before we reached the N.W. or lee-side, where anchorage and landing seemed practicable. In order to obtain a knowledge of the former, I sent the master with a boat to sound, and, in the mean time, we stood on and off with the ship. At this time four or five people were seen on the reef, which lies round the isle, and about three times that number on the shore. As the boat advanced, those on the reef retired and joined the others; and when the boat landed they all fled to the woods. It was not long before the boat returned, when the master informed me that there were no soundings without the reef, over which, in one place only, he found a boat channel of six feet water. Entering by it, he rowed in for the shore, thinking to speak with the people, not more than twenty in number, who were armed with clubs and spears; but the moment he set his foot on shore, they retired to the woods. He left on the rocks some medals, nails, and a knife, which they no doubt found, as some were seen near the place afterwards. This island is not quite a league in length, in the direction of N.E. and S.W., and not half that in breadth. It is covered with wood, and surrounded by a reef of coral rocks, which in some places extend two miles from the shore. It seems to be too small to contain many inhabitants; and probably the few whom we saw, may have come from some isle in the neighbourhood to fish for turtle; as many were seen near this reef, and occasioned that name to be given to the island, which is situated in latitude 19° 48' south, longitude 178° 21' west.[1]

[1] Some large single rocks of coral, we are told by Mr G.F., near fifteen feet above the surface of the water, narrow at the base, and spreading out at the top, were observed, on standing along the reef of this island. That gentleman, however, does not venture to assign any cause for so curious a fact--E.

Seeing breakers to the S.S.W., which I was desirous of knowing the extent of before night, I left Turtle Isle, and stood for them. At two o'clock we found they were occasioned by a coral bank, of about four or five leagues in circuit. By the bearing we had taken, we knew these to be the same breakers we had seen the preceding evening. Hardly any part of this bank or reef is above water at the reflux of the waves. The heads of some of the rocks are to be seen near the edge of the reef, where it is the shoalest; for in the middle is deep water. In short, this bank wants only a few little islets to make it exactly like one of the half-drowned isles so often mentioned. It lies S.W. from Turtle Island, about five or six miles, and the channel between it and the reef of that isle is three miles over. Seeing no more shoals or islands, and thinking there might be turtle on this bank, two boats were properly equipped and sent thither; but returned without having seen one.

The boats were now hoisted in, and we made sail to the west, with a brisk gale at east, which continued till the 9th, when we had for a few hours, a breeze at N.W., attended with squalls of rain. This was succeeded by a steady fresh gale at S.E., with which we steered N.W., being at this time in the latitude of 20° 20' S. longitude 176° 8' E.

On the 15th at noon, being in the latitude of 15° 9' south, longitude 171° 16' east, I steered west. The next day the weather was foggy, and the wind blew in heavy squalls, attended with rain, which in this ocean, within the tropics, generally indicates the vicinity of some high land. This was verified at three in the afternoon, when high land was seen bearing S.W. Upon this we took in the small sails, reefed the top-sails, and hauling up for it, at half-past five we could see it extend from S.S.W. to N.N.W. half W. Soon after we tacked and spent the night, which was very stormy, in plying. Our boards were disadvantageous; for, in the morning, we found we had lost ground. This, indeed, was no wonder, for having an old suit of sails bent, the most of them were split to pieces; particularly a fore-top-sail, which was rendered quite useless. We got others to the yards, and continued to ply, being desirous of getting round the south ends of the lands, or at least so far to the south as to be able to judge of their extent in that direction. For no one doubted that this was the Australia del Espiritu Santo of Quiros, which M. de Bougainville calls the Great Cyclades, and that the coast we were now upon was the east side of Aurora Island, whose longitude is 168° 30' E.

The gale kept increasing till we were reduced to our low sails; so that, on the 18th, at seven in the morning, I gave over plying, set the top-sails double-reefed, bore up for, and hauled round the north end of Aurora Island, and then stretched over for the Isle of Lepers, under close-reefed topsails and courses, with a very hard gale at N.E.; but we had now the advantage of a smooth sea, having the Isle of Aurora to windward. At noon the north end of it bore N.E. 1/2 N., distant four leagues; our latitude, found by double altitudes, and reduced to this time, was 15° 1' 30"

south, longitude  $168^{\circ} 14'$  east. At two o'clock p.m. we drew near the middle of the Isle of Lepers, and tacked about two miles from land; in which situation we had no soundings with a line of seventy fathoms. We now saw people on the shore, and many beautiful cascades of water pouring down the neighbouring hills. The next time we stood for this isle, we came to within half a mile of it, where we found thirty fathoms a sandy bottom; but a mile off we found no soundings at seventy fathoms. Here two canoes came off to us, in one of which were three men, and in the other but one. Though we made all the signs of friendship, we could not bring them nearer than a stone's throw; and they made but a short stay before they retired ashore, where we saw a great number of people assembled in parties, and armed with bows and arrows. They were of a very dark colour; and, excepting some ornaments at their breast and arms, seemed to be entirely naked.

As I intended to get to the south, in order to explore the land which might lie there, we continued to ply between the Isle of Lepers and Aurora; and on the 19th, at noon, the south end of the last-mentioned isle bore south  $24^{\circ}$  east, and the north end north, distant twenty miles. Latitude observed  $15^{\circ} 11'$ . The wind continued to blow strong at S.E., so that what we got by plying in the day, we lost in the night. On the 20th, at sun-rise, we found ourselves off the south end of Aurora, on the N.W. side of which, the coast forms a small bay. In this we made some trips to try for anchorage; but found no less than eighty fathoms water, the bottom a fine dark sand, at half a mile from shore. Nevertheless, I am of opinion that, nearer, there is much less depth, and secure riding; and in the neighbourhood is plenty of fresh water and wood for fuel. The whole isle, from the sea-shore to the summits of the hills, seemed to be covered with the latter; and every valley produced a fine stream of the former.[2] We saw people on the shore, and some canoes on the coast, but none came off to us. Leaving the bay just mentioned, we stretched across the channel which divides Aurora from Whitsuntide Island. At noon we were abreast the north end of this latter, which bore E.N.E., and observed in  $15^{\circ} 28' 1/2$ . The isle of Aurora bore from N. to N.E.  $1/2$  east, and the Isle of Lepers from N. by W.  $1/2$  W. to west. Whitsuntide Isle appeared joined to the land to the S. and S.W. of it; but in stretching to S.W. we discovered the separation. This was about four o'clock p.m., and then we tacked and stretched in for the island till near sun-set, when the wind veering more to the east, made it necessary to resume our course to the south. We saw people on the shore, smokes in many parts of the island, and several places which seemed to be cultivated. About midnight, drawing near the south land, we tacked and stretched to the north, in order to spend the remainder of the night.

[2] "On approaching the Isle of Aurora, we observed a fine beach, and the most luxuriant vegetation that can be conceived. The whole country was woody; numberless climbers ran up the highest trees, and, forming garlands and festoons between them, embellished the scene. A neat plantation fenced with reeds, stood on the slope of the hill; and a beautiful cascade poured down through the adjacent forest."--G.F.

At day-break on the 21st, we found ourselves before the channel that divides Whitsuntide Island from the south land, which is about two leagues over. At this time, the land to the southward extended from S. by E. round to the west, farther than the eye could reach, and on the part nearest to us, which is of considerable height, we observed two very large columns of smoke, which, I judged, ascended from volcanoes. We now stood S.S.W., with a fine breeze at S.E.; and, at ten o'clock, discovered this part of the land to be an island, which is called by the natives Ambrym. Soon after an elevated land appeared open off the south end of Ambrym; and after that, another still higher, on which is a high peaked hill. We judged these lands to belong to two separate islands. The first came in sight at S.E.; the second at E. by S., and they appeared to be ten leagues distant. Holding on our course for the land ahead, at noon it was five miles distant from us, extending from S.S.E. to N.W. by W., and appeared to be continued. The islands to the east bore from N.E. by E. to S.E. by E., latitude observed  $16^{\circ} 17'$  south. As we drew nearer the shore we discovered a creek, which had the appearance of being a good harbour, formed by a low point or peninsula, projecting out to the north. On this a number of people were assembled, who seemed to invite us ashore; probably with no good intent, as the most of them were armed with bows and arrows. In order to gain room and time to hoist out and arm our boats, to reconnoitre this place, we tacked and made a trip off, which occasioned the discovery of another port about a league more to the south. Having sent two armed boats to sound and look for anchorage, on their making the signal for the latter, we sailed in S.S.W., and anchored in eleven fathoms water, not two cables' length from the S.E. shore, and a mile within the entrance.

We had no sooner anchored than several of the natives came off in canoes. They were very cautious at first; but, at last, trusted themselves alongside, and exchanged, for pieces of cloth, arrows; some of which were pointed with bone, and dipped in some green gummy substance, which we naturally supposed was poisonous. Two men having ventured on board, after a short stay, I sent them away with presents. Others, probably induced by this, came off by moon-light; but I gave orders to permit none to come alongside, by which means we got clear of them for the night.

Next morning early, a good many came round us, some in canoes, and others swimming. I soon prevailed on one to come on board, which he no sooner did, than he was followed by more than I desired; so that not only our deck, but rigging, was presently filled with them. I took four into the cabin, and gave them various articles, which they shewed to those in the canoes, and seemed much pleased with their reception. While I was thus making friends with those in the cabin, an accident happened that threw all into confusion, but in the end, I believe, proved advantageous to us. A fellow in a canoe having been refused admittance into one of our boats that lay alongside,

bent his bow to shoot a poisoned arrow at the boat-keeper. Some of his countrymen prevented his doing it that instant, and gave time to acquaint me with it. I ran instantly on deck, and saw another man struggling with him; one of those who had been in the cabin, and had leaped out of the window for this purpose. The other seemed resolved, shook him off, and directed his bow again to the boat-keeper; but, on my calling to him, pointed it at me. Having a musket in my hand loaded with small shot, I gave him the contents. This staggered him for a moment, but did not prevent him from holding his bow still in the attitude of shooting. Another discharge of the same nature made him drop it, and the others, who were in the canoe, to paddle off with all speed. At this time, some began to shoot arrows on the other side. A musket discharged in the air had no effect; but a four-pound shot over their heads sent them off in the utmost confusion. Many quitted their canoes and swam on shore; those in the great cabin leaped out of the windows; and those who were on the deck, and on different parts of the rigging, all leaped overboard. After this we took no farther notice of them, but suffered them to come off and pick up their canoes; and some of them even ventured alongside of the ship. Immediately after the great gun was fired, we heard the beating of drums on shore; which was, probably, the signal for the country to assemble in arms. We now got every thing in readiness to land, to cut some wood, which we were in want of, and to try to get some refreshments, nothing of this kind having been seen in any of the canoes.

About nine o'clock, we put off in two boats, and landed in the face of four or five hundred people, who were assembled on the shore. Though they were all armed with bows and arrows, clubs and spears, they made not the least opposition. On the contrary, seeing me advance alone, with nothing but a green branch in my hand, one of them, who seemed to be a chief, giving his bow and arrows to another, met me in the water, bearing also a green branch, which having exchanged for the one I held, he then took me by the hand, and led me up to the crowd. I immediately distributed presents to them, and, in the mean time, the marines were drawn up upon the beach. I then made signs (for we understood not a word of their language) that we wanted wood; and they made signs to us to cut down the trees. By this time, a small pig being brought down and presented to me, I gave the bearer a piece of cloth, with which he seemed well pleased. This made us hope that we should soon have some more; but we were mistaken. The pig was not brought to be exchanged for what we had, but on some other account, probably as a peace-offering. For, all we could say or do, did not prevail on them to bring down, after this, above half a dozen cocoa-nuts, and a small quantity of fresh water. They set no value on nails, or any sort of iron tools; nor indeed on any thing we had. They would, now and then, exchange an arrow for a piece of cloth; but very seldom would part with a bow. They were unwilling we should go off the beach, and very desirous we should return on board. At length, about noon, after sending what wood we had cut on board, we embarked ourselves; and they all retired, some one way and some another. Before we had dined, the afternoon was too far spent to do any thing on shore; and all hands were employed, setting up the rigging, and repairing some defects in it. But seeing a man bring along the strand a buoy, which they had taken in the night from the kedge-anchor, I went on shore for it, accompanied by some of the gentlemen. The moment we landed, it was put into the boat, by a man who walked off again without speaking one word. It ought to be observed, that this was the only thing they took, or even attempted to take from us, by any means whatever. Being landed near one of their plantations and houses, which were just within the skirts of the wood, I prevailed on the man to conduct me to them; but, though they suffered Mr Forster to go with me, they were unwilling any more should follow. These houses were something like those of the other isles; rather low, and covered with palm thatch. Some were enclosed, or walled round with boards; and the entrance to those was by a square hole at one end, which at this time was shut up, and they were unwilling to open it for us to look in. There were here about six houses, and some small plantations of roots, &c., fenced round with reeds as at the Friendly Isles. There were, likewise, some bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, and plaintain trees; but very little fruit on any of them. A good many fine yams were piled up upon sticks, or a kind of raised platform; and about twenty pigs, and a few fowls, were running about loose. After making these observations, having embarked, we proceeded to the S.E. point of the harbour, where we again landed and walked along the bench till we could see the islands to the S.E. already mentioned. The names of these we now obtained, as well as the name of that on which we were. This they called Mallicollo;[3] the island that first appeared over the south end of Ambrym is called Apee; and the other with the hill upon it Paoom. We found on the beach a fruit like an orange, called by them Abbimora; but whether it be fit for eating, I cannot say, as this was decayed.

[3] Or Mallicolla. Some of our people pronounced it Manicolo or Manicola, and thus it is also writ in Quiros' Memorial, as printed by Dalrymple, vol. ii. p. 146.

Mr G.F. tells us that these people increased their disagreeable appearance, by painting their faces and breasts with a black colour. A few of them, he says, had a small cap on the head, made of matted work. This gentleman speaks highly of the extensive faculties and quick apprehension of these people, low enough as they must be ranked in the scale of personal beauty; he admits, however, that their skill in the arts is inconsiderable, and their civilization very imperfect.--E.

Proceeding next to the other side of the harbour, we there landed, near a few houses, at the invitation of some people who came down to the shore; but we had not been there five minutes before they wanted us to be gone. We complied, and proceeded up the harbour in order to sound it, and look for fresh water, of which, as yet, we had seen none, but the very little that the natives brought, which we knew not where they got. Nor was our search now attended with success; but this is no proof that there is not any. The day was too far spent to examine the place well enough to determine this point. Night having brought us on board, I was informed that no soul had been

off to the ship; so soon was the curiosity of these people satisfied. As we were coming on board, we heard the sound of a drum, and, I think, of some other instruments, and saw people dancing; but us soon as they heard the noise of the oars, or saw us, all was silent.

Being unwilling to lose the benefit of the moon-light nights, which now happened, at seven a.m. on the 23d, we weighed; and, with a light air of wind, and the assistance of our boats, proceeded out of the harbour, the south end of which, at noon, bore W.S.W., distant about two miles.

When the natives saw us under sail, they came off in canoes, making exchanges with more confidence than before, and giving such extraordinary proofs of their honesty as surprised us. As the ship, at first, had fresh way through the water, several of them dropped astern after they had received our goods, and before they had time to deliver theirs in return. Instead of taking advantage of this, as our friends at the Society Isles would have done, they used their utmost efforts to get up with us, and to deliver what they had already been paid for. One man, in particular, followed us a considerable time, and did not reach us till it was calm, and the thing was forgotten. As soon as he came alongside he held up the thing which several were ready to buy; but he refused to part with it, till he saw the person to whom he had before sold it, and to him he gave it. The person, not knowing him again, offered him something in return, which he refused, and shewed him what he had given him before. Pieces of cloth, and marble paper, were in most esteem with them; but edge-tools, nails, and beads, they seemed to disregard. The greatest number of canoes we had alongside at once did not exceed eight, and not more than four or five people in each, who would frequently retire to the shore all on a sudden, before they had disposed of half their things, and then others would come off.

At the time we came out of the harbour, it was about low water, and great numbers of people were then on the shoals or reefs which lie along the shore, looking, as we supposed., for shell and other fish. Thus our being on their coast, and in one of their ports, did not hinder them from following the necessary employments. By this time they might be satisfied we meant them no harm; so that, had we made a longer stay, we might soon have been upon good terms with this ape-like nation. For, in general, they are the most ugly, ill-proportioned people I ever saw, and in every respect different from any we had met with in this sea. They are a very dark-coloured and rather diminutive race; with long heads, flat faces, and monkey countenances. Their hair mostly black or brown, is short and curly; but not quite so soft and woolly as that of a negroe. Their beards are very strong, crisp, and bushy, and generally black and short. But what most adds to their deformity, is a belt or cord which they wear round the waist, and tie so tight over the belly, that the shape of their bodies is not unlike that of an overgrown pismire. The men go quite naked, except a piece of cloth or leaf used as a wrapper.[4]

[4] The particular manner of applying the wrapper may be seen in Wafer's voyage, who mentions this singular custom as existing, though with some little variation, amongst the Indians of the Isthmus of Darien. See Wafer's Voyage, p. 140.

We saw but few women, and they were not less ugly than the men; their heads, faces, and shoulders, are painted red; they wear a kind of petticoat; and some of them had something over their shoulders like a bag, in which they carry their children. None of them came off to the ship, and they generally kept at a distance when we were on shore. Their ornaments are ear-rings, made of tortoise-shell and bracelets. A curious one of the latter, four or five inches broad, wrought with thread or cord, and studded with shells, is worn by them just above the elbow. Round the right wrist they wear hogs' tusks, bent circular, and rings made of shells; and round their left, a round piece of wood, which we judged was to ward off the bow-string. The bridge of the nose is pierced, in which they wear a piece of white stone, about an inch and a half long. As signs of friendship they present a green branch, and sprinkle water with the hand over the head.

Their weapons are clubs, spears, and bows and arrows. The two former are made of hard or iron-wood. Their bows are about four feet long, made of a stick split down the middle, and are not circular. The arrows, which are a sort of reeds, are sometimes armed with a long and sharp point, made of the hard wood, and sometimes with a very hard point made of bone; and these points are all covered with a substance which we took for poison. Indeed the people themselves confirmed our suspicions, by making signs to us not to touch the point, and giving us to understand that if we were prickled by them we should die. They are very careful of them themselves, and keep them, always wrapped up in a quiver. Some of these arrows are formed with two or three points, each with small prickles on the edges, to prevent the arrow being drawn out of the wound.

The people of Mallicollo seemed to be a quite different nation from any we had yet met with, and speak a different language. Of about eighty words, which Mr Forster collected, hardly one bears any affinity to the language spoken at any other island or place I had ever been at. The letter R is used in many of their words; and frequently two or three being joined together, such words we found difficult to pronounce. I observed that they could pronounce most of our words with great ease. They express their admiration by hissing like a goose.

To judge of the country by the little water we saw of it, it must be fertile; but I believe their fruits are not so good as those of the Society or Friendly Isles. Their cocoa-nut trees, I am certain, are not; and their bread-fruit and plantains did not seem much better. But their yams appeared to be very good. We saw no other animals than those I have already mentioned. They have not so much as a name for a dog, and consequently have none, for which reason we left them a dog and a bitch; and there is no doubt they will be taken care of, as they were very fond of them.[5]

[5] "The productions of Mallicollo are less remarkable and striking at first sight than the race of its inhabitants. To judge of their numbers from the crowd we saw at Port Sandwich, I should conclude, that they are far from inconsiderable; but considering the great size of the island, I cannot suppose it to be very populous. Fifty thousand is, I think, the greatest number we can admit, and these are not confined to the skirts of the hills, as at Otaheite, but dispersed over the whole extent of more than six hundred square miles. We ought to figure their country to ourselves as one extensive forest: They have only begun to clear and plant a few insulated spots, which are lost in it, like small islands in the vast Pacific Ocean. Perhaps if we could ever penetrate through the darkness which involves the history of this nation, we might find that they have arrived in the South Sea much later than the natives of the Friendly and Society Isles. So much at least is certain, that they appear to be of a race totally distinct from these. Their form, their language, and their manners, strongly and completely mark the difference. The natives on some parts of New Guinea and Papua, seem to correspond in many particulars with what we have observed among the Mallicollese. The black colour and woolly hair in particular are characteristics common to both nations. The slender form of the Mallicolese is a character, as far as I know, peculiar to them and the New Zealanders; but that nation hath nothing in common with them in all other respects. The features of these people, though remarkably irregular and ugly, yet are full of great sprightliness, and express a quick comprehension. Their lips, and the lower part of their face, are entirely different from those of African negroes; but the upper part, especially the nose, is of very similar conformation, and the substance of the hair is the same. The climate of Mallicollo, and the adjacent islands, is very warm, but perhaps not at all times so temperate as at Otaheite, because the extent of land is vastly greater. However, during our short stay, we experienced no unusual degree of heat, the thermometer being at 76° and 78°, which is very moderate in the torrid zone."-- G.F.

After we had got to sea, we tried what effect one of the poisoned arrows would have on a dog. Indeed we had tried it in the harbour the very first night, but we thought the operation was too slight, as it had no effect. The surgeon now made a deep incision in the dog's thigh, into which he laid a large portion of the poison, just as it was scraped from the arrows, and then bound up the wound with a bandage. For several days after we thought the dog was not so well as it had been before, but whether this was really so, or only suggested by imagination, I know not. He was afterwards as if nothing had been done to him, and lived to be brought home to England. However, I have no doubt of this stuff being of a poisonous quality, as it could answer no other purpose. The people seemed not unacquainted with the nature of poison, for when they brought us water on shore, they first tasted it, and then gave us to understand we might with safety drink it.

This harbour, which is situated on the N.E. side of Mallicollo, not far from the S.E. end, in latitude 16° 25' 20" S., longitude 167° 57' 23" E., I named Port Sandwich. It lies in S.W. by S. about one league, and is one-third of a league broad. A reef of rocks extends out a little way from each point, but the channel is of a good breadth, and hath in it from forty to twenty-four fathoms water. In the port, the depth of water is from twenty to four fathoms; and it is so sheltered that no winds can disturb a ship at anchor there. Another great advantage is, you can lie so near the shore, as to cover your people, who may be at work upon it.

#### SECTION IV.

#### *An Account of the Discovery of several Islands, and an Interview and Skirmish with the Inhabitants upon one of them. The Arrival of the Ship at Tanna, and the Reception we met with there.*

Soon after we got to sea, we had a breeze at E.S.E. with which we stood over for Ambrym till three o'clock in the afternoon, when the wind veering to the E.N.E. we tacked and stretched to the S.E. and weathered the S.E. end of Mallicollo, off which we discovered three or four small islands, that before appeared to be connected. At sun-set the point bore S. 77° W., distant three leagues, from which the coast seemed to trend away west. At this time, the isle of Ambrym extended from N. 3° E. to N. 65° E. The isle of Paon from N. 76° E. to S. 88° E.; and the isle of Apee from S. 83° E. to S. 43° E. We stood for this last isle, which we reached by midnight, and then brought-to till day-break on the 24th, when we made sail to the S.E., with a view of plying up to the eastward on the south side of Apee. At sun-rise we discovered several more islands, extending from the S.E. point of Apee to the south as far as S.E. by S. The nearest to us we reached by ten o'clock, and not being able to weather it, we tacked a mile from its shore in fourteen fathoms water. This island is about four leagues in circuit, is remarkable by having three high peaked hills upon it, by which it has obtained that name. In the p.m. the wind veering more to the north, we resumed our course to the east; and having weathered Threehills, stood for the group of small isles which lie off the S.E. point of Apee. These I called Shepherd's Isles, in honour of my worthy friend Dr Shepherd, Plumian professor of astronomy at Cambridge. Having a fine breeze, I had thoughts of going through between them; but the channels being narrow, and seeing broken water in the one we were steering for, I gave up the design, and bore up, in order to go without, or to the south of them. Before this could be accomplished, it fell calm, and we were left to the mercy of the current, close to the isles, where we could find no soundings with a line of an hundred and eighty fathoms. We had now land or islands in every direction, and were not able to count the number which lay round us. The mountain on Paon was seen over the east end of Apee, bearing N.N.W. at eight o'clock. A breeze at S.E. relieved us from the anxiety the calm had occasioned; and we spent the night in making short boards.

The night before we came out of Port Sandwich, two reddish fish, about the size of large bream, and not unlike them, were caught with hook and line. On these fish most of the officers, and some of the petty officers, dined the next day. The night following, every one who had eaten of them

was seized with violent pains in the head and bones, attended with a scorching heat all over the skin, and numbness in the joints. There remained no doubt that this was occasioned by the fish being of a poisonous nature, and having communicated its bad effects to all who partook of them, even to the hogs and dogs. One of the former died about sixteen hours after; it was not long before one of the latter shared the same fate; and it was a week or ten days before all the gentlemen recovered. These must have been the same sort of fish mentioned by Quiros,[1] under the name of pargos, which poisoned the crews of his ships, so that it was some time before they recovered; and we should, doubtless, have been in the same situation, had more of them been eaten.

[1] Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages, vol. I. p. 140, 141.

At day break on the 25th, we made a short stretch to the east of Shepherd's Isles till after sunrise, when seeing no more land in that direction, we tacked and stood for the island we had seen in the south, having a gentle breeze at S.E. We passed to the east of Threehills, and likewise of a low isle, which lies on the S.E. side of it, between a remarkable peaked rock which obtained the name of Monument, and a small island named Twohills, on account of two peaked hills upon it, disjoined by a low and narrow isthmus. The channel between this island and the Monument is near a mile broad, and twenty-four fathoms deep. Except this rock, which is only accessible to birds, we did not find an island on which people were not seen. At noon, we observed, in latitude  $17^{\circ} 18' 30''$ ; longitude, made from Port Sandwich,  $45^{\circ}$  E. In this situation, the Monument bore N.  $16^{\circ}$  E. distant two miles; Twohills bore N.  $25^{\circ}$  W. distant two miles, and in a line with the S.W. part of Threehills; and the islands to the south extended from S.  $16^{\circ} 30'$  E. to S.  $42^{\circ}$  W.

Continuing our course to the south, at five p.m. we drew near the southern lands, which we found to consist of one large island, whose southern and western extremities extended beyond our sight, and three or four smaller ones lying off its north side. The two northernmost are much the largest, have a good height, and lie in the direction of E. by S. and W. by N. from each other, distant two leagues; I named the one Montagu and the other Hinchinbrook, and the large island Sandwich, in honour of my noble patron the Earl of Sandwich. Seeing broken water ahead, between Montagu and Hinchinbrook isles, we tacked; and soon after it fell calm. The calm continued till seven o'clock the next morning, when it was succeeded by a breeze from the westward. During the calm, having been carried by the currents and a S.E. swell, four leagues to the W.N.W., we passed Hinchinbrook Isle, saw the western extremity of Sandwich Island, bearing S.S.W., about five leagues distant, and at the same time discovered a small island to the west of this direction. After getting the westerly breeze, I steered S.E. in order to pass between Montagu Isle and the north end of Sandwich Island. At noon we were in the middle of the channel, and observed in latitude  $17^{\circ} 31'$  S. The distance from one island to the other is about four or five miles; but the channel is not much above half that breadth, being contracted by breakers. We had no soundings in it with a line of forty fathoms.

As we passed Montagu Isle several people came down to the sea-side, and, by signs, seemed to invite us ashore. Some were also seen on Sandwich Island, which exhibited a most delightful prospect, being spotted with woods and lawns, agreeably diversified over the whole surface. It hath a gentle slope from the hills, which are of a moderate height, down to the sea coast. This is low, and guarded by a chain of breakers, so that there is no approaching it at this part. But more to the west, beyond Hinchinbrook Island, there seemed to run in a bay sheltered from the reigning winds. The examining it not being so much an object, with me as the getting to the south, in order to find the southern extremity of the Archipelago, with this view I steered S.S.E., being the direction of the coast of Sandwich Island. We had but just got through the passage, before the west wind left us to variable light airs and calms; so that we were apprehensive of being carried back again by the currents, or rather of being obliged to return, in order to avoid being driven on the shoals, as there was no anchorage, a line of an hundred and sixty fathoms not reaching to the bottom. At length a breeze springing up at S.W. we stood to S.E., and at sun-set the Monument bore N.  $14^{\circ} 30'$  W., and Montagu Island N.  $28^{\circ}$  W. distant three leagues. We judged we saw the S.E. extremity of Sandwich Island, bearing about S. by E.

We continued to stand S.E. till four a.m. on the 27th, when we tacked to the west. At sun-rise, having discovered a new land bearing south, and making in three hills, this occasioned us to tack and stand towards it. At this time Montagu Isle bore N.  $52^{\circ}$  W., distant thirteen leagues; at noon it was nearly in the same direction, and the new land extended from S.  $1/2$  E. to S. by W., and the three hills seemed to be connected. Our latitude by observation, was  $18^{\circ} 1'$  S., and the longitude, made from Port Sandwich,  $1^{\circ} 23'$  E. We continued to stand to the S.E., with a gentle breeze at S.W. and S.S.W. till the 28th at sun-rise, when, the wind veering to the south, we tacked and stood to the west. The three hills mentioned above, we now saw, belonging to one island, which extended from S.  $35^{\circ}$  to  $71^{\circ}$  W. distant about ten or twelve leagues.[2]

[2] "Our ship now probably resembled an hospital; the poisoned patients were still in a deplorable situation; they continued to have gripes and acute pains in all their bones: In the day time they were in a manner giddy, and felt a great heaviness in their heads; at night, as soon as they were warm in bed, their pains redoubled, and robbed them actually of sleep. The secretion of *saliva* was excessive; the skin peeled off from the whole body, and pimples appeared on their hands. Those who were less affected with pains, were much weaker in proportion, and crawled about the decks, emaciated to mere shadows. We had not one lieutenant able to do duty; and as one of the mates and several of the midshipmen were likewise ill, the watches were commanded by the gunner and the other mates. The dogs which had unfortunately fed upon the same fish, were in a still worse condition, as we could not give them any relief. They groaned and panted most piteously, drank great quantities of

water, and appeared to be tortured with pain. Those which had eaten of the entrails were vastly more affected than the rest.--G.F."

According to this gentleman, the crew never felt more severely the tediousness of confinement to the ship, or were more tired of salt provisions. Two sharks caught on the 31st afforded them a very acceptable entertainment, and were greedily devoured. One of these, he tells us, had in his maw four young turtles, of eighteen inches in diameter, two large cuttle-fishes, and the feathers and skeleton of a booby; yet notwithstanding so plentiful a repast, he seemed to be well disposed for a piece of salt pork with which the hook was baited.--E.

Retarded by contrary winds, calms, and the currents, that set to N.W., we were three days in gaining this space; in which time we discovered an elevated land to the south of this; It first appeared in detached hummocks, but we judged it to be connected. At length, on the 1st of August, about ten a.m. we got a fine breeze at E.S.E., which soon after veered to N.E., and we steered for the N.W. side of the island. Reaching it about two p.m., we ranged the west coast at one mile from shore, on which the inhabitants appeared in several parts, and by signs invited us to land. We continued to sound without finding bottom, till we came before a small bay, or bending of the coast, where, near a mile from shore, we found thirty and twenty-two fathoms water, a sandy bottom. I had thoughts of anchoring here, but the wind almost instantly veered to N.W.; which being nearly on shore, I laid this design aside. Besides, I was unwilling to lose the opportunity that now offered of getting to the south-east, in order first to explore the lands which lay there. I therefore continued to range the coast to the south, at about the same distance from shore; but we soon got out of soundings. About a league to the south of this bay, which hath about two miles extent, is another more extensive. Towards the evening, the breeze began to abate, so that it was sun-set before we got the length of it. I intended not to stop here, and to stand to the south under an easy sail all night; but at eight o'clock, as we were steering S.S.E. we saw a light ahead. Not knowing but it might be on some low detached isle, dangerous to approach while dark, we hauled the wind, and spent the night standing off and on, or rather driving to and fro; for we had but very little wind.

At sun-rise on the 2d, we saw no more land than the coast we were upon; but found that the currents had carried us some miles to the north, and we attempted, to little purpose, to regain what we had lost. At noon we were about a league from the coast, which extended from S.S.E. to N.E. Latitude observed  $18^{\circ} 45' S.$  In the afternoon, finding the ship to drift not only to the north, but in shore also, and being yet to the south of the bay we passed the day before, I had thoughts of getting to an anchor before night, while we had it in our power to make choice of a place. With this view, having hoisted out two boats, one of them was sent ahead to tow the ship; in the other Mr Gilbert went to sound for anchorage. Soon after, the towing boat was sent to assist him. So much time was spent in sounding this bay, that the ship drove past, which made it necessary to call the boats on board to tow her off from the northern point. But this service was performed by a breeze of wind, which, that moment, sprung up at S.W.; so that as the boats got on board, we hoisted them in, and then bore up for the north side of the island, intending once more to try to get round by the east; Mr Gilbert informed me, that at the south part of the bay, he found no soundings till close to a steep stone beach, where he landed to taste a stream of water he saw there, which proved to be salt. Some people were seen there, but they kept at a distance. Farther down the coast, that is to the north, he found twenty, twenty-four, and thirty fathoms, three-fourths of a mile, or a mile, from shore, the bottom a fine dark sand.

On the 3d, at sun-rise, we found ourselves abreast a lofty promontory on the S.E. side of the island, and about three leagues from it. Having but little wind, and that from the south, right in our teeth, and being in want of fire-wood, I sent Lieutenant Clerke with two boats to a small islet which lies off the promontory, to endeavour to get some. In the mean time we continued to ply up with the ship; but what we gained by our sails, we lost by the current. At length towards noon, we got a breeze at E.S.E., and E., with which we could lie up for the head; and soon after Mr Clerke returned, having not been able to land, on account of a high surf on the shore. They met with no people on the isle; but saw a large bat, and some birds, and caught a water-snake. At six o'clock p.m. we got in with the land, under the N.W. side of the head, where we anchored in seventeen fathoms water, the bottom a fine dark sand, half a mile from shore; the point of the head bearing N.  $18^{\circ} E.$ , distant half a league; the little islet before-mentioned N.E. by E.  $1/2 E.$ , and the N.W. point of the bay N.  $32^{\circ} W.$  Many people appeared on the shore, and some attempted to swim off to us; but having occasion to send the boat ahead to sound, they retired as she drew near them. This, however, gave us a favourable idea of them.

On the 4th, at day-break, I went with two boats to examine the coast, to look for a proper landing-place, wood, and water. At this time, the natives began to assemble on the shore, and by signs invited us to land. I went first to a small beach, which is towards the head, where I found no good landing, on account of some rocks which every where lined the coast. I, however, put the boat's bow to the shore, and gave cloth, medals, &c. to some people who were there. For this treatment they offered to haul the boats over the breakers to the sandy beach, which I thought a friendly offer, but had reason afterwards to alter my opinion. When they found I would not do as they desired, they made signs for us to go down into the bay, which we accordingly did, and they ran along shore abreast of us, their number increasing prodigiously. I put in to the shore in two or three places, but, not liking the situation, did not land. By this time, I believe, the natives conceived what I wanted, as they directed me round a rocky point, where, on a fine sandy beach, I stepped out of the boat without wetting a foot, in the face of a vast multitude, with only a green branch in my hand, which I had before got from one of them. I took but one man out of the boat

with me, and ordered the other boat to lie-to at a little distance off. They received me with great courtesy and politeness; and would retire back from the boat on my making the least motion with my hand. A man, whom I took to be a chief, seeing this, made them form a semicircle round the boat's bow, and beat such as attempted to break through this order. This man I loaded with presents, giving likewise to others, and asked by signs for fresh water, in hopes of seeing where they got it. The chief immediately sent a man for some, who ran to a house, and presently returned with a little in a bamboo; so that I gained but little information by this. I next asked, by the same means, for something to eat, and they as readily brought me a yam, and some cocoanuts. In short, I was charmed with their behaviour; and the only thing which could give the least suspicion was, that most of them were armed with clubs, spears, darts, and bows and arrows. For this reason I kept my eye continually upon the chief, and watched his looks as well as his actions. He made many signs to me to haul the boat up upon the shore, and at last slipped into the crowd, where I observed him speak to several people, and then return to me, repeating signs to haul the boat up, and hesitating a good deal before he would receive some spike-nails, which I then offered him. This made me suspect something was intended, and immediately I stepped into the boat, telling them by signs that I should soon return. But they were not for parting so soon, and now attempted by force, what they could not obtain by gentler means. The gang-board happened unluckily to be laid out for me to come into the boat, I say unluckily, for if it had not been out, and if the crew had been a little quicker in getting the boat off, the natives might not have had time to put their design in execution, nor would the following disagreeable scene have happened. As we were putting off the boat, they laid hold of the gang-board, and unhooked it off the boat's stern. But as they did not take it away, I thought this had been done by accident, and ordered the boat in again to take it up. Then they themselves hooked it over the boat's stern, and attempted to haul her ashore; others, at the same time, snatched the oars out of the people's hands. On my pointing a musket at them, they in some measure desisted, but returned in an instant, seemingly determined to haul the boat ashore. At the head of this party was the chief; the others, who could not come at the boat, stood behind with darts, stones, and bows and arrows in hand, ready to support them. Signs and threats having no effect, our own safety became the only consideration; and yet I was unwilling to fire on the multitude, and resolved to make the chief alone fall a victim to his own treachery; but my musket at this critical moment missed fire. Whatever idea they might have formed of the arms we held in our hands, they must now have looked upon them as childish weapons, and began to let us see how much better theirs were, by throwing stones and darts, and by shooting arrows. This made it absolutely necessary for me to give orders to fire. The first discharge threw them into confusion; but a second was hardly sufficient to drive them off the beach; and after all, they continued to throw stones from behind the trees and bushes, and, every now and then, to pop out and throw a dart. Four lay, to all appearance, dead on the shore; but two of them afterwards crawled into the bushes. Happy it was for these people, that not half our muskets would go off, otherwise many more must have fallen. We had one man wounded in the cheek with a dart, the point of which was as thick as my finger, and yet it entered above two inches, which shews that it must have come with great force, though indeed we were very near them. An arrow struck Mr Gilbert's naked breast, who was about thirty yards off; but probably it had struck something before; for it hardly penetrated the skin. The arrows were pointed with hard wood.

As soon as we got on board, I ordered the anchor to be weighed, with a view of anchoring near the landing-place. While this was doing, several people appeared on the low rock point, displaying two oars we had lost in the scuffle. I looked on this as a sign of submission, and of their wanting to give us the oars. I was, nevertheless, prevailed on to fire a four-pound shot at them, to let them see the effect of our great guns. The ball fell short, but frightened them so much, that none were seen afterwards; and they left the oars standing up against the bushes.

It was now calm; but the anchor was hardly at the bow before a breeze sprung up at north, of which we took the advantage, set our sails, and plyed out of the bay, as it did not seem capable of supplying our wants with that conveniency I wished to have. Besides, I always had it in my power to return to this place, in case I should find none more convenient farther south.

These islanders seemed to be a different race from those of Mallicollo; and spoke a different language. They are of the middle size, have a good shape, and tolerable features. Their colour is very dark, and they paint their faces, some with black, and others with red pigment. Their hair is very curly and crisp, and somewhat woolly. I saw a few women, and I thought them ugly; they wore a kind of petticoat made of palm-leaves, or some plant like it. But the men, like those of Mallicollo, were in a manner naked; having only the belt about the waist, and the piece of cloth, or leaf, used as a wrapper. I saw no canoes with these people, nor were any seen in any part of this island. They live in houses covered with thatch, and their plantations are laid out by a line, and fenced round.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, we were clear of the bay, bore up round the head, and steered S.S.E. for the south end of the island, having a fine breeze at N.W. On the S.W. side of the head is a pretty deep bay, which seemed to run in behind the one on the N.W. side. Its shores are low, and the adjacent lands appeared very fertile. It is exposed to the S.E. winds; for which reason, until it be better known, the N.W. bay is preferable, because it is sheltered from the reigning winds; and the winds to which it is open, viz. from N.W. by N. to E. by N., seldom blow strong. The promontory, or peninsula, which disjoins these two bays, I named Traitor's Head, from the treacherous behaviour of its inhabitants. It is the N.E. point of the island, situated in the latitude  $18^{\circ} 43'$  S. longitude  $169^{\circ} 28'$  E., and terminates in a saddle-hill which is of height sufficient to be

seen sixteen or eighteen leagues. As we advanced to S.S.E., the new island, we had before discovered, began to appear over the S.E. point of the one near us, bearing S. 1/2 E., distant ten or twelve leagues. After leaving this one, we steered for the east end of the other, being directed by a great light we saw upon it.

At one o'clock the next morning, drawing near the shore, we tacked and spent the remainder of the night making short boards. At sun-rise we discovered a high table land (an island) bearing E. by S., and a small low isle in the direction of N.N.E., which we had passed in the night without seeing it. Traitor's Head was still in sight, bearing N. 20° W. distant fifteen leagues, and the island to the south extended from S. 7° W. to S. 87° W. distant three or four miles. We then found that the light we had seen in the night was occasioned by a volcano, which we observed to throw up vast quantities of fire and smoke, with a rumbling noise heard at a great distance. We now made sail for the island; and, presently after, discovered a small inlet which had the appearance of being a good harbour. In order to be better informed, I sent away two armed boats, under the command of Lieutenant Cooper, to sound it; and, in the meanwhile, we stood on and off with the ship, to be ready to follow, or give them any assistance they might want. On the east point of the entrance, we observed a number of people, and several houses and canoes; and when our boats entered the harbour, they launched some, and followed them, but came not near. It was not long before Mr Cooper made the signal for anchorage; and we stood in with the ship. The wind being at west, and our course S.S.W., we borrowed close to the west point, and passed over some sunken rocks, which might have been avoided, by keeping a little more to the east, or about one-third channel over. The wind left us as soon as we were within the entrance, and obliged us to drop an anchor in four fathoms water. After this, the boats were sent again to sound; and, in the meantime, the launch was hoisted out, in order to carry out anchors to warp in by, as soon as we should be acquainted with the channel.

While we were thus employed, many of the natives got together in parties, on several parts of the shore, all armed with bows, spears, &c. Some swam off to us, others came in canoes. At first they were shy, and kept at the distance of a stone's throw; they grew insensibly bolder; and, at last, came under our stern, and made some exchanges. The people in one of the first canoes, after coming as near as they durst, threw towards us some cocoa-nuts. I went into a boat and picked them up, giving them in return some cloth and other articles. This induced others to come under the stern, and alongside, where their behaviour was insolent and daring. They wanted to carry off every thing within their reach; they got hold of the fly of the ensign, and would have torn it from the staff; others attempted to knock the rings off the rudder; but the greatest trouble they gave us was to look after the buoys of our anchors, which were no sooner thrown out of our boats, or let go from the ship, than they got hold of them. A few muskets fired in the air had no effect; but a four-pounder frightened them so much, that they quitted their canoes that instant, and took to the water. But as soon as they found themselves unhurt, they got again into their canoes, gave us some halloos, flourished their weapons, and returned once more to the buoys. This put us to the expence of a few musquetoons shot, which had the desired effect. Although none were hurt, they were afterwards afraid to come near the buoys; very soon all retired on shore, and we were permitted to sit down to dinner undisturbed.

During these transactions, a friendly old man in a small canoe made several trips between us and the shore, bringing off each time a few cocoa-nuts, or a yam, and taking in exchange whatever we gave him. Another was on the gangway when the great gun was fired, but I could not prevail on him to stay there long. Towards the evening, after the ship was moored, I landed at the head of the harbour, in the S.E. corner, with a strong party of men, without any opposition being made by a great number of the natives who were assembled in two parties, the one on our right and the other on the left, armed with clubs, darts, spears, slings, and stones, bows, and arrows, &c. After distributing to the old people (for we could distinguish no chief), and some others, presents of cloth, medals, &c. I ordered two casks to be filled with water out of a pond about twenty paces behind the landing-place; giving the natives to understand, that this was one of the articles we wanted. Besides water, we got from them a few cocoa-nuts, which seemed to be in plenty on the trees; but they could not be prevailed upon to part with any of their weapons. These they held in constant readiness, and in the proper attitudes of offence and defence; so that little was wanting to make them attack us; at least we thought so, by their pressing so much upon us, and in spite of our endeavours to keep them off. Our early re-embarking probably disconcerted their scheme; and after that, they all retired. The friendly old man before mentioned, was in one of these parties; and we judged, from his conduct, that his temper was pacific.

## SECTION V.

### *An Intercourse established with the Natives; some Account of the Island, and a Variety of Incidents that happened during our Stay at it.*

As we wanted to take in a large quantity both of wood and water, and as, when I was on shore, I had found it practicable to lay the ship much nearer the landing-place than she now was, which would greatly facilitate that work, as well as overawe the natives, and enable us better to cover and protect the working party on shore; with this view, on the 6th, we went to work to transport the ship to the place I designed to moor her in. While we were about this, we observed the natives assembling from all parts, and forming themselves into two parties, as they did the preceding evening, one on each side the landing-place, to the amount of some thousands, armed as before. A canoe, sometimes conducted by one, and at other times by two or three men, now and then came off, bringing a few cocoa-nuts or plantains. These they gave us without asking for

any return; but I took care they should always have something. Their chief design seemed to invite us on shore. One of those who came off was the old man, who had already ingratiated himself into our favour. I made him understand, by signs, that they were to lay aside their weapons, took those which were in the canoe, and threw them overboard, and made him a present of a large piece of cloth. There was no doubt but he understood me, and made my request known to his countrymen. For as soon as he landed, we observed him to go first to the one party, and then to the other; nor was he, ever after, seen by us with any thing like a weapon in his hand. After this, three fellows came in a canoe under the stern, one of them brandishing a club, with which he struck the ship's side, and committed other acts of defiance, but at last offered to exchange it for a string of beads, and some other trifles. These were sent down to him by a line; but the moment they were in his possession, he and his companions paddled off in all haste, without giving the club or any thing else in return. This was what I expected, and indeed what I was not sorry for, as I wanted an opportunity to shew the multitude on shore, the effect of our fire arms, without materially hurting any of them. Having a fowling-piece loaded with small shot (No. 3) I gave the fellow the contents; and, when they were above musquet-shot off, I ordered some of the musquetoons, or wall-pieces, to be fired, which made them leap out of the canoe, keep under her offside, and swim with her ashore. This transaction seemed to make little or no impression on the people there. On the contrary, they began to halloo, and to make sport of it.[1]

[1] "In order to make the sequel more intelligible, it will be necessary to give a slight sketch of the appearance of the country which encloses the harbour. The point which forms its eastern shore is very low and flat, but presently rises into a level hill, about fifteen or twenty yards high, which is wholly laid out in plantations. This encompasses the eastern and southern shore of the bay, being near three miles long, and extending several miles inland to the sea on the other side. Where this flat hill ends, a fine plain covered with plantations runs to the southward, bounded by several ranges of pleasant hills, of which the nearest are of easy ascent. To the west this plain, as well as the whole bay itself, is enclosed by a steep hill, three or four hundred yards high, which is nearly perpendicular in most places. A narrow beach of large broken shingles and stones runs along the western shore, but a perpendicular rock separates it from the southern beach. This last is very broad, and consists of a firm black sand; it bounds the plain, and is the same where we cut wood and filled our casks with water. A beach of coral rock and shell sand continues from thence along the foot of the flat hill quite to the eastern point of the harbour. The flat hill does not lie close to this beach, but a space of level land, thirty or forty yards wide, covered with groves of palms, extends to its foot. The whole south east corner of the bay is filled with a flat reef of coral, which is overflowed at low water." --G.F.

After mooring the ship, by four anchors, with her broadside to the landing-place, hardly musquet-shot off, and placing our artillery in such a manner as to command the whole harbour, I embarked with the marines, and a party of seamen, in three boats, and rowed in for the shore. It hath been already mentioned, that the two divisions of the natives were drawn up on each side the landing-place. They had left a space between them of about thirty or forty yards, in which were laid, to the most advantage, a few small bunches of plantains, a yam, and two or three roots. Between these and the water were stuck upright in the sand, for what purpose I never could learn, four small reeds, about two feet from each other, in a line at right angles to the shore, where they remained for two or three days after. The old man before-mentioned, and two more, stood by these things, inviting us, by signs, to land; but I had not forgot the trap I was so near being caught in at the last island; and this looked something like it. We answered, by making signs for the two divisions to retire farther back, and give us more room. The old man seemed to desire them so to do, but no more regard was paid to him than to us. More were continually joining them, and, except two or three old men, not one unarmed. In short, every thing conspired to make us believe they meant to attack us as soon as we should be on shore; the consequence of which was easily supposed; many of them must have been killed and wounded, and we should hardly have escaped unhurt; two things I equally wished to prevent. Since, therefore, they would not give us the room required, I thought it was better to frighten them into it, than to oblige them by the deadly effect of our fire-arms. I accordingly ordered a musquet to be fired over the party on our right, which was by far the strongest body; but the alarm it gave them was momentary. In an instant they recovered themselves and began to display their weapons. One fellow shewed us his backside, in a manner which plainly conveyed his meaning.

After this I ordered three or four more musquets to be fired. This was the signal for the ship to fire a few great guns, which presently dispersed them; and then we landed, and marked out the limits, on the right and left, by a line. Our old friend stood his ground, though deserted by his two companions, and I rewarded his confidence with a present. The natives came gradually to us, seemingly in a more friendly manner; some even without their weapons, but by far the greatest part brought them; and when we made signs to lay them down, they gave us to understand that we must lay down ours first. Thus all parties stood armed. The presents I made to the old people, and to such as seemed to be of consequence, had little effect on their conduct. They indeed climbed the cocoa-nut trees, and threw us down the nuts, without requiring any thing for them; but I took care that they should always have somewhat in return. I observed that many were afraid to touch what belonged to us; and they seemed to have no notion of exchanging one thing for another. I took the old man (whose name we now found to be Paowang) to the woods, and made him understand, I wanted to cut down some trees to take on board the ship; cutting some down at the same time, which we put into one of our boats, together with a few small casks of water, with a view of letting the people see what it was we chiefly wanted. Paowang very readily gave his consent to cut wood; nor was there any one who made the least objection. He only desired the cocoa-nut trees might not be cut down. Matters being thus settled, we embarked and

returned on board to dinner, and, immediately after, they all dispersed. I never learnt that any one was hurt by our shot, either on this or the preceding day; which was a very happy circumstance. In the afternoon having landed again, we loaded the launch with water, and having made three hauls with the seine, caught upwards of three hundred pounds of mullet and other fish. It was some time before any of the natives appeared, and not above twenty or thirty at last, amongst whom was our trusty friend Paowang, who made us a present of a small pig, which was the only one we got at this isle, or that was offered to us.

During the night the volcano, which was about four miles to the west of us, vomited up vast quantities of fire and smoke, as it had also done the night before; and the flames were seen to rise above the hill which lay between us and it. At every eruption it made a long rumbling noise like that of thunder, or the blowing up of large mines. A heavy shower of rain, which fell at this time, seemed to increase it; and the wind blowing from the same quarter, the air was loaded with its ashes, which fell so thick that every thing was covered with the dust. It was a kind of fine sand, or stone, ground or burnt to powder, and was exceedingly troublesome to the eyes.

Early in the morning of the 7th, the natives began again to assemble near the watering-place, armed as usual, but not in such numbers as at first. After breakfast, we landed, in order to cut wood and fill water. I found many of the islanders much inclined to be friends with us, especially the old people; on the other hand, most of the younger were daring and insolent, and obliged us to keep to our arms. I staid till I saw no disturbance was like to happen, and then returned to the ship, leaving the party under the command of Lieutenants Clerke and Edgcumbe. When they came on board to dinner, they informed me that the people continued to behave in the same inconsistent manner as in the morning; but more especially one man, whom Mr Edgcumbe was obliged to fire at, and believed he had struck with a swan shot. After that the others behaved with more discretion; and as soon as our people embarked they all retired. While we were sitting at dinner an old man came on board, looked into many parts of the ship, and then went ashore again.

In the afternoon, only a few of those who lived in the neighbourhood, with whom we were now upon a tolerable footing, made their appearance at the watering-place. Paowang brought us an axe which had been left by our people, either in the woods or on the beach, and found by some of the natives. A few other articles were afterwards returned to us, which either they had stolen, or we had lost by our negligence, so careful were they now not to offend us in this respect.

Early the next morning, I sent the launch, protected by a party of marines in another boat, to take in ballast, which was wanted. This work was done before breakfast; and after it, she was sent for wood and water, and with her the people employed in this service, under the protection of a serjeant's guard, which was now thought sufficient, as the natives seemed to be pretty well reconciled to us. I was told, that they asked our people to go home with them, on condition they stripped naked as they were. This shews that they had no design to rob them, whatever other they might have.[2]

[2] "The women and children, though they brought us several dainties, were notwithstanding so extremely timorous, that if we only fixed our eyes upon them, they instantly ran away, to the great entertainment of the men. However, their coming so near us, was sufficient proof that we had made great progress towards gaining their confidence. We observed some of them who had a smile on their countenances, but in general they looked gloomy and melancholy. Whenever we presented a bead, a nail, or ribbon to any of the people, they refused to touch it, but desired us to lay it down, and then took it up in a leaf. Whether this was owing to some superstitious notions, or to a fancied idea of cleanliness, or of civility, must remain a matter of doubt."-- G.F.

On the 9th, I sent the launch for more ballast, and the guard and wooders to the usual place. With these I went myself, and found a good many of the natives collected together, whose behaviour, though armed, was courteous and obliging; so that there was no longer any occasion to mark out the limits by a line; they observed them without this precaution. As it was necessary for Mr Wales's instruments to remain on shore all the middle of the day, the guard did not return to dinner, as they had done before, till relieved by others. When I came off, I prevailed on a young man, whose name was Wha-a-gou, to accompany me. Before dinner I shewed him every part of the ship; but did not observe that any thing fixed his attention a moment, or caused in him the least surprise. He had no knowledge of goats, dogs, or cats, calling them all hogs (*Booga* or *Boogas*). I made him a present of a dog and a bitch, as he shewed a liking to that kind of animal. Soon after he came on board, some of his friends followed in a canoe, and enquired for him, probably doubtful of his safety. He looked out of the quarter gallery, and having spoken to them, they went ashore, and quickly returned with a cock, a little sugar-cane, and a few cocoa-nuts, as a present to me. Though he sat down with us, he did but just taste our salt pork, but eat pretty heartily of yam, and drank a glass of wine. After dinner I made him presents, and then conducted him, ashore.[3]

[3] "He, as well as all his countrymen, had not the same facility of pronunciation as the Mallecollese; we were therefore obliged to tell him our names, modified according to the softer organs of the Otaheitans. His features were rather handsome, his eyes large and very lively; and the whole countenance expressed good humour, sprightliness, and acuteness.

As soon as we landed, the youth and some of his friends took me by the hand, with a view, as I understood, to conduct me to their habitations. We had not gone far, before some of them, for what reason I know not, were unwilling I should proceed; in consequence of which the whole company stopped; and, if I was not mistaken, a person was dispatched for something or other to give me; for I

was desired to sit down and wait, which I accordingly did. During this interval, several of our gentlemen passed us, at which they shewed great uneasiness, and importuned me so much to order them back, that I was at last obliged to comply. They were jealous of our going up the country, or even along the shore of the harbour. While I was waiting here, our friend Paowang came with a present of fruit and roots, carried by about twenty men; in order, as I supposed, to make it appear the greater. One had a small bunch of plantains, another a yam, a third a cocoa-nut, &c.; but two men might have carried the whole with ease. This present was in return for something I had given him in the morning; however, I thought the least I could do now, was to pay the porters.

After I had dispatched Paowang, I returned to Wha-a-gou and his friends, who were still for detaining me. They seemed to wait with great impatience for something, and to be unwilling and ashamed to take away the two dogs, without making me a return. As night was approaching, I pressed to be gone; with which they complied, and so we parted.

The preceding day, Mr Forster learnt from the people the proper name of the island, which they call Tanna; and this day I learnt from them the names of those in the neighbourhood. The one we touched at last is called Erromango; the small isle, which we discovered the morning we landed here, Immer; the Table island to the east, discovered at the same time, Erronan or Fooтоona; and an island which lies to the S.E. Annattom. All these islands are to be seen from Tanna.

They gave us to understand, in a manner which I thought admitted of no doubt, that they eat human flesh, and that circumcision was practised among them. They began the subject of eating human flesh, of their own accord, by asking us if we did; otherwise I should never have thought of asking them such a question. I have heard people argue, that no nation could be cannibals, if they had other flesh to eat, or did not want food; thus deriving the custom from necessity. The people of this island can be under no such necessity; they have fine pork and fowls, and plenty of roots and fruits. But since we have not actually seen them eat human flesh, it will admit of doubt with some, whether they are cannibals.[4]

To mention only a single instance of his ingenuity; it happened that my father and Captain Cook, on comparing their vocabularies, discovered that each had collected a different word to signify the sky; they appealed to him to know which of the two expressions was right; he presently held out one hand, and applied it to one of the words, then moving the other hand under it, he pronounced the second word; intimating that the upper was properly the sky, and the lower the clouds which moved under it. His manners at table were extremely becoming and decent; and the only practice which did not appear quite cleanly in our eyes, was his making use of a stick, which he wore in his hair, instead of a fork, with which he occasionally scratched his head."--G.F.

[4] These people, according to Mr G.F., frequently alluded to this horrid practice, and threatened it indeed to those of the crew that, in opposition to their will, offered to go to certain spots on the island. Hence, that gentleman infers the existence of the practice among them, and perhaps with great justice, as there can be little or no doubt that it either has prevailed or now prevails in all the islands of the South Seas.--E.

When I got on board, I learnt that, when the launch was on the west side of the harbour taking in ballast, one of the men employed in this work, had scalded his fingers in taking a stone up out of some water. This circumstance produced the discovery of several hot springs, at the foot of the cliff, and rather below high-water mark.

This day Mr Wales, and two or three of the officers advanced a little, for the first time, into the island. They met with a small straggling village, the inhabitants of which treated them with great civility; and the next morning Mr Forster and his party made another excursion inland. They met with several fine plantations of plantains, sugar-canæs, yams, &c.; and the natives were courteous and civil. Indeed, by this time, the people, especially those in our neighbourhood, were so well reconciled to us, that they shewed not the least dislike at our rambling about in the skirts of the woods, shooting, &c. In the afternoon some boys having got behind thickets, and having thrown two or three stones at our people who were cutting wood, they were fired at by the petty officers present on duty. Being ashore at that time, I was alarmed at hearing the report of the musquets, and seeing two or three boys run out of the wood. When I knew the cause I was much displeased at so wanton an use being made of our fire- arms, and took measures to prevent it for the future. Wind southerly, with heavy showers of rain.[5]

[5] "We took a walk to the eastward along the shore of the bay, and looked into the groves which skirted the flat hill before spoken of. We found these groves to consist of coco-palms, and several species of shady fig-trees, with eatable fruits, nearly of the size of the common figs. We also observed several sheds, under which some of their canoes were secured from the sun and weather; but there were no habitations, except towards the eastern point. We found a path, which led through a variety of bushes upon the flat hills. In our way to it, we crossed some glades, or meadows, enclosed in woods on all sides, and covered with a very rich herbage of the most vivid green. We passed through a little airy grove, into several extensive plantations of bananas, yams, eddoes, and fig-trees, which were in some places enclosed in fences of stone two feet high."--G.F.

During the night, and also all the 11th, the volcano was exceedingly troublesome, and made a terrible noise, throwing up prodigious columns of fire and smoke at each explosion, which happened every three or four minutes; and, at one time, great stones were seen high in the air. Besides the necessary work of wooding and watering, we struck the main-top-mast to fix new trestle-trees and back-stays. Mr Forster and his party went up the hill on the west side of the harbour, where he found three places from whence smoke of a sulphureous smell issued, through cracks and fissures in the earth. The ground about these was exceedingly hot, and parched or burnt, and they seemed to keep pace with the volcano; for, at every explosion of the latter, the quantity of smoke or steam in these was greatly increased, and forced out so as to rise in small

columns, which we saw from the ship, and had taken for common fires made by the natives. At the foot of this hill are the hot-springs before mentioned.

In the afternoon, Mr Forster having begun his botanical researches on the other side of the harbour, fell in with our friend Paowang's house, where he saw most of the articles I had given him, hanging on the adjoining trees and bushes, as if they were not worthy of being under his roof.

On the 12th, some of the officers accompanied Mr Forster to the hot places he had been at the preceding day. A thermometer placed in a little hole made in one of them, rose from 80, at which it stood in the open air, to 170. Several other parts of the hill emitted smoke or steam all the day, and the volcano was unusually furious, insomuch that the air was loaded with its ashes. The rain which fell at this time was a compound of water, sand, and earth; so that it properly might be called showers of mire. Whichever way the wind was, we were plagued with the ashes; unless it blew very strong indeed from the opposite direction. Notwithstanding the natives seemed well enough satisfied with the few expeditions we had made in the neighbourhood, they were unwilling we should extend them farther. As a proof of this, some undertook to guide the gentlemen when they were in the country, to a place where they might see the mouth of the volcano. They very readily embraced the offer; and were conducted down to the harbour, before they perceived the cheat.[6]

[6] "We took the opportunity of the absence of the natives, to walk out upon the plain, behind the watering-place. We met with several ponds of stagnant water, in which the natives had planted great quantities of eddoes. The coco-palms formed spacious groves, full of different shrubberies, where a great number of birds of different sorts, chiefly fly-catchers, creepers, and parroquets, resided. We saw likewise many lofty trees, covered with nuts, which are common at Otaheite, (*isrocarius Nov. Gen.*). These trees were commonly the resort of pigeons of different kinds, and chiefly of the sort which are to be met with at the Friendly Islands, where the natives catch and tame them. We passed by some plantations of bananas and sugar- canes, but saw no houses, the greatest part of the ground being uncultivated, and covered with shady forests, or low shrubberies. At the east end of the plain we observed a long and spacious valley, from whence we saw a great number of smokes rising, and heard the promiscuous voices of many men, women and children. We stood in a path, on both sides of which were thick shrubberies; and the vale itself was so full of groves, that we neither saw the people, whose voices we heard, nor any of their dwellings. It being late in the evening, we proceeded no farther, and without discovering ourselves, retreated to the beach."--G.F.

The 13th, wind at N.E., gloomy weather. The only thing worthy of note this day was, that Paowang being at dinner with us on board, I took the opportunity to shew him several parts of the ship, and various articles, in hopes of finding out something which they might value, and be induced to take from us in exchange for refreshments; for what we got of this kind was trifling. But he looked on every thing that was shewn him with the utmost indifference; nor did he take notice of any one thing, except a wooden sand-box, which he seemed to admire, and turned it two or three times over in his hand.

Next morning after breakfast, a party of us set out for the country, to try if we could not get a nearer and better view of the volcano. We went by the way of one of those hot smoking places before mentioned, and dug a hole in the hottest part, into which a thermometer of Fahrenheit's construction was put; and the mercury presently rose to 100°. It remained in the hole two minutes and a half without either rising or falling. The earth about this place was a kind of white clay, had a sulphureous smell, and was soft and wet, the surface only excepted, over which was spread a thin dry crust, that had upon it some sulphur, and a vitriolic substance, tasting like alum. The place affected by the heat was not above eight or ten yards square; and near it were some fig-trees, which spread their branches over part of it, and seemed to like their situation. We thought that this extraordinary heat was caused by the steam of boiling water, strongly impregnated with sulphur. I was told that some of the other places were larger than this; though we did not go out of the road to look at them, but proceeded up the hill through a country so covered with trees, shrubs, and plants, that the bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees, which, seem to have been planted here by nature, were, in a manner, choaked up. Here and there we met with a house, some few people, and plantations. These latter we found in different states, some of long standing, others lately cleared, and some only clearing, and before any thing had been planted. The clearing of a piece of ground for plantation, seemed to be a work of much labour, considering the tools they had to work with, which, though much inferior to those at the Society Isles, are of the same kind. Their method is, however, judicious, and as expeditious as it can well be. They lop off the small branches of the large trees, dig under the roots, and there burn the branches and small shrubs and plants which they root up. The soil, in some parts, is a rich black mould; in other parts, it seemed to be composed of decayed vegetables, and of the ashes the volcano sends forth throughout all its neighbourhood. Happening to turn out of the common path, we came into a plantation where we found a man at work, who, either out of good-nature, or to get us the sooner out of his territories, undertook to be our guide. We followed him, accordingly, but had not gone far before we came to the junction of two roads, in one of which stood another man with a sling and a stone, which he thought proper to lay down when a musquet was pointed at him. The attitude in which we found him, the ferocity appearing in his looks, and his behaviour after, convinced us that he meant to defend the path he stood in. He, in some measure, gained his point, for our guide took the other road, and we followed, but not without suspecting he was leading us out of the common way. The other man went with us likewise, counting us several times over, and hallooing, as we judged, for assistance; for we were presently joined by two or

three more, among whom was a young woman with a club in her hand. By these people we were conducted to the brow of a hill, and shewn a road leading down to the harbour, which they wanted us to take. Not choosing to comply, we returned to that we had left, which we pursued alone, our guide refusing to go with us. After ascending another ridge, as thickly covered with wood as those we had come over, we saw yet other hills between us and the volcano, which seemed as far off as at our first setting out. This discouraged us from proceeding farther, especially as we could get no one to be our guide. We therefore came to a resolution to return; and had but just put this in execution when we met between twenty and thirty people, whom the fellow before mentioned had collected together, with a design, as we judged, to oppose our advancing into the country; but as they saw us returning they suffered us to pass unmolested. Some of them put us into the right road, accompanied us down the hill, made us stop by the way, to entertain us with cocoa-nuts, plantains, and sugar-cane; and what we did not eat on the spot, they brought down the hill with us. Thus we found these people hospitable, civil, and good-natured, when not prompted to a contrary conduct by jealousy; a conduct I cannot tell how to blame them for, especially when I considered the light in which they must view us. It was impossible for them to know our real design; we enter their ports without their daring to oppose; we endeavour to land in their country as friends, and it is well if this succeeds; we land, nevertheless, and maintain the footing we have got, by the superiority of our fire-arms. Under such circumstances, what opinion are they to form of us? Is it not as reasonable for them to think that we are come to invade their country, as to pay them a friendly visit? Time, and some acquaintance with us, can only convince them of the latter. These people are yet in a rude state; and, if we may judge from circumstances and appearances, are frequently at war, not only with their neighbours, but among themselves; consequently must be jealous of every new face. I will allow there are some exceptions to this rule to be found in this sea; but there are few nations who would willingly suffer visitors like us to advance far into their country.

Before this excursion, some of us had been of opinion that these people were addicted to an unnatural passion, because they had endeavoured to entice some of our men into the woods; and, in particular, I was told, that one who had the care of Mr Forster's plant bag, had been once or twice attempted. As the carrying of bundles, &c. is the office of the women in this country, it had occurred to me, and I was not singular in this, that the natives might mistake him and some others for women. My conjecture was fully verified this day. For this man, who was one of the party, and carried the bag as usual, following me down the hill, by the words which I understood of the conversation of the natives, and by their actions, I was well assured that they considered him as a female; till, by some means, they discovered their mistake, on which they cried out, "Erramange! Erramange!" "It is a man! It is a man!" The thing was so palpable, that every one was obliged to acknowledge, that they had before mistaken his sex: and that, after they were undeceived, they seemed not to have the least notion of what we had suspected. This circumstance will shew how liable we are to form wrong conjectures of things, among people whose language we are ignorant of. Had it not been for this discovery, I make no doubt that these people would have been charged with this vile custom.

In the evening I took a walk with some of the gentlemen into the country on the other side of the harbour, where we had very different treatment from what we had met with in the morning. The people we now visited, among whom was our friend Paowang, being better acquainted with us, shewed a readiness to oblige us in every thing in their power. We came to the village which had been visited on the 9th. It consisted of about twenty houses, the most of which need no other description than comparing them to the roof of a thatched house in England, taken off the walls and placed on the ground. Some were open at both ends, others partly closed with reeds, and all were covered with palm thatch. A few of them were thirty or forty feet long, and fourteen or sixteen broad. Besides these, they have other mean hovels, which, I conceived, were only to sleep in. Some of these stood in a plantation, and I was given to understand, that in one of them lay a dead corpse. They made signs that described sleep, or death; and circumstances pointed out the latter. Curious to see all I could, I prevailed on an elderly man to go with me to the hut, which was separated from the others by a reed fence, built quite round it at the distance of four or five feet. The entrance was by a space in the fence, made so low as to admit one to step over. The two sides and one end of the hut were closed or built up in the same manner, and with the same materials, as the roof. The other end had been open, but was now well closed with mats, which I could not prevail on the man to remove, or suffer me to do it. There hung at this end of the hut a matted bag or basket, in which was a piece of roasted yam, and some sort of leaves, all quite fresh. I had a strong desire to see the inside of the hut but the man was peremptory in refusing this, and even shewed an unwillingness to permit me to look into the basket. He wore round his neck, fastened to a string, two or three locks of human hair; and a woman present had several about her neck. I offered something in exchange for them, but they gave me to understand they could not part with them, as it was the hair of the person who lay in the hut. Thus I was led to believe that these people dispose of their dead in a manner similar to that of Otaheite. The same custom of wearing the hair is observed by the people of that island, and also by the New Zealanders. The former make tamau of the hair of their deceased friends, and the latter make ear-rings and necklaces of their teeth.

Near most of their large houses were fixed, upright in the ground, the stems of four cocoa-nut trees, in a square position, about three feet from each other. Some of our gentlemen who first saw them, were inclined to believe they were thus placed on a religious account; but I was now satisfied that it was for no other purpose but to hang cocoa-nuts on to dry. For when I asked, as well as I could, the use of them, a man took me to one, loaded with cocoa-nuts from the bottom to

the top; and no words could have informed me better. Their situation is well chosen for this use, as most of their large houses are built in an open airy place, or where the wind has a free passage, from whatever direction it blows. Near most, if not all of them, is a large tree or two, whose spreading branches afford an agreeable retreat from the scorching sun. This part of the island was well cultivated, open and airy; the plantations were laid out by line, abounding with plantains, sugar-canies, yams and other roots, and stocked with fruit-trees. In our walk we met with our old friend Paowang, who, with some others, accompanied us to the water side, and brought with them, as a present, a few yams and cocoa-nuts.

On the 15th, having finished wooding and watering, a few hands only were on shore making brooms, the rest being employed on board setting up the rigging, and putting the ship in a condition for sea. Mr Forster, in his botanical excursion this day, shot a pigeon, in the craw of which was a wild nutmeg. He took some pains to find the tree, but his endeavours were without success. In the evening a party of us walked to the eastern sea-shore, in order to take the bearing of Annattom, and Erronan or Footoona. The horizon proved so hazy that I could see neither; but one of the natives gave me, as I afterwards found, the true direction of them. We observed that in all, or most of their sugar plantations, were dug holes or pits, four feet deep, and five or six in diameter; and on our enquiring their use, we were given to understand that they caught rats in them. These animals, which are very destructive to the canes, are here in great plenty. The canes, I observed, were planted as thick as possible round the edge of these pits, so that the rats in coming at them are the more liable to tumble in.

Next morning we found the tiller sprung in the rudder head, and, by some strange neglect, we had not a spare one on board, which we were ignorant of till now it was wanting. I knew but of one tree in the neighbourhood fit for this purpose, which I sent the carpenter on shore to look at, and an officer, with a party of men, to cut it down, provided he could obtain leave of the natives; if not, he was ordered to acquaint me. He understood that no one had any objection, and set the people to work accordingly. But as the tree was large, this required some time; and, before it was down, word was brought me that our friend Paowang was not pleased. Upon this I gave orders to desist, as we found that, by scarfing a piece to the inner end of the tiller, and letting it farther into the rudder-head, it would still perform its office. But as it was necessary to have a spare one on board, I went on shore, sent for Paowang, made him a present of a dog and a piece of cloth, and then explained to him that our great steering paddle was broken, and that I wanted that tree to make a new one. It was easy to see how well pleased every one present was, with the means I took to obtain it. With one voice they gave their consent, Paowang joining his also, which he perhaps could not have done without the others; for I do not know that he had either more property, or more authority, than the rest. This point being obtained, I took our friend on board to dinner, and after it was over, went with him ashore, to pay a visit to an old chief, who was said to be king of the island; which was a doubt with me. Paowang took little or no notice of him. I made him a present, after which he immediately went away, as if he got all he came for. His name was Geogy, and they gave him the title of Areeke. He was very old, but had a merry open countenance. He wore round his waist a broad red-and-white chequered belt, the materials and manufacture of which seemed the same as that of Otaheite cloth; but this was hardly a mark of distinction. He had with him a son, not less than forty-five or fifty years of age. A great number of people were at this time at the landing-place, most of them from distant parts. The behaviour of many was friendly; while others were daring and insolent, which I thought proper to put up with, as our stay was nearly at an end.

On the 17th, about ten o'clock, I went ashore, and found in the crowd old Geogy and his son, who soon made me understand that they wanted to dine with me; and accordingly I brought them and two more on board. They all called them Areekees (or kings); but I doubt if any of them had the least pretensions to that title over the whole island. It had been remarked, that one of these kings had not authority enough to order one of the people up into a cocoa-nut tree, to bring him down some nuts. Although he spoke to several, he was at last obliged to go himself, and, by way of revenge, as it was thought, left not a nut on the tree, taking what he wanted himself, and giving the rest to some of our people.

When I got them on board, I went with them all over the ship, which they viewed with uncommon surprise and attention. We happened to have for their entertainment a kind of pie or pudding made of plantains, and some sort of greens which we had got from one of the natives. On this and on yams they made a hearty dinner; for, as to the salt beef and pork, they would hardly taste them. In the afternoon, having made each of them a present of a hatchet, a spike-nail, and some medals, I conducted them ashore.

Mr Forster and I then went over to the other side of the harbour, and, having tried, with Fahrenheit's thermometer, the head of one of the hot springs, we found that the mercury rose to 191°. At this time the tide was up within two or three feet of the spring, so that we judged, it might, in some degree, be cooled by it. We were mistaken however, for on repeating the experiment next morning, when the tide was out, the mercury rose no higher than 187°; but, at another spring, where the water bubbled out of the sand from under the rock at the S.W. corner of the harbour, the mercury in the same thermometer rose to 202°-1/2, which is but little colder than boiling water. The hot places before mentioned are from about three to four hundred feet perpendicular above these springs, and on the slope of the same ridge with the volcano; that is, there are no vallies between them, but such as are formed in the ridge itself; nor is the volcano on the highest part of the ridge, but on the S.E. side of it. This is, I have been told, contrary to the

general opinion of philosophers, who say that volcanos must be on the summits of the highest hills. So far is this from being the case on this island, that some of its hills are more than double the height of that on which the volcano is, and close to it. To these remarks I must add, that, in wet or moist weather, the volcano was most violent. There seems to be room for some philosophical reasoning on these phenomena of nature; but not having any talent that way, I must content myself with stating facts as I found them, and leave the causes to men of more abilities. [7]

[7] The elder Forster has some judicious and important remarks on volcanos, in his observations, but they are too long to be given here. "It may be remarked," says his son, "that the volcano and its productions seem to contribute greatly to that prodigious luxuriance of vegetation which is so remarkable on this island. Many plants here attain twice the height which they have in other countries; their leaves are broader, their flowers larger, and more richly scented. The same observation has been made in various volcanic countries. The soil of Vesuvius and Etna is reckoned the most fertile in Italy and Sicily; and some of the best flavoured wines which Italy produces are raised upon it. The volcanic ground on the Habichtswald in Hesse, though situated in a high, cold, and barren country, is surprisingly fertile, and covered with verdure. All kinds of plants, indigenous and foreign, thrive with luxuriance, and make this beautiful spot, on which the gardens of the landgrave are situated, the admiration of all beholders. Nay, to confine ourselves to our own voyage, the Society Islands, the Marquesas, and some of the Friendly Islands, where we found volcanic remains, as well as Ambrym and Tanna, where we actually saw burning mountains, have a rich and fertile soil, in which nature displays the magnificence of the vegetable kingdom. Easter Island itself, wholly overturned by some volcanic eruption, produces different vegetables and useful roots, without any other soil than flags, cinders, and pumice-stones; though the burning heat of the sun, from which there is no shelter, should seem sufficient to shrivel and destroy every plant."--G.F.

The tiller was now finished; but, as the wind was unfavourable for sailing, the guard was sent on shore on the 19th as before, and a party of men to cut up and bring off the remainder of the tree from which we had got the tiller. Having nothing else to do, I went on shore with them, and finding a good number of the natives collected about the landing-place as usual, I distributed among them all the articles I had with me, and then went on board for more. In less than an hour I returned, just as our people were getting some large logs into the boat. At the same time four or five of the natives stepped forward to see what we were about, and as we did not allow them to come within certain limits, unless to pass along the beach, the centry ordered them back, which they readily complied with. At this time, having my eyes fixed on them, I observed the sentry present his piece (as I thought at these men,) and was just going to reprove him for it, because I had observed that, whenever this was done, some of the natives would hold up their arms, to let us see they were equally ready. But I was astonished beyond measure when the sentry fired, for I saw not the least cause. At this outrage most of the people fled; it was only a few I could prevail on to remain. As they ran off, I observed one man to fall; and he was immediately lifted up by two others, who took him into the water, and washed his wound, and then led him off. Presently after, some came and described to me the nature of his wound; and as I found he was not carried far, I sent for the surgeon. As soon as he arrived, I went with him to the man, whom, we found expiring. The ball had struck his left arm, which was much shattered, and then entered his body by the short ribs, one of which was broken. The rascal who fired, pretended that a man had laid an arrow across his bow, and was going to shoot at him, so that he apprehended himself in danger. But this was no more than they had always done, and with no other view than to shew they were armed as well as we; at least I have reason to think so, as they never went farther. What made this incident the more unfortunate was, it not appearing to be the man who bent the bow, that was shot, but one who stood by him. This affair threw the natives into the utmost consternation; and a few that were prevailed on to stay, ran to the plantations and brought cocoanuts, &c. which they laid down at our feet. So soon, were those daring people humbled! When I went on board to dinner, they all retired, and only a few appeared in the afternoon, amongst whom were Paowang and Wha-a-gou. I had not seen this young man since the day he had dined on board. Both he and Paowang promised to bring me fruit, &c. the next morning, but our early departure put it out of their power.[8]

[8] Mr G.F. has spoken of the atrocious deed above recited with much indignation, and the more so apparently, as it broke in on a very pleasing series of reflections he was indulging, on the felicity of these islanders and the friendly intercourse with them that had been at last effected. He concludes his account of it in the following manner.--"Thus one dark and detestable action effaced all the hopes with which I had flattered myself. The natives, instead of looking upon us in a more favourable light than upon other strangers, had reason to detest us much more, as we came to destroy under the specious mask of friendship; and some amongst us lamented that instead of making amends at this place for the many rash acts which we had perpetrated at almost every island in our course, we had wantonly made it the scene of the greatest cruelty. Captain Cook resolved to punish the marine with the utmost rigour for having transgressed his positive orders, according to which the choleric emotions of the savages were to be repressed with gentleness, and prudently suffered to cool. But the officer who commanded on shore, declared that he had not delivered these orders to the sentry, but given him others which importred, that the least threat was to be punished with immediate death. The soldier was therefore immediately cleared, and the officer's right to dispose of the lives of the natives remained uncontroverted." The reader must have long ago perceived in the sentiments and language of this certainly eloquent writer, very sufficient grounds for much of the offence which his account of this voyage gave in England at the time of its publication. Now perhaps we can bear to be told of past transgressions, with considerable tranquillity, because we pride ourselves on the conviction of increased moral feeling; but the man who should act the friendless part of a censor among us, would still be able to discover our iniquity, in the resentment we exhibited at his officiousness.--E.

## SECTION VI.

### *Departure from Tanna; with some Account of its Inhabitants, their Manners and Arts.*

During the night the wind had veered round to S.E. As this was favourable for getting out of the harbour, at four o'clock in the morning of the 20th, we began to unmoor, and at eight, having weighed our last anchor, put to sea. As soon as we were clear of the land, I brought-to, waiting for the launch, which was left behind to take up a kedge-anchor and hawser we had out, to cast by. About day-break a noise was heard in the woods, nearly abreast of us, on the east side of the harbour, not unlike singing of psalms. I was told that the like had been heard at the same time every morning, but it never came to my knowledge till now, when it was too late to learn the occasion of it. Some were of opinion, that at the east point of the harbour (where we observed, in coming in, some houses, boats, &c.) was something sacred to religion, because some of our people had attempted to go to this point, and were prevented by the natives. I thought, and do still think, it was owing to a desire they shewed on every occasion, of fixing bounds to our excursions. So far as we had once been, we might go again; but not farther with their consent. But by encroaching a little every time, our country expeditions were insensibly extended without giving the least umbrage. Besides, these morning ceremonies, whether religious or not, were not performed down at that point, but in a part where some of our people had been daily.[1]

[1] According to Mr G.F. nothing, except this very dubious circumstance of the solemn song, could be discovered among these people, to indicate religion or superstitious notions. He mentions indeed, their practice of taking up the presents given them on a leaf, but properly enough remarks, that as even this was not general, and as it even ceased on the parties becoming better acquainted, no stress ought to be laid upon it. Obviously, the information is too scanty to warrant decided opinions on the subject; but reasoning from analogy and what is related of the conduct and enjoyments of these islanders, one could not readily embrace the notion that they were quite destitute of both religious ideas and practices.--E.

I cannot say what might be the true cause of these people shewing such dislike to our going up into their country. It might be owing to a naturally jealous disposition, or perhaps to their being accustomed to hostile visits from their neighbours, or quarrels among themselves. Circumstances seemed to shew that such must frequently happen; for we observed them very expert in arms, and well accustomed to them; seldom or never travelling without them. It is possible all this might be on our account; but I hardly think it. We never gave them the least molestation, nor did we touch any part of their property, not even the wood and water, without first having obtained their consent. The very cocoa-nuts, hanging over the heads of the workmen, were as safe as those in the middle of the island. It happened rather fortunately, that there were so many cocoa-nut trees, near the skirts of the harbour, which seemed not to be private property; so that we could generally prevail on the natives to bring us some of these nuts, when nothing would induce them to bring any out of the country.

We were not wholly without refreshments; for besides the fish, which our seine now and then provided us with, we procured daily some fruits or roots from the natives, though but little in proportion to what we could consume. The reason why we got no more might be our having nothing to give them in exchange, which they thought valuable. They had not the least knowledge of iron; consequently, nails and iron tools, beads, &c. which had so great a run at the more eastern isles, were of no consideration here; and cloth can be of no use to people who go naked.

The produce of this island is bread-fruit, plantains, cocoa-nuts, a fruit like a nectarine, yams, tarra, a sort of potatoe, sugar-cane, wild figs, a fruit like an orange, which is not eatable, and some other fruit and nuts whose names I have not. Nor have I any doubt that the nutmeg before mentioned was the produce of this island. The bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and plantains, are neither so plentiful nor so good as at Otaheite; on the other hand, sugar-canies and yams are not only in greater plenty, but of superior quality, and much larger. We got one of the latter which weighed fifty-six pounds, every ounce of which was good. Hogs did not seem to be scarce; but we saw not many fowls. These are the only domestic animals they have. Land-birds are not more numerous than at Otaheite, and the other islands; but we met with some small birds, with a very beautiful plumage, which we had never seen before. There is as great a variety of trees and plants here, as at any island we touched at, where our botanists had time to examine. I believe these people live chiefly on the produce of the land, and that the sea contributes but little to their subsistence. Whether this arises from the coast not abounding with fish, or from their being bad fishermen, I know not; both causes perhaps concur. I never saw any sort of fishing-tackle amongst them, nor any one out fishing, except on the shoals, or along the shores of the harbour, where they would watch to strike with a dart such fish as came within their reach; and in this they were expert. They seemed much to admire our catching fish with the seine; and, I believe, were not well pleased with it at last. I doubt not, they have other methods of catching fish besides striking them.[2]

[2] Mr G.F. informs us that not less than forty different species of plants are cultivated in this island, and the nutmeg he conceives to be among its spontaneous ones. Of the fish found here he specifies mullet, Brasilian pike, garfish, dolphins, cavalhas, parrot-fish, sting-rays, toothless-rays, angel-fish, sharks, sinking-fish, and varieties of mackrel. Its birds are several sorts of pigeons, parroquets, fly-catchers, the Ceylonese owl, a species of creeper, a sort of duck, and a purple water-hen. The cock and hen are its only tame fowls; and there are but three quadrupeds, hogs, rats, and bats.--E.

We understood that the little isle of Immer was chiefly inhabited by fishermen, and that the

canoes we frequently saw pass, to and from that isle and the east point of the harbour, were fishing canoes. These canoes were of unequal sizes, some thirty feet long, two broad, and three deep; and they are composed of several pieces of wood clumsily sewed together with bandages. The joints are covered on the outside by a thin batten champered off at the edges, over which the bandages pass. They are navigated either by paddles or sails. The sail is lateen, extended to a yard and boom, and hoisted to a short mast. Some of the large canoes have two sails, and all of them outriggers.

At first we thought the people of this island, as well as those of Erromango, were a race between the natives of the Friendly Islands and those of Mallicollo; but a little acquaintance with them convinced us that they had little or no affinity to either, except it be in their hair, which is much like what the people of the latter island have. The general colours of it are black and brown, growing to a tolerable length, and very crisp and curly. They separate it into small locks, which they woold or cue round with the rind of a slender plant, down to about an inch of the ends; and, as the hair grows, the woolding is continued. Each of these cues or locks is somewhat thicker than common whipcord; and they look like a parcel of small strings hanging down from the crown of their heads. Their beards, which are strong and bushy, are generally short. The women do not wear their hair so, but cropped; nor do the boys, till they approach manhood. Some few men, women, and children, were seen, who had hair like ours; but it was obvious that these were of another nation; and, I think, we understood they came from Erronan. It is to this island they ascribe one of the two languages which they speak, and which is nearly, if not exactly, the same as that spoken in the Friendly Islands. It is therefore more than probable that Erronan was peopled from that nation, and that by long intercourse with Tanna and the other neighbouring islands, each had learnt the other's language, which they use indiscriminately.

The other language which the people of Tanna speak, and, as we understood, those of Erromango and Annatom, is properly their own. It is different from any we had before met with, and bears no affinity to that of Mallicollo; so that, it should seem, the people of these islands are a distinct nation of themselves. Mallicollo, Apee, &c. were names entirely unknown to them; they even knew nothing of Sandwich Island, which is much nearer. I took no small pains to know how far their geographical knowledge extended; and did not find that it exceeded the limits of their horizon.[3]

[3] If I might venture a conjecture, founded upon the languages which we heard spoken in this island, I should suppose that several tribes of different nations have peopled it, and may have disputed the possession of the ground with each other. Besides the common language of the island, and a dialect of that of the Friendly Islands, we collected some words of a third language, chiefly current among the inhabitants of its western hills; and we particularly obtained the numerals of all the three tongues, which are indeed totally extinct. In the common language of Tanna we met with two or three words, which have a clear affinity with the language of Mallicollo, and about the same number corresponded with some words of the Malay; but in general they are wholly unlike each other, and related to no other language that I know of. There is a strong kind of aspiration, and a guttural sound, in many words at Tanna, which are however very sonorous and full of vowels, and therefore easily pronounced."--G.F.

These people are of the middle size, rather slender than otherwise; many are little, but few tall or stout; the most of them have good features, and agreeable countenances; are, like all the tropical race, active and nimble; and seem to excel in the use of arms, but not to be fond of labour. They never would put a hand to assist in any work we were carrying on, which the people of the other islands used to delight in. But what I judge most from, is their making the females do the most laborious work, as if they were pack-horses. I have seen a woman carrying a large bundle on her back, or a child on her back and a bundle under her arm, and a fellow strutting before her with nothing but a club or spear, or some such thing. We have frequently observed little troops of women pass, to and fro, along the beach, laden with fruit and roots, escorted by a party of men under arms; though, now and then, we have seen a man carry a burden at the same time, but not often. I know not on what account this was done, nor that an armed troop was necessary. At first, we thought they were moving out of the neighbourhood with their effects, but we afterwards saw them both carry out, and bring in, every day.

I cannot say the women are beauties, but I think them handsome enough for the men, and too handsome for the use that is made of them. Both sexes are of a very dark colour, but not black; nor have they the least characteristic of the negro about them. They make themselves blacker than they really are, by painting their faces with a pigment of the colour of black-lead. They also use another sort which is red, and a third sort brown, or a colour between red and black. All these, but especially the first, they lay on with a liberal hand, not only on the face, but on the neck, shoulders, and breast. The men wear nothing but a belt, and the wrapping leaf as at Mallicollo. The women have a kind of petticoat made of the filaments of the plantain-tree, flags, or some such thing, which reaches below the knee. Both sexes wear ornaments, such as bracelets, ear-rings, necklaces, and amulets. The bracelets are chiefly worn by the men; some made of sea-shells, and others of those of the cocoa-nut. The men also wear amulets; and those of most value being made of a greenish stone, the green stone of New Zealand is valued by them for this purpose. Necklaces are chiefly used by the women, and made mostly of shells. Ear-rings are common to both sexes, and those valued most are made of tortoise-shell. Some of our people having got some at the Friendly Islands, brought it to a good market here, where it was of more value than any thing we had besides; from which I conclude that these people catch but few turtle, though I saw one in the harbour, just as we were getting under sail. I observed that, towards the latter end of our stay, they began to ask for hatchets, and large nails, so that it is

likely they had found that iron is more serviceable than stone, bone, or shells, of which all their tools I have seen are made. Their stone hatchets, at least all those I saw, are not in the shape of adzes, as at the other islands, but more like an axe. In the helve, which is pretty thick, is made a hole into which the stone is fixed.

These people, besides the cultivation of ground, have few other arts worth mentioning. They know how to make a coarse kind of matting, and a coarse cloth of the bark of a tree, which is used chiefly for belts. The workmanship of their canoes, I have before observed, is very rude; and their arms, with which they take the most pains in point of neatness, come far short of some others we have seen. Their weapons are clubs, spears or darts, bows and arrows, and stones. The clubs are of three or four kinds, and from three to five feet long. They seem to place most dependence on the darts, which are pointed with three bearded edges. In throwing them they make use of a becket, that is, a piece of stiff plaited cord about six inches long, with an eye in one end and a knot at the other. The eye is fixed on the fore-finger of the right hand, and the other end is hitched round the dart, where it is nearly on an equipoise. They hold the dart between the thumb and remaining fingers, which serve only to give it direction, the velocity being communicated by the becket and fore-finger. The former flies off from the dart the instant its velocity becomes greater than that of the hand. But it remains on the finger ready to be used again. With darts they kill both birds and fish, and are sure of hitting a mark, within the compass of the crown of a hat, at the distance of eight or ten yards; but, at double that distance, it is chance if they hit a mark the size of a man's body, though they will throw the weapon sixty or seventy yards. They always throw with all their might, let the distance be what it will. Darts, bows and arrows are to them what musquets are to us. The arrows are made of reeds pointed with hard wood; some are bearded and some not, and those for shooting birds have two, three, and sometimes four points. The stones they use are, in general, the branches of coral rocks from eight to fourteen inches long, and from an inch to an inch-and-a-half in diameter. I know not if they employ them as missive weapons; almost every one of them carries a club, and besides that, either darts, or a bow and arrows, but never both; those who had stones kept them generally in their belts.

I cannot conclude this account of their arms without adding an entire passage out of Mr Wales's journal. As this gentleman was continually on shore amongst them, he had a better opportunity of seeing what they could perform, than any of us. The passage is as follows: "I must confess I have been often led to think the feats which Homer represents his heroes as performing with their spears, a little too much of the marvellous to be admitted into an heroic poem; I mean when confined within the strait stays of Aristotle. Nay, even so great an advocate for him as Mr Pope, acknowledges them to be *surprising*. But since I have seen what these people can do with their wooden spears, and them badly pointed, and not of a very hard nature, I have not the least exception to any one passage in that great poet on this account. But, if I see fewer exceptions, I can find infinitely more beauties in him; as he has, I think, scarce an action, circumstance, or description of any kind whatever, relating to a spear, which I have not seen and recognised among these people; as their whirling motion, and whistling noise, as they fly; their quivering motion, as they stick in the ground when they fall; their meditating their aim, when they are going to throw, and their shaking them in their hand as they go along, &c. &c."

I know no more of their cookery, than that it consists of roasting and baking; for they have no vessel in which water can be boiled. Nor do I know that they have any other liquor but water and the juice of the cocoa-nut.[4]

[4] Captain Cook has neglected to notice the musical genius of these people. The following remarks on it are worthy of quotation--"As I happened to hum a song one day, many of them very eagerly entreated me to sing to them, and though not one of us was properly acquainted with music, yet we ventured to gratify their curiosity, and offered them a great variety of airs. Some German and English songs, especially of the more lively kind, pleased them very much; but Dr Sparrman's Swedish tunes gained universal applause; from whence it appeared that their judgment in music was not influenced by the same rules which regulate the taste of other countries. When we had performed, we desired them in return to give us an opportunity of admiring their talents, and one of them immediately began a very simple tune; it was however harmonious, and, as far as we could judge, superior to the music of all the nations in the tropical part of the South Sea, which we had hitherto heard. It ran through a much more considerable compass of notes, than is employed at Otaheite, or even at Tonga-Tabboo; and had a serious turn which distinguished it very remarkably from the softer effeminate music of those islands. The words seemed to be naturally arranged, and flowed very currently from the tongue. When the first had finished his song, another began; his tune was different as to the composition, but had the same serious style which strongly marked the general turn of the people. They were indeed seldom seen to laugh so heartily, and jest so facetiously, as the more polished nations of the Friendly and Society Islands, who have already learnt to set a great value on these enjoyments. On the afternoon of this day, our friends importuned us to sing to them again. We readily complied with their request, and when they seemed to wonder at the difference in our songs, we endeavoured to make them comprehend that we were natives of different countries. Hearing this, they pointed out an elderly thin man in the circle of our hearers, and telling us that he was a native of Irromanga, desired him to sing to us. The man immediately stepped forward, and began a song, in the course of which he made a variety of gesticulations, not only to our entertainment, but to the great satisfaction of all the people about him. His song was to the full as musical as that of the people of Tanna, but it seemed to be of a droll or humorous nature, from his various ludicrous postures, and from the particular tone of the whole. The language was utterly distinct from that of Tanna, but not harsh or ill suited to music. It seemed likewise to have a certain metre, but very different from that slow and serious one which we heard this morning. It appeared to us when he had done singing, that the people of Tanna spoke to him in his own

language, but that he was not acquainted with theirs. Whether he came as a visitor, or had been taken prisoner, we could not determine."--G.F.

According to this gentleman, these people had a musical instrument, which consisted of eight reeds like the syrin of Tonga-Tabbo, with this difference, that the reeds regularly decreased in size, and comprehended an octave, though the single reeds were not perfectly in tune. It is worth while noticing here, that one of these people having one day blown with great violence into his hand several times, as a signal, he was soon answered by the sounding of several conchs in different places.--E.

We are utter strangers to their religion; and but little acquainted with their government. They seem to have chiefs among them; at least some were pointed out to us by that title; but, as I before observed, they appeared to have very little authority over the rest of the people. Old Geogy was the only one the people were ever seen to take the least notice of; but whether this was owing to high rank or old age, I cannot say. On several occasions I have seen the old men respected and obeyed. Our friend Paowang was so; and yet I never heard him called chief, and have many reasons to believe that he had not a right to any more authority than many of his neighbours, and few, if any, were bound to obey him, or any other person in our neighbourhood; for if there had been such a one, we certainly should, by some means, have known it. I named the harbour Port Resolution, after the ship, she being the first which ever entered it. It is situated on the north side of the most eastern point of the island, and about E.N.E. from the volcano; in the latitude of  $19^{\circ} 32' 25''$  1/2 S., and in the longitude of  $169^{\circ} 44' 35''$  E. It is no more than a little creek running in S. by W. 1/2 W. three quarters of a mile, and is about half that in breadth. A shoal of sand and rocks, lying on the east side, makes it still narrower. The depth of water in the harbour is from six to three fathoms, and the bottom is sand and mud. No place can be more convenient for taking in wood and water; for both are close to the shore. The water stunk a little after it had been a few days on board, but it afterwards turned sweet; and even when it was at the worst, the tin machine would, in a few hours, recover a whole cask. This is an excellent contrivance for sweetening water at sea, and is well known in the navy.

Mr Wales, from whom I had the latitude and longitude, found the variation of the needle to be  $7^{\circ} 14' 12''$  E., and the dip of its south end  $45^{\circ} 2' 3/4$ . He also observed the time of high water, on the full and change days, to be about 5h 45m; and the tide to rise and fall three feet.

## SECTION VII.

### *The Survey of the Islands continued, and a more particular Description of them.*

As soon as the boats were hoisted in, we made sail, and stretched to the eastward, with a fresh gale at S.E., in order to have a nearer view of Erronan, and to see if there was any land in its neighbourhood. We stood on till midnight, when, having passed the island, we tacked, and spent the remainder of the night making two boards. At sun-rise on the 21st, we stood S.W., in order to get to the south of Tanna, and nearer to Annatom, to observe if any more land lay in that direction; for an extraordinary clear morning had produced no discovery of any to the east. At noon, having observed in latitude  $20^{\circ} 33' 30''$ , the situation of the lands around us was as follows: Port Resolution bore north  $86^{\circ}$  W., distant six and a half leagues; the island of Tanna extended from S.  $88^{\circ}$  W., to N.  $64^{\circ}$  W.; Traitor's Head N.  $58^{\circ}$  W., distant twenty leagues; the island of Erronan N.  $80^{\circ}$  E., distant five leagues; and Annatom from S. 1/2 E. to S. 1/2 W., distant ten leagues. We continued to stretch to the south till two o'clock p.m. when, seeing no more land before us, we bore up round the S.E. end of Tanna; and, with a fine gale at E.S.E., ran along the south coast at one league from shore. It seemed a bold one, without the guard of any rocks; and the country full as fertile as in the neighbourhood of the harbour, and making a fine appearance. At six o'clock the high land of Erromango appeared over the west end of Tanna in the direction of  $10^{\circ}$  W.; at eight o'clock we were past the island, and steered N.N.W. for Sandwich Island, in order to finish the survey[1] of it, and of the isles to the N.W. On the 22d, at four o'clock p.m., we drew near the S.E. end, and ranging the south coast, found it to trend in the direction of W. and W.N.W. for about nine leagues. Near the middle of this length, and close to the shore, are three or four small isles, behind which seemed to be a safe anchorage. But not thinking I had any time to spare to visit this fine island, I continued to range the coast to its western extremity, and then steered N.N.W. from the S.E. end of Mallicollo, which, at half past six o'clock next morning, bore N.  $14^{\circ}$  E., distant seven or eight leagues, and Three-Hills Island S.  $82^{\circ}$  E.[2] Soon after, we saw the islands Apee, Paom, and Ambrym. What we had comprehended under the name of Paom appeared now to be two isles, something like a separation being seen between the hill and the land to the west of it. We approached the S.W. side of Mallicollo to within half a league, and ranged it at that distance. From the S.E. point, the direction of the land is west, a little southerly, for six or seven leagues, and then N.W. by W. three leagues, to a pretty high point or head-land, situated in latitude  $16^{\circ} 29'$ , and which obtained the name of South-west Cape. The coast, which is low, seemed to be indented into creeks and projecting points; or else, these points were small isles lying under the shore. We were sure of one, which lies between two and three leagues east of the Cape. Close to the west side or point of the Cape, lies, connected with it by breakers, a round rock or islet, which helps to shelter a fine bay, formed by an elbow in the coast, from the reigning winds.[3]

[1] The word Survey is not here to be understood in its literal sense. Surveying a place, according to my idea, is taking a geometrical plan of it, in which every place is to have its true situation, which cannot be done in a work of this nature.

[2] Mr G.F. says that the aspect of the southern shore of Sandwich Island was very beautiful, and that its forests seemed more rich and copious than had been observed to the northward. According to him too, the small islands which formed the harbour were of inconsiderable height, but finely wooded with the most tufted trees.--E.

[3] "Mallicollo surprised us again with the beauty and shagginess of its forests, from whence vast numbers of smokes ascended, sufficient to prove, that a great part of them was inhabited. The land about the bay which opened up to our view, was to all appearance extremely populous and fertile. Two small islands were situated in this bay, and we feasted our eyes on the richness and luxuriance of the prospect, when the brightest tints of verdure were properly spread."--G.F.

The natives appeared in troops on many parts of the shore, and some seemed desirous to come off to us in canoes, but they did not; and, probably, our not shortening sail, was the reason. From the South-west Cape, the direction of the coast is N. by W.; but the most advanced land bore from it N.W. by N., at which the land seemed to terminate. Continuing to follow the direction of the coast, at noon it was two miles from us; and our latitude, by observation, was  $16^{\circ} 22' 30''$  S. This is nearly the parallel to Port Sandwich, and our never-failing guide, the watch, shewed that we were  $26'$  west of it; a distance which the breadth of Mallicollo cannot exceed in this parallel. The South-east Cape bore S.  $26^{\circ}$  E., distant seven miles; and the most advanced point of land, for which we steered, bore N.W. by N. At three o'clock, we were the length of it, and found the land continued, and trending more and more to the north. We coasted it to its northern extremity, which we did not reach till after dark, at which time we were near enough to the shore to hear the voices of people, who were assembled round a fire they had made on the beach. There we sounded, and found twenty fathoms and a bottom of sand; but, on edging off from the shore, we soon got out of sounding, and then made a trip back to the south till the moon got up. After this we stood again to the north, hauled round the point, and spent the night in Bougainville's passage; being assured of our situation before sun-set, by seeing the land, on the north side of the passage, extending as far as N.W.  $1/2$  W.

The south coast of Mallicollo, from the S.E. end to the S.W. Cape, is luxuriantly clothed with wood, and other productions of nature, from the sea-shore to the very summits of the hills. To the N.W. of the Cape the country is less woody, but more agreeably interspersed with lawns, some of which appeared to be cultivated. The summits of the hills seemed barren; and the highest lies between Port Sandwich and the S.W. Cape. Farther north the land falls insensibly lower, and is less covered with wood. I believe it is a very fertile island, and well inhabited; for we saw smoke by day and fire by night, in all parts of it.[4]

[4] "Beyond the point which included the bay to the north-west, the country lost something of its exuberant fertility, and was interspersed with barren spots, though we saw smokes and habitations on the highest ridges: And at night the mountains were illuminated in different places, by several lines of fire, some of which appeared to extend at least half-a-mile in length. The land, which forms the north side of Bougainville's passage, appeared very extensive, high and mountainous, and a number of small islands lay along its southern coast, which were of a very moderate height, and covered with the finest forests. The continual fair weather which attended this part of our navigation, made all these beautiful landscapes appear to the greatest advantage; and the pleasure of contemplating a great variety of rich sceneries, made us some amends for the wretchedness of our diet, which at present consisted of no other than the ship's provisions."--G.F.

Next morning at sun-rise, we found ourselves nearly in the middle of the passage, the N.W. end of Mallicollo extending from S.  $30^{\circ}$  E., to S.  $58^{\circ}$  W.; the land to the north from N.  $70^{\circ}$  W. to N.  $4^{\circ}$  E.; and the Isle of Lepers bearing N.  $30^{\circ}$  E., distant eleven or twelve leagues. We now made sail, and steered N. by E., and afterwards north, along the east coast of the northern land, with a fine breeze at S.E. We found that this coast, which at first appeared to be continued, was composed of several low woody isles, the most of them of small extent, except the southernmost, which, on account of the day, I named St Bartholomew. It is six or seven leagues in circuit, and makes the N.E. point of Bougainville's Passage. At noon the breeze began to slacken. We were at this time between two and three miles from the land, and observed in latitude  $15^{\circ} 23'$  the Isle of Lepers bearing from E. by N. to S., distance seven leagues; and a high bluff-head, at which the coast we were upon seemed to terminate, N.N.W.  $1/2$  W., distant ten or eleven leagues; but from the mast-head we could see land to the east. This we judged to be an island, and it bore N. by W.  $1/2$  W.

As we advanced to N.N.W., along a fine coast covered with woods, we perceived low land that extended off from the bluff-head towards the island above mentioned, but did not seem to join it. It was my intention to have gone through the channel, but the approach of night made me lay it aside, and steer without the island. During the afternoon, we passed some small isles lying under the shore; and observed some projecting points of unequal height, but were not able to determine whether or no they were connected with the main land. Behind them was a ridge of hills which terminated at the bluff-head. There were cliffs, in some places of the coast, and white patches, which we judged to be chalk. At ten o'clock, being the length of the isle which lies off the head, we shortened sail, and spent the night in making short boards.

At day-break on the 25th, we were on the north side of the island (which is of a moderate height, and three leagues in circuit,) and steered west for the bluff-head, along the low land under it. At sun-rise an elevated coast came in sight beyond the bluff-head, extending to the north as far N.W. by W. After doubling the head we found the land to trend south, a little easterly, and to form a large deep bay, bounded on the west by the coast just mentioned.

Every thing conspired to make us believe this was the Bay of St Philip and St Jago, discovered by

Quiros in 1606. To determine this point, it was necessary to proceed farther up; for at this time we saw no end to it. The wind being at south, we were obliged to ply, and first stretched over for the west shore, from which we were three miles at noon, when our latitude was  $14^{\circ} 55' 30''$  S., longitude  $167^{\circ} 3'$  E.; the mouth of the bay extending from N.  $64^{\circ}$  W., to S.  $86^{\circ}$  E., which last direction was the bluff-head, distant three leagues. In the afternoon the wind veering to E.S.E., we could look up to the head of the bay; but as the breeze was faint, a N.E. swell hurtled us over to the west shore; so that, at half past four o'clock p.m., we were no more than two miles from it, and tacked in one hundred and twenty fathoms water, a soft muddy bottom. The bluff-head, or east point of the bay, bore north  $53^{\circ}$  east.

We had no sooner tacked than it fell calm, and we were left to the mercy of the swell, which continued to hurtle us towards the shore, where large troops of people were assembled. Some ventured off in two canoes; but all the signs of friendship we could make, did not induce them to come along-side, or near enough to receive any present from us. At last they took sudden fright at something, and returned ashore. They were naked, except having some long grass, like flags, fastened to a belt, and hanging down before and behind, nearly as low as the knee. Their colour was very dark, and their hair woolly, or cut short, which made it seem so.<sup>[5]</sup> The canoes were small and had outriggers. The calm continued till near eight o'clock, in which time we drove into eighty-five fathoms water, and so near the shore that I expected we should be obliged to anchor. A breeze of wind sprung up at E.S.E., and first took us on the wrong side; but, contrary to all our expectations, and when we had hardly room to veer, the ship came about, and having filled on the starboard tack, we stood off N.E. Thus we were relieved from the apprehensions of being forced to anchor in a great depth, on a lee shore, and in a dark and obscure night.

[5] Mr G.F. says some of them had bunches of feathers on their heads, others a white shell tied on the forehead, and one a sago leaf rolled round his head forming a kind of cap. They came near enough to the vessel to receive presents, and shewed a peculiar partiality for nails, which implied some acquaintance with their value and use. It was impossible to hold conversation with them by any known language, but it would seem, that their numerals bore strong resemblance to those of the Friendly Islands, or were indeed the same. There is reason to think then, as Captain Cook afterwards notices, that these are the same sort of people, if not the same individuals, that were seen on the following day.--E.

We continued to ply upwards, with variable light breezes between E.S.E. and S., till ten next morning, when it fell calm. We were, at this time, about seven or eight miles from the head of the bay, which is terminated by a low beach; and behind that, is an extensive flat covered with wood, and bounded on each side by a ridge of mountains. At noon we found the latitude to be  $15^{\circ} 5'$  S., and were detained here by the calm till one o'clock p.m., when we got a breeze at N. by W., with which we steered up to within two miles of the head of the bay; and then I sent Mr Cooper and Mr Gilbert to sound and reconnoitre the coast, while we stood to and fro with the ship. This gave time to three sailing canoes which had been following us some time, to come up. There were five or six men in each; and they approached near enough to receive such things as were thrown to them fastened to a rope, but would not advance alongside. They were the same sort of people as those we had seen the preceding evening; indeed we thought they came from the same place. They seemed to be stouter and better shaped men than those of Mallicollo; and several circumstances concurred to make us think they were of another nation. They named the numerals as far as five or six in the language of Anamocka, and understood us when we asked the names of the adjacent lands in that language. Some, indeed, had black short frizzled hair like the natives of Mallicollo, but others had it long, tied up on the crown of the head, and ornamented with feathers like the New Zealanders. Their other ornaments were bracelets and necklaces; one man had something like a white shell on his forehead, and some were painted with a blackish pigment. I did not see that they had any other weapon but darts and gigs, intended only for striking of fish. Their canoes were much like those of Tanna, and navigated in the same manner, or nearly so. They readily gave us the names of such parts as we pointed to; but we could not obtain from them the name of the island. At length, seeing our boats coming, they paddled in for the shore, notwithstanding all we could say or do to detain them.

When the boats returned, Mr Cooper informed me, that they had landed on the beach which is at the head of the bay, near a fine river, or stream of fresh water, so large and deep that they judged boats might enter it at high water. They found three fathoms depth close to the beach, and fifty-five and fifty, two cables' length off. Farther out they did not sound; and where we were with the ship, we had no soundings with a hundred and seventy fathoms line. Before the boats got on board, the wind had shifted to the S.S.E. As we were in want of nothing, and had no time to spare, I took the advantage of this shift of wind, and steered down the bay. During the fore-part of the night, the country was illuminated with fires, from the sea-shore to the summits of the mountains; but this was only on the west side of the shore. I cannot pretend to say what was the occasion of these fires, but have no idea of their being on our account. Probably, they were burning or clearing the ground for new plantations. At day-break on the 27th, we found ourselves two-thirds down the bay, and, as we had but little wind, it was noon before we were the length of the N.W. point, which at this time bore N.  $82^{\circ}$  W., distant five miles. Latitude observed  $14^{\circ} 39' 30''$ .

Some of our gentlemen were doubtful of this being the bay of St Philip and St Jago, as there was no place which they thought could mean the port of Vera Cruz. For my part I found general points to agree so well with Quiros's description, that I had not the least doubt about it. As to what he calls the Port of Vera Cruz, I understand that to be the anchorage at the head of the bay,

which in some places may extend farther off than where our boats landed. There is nothing in his account of the port which contradicts this supposition. It was but natural for his people to give a name to the place, independent of so large a bay, where they lay so long at anchor. A port is a vague term, like many others in geography, and has been very often applied to places far less sheltered than this.

Our officers observed that grass and other plants grew on the beach close to high water-mark, which is always a sure sign of pacific anchorage, and an undeniable proof that there never is a great surf on the shore. They judged that the tide rose about four or five feet, and that boats and such craft might, at high-water, enter the river, which seemed to be pretty deep and broad within; so that this, probably, is one of those mentioned by Quiros; and if we were not deceived, we saw the other.

The bay hath twenty leagues sea-coast, six on the east side, which lies in the direction of S. half W. and N. half E., two at the head, and twelve on the west side, the direction of which is S. by E. and N. by W., from the head down to two-thirds of its length, and then N.W. by N. to the N.W. point. The two points which form the entrance, lie in the direction of S.  $53^{\circ}$  E., and N.  $53^{\circ}$  W., from each other, distant ten leagues. The bay is every where free from danger, and of an unfathomable depth, except near the shores, which are for the most part low. This, however, is only a very narrow strip between the sea-shore and the foot of the hills; for the bay, as well as the flat land at the head of it, is bounded on each side by a ridge of hills, one of which, that to the west, is very high and double, extending the whole length of the island. An uncommonly luxuriant vegetation was every where to be seen; the sides of the hills were chequered with plantations; and every valley watered by a stream. Of all the productions of nature this country was adorned with, the cocoa-nut trees were the most conspicuous. The columns of smoke we saw by day, and fires by night all over the country, led us to believe that it is well inhabited and very fertile. The east point of this bay, which I name Cape Quiros, in memory of its first discoverer, is situated in latitude  $14^{\circ} 56'$  S., longitude  $167^{\circ} 13'$  E. The N.W. point, which I named Cape Cumberland, in honour of his Royal Highness the Duke, lies in the latitude of  $14^{\circ} 38' 45''$  S., longitude  $166^{\circ} 49' 1/2$  E., and is the N.W. extremity of this archipelago; for, after doubling it, we found the coast to trend gradually round to the S. and S.S.E.[6]

[6] "Quiros had great reason to extol the beauty and fertility of this country; it is indeed, to appearance, one of the finest in the world. Its riches in vegetable productions would doubtless have afforded the botanist an ample harvest of new plants, as, next to New Zealand, it was the largest island we had hitherto seen, and had the advantage of having never been examined by other naturalists. But the study of nature was only the secondary object in this voyage, which, contrary to its original intent, was so contrived in the execution as to produce little more than a new track on the chart of the southern hemisphere. We were therefore obliged to look upon those moments, as peculiarly fortunate, when the urgent wants of the crew, and the interest of the sciences, happened to coincide."--G.F.

This language is by no means to be imputed to any thing like disrespect towards Captain Cook, who seems to have stood very high in the author's estimation; it is, in fact, the natural expression of disappointment at the unexpected and unintended failure of a favourite speculation, without any reference to the moral agents by whom it had been immediately occasioned. It does, however, seem to imply censure of those, who, in planning the expedition, were far more anxious to make discoveries, than to extend their importance by the labours of the naturalist. Considering then from whom it comes, a liberal interpreter would concede a little allowance to its poignancy of complaint. Men very naturally attach superior importance to studies which have long and almost exclusively engrossed their own attention, and are exceedingly apt to ascribe to ignorance, or something still more dishonourable, that indifference to them which those who are in power seem to manifest. Much self-denial, as well as much liberal observation, is required, to overcome such evil surmisings, and to induce a candid construction of the conduct that thwarts our own sanguine prospects. These perhaps are rarely to be met with in young men, who, in general, are intolerant in proportion to the really honest industry they exercise in particular pursuits, and their consciousness of the disinterestedness by which they are actuated. But time accomplishes two great things for those who are capable of improvement; it demonstrates the erroneousness of many of the judgments they had formed of the human character and conduct, and it discloses within their own breasts, several very disquieting principles and mortifying drawbacks, which necessitate them to lower the estimate they had made of their own excellence. Where, from uncommon circumstances, this tuition has never been applied, we shall find at forty, the same petulance and conceit which characterised the clever, it may be, but certainly foolish youth of eighteen; and some persons there are, who, not quite ignorant of the process, are so much enraged at it, that they continue through life to display the same offensive appearances, out of mere spite, and because they have not the honesty to acknowledge that they ever stood in need of instruction. G.F. appears to have been in the first-mentioned predicament; and probably his early death occurred in the midst of a salutary though severe correction.--E.

On the 28th and 29th, we had light airs and calms, so that we advanced but little. In this time, we took every opportunity, when the horizon was clearer than usual, to look out for more land, but none was seen. By Quiros's track to the north, after leaving the bay above-mentioned, it seems probable that there is none nearer than Queen Charlotte's Island, discovered by Captain Carteret, which lies about ninety leagues N.N.W. from Cape Cumberland, and I take to be the same with Quiros's Santa Cruz.

On the 30th, the calm was succeeded by a fresh breeze at S.S.E. which enabled us to ply up the coast. At noon we observed in  $15^{\circ} 20'$ ; afterwards we stretched in east, to within a mile of the shore, and then tacked in seventy-five fathoms, before a sandy flat, on which several of the

natives made their appearance. We observed on the sides of the hills, several plantations that were laid out by line, and fenced round.

On the 31st, at noon, the S. or S.W. point of the island bore N.  $62^{\circ}$  E., distant four leagues. This forms the N.W. point of what I call Bougainville's Passage; the N.E. point at this time bore N.  $85^{\circ}$  E., and the N.W. end of Mallicollo from S.  $54^{\circ}$  E. to S.  $72^{\circ}$  E. Latitude observed  $15^{\circ} 45'$  S. In the afternoon, in stretching to the east, we weathered the S.S.W. point of the island, from which the coast trends east, northerly. It is low, and seemed to form some creeks or coves; and, as we got farther into the passage, we perceived some small low isles lying along it, which seemed to extend behind St Bartholomew Island.

Having now finished the survey of the whole archipelago, the season of the year made it necessary for me to return to the south, while I had yet some time left to explore any land I might meet with between this and New Zealand; where I intended to touch, that I might refresh my people, and recruit our stock of wood and water for another southern course. With this view, at five p.m. we tacked, and hauled to the southward with a fresh gale at S.E. At this time the N.W. point of the passage, or the S.W. point of the island Tierra del Espiritu Santo, the only remains of Quiros's continent, bore N.  $82^{\circ}$  W., distant three leagues. I named it Cape Lisburne, and its situation is in latitude  $15^{\circ} 40'$ , longitude  $165^{\circ} 59'$  E.

The foregoing account of these islands, in the order in which we explored them, not being particular enough either as to situation or description, it may not be improper now to give a more accurate view of them, which will convey to the reader a better idea of the whole groupe.

The northern islands of this archipelago were first discovered by that great navigator Quiros in 1606; and, not without reason, were considered as part of the southern continent, which, at that time, and until very lately, was supposed to exist. They were next visited by M. de Bougainville, in 1768; who, besides landing on the Isle of Lepers, did no more than discover that the land was not connected, but composed of islands, which he called the Great Cyclades. But as, besides ascertaining the extent and situation of these islands, we added to them several new ones which were not known before, and explored the whole, I think we have obtained a right to name them; and shall in future distinguish them by the name of the New Hebrides. They are situated between the latitude of  $14^{\circ} 29'$  and  $20^{\circ} 4'$  S., and between  $166^{\circ} 41'$  and  $170^{\circ} 21'$  E. longitude, and extend an hundred and twenty-five leagues in the direction of N.N.W.  $1/2$  W. and S.S.E.  $1/2$  E.

The most northern island is that called by M. de Bougainville, Peak of the Etoile; it is situated, according to his account, in latitude,  $14^{\circ} 29'$ , longitude  $168^{\circ} 9'$ ; and N. by W., eight leagues from Aurora.

The next island, which lies farthest north, is that of Tierra del Espiritu Santo. It is the most western and largest of all the Hebrides, being twenty-two leagues long, in the direction of N.N.W.  $1/2$  W. and S.S.E.  $1/2$  E., twelve in breadth, and sixty in circuit. We have obtained the true figure of this island very accurately. The land of it, especially the west side, is exceedingly high and mountainous; and, in many places the hills rise directly from the sea. Except the cliffs and beaches, every other part is covered with wood, or laid out in plantations. Besides the bay of St Philip and St Jago, the isles which lie along the south and east coast, cannot, in my opinion, fail of forming some good bays or harbours.

The next considerable island is that of Mallicollo. To the S.E. it extends N.W. and S.E., and is eighteen leagues long in that direction. Its greatest breadth, which is at the S.E. end, is eight leagues. The N.W. end is two-thirds this breadth, and near the middle, one-third. This contraction is occasioned by a wide and pretty deep bay on the S.W. side. To judge of this island from what we saw of it, it must be very fertile and well inhabited. The land on the sea-coast is rather low, and lies with a gentle slope from the hills which are in the middle of the island. Two-thirds of the N.E. coast was only seen at a great distance; therefore the delineations of it can have no pretensions to accuracy; but the other parts, I apprehend, are without any material errors.

St Bartholomew lies between the S.E. end of Tierra del Espiritu Santo, and the north end of Mallicollo; and the distance between it and the latter is eight miles. This is the passage through which M. de Bougainville went; and the middle of it is in latitude  $15^{\circ} 48'$ .

The Isle of Lepers lies between Espiritu Santo and Aurora Island, eight leagues from the former, and three from the latter, in latitude  $15^{\circ} 22'$ , and nearly under the same meridian as the S.E. end of Mallicollo. It is of an egg-like figure, very high, and eighteen or twenty leagues in circuit. Its limits were determined by several bearings; but the lines of the shore were traced out by guess, except the N.E. part where there is anchorage half a mile from the land.

Aurora, Whitsuntide, Ambrym, Paoom, and its neighbour Apee, Threehills, and Sandwich Islands, lie all nearly under the meridian of  $167^{\circ} 29'$  or  $30'$  E., extending from the latitude of  $14^{\circ} 51' 30''$ , to  $17^{\circ} 53' 30''$ .

The island of Aurora lies N. by W. and S. by E., and is eleven leagues long in that direction; but I believe, it hardly anywhere exceeds two or two and a half in breadth. It hath a good height, its surface hilly, and every where covered with wood, except where the natives have their dwellings and plantations.

Whitsuntide Isle, which is one league and a half to the south of Aurora, is of the same length, and lies in the direction of north and south, but is something broader than Aurora Island. It is considerably high, and clothed with wood, except such parts as seemed to be cultivated, which were pretty numerous.

From the south end of Whitsuntide Island to the north side of Ambrym is two leagues and a half. This is about seventeen leagues in circuit; its shores are rather low, but the land rises with an unequal ascent to a tolerably high mountain in the middle of the island, from which ascended great columns of smoke; but we were not able to determine whether this was occasioned by a volcano or not. That it is fertile and well inhabited, seems probable from the quantities of smoke which we saw rise out of the woods, in such parts of the island as came within the compass of our sight; for it must be observed, that we did not see the whole of it.

We saw still much less of Paoom and its neighbourhood. I can say no more of this island than that it towers up to a great height in the form of a round hay-stack; and the extent of it, and of the adjoining isle (if there are two), cannot exceed three or four leagues in any direction; for the distance between Ambrym and Apee is hardly five; and they lie in this space, and east from Port Sandwich, distant about seven or eight leagues.

The island of Apee is not less than twenty leagues in circuit; its longest direction is about eight leagues N.W. and S.E.; it is of considerable height; and hath a hilly surface diversified with woods and lawns, the west and south parts especially; for the others we did not see.

Shepherd's Isles are a group of small ones of unequal size, extending off from the S.E. point of Apee about five leagues in the direction of S.E.

The island Threehills lies south four leagues from the coast of Apee, and S.E. 1/2 S., distant seventeen leagues from Port Sandwich; to this, and what hath been already said of it, I shall only add, that W. by N., five miles from the west point, is a reef of rocks on which the sea continually breaks.

Nine leagues, in the direction of south, from Threehills, lies Sandwich Island. Twohills, the Monument, and Montagu Islands, lie to the east of this line, and Hinchinbrook to the west, as also two or three small isles which lie between it and Sandwich Island, to which they are connected by breakers.

Sandwich Island is twenty-five leagues in circuit; its greatest extent is ten leagues; and it lies in the direction of N.W. by W. and S.E. by E. The N.W. coast of this island we only viewed at a distance; therefore our chart of this part may be faulty so far as it regards the line of the coast, but no farther. The distance from the south end of Mallicollo to the N.W. end of Sandwich Island, is twenty-two leagues in the direction of S.S E. 1/2 E.

In the same direction lie Erromango, Tanna, and Annatom. The first is eighteen leagues from Sandwich Island, and is twenty-four or twenty-five leagues in circuit. The middle of it lies in the latitude of 18° 54', longitude 169° 19' E., and it is of a good height, as may be gathered from the distance we were off when we first saw it.

Tanna lies six leagues from the south side of Erromango, extending S.E. by S. and N.W. by N., about eight leagues long in that direction, and every where about three or four leagues broad.

The isle of Immer lies in the direction of N. by E. 1/2 E., four leagues from Port Resolution in Tanna; and the island of Erronan or Fooтоona East, in the same direction, distant eleven leagues. This, which is the most eastern island of all the Hebrides, did not appear to be above five leagues in circuit, but is of a considerable height and flat at top. On the N.E. side is a little peak seemingly disjointed from the isle; but we thought it was connected by low land. Annatom, which is the southernmost island, is situated in the latitude of 20° 3', longitude 170° 4', and S. 30° E., eleven or twelve leagues from Port Resolution. It is of a good height, with an hilly surface; and more I must not say of it.[7]

[7] "This group of islands, which we had now cursorily examined in the space of forty-six days, seems to be well worth the attention of future navigators, especially if they should ever be sent out upon the liberal plan of making discoveries in all the various branches of science. I will not pretend to say that they would find great riches of silver and pearls, which Quiros was forced to speak of, in order to engage an interested, avaricious court, to support his great and spirited undertakings. These incitements are not necessary now-a-days, when several monarchs in Europe have convinced the world that they can institute voyages of discovery, with no other view than the increase of human knowledge, and the improvement of man-kind. The sums which some of their predecessors have lavished on parasites, have been found sufficient to make an immense progress, nay to produce a new and important revolution in the state of the sciences, which have ever required a trifling expence to triumph over the numberless obstacles that ignorance, envy, or superstition opposed against them."--G.F.

This gentleman we see, is capable of courtesy. The terms in which it is expressed, however, are sufficiently guarded against admitting too great a latitude of application, and consequently, are not particularly liable to abuse--the less so indeed, as it is likely, that those who might most covet his commendation, would be found best entitled to it. The recent distractions of Europe, however, have not enhanced the claims of its monarchs to the honour of patronising such important undertakings. Some of them, it is probable, are content with the common but assuredly not less expensive ambition of having shared, though but by proxy, in a more splendid speculation for fame: And the

glory so acquired, they may chance to think, is ample enough, without farther concern, to gild their names throughout all succeeding generations. If so, unfortunately, there is an end of such labours of discovery as are here recommended; and the islands in question must remain unexplored, till the increase of human knowledge, and the improvement of mankind, are thought practicable without bloodshed, and are felt to be cheaply purchased by the sacrifice of personal ostentation and public extravagance. Let us hope that the early example of the truly noble Alexander, in comparatively untoward circumstances of the world, will be emulated by older sovereigns, who cannot but be sensible, notwithstanding their catholic affection, that no small exercise of philanthropy and the love of science is required, to give them any thing like an equal chance for immortality.--E.

Here follow the lunar observations by Mr Wales, for ascertaining the longitude of these islands, reduced by the watch to Port Sandwich in Mallicollo, and Port Resolution in Tanna.

Port Sandwich,	( Mean of 10 sets of ob. before 167° 56' 33" 1/4 ) E.
(	2 ditto, at 168 2 37 1/2 ) long
(	20 ditto, after 167 52 57 )
(	-----
(	Mean of those means, 167 57 22 3/4

Port Resolution,	( Mean of 20 sets of ob. before 169 37 35 ) E.
(	5 ditto, at 169 48 48 ) long
(	20 ditto, after 169 47 22 1/2 )
(	-----
(	Mean of these means, 169 44 33

It is necessary to observe, that each set of observations, consisting of between six and ten observed distances of the sun and moon, or moon and stars, the whole number amounts to several hundreds; and these have been reduced by means of the watch to all the islands; so that the longitude of each is as well ascertained as that of the two ports above-mentioned. As a proof of this I shall only observe, that the longitude of the two ports, as pointed out by the watch and by the observations, did not differ two miles. This also shews what degree of accuracy these observations are capable of, when multiplied to a considerable number, made with different instruments, and with the sun and stars, or both sides of the moon. By this last method, the errors which may be either in the instruments or lunar tables, destroy one another, and likewise those which may arise from the observer himself; for some men may observe closer than others. If we consider the number of observations that may be obtained in the course of a month (if the weather is favourable,) we shall perhaps find this method of finding the longitude of places as accurate as most others; at least it is the most easy, and attended with the least expence to the observer. Every ship that goes to foreign parts is, or maybe, supplied with a sufficient number of quadrants at a small expence; I mean good ones, proper for making these observations. For the difference of the price between a good and a bad one, I apprehend, can never be an object with an officer. The most expensive article, and what is in some measure necessary in order to arrive at the utmost accuracy, is a good watch; but for common use, and where that strict accuracy is not required, this may be dispensed with. I have observed before, in this journal, that this method of finding the longitude is not so difficult but that any man, with proper application, and a little practice, may soon learn to make these observations as well as the astronomers themselves. I have seldom known any material difference between the observations made by Mr Wales, and those made by the officers at the same time.

In observing the variation of the magnetic needle, we found, as usual, our compasses differ among themselves, sometimes near 2°; the same compass too, would sometimes make nearly this difference in the variation on different days, and even between the morning and evening of the same day, when our change of situation has been but very little. By the mean of the observations which I made about Erromango; and the S.E. part of these islands, the variation of the compass was 10° 5' 48" E.; and the mean of those made about Tierra del Espiritu Santo, gave 10° 5' 30" E. This is considerably more than Mr Wales found it to be at Tanna. I cannot say what might occasion this difference in the variation observed at sea and on shore, unless it be influenced by the land; for I must give the preference to that found at sea, as it is agreeable to what we observed before we made the islands, and after we left them.

## SECTION VIII.

### *An Account of the Discovery of New Caledonia, and the Incidents that happened while the Ship lay in Balade.*

At sun-rise on the 1st of September, after having stood to S.W. all night, no more land was to be seen. The wind remaining in the S.E. quarter, we continued to stand to S.W. On the 2d, at five o'clock, p.m., being in the latitude 18° 22', longitude 165° 26', the variation was 10° 50' E.; and at the same hour on the 3d, it was 10° 51', latitude at that time 19° 14', longitude 165° E. The next morning, in the latitude of 19° 49' longitude 164° 53", the amplitude gave 10° 21', and the azimuths 10° 7' E. At eight o'clock, as we were steering to the south, land was discovered bearing S.S.W., and at noon it extended from S.S.E. to W. by S., distant about six leagues. We continued to steer for it with a light breeze at east, till five in the evening, when we were stopped by a calm. At this time we were three leagues from the land, which extended from S.E. by S. to W. by N., round by the S.W. Some openings appeared in the west, so that we could not tell whether it was one connected land or a group of islands. To the S.E. the coast seemed to terminate in a high promontory, which I named Cape Colnett, after one of my midshipmen who first discovered this land. Breakers were seen about half-way between us and the shore; and, behind them, two or

three canoes under sail, standing out to sea, as if their design had been to come off to us; but a little before sun-set they struck their sails, and we saw them no more. After a few hours calm, we got a breeze at S.E., and spent the night standing off and on.[1]

[1] "The land, when discovered, appeared to be very high, and its distance from us was about eight leagues, being seen through a haze, which made it appear farther off than it really was. M. de Bougainville takes notice of meeting with a part of the sea which was entirely smooth, and where several pieces of wood and fruits floated past his ship. This was nearly to the N.W. of the land which we now discovered, and which, as an able and intelligent navigator, he had conjectured to be in that direction."--G.F.

On the 5th, at sun-rise, the horizon being clear, we could see the coast extend to the S.E. of Cape Colnett, and round by the S.W. to N.W. by W. Some gaps or openings were yet to be seen to the west; and a reef, or breakers, seemed to lie all along the coast, connected with those we discovered the preceding night. It was a matter of indifference to me, whether we plied up the coast to the S.E., or bore down to N.W. I chose the latter; and after running two leagues down the outside of the reef (for such it proved) we came before an opening that had the appearance of a good channel, through which we might go in for the land. I wanted to get at it, not only to visit it, but also to have an opportunity to observe an eclipse of the sun which was soon to happen. With this view we brought-to, hoisted out two armed boats, and sent them to sound the channel; ten or twelve large sailing canoes being then near us. We had observed them coming off from the shore, all the morning, from different parts; and some were lying on the reef, fishing, as we supposed. As soon as they all got together, they came down to us in a body, and were pretty near when we were hoisting out our boats, which probably gave them some alarm; for, without stopping, they hauled in for the reef, and our boats followed them. We now saw that what we had taken for openings in the coast was low land, and that it was all connected, except the western extremity, which was an island known by the name of Balabea, as we afterwards learnt.

The boats having made a signal for a channel, and one of them being placed on the point of the reef on the weather side of it, we stood in with the ship, and took up the other boat in our way, when the officer informed me, that where we were to pass, was sixteen and fourteen fathoms water, a fine sandy bottom, and that having put alongside two canoes, he found the people very obliging and civil.[2] They gave him some fish; and, in return, he presented them with medals, &c. In one was a stout robust young man, whom, they understood to be a chief. After getting within the reef, we hauled up S. 1/2 E., for a small low sandy isle that we observed lying under the shore, being followed by all the canoes. Our sounding in standing in, was from fifteen to twelve fathoms (a pretty even fine sandy bottom,) for about two miles; then we had six, five, and four fathoms. This was on the tail of a shoal which lies a little without the small isle to the N.E. Being over it, we found seven and eight fathoms water, which shallowed gradually as we approached the shore, to three fathoms, when we tacked and stood off a little, and then anchored in five fathoms, the bottom a fine sand mixed with mud. The little sandy isle bore E. by S., three-quarters of a mile distant; and we were one mile from the shore of the main, which extended from S.E. by E., round to the south, to W.N.W. The island of Balabea bore N.W. by N., and the channel, through which we came, north, four miles distant. In this situation we were extremely well sheltered from the reigning winds, by the sandy isle and its shoals, and by the shoal without them.

[2] A very striking proof of this is mentioned by Mr G.F. These people, he says, laid some of their canoes on both sides of the channel, in a place where it was narrow, and then beckoned to the boats to keep in the middle between them. According to this gentleman, the face of the country had a barren appearance, and was covered with a sort of whitish grass, and trees somewhat resembling willows were thinly spread on the mountains.--E.

We had hardly got to an anchor, before we were surrounded by a great number of the natives, in sixteen or eighteen canoes, the most of whom were without any sort of weapons. At first they were shy in coming near the ship; but in a short time we prevailed on the people in one boat to get close enough to receive some presents. These we lowered down to them by a rope, to which, in return, they tied two fish that stunk intolerably, as did those they gave us in the morning. These mutual exchanges bringing on a kind of confidence, two ventured on board the ship; and presently after, she was filled with them, and we had the company of several at dinner in the cabin. Our pease-soup, salt-beef and pork, they had no curiosity to taste; but they eat of some yams, which we happened to have yet left, calling them *Oobee*. This name is not unlike *Oofee*, as they are called at most of the islands, except Mallicollo; nevertheless, we found these people spoke a language new to us. Like all the nations we had lately seen, the men were almost naked; having hardly any other covering but such a wrapper as is used at Mallicollo. They were curious in examining every part of the ship, which they viewed with uncommon attention. They had not the least knowledge of goats, hogs, dogs, or cats, and had not even a name for one of them. They seemed fond of large spike-nails, and pieces of red cloth, or indeed of any other colour, but red was their favourite.

After dinner, I went on shore with two armed boats, having with us one of the natives who had attached himself to me. We landed on a sandy beach before a vast number of people, who had got together with no other intent than to see us; for many of them had not a stick in their hands; consequently we were received with great courtesy, and with the surprise natural for people to express, at seeing men and things so new to them as we must be. I made presents to all those my friend pointed out, who were either old men, or such as seemed to be of some note; but he took not the least notice of some women who stood behind the crowd, folding my hand when I was

going to give them some beads and medals. Here we found the same chief, who had been seen in one of the canoes in the morning. His name, we now learnt, was Teabooma; and we had not been on shore above ten minutes, before he called for silence. Being instantly obeyed by every individual present, he made a short speech; and soon after another chief having called for silence, made a speech also. It was pleasing to see with what attention they were heard. Their speeches were composed of short sentences; to each of which two or three old men answered, by nodding their heads, and giving a kind of grunt, significant, as I thought, of approbation. It was impossible for us to know the purport of these speeches; but we had reason to think they were favourable to us, on whose account they doubtless were made.

I kept my eyes fixed on the people all the time, and saw nothing to induce me to think otherwise. While we were with them, having enquired, by signs, for fresh water, some pointed to the east and others to the west. My friend undertook to conduct us to it, and embarked with us for that purpose. We rowed about two miles up the coast to the east, where the shore was mostly covered with mangrove-trees; and entering amongst them, by a narrow creek or river, which brought us to a little straggling village, above all the mangroves, there we landed and were shewn fresh water. The ground near this village was finely cultivated, being laid out in plantations of sugar-canes, plantains, yams, and other roots, and watered by little rills, conducted by art from the main stream, whose source was in the hills. Here were some cocoa-nut trees, which did not seem burdened with fruit. We heard the crowing of cocks, but saw none. Some roots were baking on a fire in an earthen jar, which would have held six or eight gallons; nor did we doubt its being their own manufacture. As we proceeded up the creek, Mr Forster having shot a duck flying over our heads, which was the first use these people saw made of our fire-arms, my friend begged to have it; and when he landed, told his countrymen in what manner it was killed. The day being far spent, and the tide not permitting us to stay longer in the creek, we took leave of the people and got on board a little after sun-set.[3] From this little excursion, I found that we were to expect nothing from these people but the privilege of visiting their country undisturbed. For it was easy to see they had little else than good-nature to bestow. In this they exceeded all the nations we had yet met with; and, although it did not satisfy the demands of nature, it at once pleased and left our minds at ease.[4]

[3] Mr. G.F. who shot the duck, tells us, that the natives expressed some admiration, but not the smallest fear, at the report and effects of the firearms.--E.

[4] "The whole plantation we saw, had a very scanty appearance, and seemed to be insufficient to afford nourishment to the inhabitants throughout the year. We entirely missed that variety of fruits, which we had hitherto met with in the tropical islands, and naturally recollect the poverty of the inhabitants of Easter Island, above whom it appeared, that the people before us enjoyed but few advantages. Towards the hills, of which the first risings were at the distance of about two miles, the country looked extremely dreary; here and there, indeed, we saw a few trees, and small uncultivated spots, but they appeared to be lost on the great extent of barren and unprofitable country, which resembled our moors more than any thing else."--G.F.

Next morning we were visited by some hundreds of the natives; some coming in canoes, and others swimming off; so that, before ten o'clock, our decks, and all other parts of the ship, were quite full with them. My friend, who was of the number, brought me a few roots, but all the others came empty in respect to eatables. Some few had with them their arms, such as clubs and darts, which they exchanged for nails, pieces of cloth, &c. After breakfast, I sent Lieutenant Pickersgill with two armed boats to look for fresh water; for what we found the day before was by no means convenient for us to get on board. At the same time Mr Wales, accompanied by lieutenant Clerke, went to the little isle to make preparations for observing the eclipse of the sun, which was to be in the afternoon. Mr Pickersgill soon returning, informed me that he had found a stream of fresh water, pretty convenient to come at. I therefore ordered the launch to be hoisted out to complete our water, and then went to the isle to assist in the observation.[5]

[5] Mr G.F., who seems to have accompanied the watering-party, gives the following account of the appearance of the country.--"We walked along the beach which was sandy, and bounded by a fine wild shrubbery; we soon came to a hut, from whence a number of plantations extended to the back of the bank and wild wood. We rambled into the country, and came to a canal that watered this plantation, but of which the water was very brackish. From hence, however, we ran immediately to an eminence near us, where the nature of the country appeared evidently changed. The plain was covered with a thin stratum of vegetable soil, which being very poor, was manured in the plantations with broken shells and corals. The eminence, on the contrary, was a rocky ground, consisting of large pieces of quartz and glimmer (*mica*). Here grew a quantity of dry grasses, about two or three feet high, very thin in most places; and at the distance of fifteen or twenty yards asunder, we saw large trees black at the root, but with a bark perfectly whole and loose, and having narrow long leaves like our willows. They were of the sort which Linné calls *melaleuca leucadendra*, and Rumphius *arbor alba*, who says that the natives of the Moluccas make the oil of *cayputi*, from the leaves, which are indeed extremely fragrant and aromatic. Not the least shrub was to be seen on this eminence, and the trees did not intercept the distant prospect. We discerned from hence a line of tufted trees and shrubberies, which extended from the sea-side towards the mountains, and immediately concluded that they stood on the banks of a rivulet. The banks of this were lined with mangroves, beyond which a few other sorts of plants and trees occupied a space of fifteen or twenty feet, which had a layer of vegetable mould, charged with nutritive moisture, and covered with a green bed of grasses, where the eye gladly reposed itself after viewing a painted prospect. The border of shrubberies and wild-trees which lined the sea-shore, was the most advantageous to us as naturalists; here we met with some unknown plants, and saw a great variety of birds of different classes, which were for the greatest part entirely new. But the character of the inhabitants, and their friendly inoffensive behaviour towards us, gave us greater pleasure than all the rest. We found

their number very inconsiderable, and their habitations very thinly scattered. They commonly had built two or three houses near each other, under a group of very lofty fig-trees, of which the branches were so closely entwined, that the sky was scarcely visible through the foliage, and the huts were involved in a perpetual cool shade. They had another advantage besides, from this pleasant situation; for numbers of birds continually twittered in the tufted tops of the tree, and hid themselves from the scorching beams of the sun. The wild circle of some species of creepers was very agreeable; and conveyed a sensible pleasure to every one who delighted in this kind of artless harmony. The inhabitants themselves were commonly seated at the foot of these trees, which had this remarkable quality, that they shot long roots from the upper part of the stem, perfectly round, as if they had been made by a turner, into the ground, ten, fifteen, and twenty feet from the tree, and formed a most exact strait line, being extremely elastic, and as tense as a bow-string prepared for action. The bark of these trees seems to be the substance of which they make those little bits of cloth, so remarkable in their dress."-- G.F.

About one p.m., the eclipse came on. Clouds interposed, and we lost the first contact, but were more fortunate in the end, which was observed as follows:

By Mr Wales with Dollond's 3 1/2 foot achromatic refractor, at 3h 28' 39" 1/4 \ By Mr Clerke with Bird's 2 feet |Appa- reflector, at 3 28 52 1/4 |rent And by me with an 18 inch reflector |time. made by Watkins, 3 28 53 1/4 / Latitude of the isle or place of observation, 20° 17' 39" S. Longitude per distance of the sun and moon, and moon and stars, 48 sets, 164° 41' 21" East. Ditto per watch 163 58 0

Mr Wales measured the quantity eclipsed by a Hadley's quadrant, a method never before thought of. I am of opinion it answers the purpose of a micrometer to a great degree of certainty, and is a great addition to the use of this most valuable instrument. After all was over, we returned on board, where I found Teabooma the chief, who soon after slipped out of the ship without my knowledge, and by that means lost the present I had made up for him.

In the evening I went ashore to the watering-place, which was at the head of a little creek, at a fine stream that came from the hills. It was necessary to have a small boat in the creek to convey the casks from and to the beach over which they were rolled, and then put into the launch; as only a small boat could enter the creek, and that only at high water. Excellent wood for fuel was here far more convenient than water, but this was an article we did not want. About seven o'clock this evening, died Simon Monk, our butcher, a man much esteemed in the ship; his death being occasioned by a fall down the fore-hatch-way the preceding night.

Early in the morning of the 7th, the watering-party, and a guard, under the command of an officer, were sent ashore; and soon after a party of us went to take a view of the country. As soon as we landed we made known our design to the natives, and two of them undertaking to be our guides, conducted us up the hills by a tolerably good path. In our route, we met several people, most of whom turned back with us; so that at last our train was numerous. Some we met who wanted us to return; but we paid no regard to their signs, nor did they seem uneasy when we proceeded. At length we reached the summit of one of the hills, from which we saw the sea in two places, between some advanced hills, on the opposite or S.W. side of the land. This was an useful discovery, as it enabled us to judge of the breadth of the land, which, in this part, did not exceed ten leagues.

Between those advanced hills, and the ridge we were upon, was a large valley, through which ran a serpentine river. On the banks of this were several plantations, and some villages, whose inhabitants we had met on the road, and found more on the top of the hill gazing at the ship, as might be supposed. The plain, or flat of land, which lies along the shore we were upon, appeared from the hills to great advantage; the winding streams which ran through out, the plantations, the little straggling villages, the variety in the woods, and the shoals on the coast, so variegating the scene, that the whole might afford a picture for romance. Indeed, if it were not for those fertile spots on the plains, and some few on the sides of the mountains, the whole country might be called a dreary waste. The mountains, and other high places, are, for the most part, incapable of cultivation, consisting chiefly of rocks, many of which are full of mundicks. The little soil that is upon them is scorched and burnt up with the sun; it is, nevertheless, coated with coarse grass and other plants, and here and there trees and shrubs. The country, in general, bore great resemblance to some parts of New Holland under the same parallel of latitude, several of its natural productions seeming to be the same, and the woods being without underwood, as in that country. The reefs on the coast and several other similarities, were obvious to every one who had seen both countries. We observed all the N.E. coast to be covered with shoals and breakers, extending to the northward, beyond the Isle of Balabea, till they were lost in the horizon. Having made these observations, and our guides not chusing to go farther, we descended the mountains by a road different from that by which we ascended. This brought us down through some of their plantations in the plains, which I observed were laid out with great judgment, and cultivated with much labour. Some of them were lying in fallow, some seemingly lately laid down, and others of longer date, pieces of which they were again beginning to dig up. The first thing I observed they did, was to set fire to the grass, &c. which had over-run the surface. Recruiting the land by letting it lie some years untouched, is observed by all the nations in this sea; but they seem to have no notion of manuring it, at least I have no where seen it done. Our excursion was finished by noon, when we returned on board to dinner; and one of our guides having left us, we brought the other with us, whose fidelity was rewarded at a small expence.

In the afternoon I made a little excursion along-shore to the westward, in company with Mr

Wales. Besides making observations on such things as we met, we got the names of several places, which I then thought were islands; but upon farther enquiry, I found they were districts upon the same land. This afternoon a fish being struck by one of the natives near the watering-place, my clerk purchased it, and sent it to me after my return on board.

It was of a new species, something like a sun-fish, with a large long ugly head. Having no suspicion of its being of a poisonous nature, we ordered it to be dressed for supper; but, very luckily, the operation of drawing and describing took up so much time, that it was too late, so that only the liver and row were dressed, of which the two Mr Forsters and myself did but taste. About three o'clock in the morning, we found ourselves seized with an extraordinary weakness and numbness all over our limbs. I had almost lost the sense of feeling; nor could I distinguish between light and heavy bodies, of such as I had strength to move; a quart-pot, full of water, and a feather, being the same in my hand. We each of us took an emetic, and after that a sweat, which gave us much relief. In the morning, one of the pigs, which had eaten the entrails, was found dead. When the natives came on board and saw the fish hanging up, they immediately gave us to understand it was not wholesome food, and expressed the utmost abhorrence of it; though no one was observed to do this when the fish was to be sold, or even after it was purchased.

On the 8th, the guard and a party of men were on shore as usual. In the afternoon, I received a message from the officer, acquainting me that Teabooma the chief was come with a present consisting of a few yams and sugar-canies. In return, I sent him, amongst other articles, a dog and a bitch, both young, but nearly full grown. The dog was red and white, but the bitch was all red, or the colour of an English fox. I mention this, because they may prove the Adam and Eve of their species in that country. When the officer returned on board in the evening, he informed me that the chief came, attended by about twenty men, so that it looked like a visit of ceremony. It was some time before he would believe the dog and bitch were intended for him; but as soon as he was convinced, he seemed lost in an excess of joy, and sent them away immediately.

Next morning early, I dispatched Lieutenant Pickersgill and Mr Gilbert with the launch and cutter to explore the coast to the west; judging this would be better effected in the boats than in the ship, as the reef would force the latter several leagues from land. After breakfast, a party of men was sent on shore, to make brooms; but myself and the two Mr Forsters were confined on board, though much better, a good sweat having had an happy effect. In the afternoon a man was seen, both ashore and alongside the ship, said to be as white as an European. From the account I had of him (for I did not see him,) his whiteness did not proceed from hereditary descent, but from chance or some disease; and such have been seen at Otaheite and the Society Isles.<sup>[6]</sup> A fresh easterly wind, and the ship lying a mile from the shore, did not hinder those good-natured people from swimming off to us in shoals of twenty or thirty, and returning the same way.

[6] Wafers met with Indians in the Isthmus of Darien of the colour of a white horse. See his Description of the Isthmus, page 134. See also Mr de Paw's Philosophical Enquiries concerning Americans, where several other instances of this remarkable whiteness are mentioned, and the causes of it attempted to be explained.--This note is by Captain Cook. The reader may not have forgotten some remarks on the subject, in a former volume.--E.

On the 10th, a party was on shore as usual; and Mr Forster so well recovered as to go out botanizing.

In the evening of the 11th, the boats returned, when I was informed of the following circumstances. From an elevation which they reached the morning they set out, they had a view of the coast. Mr Gilbert was of opinion that they saw the termination of it to the west, but Mr Pickersgill thought not; though both agreed that there was no passage for the ship that way. From this place, accompanied by two of the natives, they went to Balabea, which they did not reach till after sun-set, and left again next morning before sun-rise; consequently this was a fruitless expedition, and the two following days were spent in getting up to the ship. As they went down to the isle, they saw abundance of turtle; but the violence of the wind and sea made it impossible to strike any. The cutter was near being lost, by suddenly filling with water, which obliged them to throw several things overboard, before they could free her, and stop the leak she had sprung. From a fishing canoe, which they met coming in from the reefs, they got as much fish as they could eat; and they were received by Teabi, the chief of the isle of Balabea, and the people, who came in numbers to see them, with great courtesy. In order not to be too much crowded, our people drew a line on the ground, and gave the others to understand they were not to come within it. This restriction they observed, and one of them, soon after, turned to his own advantage. For happening to have a few cocoa-nuts, which one of our people wanted to buy, and he was unwilling to part with, he walked off, and was followed by the man who wanted them. On seeing this, he sat down on the sand, made a circle round him, as he had seen our people do, and signified that the other was not to come within it; which was accordingly observed. As this story was well attested, I thought it not unworthy of a place in this journal.<sup>[7]</sup>

[7] It is also worth while noticing the following circumstance, which occurred during this excursion. "The appearance of a large beef-bone, which some of our people began to pick towards the conclusion of their supper, interrupted a conversation that was carried on with the natives. They talked very loud and earnestly to each other, looked with great surprise, and some marks of disgust, at our people, and at last went away altogether, expressing by signs that they suspected the strangers of eating human flesh. Our officer endeavoured to free himself and his shipmates from this suspicion; but the want of language was an insurmountable obstacle to his undertaking, even supposing it possible to persuade a set of people, who had never seen a quadruped in their lives."--

Notwithstanding this appearance of dislike to so horrid a practice, it must not be hastily inferred, that these people are themselves free from the vice which they condemned. On the contrary, one might rather imagine that their so readily conjecturing the circumstance, from what they saw, proceeded from a conviction of their own occasional acquiescence in it; and that their present umbrage arose from apprehension of their own danger in the hands of persons so much more powerful than themselves. But we reserve the subject of cannibalism for another place, where perhaps it will be shewn that those very people are not free from this opprobrium of the savage state. The reader is already aware, that the younger Forster is not to be too strictly relied on as to his accounts of our species in its rude condition, more particularly where it is possible, with some stretch of liberality, to substitute the pleasing dreams of fancy for the disagreeable realities of truth.--E.

Early in the morning of the 12th, I ordered the carpenter to work, to repair the cutter, and the water to be re-placed, which we had expended the three preceding days. As Tea Booma the chief had not been seen since he got the dogs, and I wanted to lay a foundation for stocking the country with hogs also, I took a young boar and a sow with me in the boat, and went up to the mangrove creek to look for my friend, in order to give them to him.

But when we arrived there, we were told that he lived at some distance, and that they would send for him. Whether they did or no I cannot say; but he not coming, I resolved to give them to the first man of note I met with. The guide we had to the hills happening to be there, I made him understand that I intended to leave the two pigs on shore, and ordered them out of the boat for that purpose. I offered them to a grave old man, thinking he was a proper person to entrust them with; but he shook his head, and he and all present, made signs to take them into the boat again. When they saw I did not comply, they seemed to consult with one another what was to be done; and then our guide told me to carry them to the Alekee (chief). Accordingly I ordered them to be taken up, and we were conducted by him to a house, wherein were seated, in a circle, eight or ten middle-aged persons. To them I and my pigs being introduced, with great courtesy they desired me to sit down; and then I began to expatiate on the merits of the two pigs, explaining to them how many young ones the female would have at one time, and how soon these would multiply to some hundreds. My only motive was to enhance their value, that they might take the more care of them; and I had reason to think I in some measure succeeded. In the mean time, two men having left the company, soon returned with six yams, which were presented to me; and then I took my leave and went on board.

I have already observed, that here was a little village; I now found it much larger than I expected; and about it, a good deal of cultivated land, regularly laid out, planted and planting with taro or eddy root, yams, sugar-canapes, and plantains. The taro plantations were prettily watered by little rills, continually supplied from the main channel at the foot of the mountains, from whence these streams were conducted in artful meanders. They have two methods of planting these roots, some are in square or oblong patches, which lie perfectly horizontal, and sink below the common level of the adjacent land, so that they can let in on them as much water as they think necessary. I have generally seen them covered two or three inches deep; but I do not know that this is always necessary. Others are planted in ridges about three or four feet broad, and two, or two and a half high. On the middle or top of the ridge, is a narrow gutter, in and along which is conveyed, as above described, a little rill that waters the roots, planted in the ridge on each side of it; and these plantations are so judiciously laid out, that the same stream waters several ridges. These ridges are sometimes the divisions to the horizontal plantations; and when this method is used, which is for the most part observed where a pathway, or something of that sort, is requisite, not an inch of ground is lost. Perhaps there may be some difference in the roots, which may make these two methods of raising them necessary. Some are better tasted than others, and they are not all of a colour; but be this as it may, they are very wholesome food, and the tops make good greens, and are eaten as such by the natives. On these plantations men, women, and children were employed.

In the afternoon I went on shore, and, on a large tree, which stood close to the shore, near the watering-place, had an inscription cut, setting forth the ship's name, date, &c. as a testimony of our being the first discoverers of this country, as I had done at all others, at which we had touched, where this ceremony was necessary. This being done, we took leave of our friends, and returned on board; when I ordered all the boats to be hoisted in, in order to be ready to put to sea in the morning.

## SECTION IX.

### *A Description of the Country and its Inhabitants; their Manners, Customs, and Arts.*

I shall conclude our transactions at this place with some account of the country and its inhabitants. They are a strong, robust, active, well-made people, courteous and friendly, and not in the least addicted to pilfering, which is more than can be said of any other nation in this sea. They are nearly of the same colour as the natives of Tanna, but have better features, more agreeable countenances, and are a much stouter race; a few being seen who measured six feet four inches. I observed some who had thick lips, flat noses, and full cheeks, and, in some degree, the features and look of a negro. Two things contributed to the forming of such an idea; first, their rough mop heads, and, secondly, their besmearing their faces with black pigment. Their hair and beards are, in general, black. The former is very much frizzled, so that, at first sight, it

appears like that of a negro. It is, nevertheless, very different, though both coarser and stronger than ours. Some, who wear it long, tie it up on the crown of the head; others suffer only a large lock to grow on each side, which they tie up in clubs; many others, as well as all the women, wear it cropped short. These rough heads, most probably, want frequent scratching; for which purpose they have a most excellent instrument. This is a kind of comb made of sticks of hard wood, from seven to nine or ten inches long, and about the thickness of knitting-needles. A number of these, seldom exceeding twenty, but generally fewer, is fastened together at one end, parallel to, and near one-tenth of an inch from each other. The other ends, which are a little pointed, will spread out or open like the sticks of a fan, by which means they can beat up the quarters of an hundred lice at a time. These combs or scratchers, for I believe they serve both purposes, they always wear in their hair, on one side their head. The people of Tanna have an instrument of this kind for the same use; but theirs is forked, I think, never exceeding three or four prongs; and sometimes only a small pointed stick. Their beards, which are of the same crisp nature as their hair, are, for the most part, worn short. Swelled and ulcerated legs and feet are common among the men; as also a swelling of the scrotum. I know not whether this is occasioned by disease, or by the mode of applying the wrapper before-mentioned, and which they use as at Tanna and Mallicollo. This is their only covering, and is made generally of the bark of a tree, but sometimes of leaves. The small pieces of cloth, paper, &c. which they got from us, were commonly applied to this use. We saw coarse garments amongst them, made of a sort of matting, but they seemed never to wear them, except when out in their canoes and unemployed. Some had a kind of concave, cylindrical, stiff black cap, which appeared to be a great ornament among them, and, we thought, was only worn by men of note or warriors. A large sheet of strong paper, when they got one from us, was generally applied to this use.

The women's dress is a short petticoat, made of the filaments of the plantain-tree, laid over a cord, to which they are fastened, and tied round the waist. The petticoat is made at least six or eight inches thick, but not one inch longer than necessary for the use designed. The outer filaments are dyed black; and, as an additional ornament, the most of them have a few pearl oyster-shells fixed on the right side. The general ornaments of both sexes are ear-rings of tortoise-shell, necklaces or amulets, made both of shells and stones, and bracelets, made of large shells, which they wear above the elbow. They have punctures, or marks on the skin, on several parts of the body; but none, I think, are black, as at the Eastern Islands. I know not if they have any other design than ornament; and the people of Tanna are marked much in the same manner. [1]

[1] Mr G.F. says their dress was very disfiguring, and gave them a thick squat shape. He describes it much like Captain Cook. According to him, these women's features, though coarse, expressed great good-nature; they had high foreheads, broad flat noses, rather small eyes, and very prominent cheek-bones. His reflections on the degraded state in which these women live, as subservient entirely to the arbitrary will and necessary purposes of their husbands, have not so much originality as force, but possess, however, enough of both to deserve a place here. "They commonly kept at a distance from the men, and seemed fearful of offending them by a look or gesture; they were the only persons in the family who had any employment, and several of them brought bundles of sticks and fuel on their backs. Their insensible husbands seldom deigned to look upon them, and continued in a kind of phlegmatic indolence, whilst the women sometimes indulged that social cheerfulness, which is the distinguishing ornament of the sex. Thus, in every country, mankind are fond of being tyrants, and the poorest Indian, who knows no wants but those which his existence requires, has already learnt to enslave his weaker help-mate, in order to save himself the trouble of supplying their wants, and cruelly exacts an obedience from her, which has been continued among savages as a curse upon the sex. Considering these humiliations and cruel oppressions of the sex, we have sometimes the greatest reason to admire, that the human race has perpetuated itself, and that the Creator has wisely planted a motive in the female breast, which stands the test of every outrage, which makes them patient to suffer, and prevents their withdrawing from the power of their tyrants." This indeed is one of the most striking and important instances that can be adduced, of what has been called final causes, the determinate choice of an end, and the skilful adaptation of means to the accomplishment of it. A nation of women, we may confidently say, is as much a chimera, as a nation of two-headed men; and that individual has little acquaintance with herself that knows not, there is an insuperable objection to so anomalous an occurrence. With whatever abuses of authority, therefore, the other sex may be chargeable, it is not to be denied, that they assert their superiority on the ground of natural constitution, and that they cannot be considered as usurpers. Admitting this, it is important to enquire, what is the principle common to both, on which their mutual welfare depends, and which is as certainly violated by unfeeling rigour on one side, as by peevish rebellion on the other. Several principles might be mentioned, claiming in part this distinction, but none will answer all the conditions, except a right sense of their entire and common dependence on the source of their being and judge of their conduct, which is indeed the essence of religion and morality. It is vain, in fact, to determine almost any thing respecting such a creature as man, but by reasons of an eternal nature, and referring to the laws of an invisible world. Every system of an inferior kind, will be found inadequate in its application, and unsatisfactory in its sanctions-calculated, it may be, to amuse the philosopher in his closet, and attract the admiration of young and inexperienced minds, but too weak to sustain the shock of human passions, and too circumscribed to reach the heights of human hopes and fears. The condition of women improves, undoubtedly, as a people advances towards civilization; but there is a period in the process, at which voluptuousness, more cruel than indifference, and often maddened by jealousy, subjects her to greater degradation than her original insignificance, and destroys all hope of her amelioration in the tyranny of her own licentiousness. It is only where the principle alluded to, is publicly recognised in the civil institutions of a country, and conscientiously reverenced by the piety of its citizens, that she attains the true dignity of her destiny in an equal subordination, and vindicates the benevolence of the Deity in her creation, by the increase of happiness she confers on her consort. This cannot be looked for in a state of nature.--E.

Were I to judge of the origin of this nation, I should take them to be a race between the people of Tanna and of the Friendly Isles, or between those of Tanna and the New Zealanders, or all three; their language, in some respects, being a mixture of them all. In their disposition they are like the natives of the Friendly Isles; but in affability and honesty they excel them.

Notwithstanding their pacific inclination they must sometimes have wars, as they are well provided with offensive weapons, such as clubs, spears, darts, and slings for throwing stones. The clubs are about two feet and a half long, and variously formed; some like a scythe, others like a pick-axe; some have a head like an hawk, and others have round heads, but all are neatly made. Many of their darts and spears are no less neat, and ornamented with carvings. The slings are as simple as possible; but they take some pains to form the stones that they use into a proper shape, which is something like an egg, supposing both ends to be like the small one.[2] They use a becket, in the same manner as at Tanna, in throwing the dart, which, I believe, is much used in striking fish, &c. In this they seem very dexterous; nor, indeed, do I know that they have any other method of catching large fish, for I neither saw hooks nor lines among them.

[2] "These slings consisted of a slender round cord, no thicker than a packthread, which had a tassel at one end, and a loop at the other end and in the middle. The stones which they used were oblong, and pointed at each end, being made of a soft and unctuous soap-rock (*smectitis*), which could easily be rubbed into that shape. These exactly fitted the loop in the middle of the sling, and were kept in a wallet or pocket of coarse cloth, strongly woven, of a kind of grass, which was tied on about the middle. Their shape gives them a striking resemblance to the *glandes plumbeae* of the Romans."-- G.F.

It is needless to mention their working-tools, as they are made of the same materials, and nearly in the same manner, as at the other islands. Their axes, indeed, are a little different; some, at least, which may be owing to fancy as much as custom.

Their houses, or at least most of them, are circular, something like a bee-hive, and full as close and warm. The entrance is by a small door, or long square hole, just big enough to admit a man bent double. The side-walls are about four feet and a half high, but the roof is lofty, and peaked to a point at the top; above which is a post, or stick of wood, which is generally ornamented either with carving or shells, or both. The framing is of small spars, reeds, &c. and both sides and roof are thick and close covered with thatch, made of coarse long grass. In the inside of the house are set up posts, to which cross spars are fastened, and platforms made, for the conveniency of laying any thing on. Some houses have two floors, one above the other. The floor is laid with dry grass, and here and there mats are spread, for the principal people to sleep or sit on. In most of them we found two fire-places, and commonly a fire burning; and, as there was no vent for the smoke but by the door, the whole house was both smoky and hot, insomuch that we, who were not used to such an atmosphere, could hardly endure it a moment. This may be the reason why we found these people so chilly when in the open air, and without exercise. We frequently saw them make little fires any where, and hustle round them, with no other view than to warm themselves. Smoke within doors may be a necessary evil, as it prevents the mosquitoes from coming in, which are pretty numerous here. In some respects their habitations are neat; for, besides the ornaments at top, I saw some with carved door-posts. Upon the whole, their houses are better calculated for a cold than a hot climate; and as there are no partitions in them, they can have little privacy.

They have no great variety of household utensils; the earthen jars before mentioned being the only article worth notice. Each family has at least one of them, in which they bake their roots, and perhaps their fish, &c. The fire, by which they cook their victuals, is on the outside of each house, in the open air. There are three or five pointed stones fixed in the ground, their pointed ends being about six inches above the surface. Those of three stones are only for one jar, those of five stones for two. The jars do not stand on their bottoms, but lie inclined on their sides. The use of these stones is obviously to keep the jars from resting on the fire, in order that it may burn the better.

They subsist chiefly on roots and fish, and the bark of a tree, which I am told grows also in the West Indies. This they roast, and are almost continually chewing. It has a sweetish, insipid taste, and was liked by some of our people. Water is their only liquor, at least I never saw any other made use of.

Plantains and sugar-canæs are by no means in plenty. Bread-fruit is very scarce, and the cocoanut trees are small and but thinly planted; and neither one nor the other seems to yield much fruit.

To judge merely by the numbers of the natives we saw every day, one might think the island very populous; but I believe that, at this time, the inhabitants were collected from all parts on our account. Mr Pickersgill observed, that down the coast, to the west, there were but few people; and we knew they came daily from the other side of the land, over the mountains, to visit us. But although the inhabitants, upon the whole, may not be numerous, the island is not thinly peopled on the sea-coast, and in the plains and valleys that are capable of cultivation. It seems to be a country unable to support many inhabitants. Nature has been less bountiful to it than to any other tropical island we know in this sea. The greatest part of its surface, or at least what we saw of it, consists of barren rocky mountains; and the grass, &c. growing on them, is useless to people who have no cattle.

The sterility of the country will apologise for the natives not contributing to the wants of the navigator. The sea may, perhaps, in some measure, compensate for the deficiency of the land; for a coast surrounded by reefs and shoals, as this is, cannot fail of being stored with fish.

I have before observed, that the country bears great resemblance to New South Wales, or New Holland, and that some of its natural productions are the same. In particular, we found here, the tree which is covered with a soft white ragged bark, easily peeled off, and is, as I have been told, the same that, in the East Indies, is used for caulking of ships. The wood is very hard, the leaves are long and narrow, of a pale dead green, and a fine aromatic; so that it may properly be said to belong to that continent. Nevertheless, here are several plants, &c. common to the eastern and northern islands, and even a species of the passionflower, which, I am told, has never before been known to grow wild any where but in America. Our botanists did not complain for want of employment at this place; every day bringing something new in botany or other branches of natural history. Land-birds, indeed, are not numerous, but several are new. One of these is a kind of crow, at least so we called it, though it is not half so big, and its feathers are tinged with blue. They also have some very beautiful turtle-doves, and other small birds, such as I never saw before.[3]

[3] Unfortunately the severe effects of the noxious fish, so sparingly partaken of, disabled the two Forsters from their favourite pursuits, during the greater part of their residence at New Caledonia. The result of their labours was, in consequence, very scanty, and, according to the younger F.'s assertions, received little or no encouragement from the friendly services of many of their fellow voyagers. He has inveighed with no small asperity against the ignorant selfishness and unprincipled hostility with which they had to contend. These seem to have been of a flagrant appearance, and almost systematic consistency. "If there had not been a few individuals," says he, "of a more liberal way of thinking, whose disinterested love for the sciences comforted us from time to time, we should in all probability have fallen victims to that malevolence, which even the positive commands of Captain Cook were sometimes insufficient to keep within bounds." However the reader may conjecture the existence of certain personal causes which are here complained of, he cannot but regret, that the interests of the expedition should in any manner have suffered loss by the contention. But such things, he will say, are incident to human nature, and have frequently taken place on even more important occasions. This is very true, but gives no comfort.--E.

All our endeavours to get the name of the whole island proved ineffectual. Probably it is too large for them to know by one name. Whenever we made this enquiry, they always gave us the name of some district or place, which we pointed to; and, as before observed, I got the names of several, with the name of the king or chief of each. Hence I conclude, that the country is divided into several districts, each governed by a chief; but we know nothing of the extent of his power. Balade was the name of the district we were at, and Tea Booma the chief. He lived on the other side of the ridge of hills, so that we had but little of his company, and therefore could not see much of his power. *Tea* seems a title prefixed to the names of all, or most, of their chiefs or great men. My friend honoured me by calling me *Tea Cook*.

They deposit their dead in the ground. I saw none of their burying-places, but several of the gentlemen did. In one, they were informed, lay the remains of a chief who was slain in battle; and his grave, which bore some resemblance to a large mole-hill, was decorated with spears, darts, paddles, &c. all stuck upright in the ground round about it. The canoes, which these people use, are somewhat like those of the Friendly Isles; but the most heavy clumsy vessels I ever saw. They are what I call double canoes, made out of two large trees, hollowed out, having a raised gunnel, about two inches high, and closed at each end with a kind of bulk-head of the same height; so that the whole is like a long square trough, about three feet shorter than the body of the canoe; that is, a foot and a half at each end. Two canoes, thus fitted, are secured to each other, about three feet asunder, by means of cross spars, which project about a foot over each side. Over these spars is laid a deck, or very heavy platform, made of plank, and small round spars, on which they have a fire-hearth, and generally a fire burning; and they carry a pot or jar to dress their victuals in. The space between the two canoes is laid with plank, and the rest with spars. On one side of the deck, and close to the edge, is fixed a row of knees, pretty near to each other, the use of which is to keep the masts, yards, &c. from, rolling over-board. They are navigated by one or two lateen-sails, extended to a small lateen-yard, the end of which fixes in a notch or hole in the deck. The foot of the sail is extended to a small boom. The sail is composed of pieces of matting, the ropes are made of the coarse filaments of the plantain-tree, twisted into cords of the thickness of a finger; and three or four more such cords, marled together, serve them for shrouds, &c. I thought they sailed very well; but they are not at all calculated for rowing or paddling. Their method of proceeding, when they cannot sail, is by sculling, and for this purpose there are holes in the boarded deck or platform. Through these they put the sculls, which are of such a length, that, when the blade is in the water, the loom or handle is four or five feet above the deck. The man who works it stands behind, and with both his hands sculls the vessel forward. This method of proceeding is very slow; and for this reason, the canoes are but ill calculated for fishing, especially for striking of turtle, which, I think, can hardly ever be done in them. Their fishing implements, such as I have seen, are turtle- nets, made, I believe, of the filaments of the plantain-tree twisted; and small hand-nets, with very minute meshes made of fine twine and fish-gigs. Their general method of fishing, I guess, is to lie on the reefs in shoal water, and to strike the fish that may come in their way. They may, however, have other methods, which we had no opportunity to see, as no boat went out while we were here; all their time and attention being taken up with us. Their canoes are about thirty feet long, and the deck or platform about twenty-four in length, and ten in breadth. We had not, at this time, seen any timber in the country so large as that of which their canoes were made. It was observed that the holes, made in the

several parts, in order to sew them together, were burnt through, but with what instrument we never learnt. Most probably it was of stone, which may be the reason why they were so fond of large spikes, seeing at once they would answer this purpose. I was convinced they were not wholly designed for edge-tools, because every one shewed a desire for the iron belaying-pins which were fixed in the quarter-deck rail, and seemed to value them far more than a spike-nail, although it might be twice as big. These pins, which are round, perhaps have the very shape of the tool they wanted to make of the nails. I did not find that a hatchet was quite so valuable as a large spike. Small nails were of little or no value; and beads, looking-glasses, &c. they did not admire.

The women of this country, and likewise those of Tanna, are, so far as I could judge, far more chaste than those of the more eastern islands. I never heard that one of our people obtained the least favour from any one of them. I have been told that the ladies here would frequently divert themselves by going a little aside with our gentlemen, as if they meant to be kind to them, and then would run away laughing at them. Whether this was chastity or coquetry, I shall not pretend to determine; nor is it material, since the consequences were the same.[4]

[4] Mr G.F. calls this deceptive amusement, "an innocent recreation, which shewed them good-humoured, and not destitute of ingenuity!" He agrees with Cook respecting the universal decency of these people, which forms so striking a dissimilarity to the immodest conduct of the other islanders met with in this voyage. The following remarks specify other differences, and are worthy of being transcribed:—"It is easy to be conceived, that the contrast between New Caledonia and the New Hebrides, was very striking to us, who had so lately visited those rich and fertile islands, where the vegetable kingdom glories in its greatest perfection. The difference in the character of the people was no less surprising. All the natives of the South-Sea islands, excepting those only which Tasman found on Tonga-Tabboo and Annamocka, (and those perhaps had been informed of what had passed between Le Maire, and the natives of Horne, Cocos, and Traitor's island, some years before,) made some attempt to drive away the strangers who came to visit them. But the people of New Caledonia, at the first sight of us, received us as friends; they ventured to come on board our ship, without the least marks of fear or distrust, and suffered us to ramble freely throughout their country as far as we pleased. As nature has been so sparing here of her gifts, it is the more surprising that instead of seeing the inhabitants savage, distrustful, and warlike, as at Tanna, we should find them peaceable, well-disposed, and unsuspicious. It is not less remarkable, that, in spite of the drought which prevails in their country, and the scanty supply of vegetable food, they should have attained to a greater size, and a more muscular body. Perhaps, instead of placing the causes which effect disparity of stature among various nations in the difference of food, this instance ought to teach us to have retrospect likewise to the original races from which those tribes are descended, that fell under our examination. Let us, for instance, suppose, that the people of New Caledonia are the offspring of a nation, who, by living in affluence and in a genial climate, have not been stinted in their growth; the colony which removed into the barren soil of New Caledonia, will probably preserve the habit of body of their ancestors for many generations. The people of Tanna may have undergone a contrary revolution, and being descended of a slender and short race, like the Mallicollese, the richness of their present country may not yet have entirely taken effect. The inoffensive character of the people of New Caledonia appears to great advantage in their conduct towards us. They are the only people in the South Seas who have not had reason to complain of our arrival among them. When we consider how easy it is to provoke the mariner to sport with the lives of Indians, from the numerous examples throughout this narrative, we must acknowledge that it required an uncommon degree of good temper, not to draw upon themselves a single act of brutality. Those philosophers who are of opinion that the temper, the manners, and genius of a people, depend entirely upon the climate, will be at a loss to account for the peaceful character of the inhabitants of New Caledonia. If we admit that they are only strangers to distrust, because they have little to lose, we shall not solve the difficulty; since the people of New Holland, under the influence of a similar climate and soil, and in a more wretched situation than the inhabitants of New Caledonia, are savage and unsociable. The different characters of nations seem therefore to depend upon a multitude of different causes, which have acted together during a series of many ages. The inhabitants of New Caledonia do not owe their kind disposition to a total ignorance of wars and disputes; the variety of their offensive weapons being alone sufficient to put this matter out of doubt. By conversing with them we learnt that they have enemies, and that the people of an island called Mingha had a very different character from their own. Civilization is much farther advanced in some respects among them, than with their more opulent neighbours. That higher degree of culture, however, where the understanding is sufficiently enlightened to remove the unjust contempt shown to the fair sex, is unknown to them; their temper is too grave to be captivated by female blandishments, or to set a proper value upon the refined enjoyments of life. They are obliged to work hard, at times, for the means of subsistence; but their leisure hours are spent in indolence, without those little recreations which contribute so much to the happiness of mankind, and diffuse a spirit of chearfulness and vivacity throughout the Society and Friendly Islands. Besides a sort of whistle, made of wood, about two inches long, and shaped like a bell, having two holes at its base and one at the upper end, we never saw a musical instrument among the people of New Caledonia. Their dances and songs are equally unknown to us; and what we observed during our short stay, gave us reason to suppose, that even laughter is an uncommon guest among them."--G.F.

## SECTION X.

### *Proceedings on the Coast of New Caledonia, with Geographical and Nautical Observations.*

Everything being in readiness to put to sea, at sun-rise, on the 13th of September, we weighed, and with a fine gale at E. by S., stood out for the same channel we came in by. At half past seven we were in the middle of it. Observatory Isle bore S.  $5^{\circ}$  E., distant four miles, and the isle of Balabea W.N.W. As soon as we were clear of the reef, we hauled the wind to the starboard tack, with a view of plying in to the S.E.; but as Mr Gilbert was of opinion that he had seen the end, or N.W. extremity of the land, and that it would be easier to get round by the N.W., I gave over

plying, and bore up along the outside of the reef, steering N.N.W., N.W., and N.W. by W., as it trended. At noon the island of Balabea bore S. by W., distant thirteen miles; and what we judged to be the west end of the great land, bore S.W. 1/2 S., and the direction of the reef was N.W. by W., latitude observed  $19^{\circ} 53' 20''$ . Longitude from Observatory Isle  $14' W.$  We continued to steer N.W. by W. along the outside of the reef till three o'clock, at which time the isle of Balabea bore S. by E. 1/2 E. In this direction we observed a partition in the reef, which we judged to be a channel, by the strong tide which set out of it. From this place the reef inclined to the north for three or four leagues, and then to the N.W. We followed its direction, and as we advanced to N.W., raised more land, which seemed to be connected with what we had seen before; so that Mr Gilbert was mistaken, and did not see the extremity of the coast. At five o'clock this land bore W. by N. 1/2 N., distant twenty miles; but what we could see of the reef trended in the direction of N.W. by N.

Having hauled the wind to the starboard tack, and spent the night plying, on the 14th, at sunrise, the island of Balabea bore S. 6 E., and the land seen the preceding night W., but the reef still trended N.W., along which we steered with a light breeze at E.S.E. At noon we observed in latitude  $19^{\circ} 28'$ , longitude from Observatory Isle  $27' W.$  We had now no sight of Balabea; and the other land, that is, the N.W. part of it, bore W. by S. 1/2 S., but we were not sure if this was one continued coast, or separate islands. For though some partitions were seen, from space to space, which made it look like the latter, a multitude of shoals rendered a nearer approach to it exceedingly dangerous, if not impracticable. In the afternoon, with a fine breeze at E.S.E., we ranged the outside of these shoals, which we found to trend in the direction of N.W. by W., N.W. by N., and N.N.E. At three o'clock we passed a low sandy isle, lying on the outer edge of the reef, in latitude  $19^{\circ} 25'$ , and in the direction of N.E. from the north-westernmost land, six or seven leagues distant. So much as we could see of this space was strewed with shoals, seemingly detached from each other; and the channel leading in amongst them appeared to be on the S.E. side of the sandy isle; at least, there was a space where the sea did not break. At sun-set we could but just see the land, which bore S.W. by S., about ten leagues distant. A clear horizon produced the discovery of no land to the westward of this direction; the reef too trended away W. by N. 1/2 N., and seemed to terminate in a point which was seen from the mast-head. Thus every thing conspired to make us believe that we should soon get round these shoals; and with these flattering expectations we hauled the wind, which was at E.N.E., and spent the night making short boards.

Next morning at sun-rise, seeing neither land nor breakers, we bore away N.W. by W., and two hours after saw the reef extending N.W. farther than the eye could reach; no land was to be seen. It was therefore probable that we had passed its N.W. extremity; and, as we had seen from the hills of Balade its extent to the S.W., it was necessary to know how far it extended to the east or southeast, while it was in our power to recover the coast; for, by following the direction of the shoals, we might have been carried so far to leeward as not to be able to beat back without considerable loss of time. We were already far out of sight of land; and there was no knowing how much farther we might be carried, before we found an end to them. These considerations, together with the risk we must run in exploring a sea strewed with shoals, and where no anchorage, without them, is to be found, induced me to abandon the design of proceeding round by the N.W., and to ply up to the S.E., in which direction I knew there was a clear sea. With this view we tacked and stood to the S.E., with the wind at N.E. by E., a gentle breeze. At this time we were in the latitude of  $19^{\circ} 7' S.$ , longitude  $163^{\circ} 57' E.$

In standing to the S.E. we did but just weather the point of the reef we had passed the preceding evening. To make our situation the more dangerous the wind began to fail us; and at three in the afternoon it fell calm, and left us to the mercy of a great swell, setting directly on the reef, which was hardly a league from us. We sounded, but found no bottom with a line of two hundred fathoms. I ordered the pinnace and cutter to be hoisted out to tow the ship, but they were of little use against so great a swell. We, however, found that the ship did not draw near the reef so fast as might be expected; and at seven o'clock a light air at N.N.E. kept her head to the sea, but it lasted no longer than midnight, when it was succeeded by a dead calm.

At day-break on the 16th we had no sight of the reef; and at eleven, a breeze springing up at S.S.W., we hoisted in the boats, and made sail to S.E. At noon we observed in  $19^{\circ} 35' S.$ , which was considerably more to the south than we expected, and shewed that a current or tide had been in our favour all night, and accounted for our getting so unexpectedly clear of the shoals. At two o'clock p.m. we had again a calm which lasted till nine, when it was succeeded by a light air from E.N.E. and E., with which we advanced but slowly.

On the 17th at noon, we observed in latitude  $19^{\circ} 54'$ , when the isle of Balabea bore S.  $68^{\circ} W.$ , ten and a half leagues distant. We continued to ply, with variable light winds, between N.E. and S.E., without meeting with any thing remarkable till the 20th at noon, when Cape Colnett bore N.  $78^{\circ} W.$ , distant six leagues. From this cape the land extended round by the south to E.S.E. till it was lost in the horizon, and the country appeared with many hills and vallies. Latitude observed  $20^{\circ} 41'$ , longitude made from Observatory Isle  $1^{\circ} 8' E.$  We stood in shore with a light breeze at east till sun-set, when we were between two and three leagues off. The coast extended from S.  $42^{\circ} 1/2 E.$  to N.  $59^{\circ} W.$  Two small islets lay without this last direction, distant from us four or five miles; some others lay between us and the shore, and to the east, where they seemed to be connected by reefs, in which appeared some openings from space to space. The country was mountainous, and had much the same aspect as about Balade. On one of the western small isles was an

elevation like a tower; and over a low neck of land within the isle were seen many other elevations, resembling the masts of a fleet of ships.

Next day at sun-rise, after having stood off all night with a light breeze at S.E., we found ourselves about six leagues from the coast; and in this situation we were kept by a calm till ten in the evening, when we got a faint land-breeze at S.W., with which we steered S.E. all night..

On the 22d at sun-rise the land was clouded, but it was not long before the clouds went off, and we found, by our land-marks, that we had made a good advance. At ten o'clock, the land-breeze being succeeded by a sea-breeze at E. by S., this enabled us to stand in for the land, which at noon extended from N.  $78^{\circ}$  W. to S.  $31^{\circ} 1/2$  E., round by the S. In this last direction the coast seemed to trend more to the south in a lofty promontory, which, on account of the day, received the name of Cape Coronation. Latitude  $22^{\circ} 2'$ , longitude  $167^{\circ} 7' 1/2$  E. Some breakers lay between us and the shore, and probably they were connected with those we had seen before.

During the night, we had advanced about two leagues to the S.E.; and at day-break on the 23d an elevated point appeared in sight beyond Cape Coronation, bearing S.  $23^{\circ}$  E. It proved to be the south-east extremity of the coast, and obtained the name of Queen Charlotte's Foreland. Latitude  $22^{\circ} 16'$  S., longitude  $167^{\circ} 14'$  E. About noon, having got a breeze from the N.E., we stood to S.S.E., and as we drew towards Cape Coronation, saw in a valley to the south of it, a vast number of those elevated objects before- mentioned; and some low land under the foreland was wholly covered with them. We could not agree in our opinions of what they were. I supposed them to be a singular sort of trees, being too numerous to resemble any thing else; and a great deal of smoke kept rising all the day from amongst those near the cape. Our philosophers were of opinion that this was the smoke of some internal and perpetual fire. My representing to them that there was no smoke here in the morning would have been of no avail, had not this eternal fire gone out before night, and no more smoke been seen after. They were still more positive that the elevations were pillars of basaltes, like those which compose the Giant's Causeway in Ireland. At sun-set, the wind veering round to the south, we tacked and stood off, it not being safe to approach the shore in the dark. At day-break we stood in again, with a faint land-breeze between E.S.E. and S.S.E. At noon observed, in latitude  $21^{\circ} 59' 30''$ , Cape Coronation being west southerly, distant seven leagues, and the foreland S.  $38^{\circ}$  W. As we advanced S.S.W. the coast beyond the foreland began to appear in sight; and at sun-set we discovered a low island lying S.S.E, about seven miles from the foreland. It was one of those which are generally surrounded with shoals and breakers. At the same time a round hill was seen bearing S.  $24^{\circ}$  E, twelve leagues distant. During night, having had variable light winds, we advanced but little either way.

On the 25th, about ten o'clock a.m., having got a fair breeze at E.S.E., we stood to the S.S.W., in hopes of getting round the foreland; but, as we drew near, we perceived more low isles, beyond the one already mentioned, which at last appeared to be connected by breakers, extending towards the foreland, and seeming to join the shore. We stood on till half past three o'clock, when we saw, from the deck, rocks, just peeping above the surface of the sea, on the shoal above- mentioned. It was now time to alter the course, as the day was too far spent to look for a passage near the shore, and we could find no bottom to anchor in during the night. We therefore stood to the south to look for a passage without the small isles. We had a fine breeze at E.S.E., but it lasted no longer than five o'clock, when it fell to a dead calm. Having sounded, a line of 170 fathoms did not reach the bottom, though we were but a little way from the shoals, which, instead of following the coast to S.W., took a S.E. direction towards the hill we had seen the preceding evening, and seemed to point out to us that it was necessary to go round that land. At this time the most advanced point on the main bore S.  $68^{\circ}$  W., distant nine or ten leagues. About seven o'clock we got a light breeze at north, which enabled us to steer out E.S.E., and to spend the night with less anxiety. On some of the low isles were many of those elevations already mentioned. Every one was now satisfied they were trees, except our philosophers, who still maintained that they were basaltes.[1]

[1] Mr G.F. very plainly avows his conviction that they were trees, which on a prodigious tall stem had short and slender branches, not discernible at a distance. Captain Cook, it is very evident, uses the language of banter, not quite consistent with either the dignity of his own character, or the respect due to even the mistaken opinion of men of science.--E.

About day-break on the 26th, the wind having shifted to S.S.W., we stretched to S.E. for the hill before mentioned. It belonged to an island which at noon extended from S.  $16^{\circ}$  E. to S.  $7^{\circ}$  W., distant six leagues. Latitude observed  $22^{\circ} 16'$  S. In the p.m. the wind freshened, and veering to S.S.E., we stretched to the east, till two a.m., on the 27th, when we tacked and stood to S.W., with hopes of weathering the island; but we fell about two miles short of our expectations, and had to tack about a mile from the east side of the island, the extremes bearing from N.W. by N. to S.W., the hill W., and some low isles, lying off the S.E. point, S. by W. These seemed to be connected with the large island by breakers. We sounded when in stays, but had no ground with a line of eighty fathoms. The skirts of this island were covered with the elevations more than once mentioned. They had much the appearance of tall pines, which occasioned my giving that name to the island. The round hill, which is on the S.W. side, is of such a height as to be seen fourteen or sixteen leagues. The island is about a mile in circuit, and situated in latitude  $22^{\circ} 38'$  S., longitude  $167^{\circ} 40'$  E. Having made two attempts to weather the Isle of Pines before sun-set, with no better success, than before, this determined me to stretch off till midnight. This day at noon the thermometer was at  $68^{\circ} 3/4$  which is lower than it had been since the 27th of February.

Having tacked at midnight, assisted by the currents and a fresh gale at E. S.E. and S.E., next morning at day-break we found ourselves several leagues to windward of the Isle of Pines, and bore away large, round the S.E. and S. sides. The coast from the S.E., round by the S. to the W., was strewed with sand-banks, breakers, and small low isles, most of which were covered with the same lofty trees that ornamented the borders of the greater one. We continued to range the outside of these small isles and breakers, at three-fourths of a league distance, and as we passed one, raised another, so that they seemed to form a chain extending to the isles which lie off the foreland. At noon we observed, in latitude  $22^{\circ} 44' 36''$  S. the Isle of Pines extending from N by E  $1\frac{1}{2}$  E. to E. by N.; and Cape Coronation N.  $32^{\circ} 30'$  W distant seventeen leagues. In the afternoon, with a fine gale at east, we steered N.W. by W., along the outside of the shoals, with a view of falling in with the land a little to S.W. of the foreland. At two o'clock p.m. two low islets were seen bearing W. by S., and as they were connected by breakers, which seemed to join those on our starboard, this discovery made it necessary to haul off S.W., in order to get clear of them all. At three, more breakers appeared, extending from the low isles towards the S.E. We now hauled out close to the wind, and, in an hour and a half, were almost on board the breakers, and obliged to tack. From the mast-head they were seen to extend as far as E.S.E., and the smoothness of the sea made it probable that they extended to the north of east, and that we were in a manner surrounded by them. At this time the hill on the Isle of Pines bore N.  $71\frac{1}{2}$  E., the foreland N.  $1\frac{1}{4}$  W., and the most advanced point of land on the S.W. coast bore N.W., distant fifteen or sixteen leagues. This direction of the S.W. coast, which was rather within the parallel of the N.E., assured us that this land extended no farther to the S.W. After making a short trip to N.N.E., we stood again to the south, in expectation of having a better view of the shoals before sun-set. We gained nothing by this but the prospect of a sea strewed with shoals, which we could not clear but by returning in the track by which we came. We tacked nearly in the same place where we had tacked before, and on sounding found a bottom of fine sand. But anchoring in a strong gale, with a chain of breakers to leeward, being the last resource, I rather chose to spend the night in making short boards over that space we had, in some measure, made ourselves acquainted with in the day: And thus it was spent, but under the terrible apprehension, every moment, of falling on some of the many dangers which surrounded us.

Day-light shewed that our fears were not ill-founded, and that we had been in the most imminent danger; having had breakers continually under our lee, and at a very little distance from us. We owed our safety to the interposition of Providence, a good look-out, and the very brisk manner in which the ship was managed; for, as we were standing to the north, the people on the lee-gangway and forecastle saw breakers under the lee-bow, which we escaped by quickly tacking the ship.

I was now almost tired of a coast which I could no longer explore, but at the risk of losing the ship, and ruining the whole voyage. I was, however, determined not to leave it, till I knew what trees those were which had been the subject of our speculation; especially as they appeared to be of a sort useful to shipping, and had not been seen any where but in the southern part of this land. With this view, after making a trip to the south, to weather the shoals under our lee, we stood to the north, in hopes of finding anchorage under some of the islets on which these trees grow. We were stopped by eight o'clock by the shoals which lie extended between the Isle of Pines and Queen Charlotte's Foreland; and found soundings off them in fifty-five, forty, and thirty-six fathoms, a fine sandy bottom. The nearer we came to these shoals, the more we saw of them, and we were not able to say if there was any passage between the two lands.

Being now but a few miles to windward of the low isles lying off the Foreland, mentioned on the 25th and 26th, I bore down to the one next to us. As we drew near it, I perceived that it was unconnected with the neighbouring shoals, and that it is probable we might get to an anchor under its lee or west side. We therefore stood on, being conducted by an officer at the mast-head; and after hauling round the point of the reef which surrounds the isle, we attempted to ply to windward, in order to get nearer the shore. Another reef to the north confined us to a narrow channel, through which ran a current against us, that rendered this attempt fruitless; so that we were obliged to anchor in thirty-nine fathoms water, the bottom fine coral sand; the isle bearing W. by N. one mile distant. As soon as this was done, we hoisted out a boat, in which I went on ashore, accompanied by the botanists. We found the tall trees to be a kind of spruce pine, very proper for spars, of which we were in want. After making this discovery, I hastened on board in order to have more time after dinner, when I landed again with two boats, accompanied by several of the officers and gentlemen, having with us the carpenter and some of his crew, to cut down such trees as were wanting. While this was doing I took the bearings of several lands round. The hill on the Isle of Pines bore S.  $59^{\circ} 30'$  E; the low point of Queen Charlotte's Foreland N.  $14^{\circ} 30'$  W.; the high land over it, seen over two low isles, N.  $20^{\circ}$  W.; and the most advanced point of land to the west, bore west, half a point south, distant six or seven leagues. We had, from several bearings, ascertained the true direction of the coast from the foreland to this point, which I shall distinguish by the name of Prince of Wales's Foreland. It is situated in the latitude of  $22^{\circ} 29'$  S., longitude  $166^{\circ} 57'$  E., is of considerable height, and, when it first appears above the horizon, looks like an island. From this cape, the coast trended nearly N.W. This was rather too northerly a direction to join that part which we saw from the hills of Balade. But as it was very high land which opened off the cape in that direction, it is very probable that lower land, which we could not see, opened sooner; or else the coast more to the N.W. takes a more westerly direction, in the same manner as the N.E. coast. Be this as it may, we pretty well know the extent of the land, by having it confined within certain limits. However, I still entertained hopes of seeing more of it, but was disappointed.

The little isle upon which we landed, is a mere sandbank, not exceeding three-fourths of a mile in circuit, and on it, besides these pines, grew the Etoa-tree of Otaheite, and a variety of other trees, shrubs, and plants. These gave sufficient employment to our botanists, all the time we stayed upon it, and occasioned my calling it Botany Isle. On it were several water-snakes, some pigeons, and doves, seemingly different from any we had seen. One of the officers shot a hawk, which proved to be of the very same sort as our English fishing-hawks. Several fire-places, branches, and leaves very little decayed, remains of turtle, &c. shewed that people had lately been on the isle. The hull of a canoe, precisely of the same shape as those we had seen at Balade, lay wrecked in the sand. We were now no longer at a loss to know of what trees they make their canoes, as they can be no other than these pines. On this little isle were some which measured twenty inches diameter, and between sixty and seventy feet in length, and would have done very well for a foremast to the Resolution, had one been wanting. Since trees of this size are to be found on so small a spot, it is reasonable to expect to find some much larger on the main, and larger isles; and, if appearances did not deceive us, we can assert it.

If I except New Zealand, I, at this time, knew of no island in the South Pacific Ocean, where a ship could supply herself with a mast or yard, were she ever so much distressed for want of one. Thus far the discovery is or may be valuable. My carpenter, who was a mast-maker as well as a ship-wright, two trades he learnt in Deptford-yard, was of opinion that these trees would make exceedingly good masts. The wood is white, close-grained, tough, and light. Turpentine had exuded out of most of the trees, and the sun had inspissated it into a rosin, which was found sticking to the trunks, and lying about the roots. These trees shoot out their branches like all other pines; with this difference, that the branches of these are much smaller and shorter; so that the knots become nothing when the tree is wrought for use. I took notice, that the largest of them had the smallest and shortest branches, and were crowned, as it were, at the top, by a spreading branch like a bush. This was what led some on board into the extravagant notion of their being basaltes: Indeed no one could think of finding such trees here. The seeds are produced in cones; but we could find none that had any in them, or that were in a proper state for vegetation or botanical examination. Besides these, there was another tree or shrub of the spruce-fir kind, but it was very small. We also found on the isle a sort of scurvy-grass, and a plant, called by us Lamb's Quarters, which, when boiled, eat like spinnage.

Having got ten or twelve small spars to make studding-sail booms, boat-masts, &c., and night approaching, we returned with them on board.

The purpose for which I anchored under this isle being answered, I was now to consider what was next to be done. We had from the top-mast-head taken a view of the sea around us, and observed the whole, to the west, to be strewed with small islets, sand-banks, and breakers, to the utmost extent of our horizon. They seemed indeed not to be all connected, and to be divided by winding channels. But when I considered that the extent of this S.W. coast was already pretty well determined, the great risk attending a more accurate survey, and the time it would require to accomplish it, on account of the many dangers we should have to encounter, I determined not to hazard the ship down to leeward, where we might be so hemmed in as to find it difficult to return, and by that means lose the proper season for getting to the south. I now wished to have had the little vessel set up, the frame of which we had on board. I had some thoughts of doing this, when we were last at Otaheite, but found it could not be executed, without neglecting the caulking and other necessary repairs of the ship, or staying longer there than the route I had in view would admit. It was now too late to begin setting her up, and then to use her in exploring this coast; and in our voyage to the south, she could be of no service. These reasons induced me to try to get without the shoals; that is, to the southward of them.[2]

[2] "We were becalmed in the evening among the reefs, which surrounded us on all sides, and made our situation dangerous, on account of the tides and currents, as well as for want of anchoring-ground, having sounded in vain with a line of 150 fathoms. At half past seven o'clock we saw a ball of fire to the northward, in size and splendour resembling the sun, though somewhat paler. It burst a few moments after, and left behind it several bright sparks, of which the largest, of an oblong shape, moved quickly out of our horizon, whilst a kind of bluish flame followed, and marked its course. Some heard a hissing noise, which accompanied the swift descent of this meteor. Our shipmates expected a fresh gale after its appearance; having frequently observed the same to ensue upon similar occasions. And in fact, whatever may be the relation between this phenomenon, and the motion of the atmosphere, or whether it was accident, their predictions were verified the same night, when a brisk gale sprung up, which settled at south."--G.F.

If the opinion of some philosophers as to the origin of these fire-balls, be correct, viz. that they are produced by the combination of animal or vegetable products suspended in the atmosphere, it is easy to understand, how, the equilibrium of the atmosphere being destroyed by the condensation, if one may so call it, of a large part of its constituent principles, those meteors should be followed by considerable gales or storms. Perhaps, indeed, this opinion best explains all the circumstances of this phenomenon, and especially the occurrence so constantly observed of such agitation. The subject, however, is still involved in a good deal of difficulty, from which a long and very accurate course of examination is requisite to deliver it. Much has been effected in this respect, since the publication of Forster's work; and there is no reason to doubt, that the application of an improved chemistry to a careful comparison of all the authentic relations of such phenomena, will issue in a satisfactory solution.--E.

Next morning at day-break, we got under sail with a light breeze at E. by N. We had to make some trips to weather the shoals to leeward of Botany Isle; but when this was done the breeze began to fail; and at three p.m. it fell calm. The swell, assisted by the current, set us fast to S.W.

towards the breakers, which were yet in sight in that direction. Thus we continued till ten o'clock, at which time a breeze springing up at N.N.W. we steered E.S.E.; the contrary course we had come in; not daring to steer farther south till daylight.

At three o'clock next morning, the wind veered to S.W., blew hard, and in squalls, attended with rain, which made it necessary to proceed with our courses up and top-sails on the cap, till day-break, when the hill on the Isle of Pines bore north; and our distance from the shore in that direction was about four leagues. We had now a very strong wind at S.S.W. attended by a great sea; so that we had reason to rejoice at having got clear of the shoals before this gale overtook us. Though every thing conspired to make me think this was the westerly monsoon, it can hardly be comprehended under that name, for several reasons; first, because it was near a month too soon for these winds; secondly, because we know not if they reach this place at all; and lastly, because it is very common for westerly winds to blow within the tropics. However, I never found them to blow so hard before, or so far southerly. Be these things as they may, we had now no other choice but to stretch to S.E., which we accordingly did with our starboard tacks aboard; and at noon we were out of sight of land.

The gale continued with very little alteration till noon next day; at which time we observed in latitude  $23^{\circ} 18'$ , longitude made from the Isle of Pines  $1^{\circ} 54' E$ . In the afternoon we had little wind from the south, and a great swell from the same direction: And many boobies, tropic, and men-of-war birds were seen. At eleven o'clock a fresh breeze sprung up at W. by S., with which we stood to the south. At this time we were in the latitude of  $23^{\circ} 18'$ , longitude  $169^{\circ} 49' E$ ., and about forty-two leagues south of the Hebrides.

At eight o'clock in the morning, on the third, the wind veered to S.W. and blew a strong gale by squalls, attended with rain. I now gave over all thought of returning to the land we had left. Indeed, when I considered the vast ocean we had to explore to the south; the state and condition of the ship, already in want of some necessary stores; that summer was approaching fast, and that any considerable accident might detain us in this sea another year; I did not think it advisable to attempt to regain the land.

Thus I was obliged, as it were by necessity, for the first time, to leave a coast I had discovered, before it was fully explored.--I called it New Caledonia; and, if we except New Zealand, it is perhaps the largest island in the South Pacific Ocean. For it extends from the latitude of  $19^{\circ} 37'$ , to  $22^{\circ} 30'$ , S., and from the longitude of  $163^{\circ} 37'$  to  $167^{\circ} 14' E$ . It lies nearly N.W.  $1/2 W$ ., and S.E.  $1 E$ ., and is about eighty-seven leagues long in that direction; but its breadth is not considerable, not any where exceeding ten leagues. It is a country full of hills and valleys; of various extent both for height and depth. To judge of the whole by the parts we were on, from these hills spring vast numbers of little rivulets, which greatly contribute to fertilize the plains, and to supply all the wants of the inhabitants. The summits of most of the hills seem to be barren; though some few are cloathed with wood; as are all the plains and valleys. By reason of these hills, many parts of the coast, when at a distance from it, appeared indented, or to have great inlets between the hills; but, when we came near the shore, we always found such places shut up with low land, and also observed low land to lie along the coast between the seashore and the foot of the hills. As this was the case in all such parts as we came near enough to see, it is reasonable to suppose that the whole coast is so. I am likewise of opinion, that the whole, or greatest part, is surrounded by reefs or shoals, which render the access to it very dangerous, but at the same time guard the coast from the violence of the wind and sea; make it abound with fish, secure an easy and safe navigation along it, for canoes, &c.; and, most likely, form some good harbours for shipping. Most, if not every part of the coast, is inhabited, the Isle of Pines not excepted; for we saw either smoke by day, or fires by night, wherever we came. In the extent which I have given to this island, is included the broken or unconnected lands to the N.W. That they may be connected; I shall not pretend to deny; we were, however, of opinion that they were isles, and that New Caledonia terminated more to S.E.; though this at most is but a well-founded conjecture.

But whether these lands be separate isles, or connected with New Caledonia, it is by no means certain that we saw their termination to the west. I think we did not; as the shoals did not end with the land we saw, but kept their N.W. direction farther than Bougainville's track in the latitude of  $15^{\circ}$  or  $15^{\circ} 1/2$ . Nay, it seems not improbable, that a chain of isles, sand-banks, and reefs, may extend to the west, as far as the coast of New South Wales. The eastern extent of the isles and shoals off that coast, between the latitude of  $15^{\circ}$  and  $23'$ , were not known. The resemblance of the two countries; Bougainville's meeting with the shoal of Diana above sixty leagues from the coast; and the signs he had of land to the S.E.; all tend to increase the probability. I must confess that it is carrying probability and conjecture a little too far, to say what may lie in a space of two hundred leagues; but it is in some measure necessary, were it only to put some future navigator on his guard.

Mr Wales determined the longitude of that part of New Caledonia we explored, by ninety-six sets of observations, which were reduced to one another by our trusty guide the watch. I found the variation of the compass to be  $10^{\circ} 24' E$ . This is the mean variation given by the three azimuth compasses we had on board, which would differ from each other a degree and a half, and sometimes more. I did not observe any difference in the variation between the N.W. and S.E. parts of this land, except when we were at anchor before Balade, where it was less than  $10^{\circ}$ ; but this I did not regard, as I found such an uniformity out at sea; and it is there where navigators want to know the variation. While we were on the N.E. coast, I thought the currents set to S.E.

and W. or N.W. on the other side; but they are by no means considerable, and may, as probably, be channels of tides, as regular currents. In the narrow channels which divide the shoals, and those which communicate with the sea, the tides run strong; but their rise and fall are inconsiderable, not exceeding three feet and a half. The time of high-water, at the full and change, at Balade, is about six o'clock; but at Botany Isle we judged it would happen about ten or eleven o'clock.

## SECTION XI.

### *Sequel of the Passage from New Caledonia to New Zealand, with an Account of the Discovery of Norfolk Island; and the Incidents that happened while the Ship lay in Queen Charlotte's Sound.*

The wind continuing at S.W., W.S.W., and W., blowing a fresh gale, and now and then squalls, with showers of rain, we steered to S.S.E, without meeting with any remarkable occurrence till near noon on the 6th, when it fell calm. At this time we were in the latitude of  $27^{\circ} 50' S.$ , longitude  $171^{\circ} 43' E.$  The calm continued till noon the next day, during which time we observed the variation to be  $10^{\circ} 33' E.$  I now ordered the carpenters to work to caulk the decks. As we had neither pitch, tar, nor rosin, left to pay the seams, this was done with varnish of pine, and afterwards covered with coral sand, which made a cement far exceeding my expectation. In the afternoon, we had a boat in the water, and shot two albatrosses, which were geese to us. We had seen one of this kind of birds the day before, which was the first we observed since we had been within the tropic. On the 7th, at one p.m. a breeze sprung up at south; soon after it veered to, and fixed at S.E. by S., and blew a gentle gale, attended with pleasant weather.

We stretched to W.S.W., and next day at noon were in the latitude of  $28^{\circ} 25' S.$ , longitude  $170^{\circ} 26' E.$  In the evening, Mr Cooper having struck a porpoise with a harpoon, it was necessary to bring to, and have two boats out, before we could kill it, and get it on board. It was six feet long; a female of that kind, which naturalists call dolphin of the ancients, and which differs from the other kind of porpoise in the head and jaw, having them long and pointed. This had eighty-eight teeth in each jaw. The haslet and lean flesh were to us a feast. The latter was a little liverish, but had not the least fishy taste. It was eaten roasted, broiled, and fried, first soaking it in warm water. Indeed, little art was wanting to make any thing fresh, palatable to those who had been living so long on salt meat.[1]

[1] According to Mr G.F. the sufferings of the crew, for want of proper nourishment, were exceedingly distressing, and some of the officers who had made several voyages round the world acknowledged, that they had never before so thoroughly loathed a salt diet. It was owing, he says, to their having such an excellent preservative as sour-kraut on board, that the scurvy did not at this time make any considerable progress among them; but their situation was indeed wretched enough, without the horrors of that disease.--E.

We continued to stretch to W.S.W. till the 10th, when at day-break we discovered land, bearing S.W., which on a nearer approach we found to be an island of good height, and five leagues in circuit. I named it Norfolk Isle, in honour of the noble family of Howard. It is situated in the latitude of  $29^{\circ} 2' 30'' S.$  and longitude  $168^{\circ} 16' E.$  The latter was determined by lunar observations made on this, the preceding, and following days; and the former by a good observation at noon, when we were about three miles from the isle. Soon after we discovered the isle, we sounded in twenty-two fathoms on a bank of coral sand; after this we continued to sound, and found not less than twenty-two; or more than twenty-four fathoms (except near the shore), and the same bottom mixed with broken shells. After dinner a party of us embarked in two boats, and landed on the island, without any difficulty, behind some large rocks, which lined part of the coast on the N.E. side.

We found it uninhabited, and were undoubtedly the first that ever set foot on it. We observed many trees and plants common at New Zealand; and, in particular, the flax-plant, which is rather more luxuriant here than in any part of that country; but the chief produce is a sort of spruce-pine, which grows in great abundance, and to a large size, many of the trees being as thick, breast high, as two men could fathom, and exceedingly straight and tall. This pine is a sort between that which grows in New Zealand, and that in New Caledonia; the foliage differing something from both, and the wood not so heavy as the former, nor so light and close-grained as the latter. It is a good deal like the Quebec pine. For about two hundred yards from the shore, the ground is covered so thick with shrubs and plants, as hardly to be penetrated farther inland. The woods were perfectly clear and free from underwood, and the soil seemed rich and deep.

We found the same kind of pigeons, parrots, and parroquets as in New Zealand, rails, and some small birds. The sea-fowl are, white boobies, gulls, tern, &c. which breed undisturbed on the shores, and in the cliffs of the rocks.

On the isle is fresh water; and cabbage-palm, wood-sorrel, sow-thistle, and samphire, abounding in some places on the shore, we brought on board as much of each sort as the time we had to gather them would admit. These cabbage-trees or palms were not thicker than a man's leg, and from ten to twenty feet high. They are of the same genus with the cocoa-nut tree; like it they have large pinnated leaves, and are the same as the second sort found in the northern parts of New South Wales. The cabbage is, properly speaking, the bud of the tree; each tree producing but one cabbage, which is at the crown, where the leaves spring out, and is inclosed in the stem. The cutting off the cabbage effectually destroys the tree; so that no more than one can be had from the same stem. The cocoa-nut tree, and some others of the palm kind, produce cabbage as well as

these. This vegetable is not only wholesome, but exceedingly palatable, and proved the most agreeable repast we had for some time.

The coast does not want fish. While we were on shore, the people in the boats caught some which were excellent. I judged that it was high water at the full and change, about one o'clock; and that the tide rises and falls upon a perpendicular about four or five feet.

The approach of night brought us all on board, when we hoisted in the boats, and stretched to E.N.E. (with the wind at S.E.) till midnight, when we tacked, and spent the remainder of the night making short boards.

Next morning at sun-rise, we made sail, stretching to S.S.W., and weathered the island; on the south side of which lie two isles, that serve as roosting and breeding-places for birds. On this, as also on the S.E. side, is a sandy beach; whereas most of the other shores are bounded by rocky cliffs, which have twenty and eighteen fathoms water close to them: At least so we found it on the N.E. side, and with good anchorage. A bank of coral sand, mixed with shells, on which we found from nineteen to thirty-five or forty fathoms water, surrounds the isle, and extends, especially to the south, seven leagues off. The morning we discovered the island, the variation was found to be 13° 9' E.; but I think this observation gave too much, as others which we had, both before and after, gave 2° less.[2]

[2] "Several large broken rocks project into the sea from the island, on all sides. A heap of large stones formed a kind of beach, beyond which the shore rose very steep, and in some parts perpendicular. The rocks of this island consisted of the common yellowish clayey stone, which we found at New Zealand; and in some places we met with small bits of porous reddish lava, which seemed to be decaying, but made us suspect this island to have had a volcano. The vegetables which we found upon it, thrived with great luxuriance in a rich stratum of black mould, accumulated during ages past, from decaying trees and plants. The greatest number of species we met with were well known to us, as belonging to the flora of New Zealand, but this appeared with all the advantages which a milder climate, and an exuberant soil could give them, and they were united with the productions of New Caledonia, and the New Hebrides. Altogether this little deserted spot was very pleasing, and were it larger would be unexceptionable for an European settlement."--G.F.

Notwithstanding the diminutive size of this island, the advantages it presented, especially as to the cultivation of the flax-plant, were sufficient to induce the British government to erect a settlement on it, which was effected by a detachment from Port Jackson under the command of Lieutenant King in 1788. The reader who desires particular information respecting its progress, will be amply supplied with it in Collins's account of New South Wales. It may perhaps be sufficient to inform him, that though in 1790 the colony consisted of 498 persons, and in 1796, of 889, and though very great expence and pains were employed to ensure its prosperity, yet every year's experience proved that the expectations entertained of its importance and benefits were vastly over-rated, and in consequence it was at last abandoned. In the opinion of Collins, Van Diemen's island presents in every respect a more advantageous spot for a settlement.-E.

After leaving Norfolk Isle, I steered for New Zealand, my intention being to touch at Queen Charlotte's Sound, to refresh my crew, and put the ship in a condition to encounter the southern latitudes.

On the 17th, at day-break, we saw Mount Egmont, which was covered with everlasting snow, bearing S.E. 1/2 E. Our distance from the shore was about eight leagues, and, on sounding, we found seventy fathoms water, a muddy bottom. The wind soon fixed in the western board, and blew a fresh gale, with which we steered S.S.E. for Queen Charlotte's Sound, with a view of falling in with Cape Stephens. At noon Cape Egmont bore E.N.E. distant three or four leagues; and though the mount was hid in the clouds, we judged it to be in the same direction as the Cape; latitude observed 39° 24'. The wind increased in such a manner as to oblige us to close-reef our top-sails, and strike top-gallant yards. At last we could bear no more sail than the two courses, and two close-reefed top-sails; and under them we stretched for Cape Stephens, which we made at eleven o'clock at night.

At midnight we tacked and made a trip to the north till three o'clock next morning, when we bore away for the sound. At nine we hauled round Point Jackson through a sea which looked terrible, occasioned by a rapid tide, and a high wind; but as we knew the coast, it did not alarm us. At eleven o'clock we anchored before Ship Cove; the strong flurries from off the land not permitting us to get in.

In the afternoon, as we could not move the ship, I went into the Cove, with the seine, to try to catch some fish. The first thing I did after landing, was to look for the bottle I left hid when last there, in which was the memorandum. It was taken away, but by whom it did not appear. Two hauls with the seine producing only four small fish, we, in some measure, made up for this deficiency, by shooting several birds, which the flowers in the garden had drawn thither, as also some old shags, and by robbing the nests of some young ones.

Being little wind next morning, we weighed and warped the ship into the Cove, and there moored with the two bowers. We unbent the sails to repair them; several having been split, and otherwise damaged in the late gale. The main and fore courses, already worn to the very utmost, were condemned as useless. I ordered the top-masts to be struck and unrigged, in order to fix to them moveable chocks or knees, for want of which the trestle-trees were continually breaking; the forge to be set up, to make bolts and repair our iron-work; and tents to be erected on shore for

the reception of a guard, coopers, sail-makers, &c. I likewise gave orders that vegetables (of which there were plenty) should be boiled every morning with oatmeal and portable broth for breakfast, and with pease and broth every day for dinner for the whole crew, over and above their usual allowance of salt meat.

In the afternoon, as Mr Wales was setting up his observatory, he discovered that several trees, which were standing when we last sailed from this place, had been cut down with saws and axes; and a few days after, the place where an observatory, clock, &c. had been set up, was also found, in a spot different from that where Mr Wales had placed his. It was, therefore, now no longer to be doubted, that the Adventure had been in this cove after we had left it.

Next day, wind southerly; hazy clouded weather. Every body went to work at their respective employments, one of which was to caulk the ship's sides, a thing much wanted. The seams were paid with putty, made with cook's fat and chalk; the gunner happening to have a quantity of the latter on board.

The 21st, wind southerly, with continual rains.

The weather being fair in the afternoon of the 22d, accompanied by the botanists, I visited our gardens on Motuara, which we found almost in a state of nature, having been wholly neglected by the inhabitants. Nevertheless, many articles were in a flourishing condition, and shewed how well they liked the soil in which they were planted. None of the natives having yet made their appearance, we made a fire on the point of the island, in hopes, if they saw the smoke, they might be induced to come to us.

Nothing remarkable happened till the 24th, when, in the morning, two canoes were seen coming down the sound; but as soon as they perceived the ship, they retired behind a point on the west side. After breakfast I went in a boat to look for them; and as we proceeded along the shore, we shot several birds. The report of the muskets gave notice of our approach, and the natives discovered themselves in Shag Cove by hallooing to us; but as we drew near to their habitations, they all fled to the woods, except two or three men, who stood on a rising ground near the shore, with their arms in their hands. The moment we landed, they knew us. Joy then took place of fear; and the rest of the natives hurried out of the woods, and embraced us over and over again; leaping and skipping about like madmen, but I observed that they would not suffer some women, whom we saw at a distance, to come near us. After we had made them presents of hatchets, knives, and what else we had with us, they gave us in return a large quantity of fish, which they had just caught. There were only a few amongst them whose faces we could recognise, and on our asking why they were afraid of us, and enquiring for some of our old acquaintances by name, they talked much about killing, which was so variously understood by us, that we could gather nothing from it, so that, after a short stay, we took leave, and went on board.[3]

[3] "They continued from time to time to ask if we were displeased with them, and seemed to be very apprehensive that our present protestations of friendship were not quite sincere. We suspected from this circumstance, that a fatal misunderstanding had happened between the natives and the crew of some European ship, and we naturally thought of our consort the Adventure."--G.F.

Next morning early, our friends, according to a promise they had made us the preceding evening, paying us a visit, brought with them a quantity of fine fish, which they exchanged for Otaheitean cloth, &c. and then returned to their habitations.

On the 26th, we got into the after-hold four boat-load of shingle ballast, and struck down six guns, keeping only six on deck. Our good friends the natives, having brought us a plentiful supply of fish, afterwards went on shore to the tents, and informed our people there, that a ship like ours had been lately lost in the strait; that some of the people got on shore; and that the natives stole their clothes, &c. for which several were shot; and afterwards, when they could fire no longer, the natives having got the better, killed them with their patapatoos, and eat them, but that they themselves had no hand in the affair, which, they said, happened at Vanna Aroa, near Terrawhitte, on the other side of the strait. One man said it was two moons ago: But another contradicted him, and counted on his fingers about twenty or thirty days. They described by actions how the ship was beat to pieces by going up and down against the rocks, till at last it was all scattered abroad.

The next day some others told the same story, or nearly to the same purport, and pointed over the east bay, which is on the east side of the sound, as to the place where it happened. These stories making me very uneasy about the Adventure, I desired Mr Wales, and those on shore, to let me know if any of the natives should mention it again, or to send them to me; for I had not heard any thing from them myself. When Mr Wales came on board to dinner he found the very people who had told him the story on shore, and pointed them out to me. I enquired about the affair, and endeavoured to come at the truth by every method I could think of. All I could get from them was, "Caurey," (no); and they not only denied every syllable of what they had said on shore, but seemed wholly ignorant of the matter; so that I began to think our people had misunderstood them, and that the story referred to some of their own people and boats.[4]

[4] The natives were repeatedly questioned, and in every conversation we discovered some additional circumstances, by which the fact was more clearly established. At last, however, observing that our enquiries on this subject were frequently repeated, they resolved to give us no further trouble, and by threats stopped short one of their own brethren, who had been prevailed

upon to speak once more on the subject. Captain Cook being very desirous of obtaining some certainty concerning the fate of the Adventure, called Peeterre and another native into the cabin, both of whom denied that any harm had been done to the Europeans. We made two pieces of paper, to represent the two ships, and drew the figure of the sound on a larger piece; then drawing the two ships into the sound, and out of it again, as often as they had touched at and left it, including our last departure, we stopped a while, and at last proceeded to bring our ship in again: But the natives interrupted us, and taking up the paper which represented the Adventure, they brought it into the harbour, and drew it out again, counting on their fingers how many moons she had been gone. This circumstance gave us two-fold pleasure, since, at the same time that we were persuaded our consort had safely sailed from hence, we had to admire the sagacity of the natives. Still, however, there was something mysterious in the former accounts, which intimated that some Europeans were killed; and we continued to doubt whether we had rightly understood this part of their conversation, till we received more certain intelligence at our return to the Cape of Good Hope."-- G.F.

On the 28th, fresh gales westerly, and fair weather. We rigged and fitted the top-masts. Having gone on a shooting-party to West Bay, we went to the place where I left the hogs and fowls; but saw no vestiges of them, nor of any body having been there since. In our return, having visited the natives, we got some fish in exchange for trifles which we gave them. As we were coming away, Mr Forster thought he heard the squeaking of a pig in the woods, close by their habitations; probably they may have those I left with them when last here. In the evening we got on board, with about a dozen and a half of wild fowl, shags, and sea-pies. The sportsmen who had been out in the woods near the ship were more successful among the small birds.

On the 29th and 30th nothing remarkable happened, except that in the evening of the latter all the natives left us.

The 31st being a fine pleasant day, our botanists went over to Long Island, where one of the party saw a large black boar. As it was described to me, I thought it might be one of those which Captain Furneaux left behind, and had been brought over to this isle by those who had it in keeping. Since they did not destroy those hogs when first in their possession, we cannot suppose they will do it now; so that there is little fear but that this country will in time be stocked with these animals, both in a wild and domestic state.

Next day we were visited by a number of strangers who came up from the sound, and brought with them but little fish. Their chief commodity was green stone or talc, an article which never came to a bad market; and some of the largest pieces of it I had ever seen were got this day.

On the 2d I went over to the east side of the sound, and, without meeting any thing remarkable, returned on board in the evening, when I learnt that the same people who visited us the preceding day, had been on board most of this, with their usual article of trade.

On the 3d, Mr Pickersgill met with some of the natives, who related to him the story of a ship being lost, and the people being killed; but added, with great earnestness, it was not done by them.

On the 4th, fine pleasant weather. Most of the natives now retired up the sound. Indeed, I had taken every gentle method, to oblige them to be gone, for since these newcomers had been with us, our old friends had disappeared, and we had been without fish. Having gone over to Long Island, to look for the hog which had been seen there, I found it to be one of the sows left by Captain Furneaux; the same that was in the possession of the natives when we were last here. From the supposition of its being a boar, I had carried over a sow to leave with him; but on seeing my mistake, brought her back, as the leaving her there would answer no end.

Early in the morning of the 5th, our old friends made us a visit, and brought a seasonable supply of fish. At the same time I embarked in the pinnace, with Messrs Forsters and Sparrman, in order to proceed up the sound. I was desirous of finding the termination of it; or rather of seeing if I could find any passage out to sea by the S.E., as I suspected from some discoveries I had made when first here. In our way up, we met with some fishers, of whom we made the necessary enquiry; and they all agreed that there was no passage to the sea by the head of the sound. As we proceeded, we, some time after, met a canoe conducted by four men coming down the sound. These confirmed what the others had said, in regard to there being no passage to the sea the way we were going; but gave us to understand that there was one to the east, in the very place where I expected to find it. I now laid aside the scheme of going to the head of the sound, and proceeded to this arm, which is on the S.E. side, about four or five leagues above the isle of Motuara.

A little within the entrance on the S.E. side, at a place called Kotieghenoee, we found a large settlement of the natives.. The chief, whose name was Tringo-boohoo, and his people, whom we found to be some of those who had lately been on board the ship, received us with great courtesy. They seemed to be pretty numerous both here and in the neighbourhood. Our stay with them was short, as the information they gave us encouraged us to pursue the object we had in view.[5] Accordingly, we proceeded down the arm E.N.E. and E. by N., leaving several fine coves on both sides, and at last found it to open into the strait by a channel about a mile wide, in which ran out a strong tide; having also observed one setting down the arm, all the time we had been in it. It was now about four o'clock in the afternoon, and in less than an hour after, this tide ceased, and was succeeded by the flood, which came in with equal strength.

[5] The reader will think the following incident and remark worthy of being preserved; "After

staying here about a quarter of an hour, Captain Cook re-embarked with us, which was the more advisable, as many of the natives, who arrived last, brought their arms, and the whole crowd now amounted to two hundred and upwards, a much greater number than we had suspected the sound to contain, or had ever seen together. We had already put off, when a sailor acquainted the captain, that he had bought a bundle of fish from one of the natives, for which he had not paid him. Captain Cook took the last nail which was left, and calling to the native, threw it on the beach at his feet. The savage being offended, or thinking himself attacked, picked up a stone, and threw it into the boat with great force, but luckily without hitting any one of us. We now called to him again, and pointed to the nail which we had thrown towards him. As soon as he had seen it, and picked it up, he laughed at his own petulance, and seemed highly pleased with our conduct towards him. This circumstance, with a little rashness on our part, might have become very fatal to us, or might at least have involved us in a dangerous quarrel. If we had resented the affront of being pelted with a stone, the whole body would have joined in the cause of their countryman, and we must have fallen an easy prey to their numbers, being at the distance of five or six leagues from the ship, without any hopes of assistance."--G.F.

The outlet lies S.E. by E. and N.W. by W. and nearly in the direction of E.S.E. and W.N.W. from Cape Terrawhitte. We found thirteen fathoms water a little within the entrance, clear ground. It seemed to me that a leading wind was necessary to go in and out of this passage, on account of the rapidity of the tides. I, however, had but little time to make observations of this nature, as night was at hand, and I had resolved to return on board. On that account I omitted visiting a large *hippa*, or strong- hold, built on an elevation on the north side, and about a mile or two within the entrance. The inhabitants of it, by signs, invited us to go to them; but, without paying any regard to them, we proceeded directly for the ship, which we reached by ten o'clock, bringing with us some fish we had got from the natives, and a few birds we had shot. Amongst the latter were some of the same kinds of ducks we found in Dusky Bay, and we have reason to believe that they are all to be met with here. For the natives knew them all by the drawings, and had a particular name for each.

On the 6th, wind at N.E., gloomy weather with rain. Our old friends having taken up their abode near us, one of them, whose name was Pedero, (a man of some note,) made me a present of a staff of honour, such as the chiefs generally carry. In return, I dressed him in a suit of old clothes, of which he was not a little proud. He had a fine person, and a good presence, and nothing but his colour distinguished him from an European. Having got him, and another, into a communicative mood, we began to enquire of them if the Adventure had been there during my absence; and they gave us to understand, in a manner which admitted of no doubt, that, soon after we were gone, she arrived; that she staid between ten and twenty days, and had been gone ten months. They likewise asserted that neither she, nor any other ship, had been stranded on the coast, as had been reported. This assertion, and the manner in which they related the coming and going of the Adventure, made me easy about her; but did not wholly set aside our suspicions of a disaster having happened to some other strangers. Besides what has been already related, we had been told that a ship had lately been here, and was gone to a place called Terato, which is on the north side of the strait. Whether this story related to the former or no, I cannot say. Whenever I questioned the natives about it, they always denied all knowledge of it, and for some time past, had avoided mentioning it. It was but a few days before, that one man received a box on the ear for naming it to some of our people.

After breakfast I took a number of hands over to Long Island, in order to catch the sow, to put her to the boar and remove her to some other place; but we returned without seeing her. Some of the natives had been there not long before us, as their fires were yet burning; and they had undoubtedly taken her away. Pedero dined with us, eat of every thing at table, and drank more wine than any one of us, without being in the least affected by it.

The 7th, fresh gales at N.E. with continual rain.

The 8th, fore-part rain, remainder fair weather. We put two pigs, a boar, and a sow, on shore, in the cove next without Cannibal Cove; so that it is hardly possible all the methods I have taken to stock this country with these animals should fail. We had also reason to believe that some of the cocks and hens which I left here still existed, although we had not seen any of them; for an hen's egg was, some days before, found in the woods almost new laid.

On the 9th, wind westerly or N.W., squally with rain. In the morning we unmoored, and shifted our birth farther out of the cove, for the more ready getting to sea the next morning; for at present the caulkers had not finished the sides, and till this work was done we could not sail. Our friends having brought us a very large and seasonable supply of fish, I bestowed on Pedero a present of an empty oil-jar, which made him as happy as a prince. Soon after, he and his party left the cove, and retired to their proper place of abode, with all the treasure they had received from us. I believe that they gave away many of the things they, at different times, got from us, to their friends and neighbours, or else parted with them to purchase peace of their more powerful enemies; for we never saw any of our presents after they were once in their possession: And every time we visited them they were as much in want of hatchets, nails, &c. to all appearance, as if they never had had any among them.

I am satisfied that the people in this sound, who are, upon the whole, pretty numerous, are under no regular form of government, or so united as to form one body politic. The head of each tribe, or family, seems to be respected; and that respect may, on some occasions, command obedience; but I doubt if any amongst them have either a right or power to enforce it. The day we were with

Tringo-boohee, the people came from all parts to see us, which he endeavoured to prevent. But though he went so far as to throw stones at some, I observed that very few paid any regard either to his words or actions; and yet this man was spoken of as a chief of some note. I have, before, made some remarks on the evils attending these people for want of union among themselves; and the more I was acquainted with them, the more I found it to be so. Notwithstanding they are cannibals, they are naturally of a good disposition, and have not a little humanity.

In the afternoon a party of us went ashore into one of the coves, where were two families of the natives variously employed; some sleeping, some making mats, others roasting fish and fir roots, and one girl, I observed, was heating of stones. Curious to know what they were for, I remained near her. As soon as the stones were made hot, she took them out of the fire, and gave them to an old woman, who was sitting in the hut. She placed them in a heap, laid over them a handful of green celery, and over that a coarse mat, and then squatted herself down, on her heels, on the top of all; thus making a kind of Dutch warming-pan, on which she sat as close as a hare on her seat. I should hardly have mentioned this operation, if I had thought it had no other view than to warm the old woman's backside. I rather suppose it was intended to cure some disorder she might have on her, which the steams arising from the green celery might be a specific for. I was led to think so by there being hardly any celery in the place, we having gathered it long before; and grass, of which there was great plenty, would have kept the stones from burning the mat full as well, if that had been all that was meant. Besides, the woman looked to me sickly, and not in a good state of health.

Mr Wales, from time to time, communicated to me the observations he had made in this Sound for determining the longitude, the mean results of which give  $174^{\circ} 25' 7''$   $1/2$  east, for the bottom of Ship Cove, where the observations were made; and the latitude of it is  $41^{\circ} 5' 50''$   $1/2$  south. In my chart, constituted in my former voyage, this place is laid down in  $184^{\circ} 54' 30''$  west, equal to  $175^{\circ} 5' 30''$  east. The error of the chart is therefore  $0^{\circ} 40' 0''$ , and nearly equal to what was found at Dusky Bay; by which it appears that the whole of Tava-i-po-enamoo is laid down  $40'$  too far east in the said chart, as well as in the journal of the voyage. But the error in Eaheino-mauwe, is not more than half a degree, or thirty minutes; because the distance between Queen Charlotte's Sound and Cape Palliser has been found to be greater by  $10'$  of longitude than it is laid down in the chart. I mention these errors, not from a fear that they will affect either navigation or geography, but because I have no doubt of their existence; for, from the multitude of observations which Mr Wales took, the situation of few parts of the world is better ascertained than Queen Charlotte's Sound. Indeed, I might, with equal truth, say the same of all the other places where we made any stay; for Mr Wales, whose abilities are equal to his assiduity, lost no one observation that could possibly be obtained. Even the situation of those islands, which we passed without touching at them, is, by means of Kendal's watch, determined with almost equal accuracy. The error of the watch from Otaheite to this place was only  $43' 39''$   $1/2$  in longitude, reckoning at the rate it was found to go at, at that island and at Tanna; but by reckoning at the rate it was going when last at Queen Charlotte's Sound, and from the time of our leaving it, to our return to it again, which was near a year, the error was  $19' 31''$ ,  $25$  in time, or  $4^{\circ} 52' 48''$   $1/4$  in longitude. This error cannot be thought great, if we consider the length of time, and that we had gone over a space equal to upwards of three-fourths of the equatorial circumference of the earth, and through all the climates and latitudes from  $9^{\circ}$  to  $71^{\circ}$ . Mr Wales found its rate of going here to be that of gaining  $12'',576$ , on mean time, per day.

The mean result of all the observations he made for ascertaining the variation of the compass and the dip of the south end of the needle, the three several times we had been here, gave  $14^{\circ} 9' 1/5$  east for the former; and  $64^{\circ} 36'' 2/3$  for the latter. He also found, from very accurate observations, that the time of high-water preceded the moon's southing, on the full and change days, by three hours; and that the greatest rise and fall of the water was five feet ten inches, and a half; but there were evident tokens on the beach, of its having risen two feet higher than ever it did in the course of his experiments.

## CHAPTER IV.

### FROM LEAVING NEW ZEALAND TO OUR RETURN TO ENGLAND.

#### SECTION I.

*The Run from New Zealand to Terra del Fuego, with the Range from Cape Deseada to Christmas Sound, and Description of that Part of the Coast.*

At day-break on the 10th, with a fine breeze at W.N.W., we weighed and stood out of the Sound; and, after getting round the Two Brothers, steered for Cape Campbell, which is at the S.W. entrance of the Strait, all sails set, with a fine breeze at north. At four in the afternoon, we passed the Cape, at the distance of four or five leagues, and then steered S.S.E.  $1/2$  E. with the wind at N.W., a gentle gale, and cloudy weather.

Next morning the wind veered round by the west to south, and forced us more to the east than I intended. At seven o'clock in the evening, the snowy mountains bore W. by S., and Cape Palliser N.  $1/2$  W., distant sixteen or seventeen leagues; from which cape I, for the third time, took my departure. After a few hours calm, a breeze springing up at north, we steered S. by E. all sails set, with a view of getting into the latitude of  $54^{\circ}$  or  $55^{\circ}$ ; my intention being to cross this vast

ocean nearly in these parallels, and so as to pass over those parts which were left unexplored the preceding summer.

In the morning of the 12th, the wind increased to a fine gale: At noon we observed in latitude 43° 13' 30" S., longitude 176° 41' E.; an extraordinary fish of the whale kind was seen, which some called a sea monster. I did not see it myself. In the afternoon, our old companions the pintado peterels began to appear.[1]

[1] Mr. G.F. describes this whale as being about twelve yards long, having an oblong blunt head, on which there were two longitudinal furrows, and as many upright ridges. It had small eyes, two semi-lunar apertures, from whence it occasionally spouted the water, and it was mottled all over with white spots. It had two large fins behind the head, but none on the back. In his opinion this extraordinary creature was entirely unknown before.--E.

On the 13th, in the morning, the wind veered to W.S.W. At seven, seeing the appearance of land to S.W., we hauled up towards it, and soon found it to be a fog-bank. Afterwards we steered S.E. by S., and soon after saw a seal. At noon, latitude, by account, 44° 25', longitude 177° 31' E. Foggy weather, which continued all the afternoon. At six in the evening, the wind veered to N.E. by N., and increased to a fresh gale, attended with thick hazy weather; course steered S.E. 1/4 S.

On the 14th, a.m. saw another seal. At noon, latitude 45° 54', longitude 179° 29' E.

On the 15th, a.m. the wind veered to the westward; the fog cleared away, but the weather continued cloudy. At noon, latitude 47° 30', longitude 178° 19' W.; for, having passed the meridian of 180° E., I now reckon my longitude west of the first meridian, viz. Greenwich. In the evening heard penguins, and the next morning saw some sea or rock weed. At noon a fresh gale from the west and fine weather. Latitude observed 49° 33', longitude 175° 31' W.

Next morning fresh gales and hazy weather; saw a seal and several pieces of weed. At noon, latitude 51° 12', longitude 173° 17' W. The wind veered to the N. and N.E. by N., blew a strong gale by squalls, which split an old topgallant sail, and obliged us to double-reef the top-sails; but in the evening the wind moderated, and veered to W.N.W., when we loosed a reef out of each top-sail; and found the variation of the compass to be 9° 52' E., being then in the latitude 51° 47', longitude 172° 21' W., and the next morning, the 18th, in the latitude of 52° 25', longitude 170° 45' W., it was 10° 26' E. Towards noon, had moderate but cloudy weather, and a great swell from the west: Some penguins and pieces of sea-weed seen.

On the 19th, steered E.S.E. with a very fresh gale at north, hazy dirty weather. At noon, latitude 53° 43', longitude 166° 15' W.

On the 20th, steered E. by S., with a moderate breeze at north, attended with thick hazy weather. At noon, latitude 54° 8', longitude 162° 18' W.

On the 21st, winds mostly from the N.E., a fresh gale attended with thick, hazy, dirty weather. Course S.E. by S.; latitude, at noon, 55° 31', longitude 160° 29'; abundance of blue peterels and some penguins seen.

Fresh gales at N.W. by N. and N. by W., and hazy till towards noon of the 22d, when the weather cleared up, and we observed in latitude 55° 48' S., longitude 156° 56' W. In the afternoon had a few hours calm; after that, the wind came at S.S.E. and S.E. by S. a light breeze, with which we steered east northerly. In the night the aurora australis was visible, but very faint, and no ways remarkable.

On the 23d, in the latitude of 55° 46' S., longitude 156° 13' W., the variation was 9° 42' E. We had a calm from ten in the morning till six in the evening, when a breeze sprung up at west; at first it blew a gentle gale, but afterwards freshened. Our course was now E. 1/2 N.

On the 24th, a fresh breeze at N.W. by W. and N. by W. At noon, in latitude 55° 38' S., longitude 153° 37' W., foggy in the night, but next day had a fine gale at N.W., attended with clear pleasant weather; course steered E. by N. In the evening, being in the latitude of 55° 8' S., longitude 148° 10' W., the variation, by the mean of two compasses, was 6° 35' E.

Having a steady fresh gale at N.N.W. on the 26th and 27th, we steered east; and at noon on the latter were in latitude 55° 6' S., longitude 138° 56' W.

I now gave up all hopes of finding any more land in this ocean, and came to a resolution to steer directly for the west entrance of the Straits of Magalhaeus, with a view of coasting the out, or south side of Terra del Fuego round Cape Horn to the strait Le Maire. As the world has but a very imperfect knowledge of this shore, I thought the coasting of it would be of more advantage, both to navigation and to geography, than any thing I could expect to find in a higher latitude. In the afternoon of this day, the wind blew in squalls, and carried away the main top-gallant mast.

A very strong gale northerly, with hazy rainy weather, on the 28th, obliged us to double-reef the fore and main top-sail to hand the mizen top-sail, and get down the fore top-gallant yard. In the morning, the bolt rope of the main top-sail broke, and occasioned the sail to be split. I have observed that the ropes to all our sails, the square sails especially, are not of a size and strength sufficient to wear out the canvass. At noon, latitude 55° 20' S., longitude 134° 16' W., a great

swell from N.W.: Albatrosses and blue peterels seen.

Next day towards noon, the wind abating, we loosed all the reefs out of the top-sails, rigged another top-gallant mast, and got the yards across. P.M. little wind, and hazy weather; at midnight calm, that continued till noon the next day, when a breeze sprung up at east, with which we stretched to the northward. At this time we were in the latitude 55° 32' S., longitude 128° 45' W.; some albatrosses and peterels seen. At eight, p.m., the wind veering to N.E., we tacked and stood to E.S.E.

On the 1st of December, thick hazy weather, with drizzling rain, and a moderate breeze of wind, which, at three o'clock p.m. fell to a calm; at this time in latitude 55° 41' S., longitude 127° 5' W. After four hours calm, the fog cleared away, and we got a wind at S.E. with which we stood N.E.

Next day, a fresh breeze at S.E. and hazy foggy weather, except a few hours in the morning, when we found the variation to be 1° 28' E. Latitude 55° 17', longitude 125° 41' W. The variation after this was supposed to increase; for on the 4th, in the morning, being in latitude 53° 31', longitude 121° 31' W., it was 3° 16' E.; in the evening, in latitude 53° 13', longitude 119° 46' W., it was 3° 28' E.; and on the 5th, at six o'clock in the evening, in latitude 53° 8', longitude 115° 58' W., it was 4° 1' E.

For more than twenty-four hours, having had a fine gale at south, this enabled us to steer east, with very little deviation to the north; and the wind now altering to S.W. and blowing a steady fresh breeze, we continued to steer east, inclining a little to south.

On the 6th, had some snow-showers. In the evening, being in latitude 53° 13', longitude 111° 12', the variation was 4° 58' E.; and the next morning, being in latitude 58° 16', longitude 109° 33', it was 5° 1' E.

The wind was now at west, a fine pleasant gale, sometimes with showers of rain. Nothing remarkable happened, till the 9th, at noon, when being in the latitude of 53° 37', longitude 103° 44' W., the wind veered to N.E., and afterwards came insensibly round to the south, by the E. and S.E., attended with cloudy hazy weather, and some showers of rain.

On the 10th, a little before noon, latitude 54°, longitude 102° 7' west, passed a small bed of seaweed. In the afternoon the wind veered to S.W., blew a fresh gale, attended with dark cloudy weather. We steered east half a point north; and the next day, at six in the evening, being in latitude 53° 35', longitude 95° 52' west, the variation was 9° 58' east. Many and various sorts of albatrosses about the ship.

On the 12th, the wind veered to the west, N.W.; and in the evening to north; and, at last, left us to a calm; that continued till midnight, when we got a breeze at south; which, soon after, veering to, and fixing at, west, we steered east; and on the 14th, in the morning, found the variation to be 13° 25' east, latitude 53° 25', longitude 87° 53' west; and in the afternoon, being in the same latitude, and the longitude of 86° 2' west, it was 15° 3' east, and increased in such a manner, that on the 15th, in the latitude of 53° 30', longitude 82° 23' west, it was 17° east; and the next evening, in the latitude of 53° 25', longitude 78° 40', it was 17° 38' east. About this time, we saw a penguin and a piece of weed; and the next morning, a seal and some diving peterels. For the three last days, the wind had been at west, a steady fresh gale, attended, now and then, with showers of rain or hail.

At six in the morning of the 17th, being nearly in the same latitude as above, and in the longitude of 77° 10' west, the variation was 18° 33' east; and in the afternoon it was 21° 38, being at that time in latitude 53° 16' S., longitude 75° 9' west. In the morning, as well as in the afternoon, I took some observations to determine the longitude by the watch; and the results, reduced to noon, gave 76° 18' 30" west. At the same time, the longitude, by my reckoning, was 76° 17' west. But I have reason to think, that we were about half a degree more to the west than either the one or the other; our latitude, at the same time, was 53° 21' S.

We steered E. by N. and E. 1/2 N. all this day, under all the sail we could carry, with a fine fresh gale at N.W. by W. in expectation of seeing the land before night; but not making it till ten o'clock, we took in the studding-sails, top-gallant sails, and a reef in each top-sail, and steered E.N.E., in order to make sure of falling in with Cape Deseada.

Two hours after, we made the land, extending from N.E. by N. to E. by S. about six leagues distant. On this discovery, we wore and brought-to, with the ship's head to the south; and having sounded, found seventy-five fathoms water, the bottom stone and shells. The land now before us could be no other than the west coast of Terra del Fuego, and near the west entrance to the Straits of Magalhaens.

As this was the first run that had been made directly across this ocean, in a high southern latitude,[2] I have been a little particular in noting every circumstance that appeared in the least material: and, after all, I must observe, that I never made a passage any where of such length, or even much shorter, where so few interesting circumstances occurred. For, if I except the variation of the compass, I know of nothing else worth notice. The weather had been neither unusually stormy nor cold. Before we arrived in the latitude of 50°, the mercury in the thermometer fell gradually from sixty to fifty; and after we arrived in the latitude of 55°, it was

generally between forty-seven and forty-five; once or twice it fell to forty-three. These observations were made at noon.

[2] It is not to be supposed that I could know at this time, that the Adventure had made the passage before me.

I have now done with the southern Pacific Ocean; and flatter myself that no one will think that I have left it unexplored; or that more could have been done, in one voyage, towards obtaining that end, than has been done in this.

Soon after we left New Zealand, Mr Wales contrived, and fixed up, an instrument, which very accurately measured the angle the ship rolled, when sailing large and in a great sea; and that in which she lay down, when sailing upon a wind. The greatest angle he observed her to roll was  $38^{\circ}$ . This was on the 6th of this month, when the sea was not unusually high; so that it cannot be reckoned the greatest roll she had made. The most he observed her to heel or lie down, when sailing upon a wind, was  $18^{\circ}$ ; and this was under double-reefed top-sails and courses.

On the 18th, at three in the morning, we sounded again, and found one hundred and ten fathoms, the same bottom as before. We now made sail with a fresh gale at N.W., and steered S.E. by E. along the coast. It extended from Cape Deseada, which bore north  $7^{\circ}$  east, to E S.E.; a pretty high ragged isle, which lies near a league from the main, and S.,  $18^{\circ}$  E. six leagues E. from Cape Deseada, bore N.  $49^{\circ}$  E. distant four leagues; and it obtained the name of Landfall. At four o'clock, we were north and south of the high land of Cape Deseada, distant about nine leagues; so that we saw none of the low rocks said to lie off it. The latitude of this Cape is about  $53^{\circ}$  S., longitude  $74^{\circ} 40'$  west.

Continuing to range the coast, at about two leagues distance, at eleven o'clock we passed a projecting point, which I called Cape Gloucester. It shews a round surface of considerable height, and has much the appearance of being an island. It lies S.S.E.  $1/2$  E. distant seventeen leagues from the isle of Landfall. The coast between them forms two bays, strewed with rocky islets, rocks, and breakers. The coast appeared very broken with many inlets; or rather it seemed to be composed of a number of islands. The land is very mountainous, rocky, and barren, spotted here and there with tufts of wood, and patches of snow. At noon Cape Gloucester bore north, distant eight miles, and the most advanced point of land to the S.E., which we judged to be Cape Noir, bore S.E. by S., distant seven or eight leagues. Latitude observed  $54^{\circ} 13'$  S. Longitude, made from Cape Deseada,  $54'$  E. From Cape Gloucester, off which lies a small rocky island, the direction of the coast is nearly S.E.; but to Cape Noir, for which we steered, the course is S.S.E., distant about ten leagues.

At three o'clock we passed Cape Noir, which is a steep rock of considerable height, and the S.W. point of a large island that seemed to lie detached, a league, or a league and a half, from the main land. The land of the cape, when at a distance from it, appeared to be an island disjoined from the other; but, on a nearer approach, we found it connected by a low neck of land. At the point of the cape are two rocks; the one peaked like a sugar-loaf, the other not so high, and shewing a rounder surface; and S. by E., two leagues from the cape, are two other rocky islets. This cape is situated in the latitude of  $54^{\circ} 30'$  S., longitude  $73^{\circ} 33'$  W.

After passing the two islets, we steered E.S.E., crossing the great bay of St Barbara. We but just saw the land in the bottom of it, which could not be less than seven or eight leagues from us. There was a space, lying in the direction of E.N.E. from Cape Noir, where no land was to be seen: this may be the channel of St Barbara, which opens into the straits of Magalhaens, as mentioned by Frezier. We found the cape to agree very well with his description, which shews that he laid down the channel from good memoirs. At ten o'clock, drawing near the S.E. point of the bay, which, lies nearly in the direction of S.  $60^{\circ}$  E. from Cape Noir, eighteen leagues distant, we shortened sail, and spent the night standing off and on.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 19th, having made sail, we steered S.E. by E. along the coast, and soon passed the S.E. point of the bay of St Barbara, which I called Cape Desolation, because near it commenced the most desolate and barren country I ever saw. It is situated in the latitude of  $54^{\circ} 55'$  S., longitude  $72^{\circ} 12'$  W. About four leagues to the east of this cape is a deep inlet, at the entrance of which lies a pretty large island, and some others of less note. Nearly in this situation some charts place a channel leading into the straits of Magalhaens, under the name of straits of Jelouzel. At ten o'clock, being about a league and a half from the land, we sounded, and found sixty fathoms water, a bottom of small stones and shells.

The wind, which had been fresh at N. by W., began to abate, and at noon it fell calm, when we observed in latitude  $55^{\circ} 20'$  S., longitude made from Cape Deseada  $3^{\circ} 24'$  E. In this situation we were about three leagues from the nearest shore, which was that of an island. This I named Gilbert Isle, after my master. It is nearly of the same height with the rest of the coast, and shews a surface composed of several peaked rocks unequally high. A little to the S.E. of it are some smaller islands, and, without them, breakers.

I have before observed that this is the most desolate coast I ever saw. It seems entirely composed of rocky mountains without the least appearance of vegetation. These mountains terminate in horrible precipices, whose craggy summits spire up to a vast height, so that hardly any thing in nature can appear with a more barren and savage aspect than the whole of this country. The

inland mountains were covered with snow, but those on the sea-coast were not. We judged the former to belong to the main of Terra del Fuego, and the latter to be islands, so ranged as apparently to form a coast.

After three hours calm we got a breeze at S.E. by E., and having made a short trip to south, stood in for the land; the most advanced point of which, that we had in sight, bore east, distant ten leagues. This is a lofty promontory, lying E.S.E. nineteen leagues from Gilbert isle, and situated in latitude  $55^{\circ} 26' S$ , longitude  $70^{\circ} 25' W$ . Viewed from the situation we now were in, it terminated in two high towers; and, within them, a hill shaped like a sugar-loaf. This wild rock, therefore, obtained the name of York Minster. Two leagues to the westward of this head appeared a large inlet, the west point of which we fetched in with by nine o'clock, when we tacked in forty-one fathoms water, half a league from the shore; to the westward of this inlet was another, with several islands lying in the entrance.

During the night between the 19th and 20th we had little wind easterly, which in the morning veered to N.E. and N.N.E., but it was too faint to be of use; and at ten we had a calm, when we observed the ship to drive from off the shore out to sea. We had made the same observation the day before. This must have been occasioned by a current; and the melting of the snow increasing, the inland waters will cause a stream to run out of most of these inlets. At noon we observed in latitude  $55^{\circ} 39' 30'' S$ , York Minster then bearing N.  $15^{\circ}$  E., distant five leagues; and Round-hill, just peeping above the horizon, which we judged to belong to the isles of St Ildefonso, E.  $25^{\circ}$  S., ten or eleven leagues distant. At ten o'clock, a breeze springing up at E. by S., I took this opportunity to stand in for the land, being desirous of going into one of the many ports which seemed open to receive us, in order to take a view of the country, and to recruit our stock of wood and water.

In standing in for an opening, which appeared on the east side of York Minster, we had forty, thirty-seven, fifty, and sixty fathoms water, a bottom of small stones and shells. When we had the last soundings, we were nearly in the middle between the two points that form the entrance to the inlet, which we observed to branch into two arms, both of them lying in nearly north, and disjoined by an high rocky point. We stood for the eastern branch as being clear of islets; and after passing a black rocky one, lying without the point just mentioned, we sounded, and found no bottom with a line of an hundred and seventy fathoms. This was altogether unexpected, and a circumstance that would not have been regarded if the breeze had continued; but at this time it fell calm, so that it was not possible to extricate ourselves from this disagreeable situation. Two boats were hoisted out, and sent a-head to tow; but they would have availed little, had not a breeze sprung up about eight o'clock at S.W., which put it in my power either to stand out to sea, or up the inlet. Prudence seemed to point out the former, but the desire of finding a good port, and of learning something of the country, getting the better of every other consideration, I resolved to stand in; and, as night was approaching, our safety depended on getting to an anchor. With this view we continued to sound, but always had an unfathomable depth.

Hauling up under the east side of the land which divided the two arms, and seeing a small cove ahead, I sent a boat to sound; and we kept as near the shore as the flurries from the land would permit, in order to be able to get into this place, if there should be anchorage. The boat soon returned, and informed us that there was thirty and twenty-five fathoms water, a full cable's length from the shore; here we anchored in thirty fathoms, the bottom sand and broken shells; and carried out a kedge and hawser to steady the ship for the night.

## SECTION II.

### *Transactions in Christmas Sound, with an Account of the Country and its Inhabitants.*

The morning of the 21st was calm and pleasant. After breakfast I set out with two boats to look for a more secure station. We no sooner got round, or above the point, under which the ship lay, than we found a cove in which was anchorage in thirty, twenty, and fifteen fathoms, the bottom stones and sand. At the head of the cove was a stony beach, a valley covered with wood, and a stream of fresh water, so that there was every thing we could expect to find in such a place, or rather more; for we shot three geese out of four that we saw, and caught some young ones, which we afterwards let go.

After discovering and sounding this cove, I sent Lieutenant Clerke, who commanded the other boat, on board, with orders to remove the ship into this place, while I proceeded farther up the inlet. I presently saw that the land we were under, which disjoined the two arms, as mentioned before, was an island, at the north end of which the two channels united. After this I hastened on board, and found every thing in readiness to weigh, which was accordingly done, and all the boats sent ahead to tow the ship round the point. But at that moment a light breeze came in from the sea too scant to fill our sails, so that we were obliged to drop the anchor again, for fear of falling upon the point, and to carry out a kedge to windward. That being done, we hove up the anchor, warped up to, and weighed the kedge, and proceeding round the point under our stay-sails; there anchored with the best bower in twenty fathoms; and moored with the other bower, which lay to the north, in thirteen fathoms. In this position we were shut in from the sea by the point above-mentioned, which was in one with the extremity of the inlet to the east. Some islets, off the next point above us, covered us from the N.W., from which quarter the wind had the greatest fetch, and our distance from the shore was about one-third of a mile.

Thus situated we went to work, to clear a place to fill water, to cut wood, and to set up a tent for the reception of a guard, which was thought necessary, as we had already discovered that, barren as this country is, it was not without people, though we had not yet seen any. Mr Wales also got his observatory and instruments on shore; but it was with the greatest difficulty he could find a place of sufficient stability, and clear of the mountains, which every where surrounded us, to set them up in; and at last he was obliged to content himself with the top of a rock not more than nine feet over.

Next day I sent Lieutenants Clerke and Pickersgill, accompanied by some of the other officers, to examine and draw a sketch of the channel on the other side of the island; and I went myself in another boat, accompanied by the botanists, to survey the northern parts of the sound. In my way I landed on the point of a low isle covered with herbage, part of which had been lately burnt: We likewise saw a hut, signs sufficient that people were in the neighbourhood. After I had taken the necessary bearings, we proceeded round the east end of Burnt Island, and over to what we judged to be the main of Terra del Fuego, where we found a very fine harbour encompassed by steep rocks of vast height, down which ran many limpid streams of water; and at the foot of the rocks some tufts of trees, fit for little else but fuel.[1]

[1] "We found many little clefts, which cannot properly be called vallies, where a few shrubs of different species sprang up in a thin layer of swampy soil, being defended against the violence of storms, and exposed to the genial influence of reverberated sun-beams. The rock, of which the whole island consisted, is a coarse granite, composed of feld-spath, quartz, and black mica or glimmer. This rock is in most places entirely naked, without the smallest vegetable particle; but wherever the rains, or melted snows, have washed together some little rubbish, and other particles in decay, it is covered with a coating of minute plants, in growth like mosses, which, forming a kind of turf, about an inch or more in thickness, very easily slip away under the foot, having no firm hold on the rock. In sheltered places a few other plants thrive among these mossy species, and these at last form a sufficient quantity of soil for the nutriment of shrubs. Here we found the species which affords what has been called Winter's Bark; but in this unfriendly situation it was only a shrub about ten feet high, crooked and shapeless. Barren as these rocks appeared, yet almost every plant which we gathered on them was new to us, and some species were remarkable for the beauty of their flowers, or their smell."--G.F.

This harbour, which I shall distinguish by the name of the Devil's Basin, is divided, as it were, into two, an inner. and an outer one; and the communication between them is by a narrow channel five fathoms deep. In the outer basin I found thirteen and seventeen fathoms water, and in the inner seventeen and twenty-three. This last is as secure a place as can be, but nothing can be more gloomy. The vast height of the savage rocks which encompass it, deprived great part of it, even on this day, of the meridian sun. The outer harbour is not quite free from this inconvenience, but far more so than the other; it is also rather more commodious, and equally safe. It lies in the direction of north, a mile and a half distant from the east end of Burnt Island. I likewise found a good anchoring-place a little to the west of this harbour, before a stream of water, that comes out of a lake or large reservoir, which is continually supplied by a cascade falling into it.

Leaving this place, we proceeded along the shore to the westward, and found other harbours which I had not time to look into. In all of them is fresh water, and wood for fuel; but, except these little tufts of bushes, the whole country is a barren rock, doomed by nature to everlasting sterility. The low islands, and even some of the higher, which lie scattered up and down the sound, are indeed mostly covered with shrubs and herbage, the soil a black rotten turf, evidently composed, by length of time, of decayed vegetables.

I had an opportunity to verify what we had observed at sea, that the sea- coast is composed of a number of large and small islands, and that the numerous inlets are formed by the junction of several channels; at least so it is here. On one of these low islands we found several huts, which had lately been inhabited; and near them was a good deal of celery, with which we loaded our boat, and returned on board at seven o'clock in the evening. In this expedition we met with little game; one duck, three or four shags, and about that number of rails or sea-pies, being all we got. The other boat returned on board some hours before, having found two harbours on the west side of the other channel; the one large, and the other small, but both of them safe and commodious; though, by the sketch Mr Pickersgill had taken of them, the access to both appeared rather intricate.[2]

I was now told of a melancholy accident which had befallen one of our marines. He had not been seen since eleven or twelve o'clock the preceding night. It was supposed that he had fallen overboard, out of the head, where he had been last seen, and was drowned.

Having fine pleasant weather on the 23d, I sent Lieutenant Pickersgill in the cutter to explore the east side of the sound, and went myself in the pinnace to the west side, with an intent to go round the island, under which we were at anchor (and which I shall distinguish by the name of Shag Island), in order to view the passage leading to the harbours Mr Pickersgill had discovered the day before, on which I made the following observations. In coming from sea, leave all the rocks and islands, lying off and within York Minster, on your larboard side; and the black rock, which lies off the south end of Shag Island, on your starboard; and when abreast of the south end of that island, haul over for the west shore, taking care to avoid the beds of weeds you will see before you, as they always grow on rocks; some of which I have found twelve fathoms under water; but it is always best to keep clear of them. The entrance to the large harbour, or Port

Clerke, is just to the north of some low rocks lying off a point on Shag Island. This harbour lies in W. by S., a mile and a half, and hath in it from twelve to twenty-four fathoms depth, wood and fresh water. About a mile without, or to the southward of Port Clerke, is, or seemed to be, another which I did not examine. It is formed by a large island which covers it from the south and east winds. Without this island, that is, between it and York Minster, the sea seemed strewed with islets, rocks, and breakers. In proceeding round the south end of Shag Island, we observed the shags to breed in vast numbers in the cliffs of the rock. Some of the old ones we shot, but could not come at the young ones, which are by far the best eating. On the east side of the island we saw some geese; and having with difficulty landed, we killed three, which, at this time, was a valuable acquisition.

About seven, in the evening, we got on board, where Mr Pickersgill had arrived but just before. He informed me that the land opposite to our station was an island, which he had been round; that on another, more to the north, he found many *terns* eggs; and that without the great island, between it and the east-head, lay a cove in which were many geese; one only of which he got, beside some young goslings.

This information of Mr Pickersgill's induced me to make up two shooting parties next day; Mr Pickersgill and his associates going in the cutter, and myself and the botanists in the pinnace. Mr Pickersgill went by the N.E. side of the large island above-mentioned, which obtained the name of Goose Island; and I went by the S.W. side. As soon as we got under the island we found plenty of shags in the cliffs, but, without staying to spend our time and shot upon these, we proceeded on, and presently found sport enough, for in the south side of the island were abundance of geese. It happened to be the moulting season; and most of them were on shore for that purpose, and could not fly. There being a great surf, we found great difficulty in landing, and very bad climbing over the rocks when we were landed; so that hundreds of the geese escaped us, some into the sea, and others up into the island. We, however, by one means or other, got sixty- two, with which we returned on board all heartily tired; but the acquisition we had made overbalanced every other consideration, and we sat down with a good appetite to supper on part of what the preceding day had produced. Mr Pickersgill and his associates had got on board some time before us with fourteen geese; so that I was able to make distribution to the whole crew, which was the more acceptable on account of the approaching festival. For had not Providence thus singularly provided for us, our Christmas cheer must have been salt beef and pork.

I now learnt that a number of the natives, in nine canoes, had been alongside the ship, and some on board. Little address was required to persuade them to either; for they seemed to be well enough acquainted with Europeans, and had, amongst them, some of their knives.

The next morning, the 25th, they made us another visit. I found them to be of the same nation I had formerly seen in Success Bay, and the same which M. de Bougainville distinguishes by the name of Pecheras; a word which these had, on every occasion, in their mouths. They are a little, ugly, half-starved, beardless race. I saw not a tall person amongst them. They are almost naked; their clothing was a seal-skin; some had two or three sewed together, so as to make a cloak which reached to the knees; but the most of them had only one skin, hardly large enough to cover their shoulders, and all their lower parts were quite naked. The women, I was told, cover their nakedness with the flap of a seal-skin, but in other respects are clothed like the men. They, as well as the children, remained in the canoes. I saw two young children at the breast entirely naked; thus they are inured from their infancy to cold and hardships. They had with them bows and arrows, and darts, or rather harpoons, made of bone, and fitted to a staff. I suppose they were intended to kill seals and fish; they may also kill whales with them, as the Esquimaux do. I know not if they resemble them in their love of train-oil; but they and every thing they had smelt most intolerably of it. I ordered them some biscuit, but did not observe them so fond of it as I had been told. They were much better pleased when I gave them some medals, knives, &c.[3]

The women and children, as before observed, remained in their canoes. These were made of bark; and in each was a fire, over which the poor creatures huddled themselves. I cannot suppose that they carry a fire in their canoes for this purpose only, but rather that it may be always ready to remove ashore wherever they land; for let their method of obtaining fire be what it may, they cannot be always sure of finding dry fuel that will kindle from a spark. They likewise carry in their canoes large seal hides, which I judged were to shelter them when at sea, and to serve as covering to their huts on shore, and occasionally to be used for sails.

They all retired before dinner, and did not wait to partake of our Christmas cheer. Indeed I believe no one invited them, and for good reasons; for their dirty persons, and the stench they carried about them, were enough to spoil the appetite of any European; and that would have been a real disappointment, as we had not experienced such fare for some time. Roast and boiled geese, goose-pye, &c. was a treat little known to us; and we had yet some Madeira wine left, which was the only article of our provision that was mended by keeping. So that our friends in England did not, perhaps, celebrate Christmas more cheerfully than we did.

On the 26th, little wind next to a calm, and fair weather, except in the morning, when we had some showers of rain. In the evening, when it was cold, the natives made us another visit; and it being distressing to see them stand trembling and naked on the deck, I could not do less than give them some baize and old canvas to cover themselves.

Having already completed our water, on the 27th I ordered the wood, tent, and observatory to be

got on board; and, as this was work for the day, a party of us went in two boats to shoot geese, the weather being fine and pleasant. We proceeded round by the south side of Goose Island, and picked up in all thirty-one. On the east side of the island, to the north of the east point, is good anchorage, in seventeen fathoms water, where it is entirely land-locked. This is a good place for ships to lie in that are bound to the west. On the north side of this isle I observed three fine coves, in which were both wood and water; but it being near night, I had no time to sound them, though I doubt not there is anchorage. The way to come at them is by the west end of the island.

When I returned on board I found every thing got off the shore, and the launch in; so that we now only waited for a wind to put to sea. The festival, which we celebrated at this place, occasioned my giving it the name of Christmas Sound. The entrance, which is three leagues wide, is situated in the latitude of  $55^{\circ} 27' S.$ , longitude  $70^{\circ} 16' W.$ ; and in the direction of  $N. 37^{\circ} W.$  from St Ildefonso Isles, distant ten leagues. These isles are the best landmark for finding the sound. York Minster, which is the only remarkable land about it, will hardly be known by a stranger, from any description that can be given of it, because it alters its appearance according to the different situations it is viewed from. Besides the black rock, which lies off the end of Shag Island, there is another about midway between this and the east shore. A copious description of this sound is unnecessary, as few would be benefited by it. Anchorage, tufts of wood, and fresh-water, will be found in all the coves and harbours. I would advise no one to anchor very near the shore for the sake of having a moderate depth of water, because there I generally found a rocky bottom.

[2] Mr G.F. has given a pretty minute description of the country around this sound, and its annual and vegetable productions; but for a reason afterwards stated by Captain Cook, there seems little inducement to copy from it. Those who think otherwise, but who, perhaps, are very few in number, will have recourse to that gentleman's narrative.--E.

The refreshments to be got here are precarious, as they consist chiefly of wild fowl, and may probably never be found in such plenty as to supply the crew of a ship; and fish, so far as we can judge, are scarce. Indeed the plenty of wild-fowl made us pay less attention to fishing. Here are, however, plenty of muscles, not very large, but well tasted; and very good celery is to be met with on several of the low islets, and where the natives have their habitations. The wild-fowl are geese, ducks, sea-pies, shags, and that kind of gull so often mentioned in this journal under the name of Port Egmont hen. Here is a kind of duck, called by our people race-horses, on account of the great swiftness with which they run on the water; for they cannot fly, the wings being too short to support the body in the air. This bird is at the Falkland Islands, as appears by Pernety's Journal. The geese too are there, and seem to be very well described under the name of bustards. They are much smaller than our English tame geese, but eat as well as any I ever tasted. They have short black bills and yellow feet. The gander is all white; the female is spotted black and white, or grey, with a large white spot on each wing. Besides the bird above-mentioned, here are several other aquatic, and some land ones; but of the latter not many.

From the knowledge which the inhabitants seem to have of Europeans, we may suppose that they do not live here continually, but retire to the north during the winter. I have often wondered that these people do not clothe themselves better, since Nature has certainly provided materials. They might line their seal-skin cloaks with the skins and feathers of aquatic birds; they might make their cloaks larger, and employ the same skins for other parts of clothing, for I cannot suppose they are scarce with them. They were ready enough to part with those they had to our people, which they hardly would have done, had they not known where to have got more. In short, of all the nations I have seen, the Pecheras are the most wretched. They are doomed to live in one of the most inhospitable climates in the world, without having sagacity enough to provide themselves with such conveniences as may render life in some measure more comfortable.

[3] The reader who is not satisfied with the picture now given of these wretched and disgusting beings, may turn to the abstract of Bougainville's Voyage, quoted in the preceding volume of this collection, which surely ought to suffice.--E.

Barren as this country is, it abounds with a variety of unknown plants, and gave sufficient employment to Mr Forster and his party. The tree, which produceth the winter's bark; is found here in the woods, as is the holy-leaved barberry; and some other sorts, which I know not, but I believe are common in the straits of Magalhaens. We found plenty of a berry, which we called the cranberry, because they are nearly of the same colour, size, and shape. It grows on a bushy plant, has a bitterish taste, rather insipid; but may be eaten either raw or in tarts, and is used as food by the natives.[4]

[4] In the cavities and crevices of the huge piles of rocks, forming Terra del Fuego and Staten-land, so very like each other, where a little moisture is preserved by its situation, and where from the continued friction of the loose pieces of rocks, washed and hurried down the steep sides of the rocky masses, a few minute particles form a kind of sand; there in the stagnant water gradually spring up a few algaceous plants from seeds carried thither on the feet, plumage, and bills of birds; these plants form at the end of each season a few atoms of mould which yearly increases; the birds, the sea, or the wind carries from a neighbouring isle, the seeds of some of the mossy plants to this little mould, and they vegetate in it during the proper season. Though these plants be not absolute mosses, they are however nearly related to them in their habit. We reckon among them the *IXIA pumila*; a new plant which we called *DONATIA*; a small *MELANTHIUM*; a minute *OXALIS* and *CALENDULA*; another little dioicous plant, called by us *PHYLLACHNE*, together with the *MNIARUM*, (see Forster, *Nova Genera Plantarum*). These plants, or the greater part of them, have a peculiar growth, particularly adapted to these regions, and fit for forming soil and mould on barren rocks. In proportion as they grow up, they spread into various stems and branches, which lie as

close together as possible; they spread new seeds, and at last a large spot is covered; the lowermost fibres, roots, stalks, and leaves, gradually decay and push forth on the top new verdant leaves: The decaying lower parts form a kind of peat, or turf, which gradually changes into mould and soil. The close texture of these plants hinders the moisture below from evaporating, and thus furnishes nutriment to the vegetation above, and clothes at last whole hills and isles with a constant verdure. Among these pumilous plants, some of a greater stature begin to thrive, without in the least prejudicing the growth of these creators of mould and soil. Among these plants we reckon a small ARBUTUS, a diminutive myrtle, a little dandelion, a small creeping CRASSULA, the common PINGUICULA *alpina*, a yellow variety of the VIOLA *palustris*, the STATICE *armenia*, or sea pink, a kind of burnet, the RANUNCULUS *lapponicus*, the HOLCUS *odoratus*, the common celery, with the ARABIS *heterophylla*. Soon after we observed, in places that are still covered with the above-mentioned mossy plant, a new rush (JUNCUS *triglumis*), a fine AMELLUS, a most beautiful scarlet CHELONE, and lastly, even shrubby plants, viz. a scarlet-flowered shrubby plant of a new genus, which we called EMBOTHRUM *coccineum*; two new kinds of berberis, (BERBERIS *ilicifolia et mitior*;) an arbutus with cuspidated leaves (ARBUTUS *mucronata*;) and lastly, the tree bearing the winter's bark (DRYMIS *winteri*,) which, however, in these rocky barren parts of Terra del Fuego never exceeds the size of a tolerable shrub; whereas in Success Bay, on a gentle sloping ground, in a rich and deep soil, it grows to the size of the largest timber. The falling leaves, the rotting mossy plants, and various other circumstances, increase the mould and form a deeper soil, more and more capable of bearing larger plants. Thus they all enlarge the vegetable system, and rescue new animated parts of the creation from their inactive chaotic state."--F.

## END OF VOLUME FOURTEENTH.

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